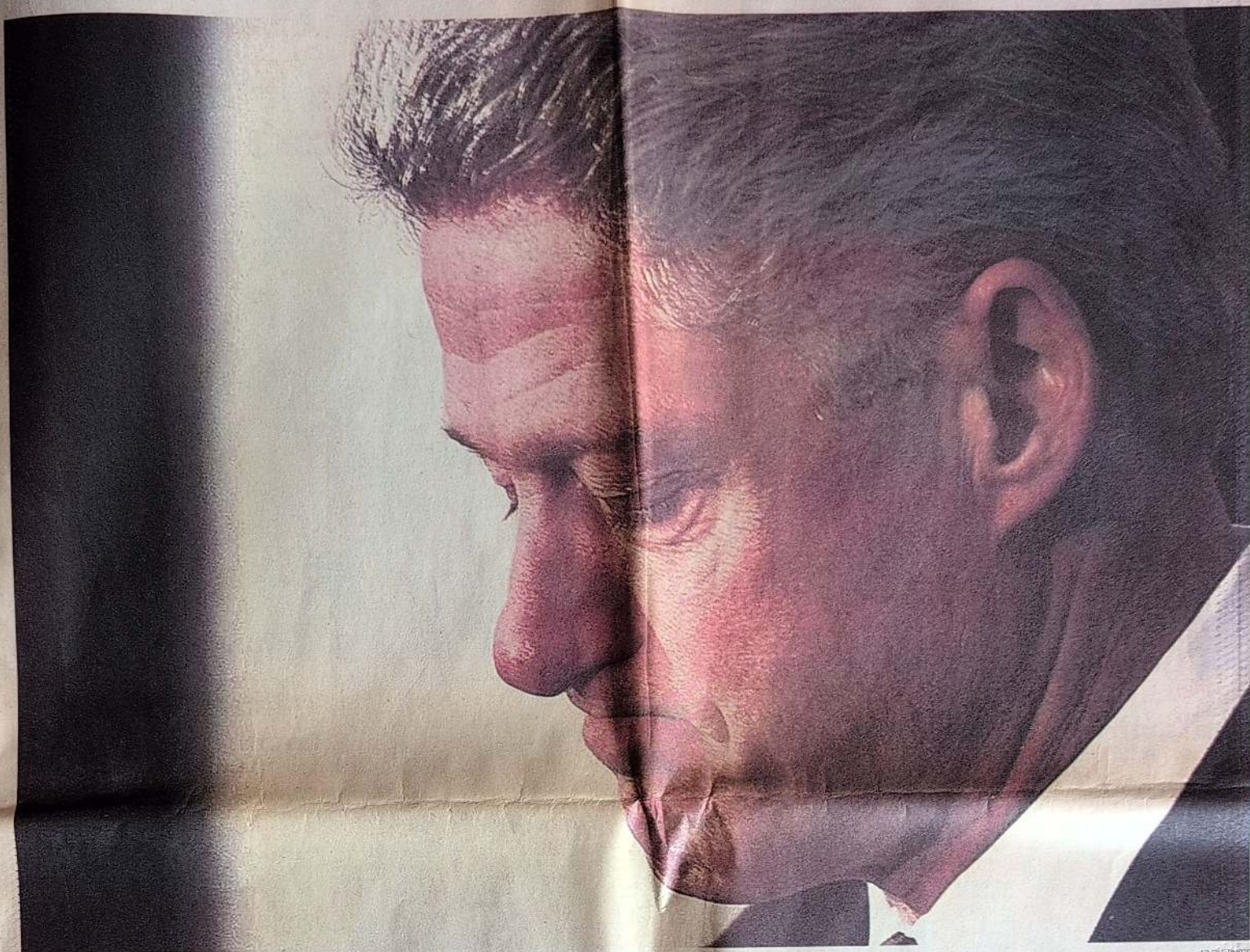


# The Clinton impeachment

A SPECIAL REPORT

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1998



AP FILE PHOTO

## Promise and loss

Unfinished odyssey: a man in search of himself

WASHINGTON — THIS IS A TALE of two winter days at the Capitol, one six Januarys ago and one only yesterday. This is a tale of figures headed for history, one an idealistic president with great promise speaking of his vision on his Inauguration Day, one a battered president facing impeachment on the House floor. This is the political tale of our time, the story of dreams finally realized and the story of dreams in ruin.

But most of all, this is a tale of one man who has seen astonishing success and, as yesterday showed, has suffered defeat so devastating, so personally wounding, that it has been shared by only one person in history. He is a man who has inspired and retains remarkable public support and, as the impeachment vote demonstrated, even more startling opposition; a man who seems, as his supporters argue, to personify selflessness at its very best and, as his detractors countered in a historic House session, selfishness at its very worst; a man who raised himself from the

obscurity of a wrecked family in an Arkansas spa town all the way to the White House, the American Dream made flesh, and now faces the cold banishment of history, the politician's loneliest, most dreaded nightmare.

Eighteen years ago, when Bill Clinton was an obscure young governor, the Washington political pollster Peter D. Hart told him over dinner at the governor's mansion in Little Rock: "The people in Arkansas want you to win, but they want you to win by only one vote. They like you, but not everything about you."

That's still true. Americans generally like Clinton, even as they despair of his character flaws. And now all Americans have seen their lives, their perceptions of government, even their personal views of honesty and political trust, affected and altered by the Clinton experience.

In that way, as much as any of the past half century, Clinton's is a landmark presidency, exposing

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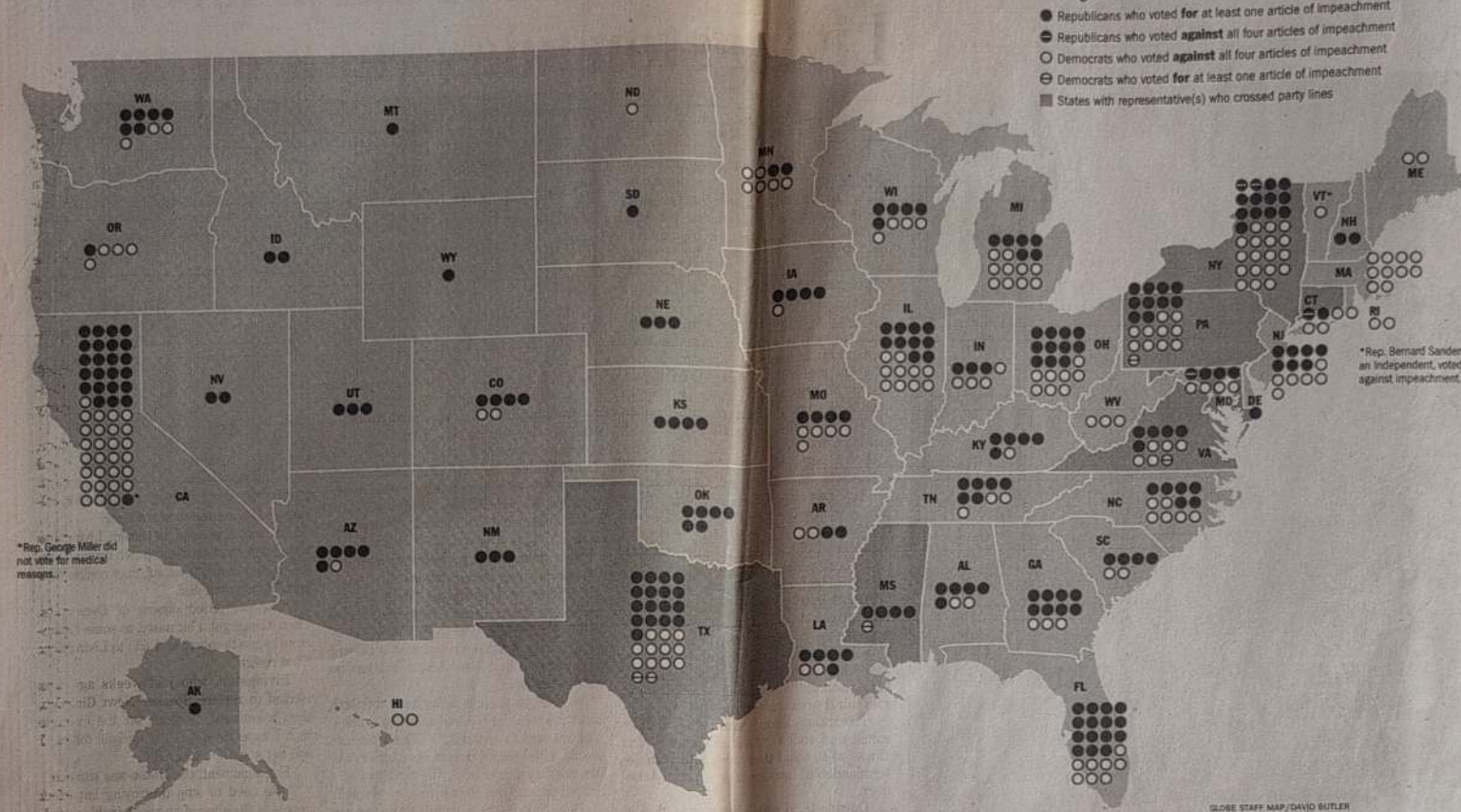
Comparing Johnson, Nixon, and Clinton. **A43**

By DAVID M. SHRIBMAN • GLOBE STAFF



# The Clinton impeachment

## A vote largely along party lines



## Roll call on impeachment in the House of Representatives

**1. Perjury**  
Alleges President Clinton "willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony" before independent counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury on Aug. 17.  
● In favor: 228 ○ Opposed: 206  
Five Democrats in favor

**2. Perjury**  
Alleges Clinton "willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony" in sworn, written answers on Dec. 23, 1997, and during his videotaped testimony on Jan. 17, 1998, in the sexual harassment lawsuit filed by Paula Jones.  
● In favor: 205 ○ Opposed: 229  
Twenty-eight Republicans opposed

**3. Obstruction of justice**  
Alleges Clinton "prevented, obstructed and impeded the administration of justice and has to that end engaged personally, and through his subordinates and agents, in a course of conduct or scheme designed to delay, impede, cover up and conceal the existence of evidence and testimony" related to the Jones case. The article lists seven alleged acts of obstruction of justice.  
● In favor: 221 ○ Opposed: 212  
Five Democrats in favor

**4. Abuse of power**  
Alleges that Clinton "engaged in conduct that resulted in misuse and abuse of his high office." It says he "willfully made perjurious, false and misleading sworn statements" in his written responses to some of the 81 questions posed by the House Judiciary Committee.  
● In favor: 148 ○ Opposed: 285  
Eighty-one Republicans opposed

**Motion to recommit**  
Would eliminate all the text from the impeachment resolution and instead substitute language saying that Clinton "violated the trust of the American people, lessened their esteem for the office of president, and dishonored the office which they have entrusted to him" and that he "fully deserves the censure and condemnation of the American people" and the House of Representatives.  
● In favor: 204 ○ Opposed: 230  
Two Republicans in favor

Key to roll call

Name

Party

1

2

3

4

Congressman, GOP

●

○

○

○

In favor

Opposed

<b>ALASKA</b> Young, GOP ● ● ● ●	Cunningham, GOP ● ● ● ● Hunter, GOP ● ● ● ●	Porter, GOP ● ● ● ● Weller, GOP ● ● ● ● Costello, Dem ● ● ● ● Pawel, GOP ● ● ● ● Hastert, GOP ● ● ● ● Ewing, GOP ● ● ● ● McInnis, GOP ● ● ● ● Schaffer, GOP ● ● ● ● Hefley, GOP ● ● ● ● Schaefer, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>CHICAGO</b> Stupak, Dem ● ● ● ● Hoekstra, Dem ● ● ● ● Ehlers, GOP ● ● ● ● Camp, GOP ● ● ● ● Barcia, Dem ● ● ● ● Upton, GOP ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● Stabenow, Dem ● ● ● ● Kildee, Dem ● ● ● ● Boni, Dem ● ● ● ● Knollenberg, GOP ● ● ● ● Levin, Dem ● ● ● ● Rivers, Dem ● ● ● ● Conyers, Dem ● ● ● ● Kipatnick, Dem ● ● ● ● Dingell, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW MEXICO</b> Wilson, GOP ● ● ● ● Skeen, Dem ● ● ● ● Redmond, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW YORK</b> Forbes, GOP ● ● ● ● Lazio, GOP ● ● ● ● Kang, GOP ● ● ● ● McCarthy, Dem ● ● ● ● Ackerman, Dem ● ● ● ● Meeks, Dem ● ● ● ● Manton, Dem ● ● ● ● Nadler, Dem ● ● ● ● Schumer, Dem ● ● ● ● Town, Dem ● ● ● ● Owens, Dem ● ● ● ● Velazquez, Dem ● ● ● ● Fostella, GOP ● ● ● ● Gutknecht, GOP ● ● ● ● Minge, Dem ● ● ● ● Ramstad, GOP ● ● ● ● Vento, Dem ● ● ● ● Sabo, Dem ● ● ● ● Luther, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, Dem ● ● ● ● Oberstar, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>OKLAHOMA</b> Largent, GOP ● ● ● ● Coburn, GOP ● ● ● ● Walters, GOP ● ● ● ● Watts, GOP ● ● ● ● Isakoo, GOP ● ● ● ● Lucas, GOP ● ● ● ●	Paul, GOP ● ● ● ● Hinojosa, Dem ● ● ● ● Reyes, Dem ● ● ● ● Stenholm, Dem ● ● ● ● Jackson Lee, Dem ● ● ● ● Combest, GOP ● ● ● ● Gonzalez, Dem ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● DeLay, GOP ● ● ● ● Furse, Dem ● ● ● ● Blumenauer, Dem ● ● ● ● Defazio, Dem ● ● ● ● Hooley, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b> Brady, Dem ● ● ● ● Fattah, Dem ● ● ● ● Borski, Dem ● ● ● ● Yibrk, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, GOP ● ● ● ● Holden, Dem ● ● ● ● Weldon, GOP ● ● ● ● Greenwood, GOP ● ● ● ● Shuster, GOP ● ● ● ● McDade, GOP ● ● ● ● Kanjorski, Dem ● ● ● ● Murtha, Dem ● ● ● ● Fox, GOP ● ● ● ● Coyne, Dem ● ● ● ● McHale, Dem ● ● ● ● Pitts, GOP ● ● ● ● Gasko, GOP ● ● ● ● Doyle, Dem ● ● ● ● Goodling, GOP ● ● ● ● Mascara, Dem ● ● ● ● English, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>UTAH</b> Hansen, GOP ● ● ● ● Cohen, GOP ● ● ● ● Cannon, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>VERMONT</b> Sanders, Ind. ● ● ● ●	<b>VIRGINIA</b> Battman, GOP ● ● ● ● Pickett, Dem ● ● ● ● Scott, Dem ● ● ● ● Sissick, Dem ● ● ● ● Goode, Dem ● ● ● ● Goodlatte, GOP ● ● ● ● Billey, GOP ● ● ● ● Moran, Dem ● ● ● ● Boucher, Dem ● ● ● ● Welf, GOP ● ● ● ● Davis, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b> Kennedy, Dem ● ● ● ● Weyand, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b> Sanford, GOP ● ● ● ● Spence, GOP ● ● ● ● Graham, GOP ● ● ● ● Ingalls, GOP ● ● ● ● Spart, Dem ● ● ● ● Cyburn, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b> Thune, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>TENNESSEE</b> Jenkins, GOP ● ● ● ● Duncan, GOP ● ● ● ● Wamp, GOP ● ● ● ● Hillery, GOP ● ● ● ● Clement, Dem ● ● ● ● Gordon, Dem ● ● ● ● Bryant, GOP ● ● ● ● Tanner, Dem ● ● ● ● Ford, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b> Molichot, Dem ● ● ● ● Wise, Dem ● ● ● ● Rahall, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>WISCONSIN</b> Neumann, GOP ● ● ● ● Krug, GOP ● ● ● ● Kind, Dem ● ● ● ● Kieckhafer, Dem ● ● ● ● Barnett, Dem ● ● ● ● Pelt, GOP ● ● ● ● Obey, Dem ● ● ● ● Johnson, Dem ● ● ● ● Sensenbrenner, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>WYOMING</b> Cubin, GOP ● ● ● ●	
<b>ALABAMA</b> Callahan, GOP ● ● ● ● Everett, GOP ● ● ● ● Riley, GOP ● ● ● ● Aderholt, GOP ● ● ● ● Cramer, Dem ● ● ● ● Bachus, Dem ● ● ● ● Hilliard, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>COLORADO</b> DeGette, Dem ● ● ● ● Skaggs, Dem ● ● ● ● McInnis, GOP ● ● ● ● Schaffer, GOP ● ● ● ● Hefley, GOP ● ● ● ● Schaefer, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>CONNECTICUT</b> Kennedy, Dem ● ● ● ● Gelderson, Dem ● ● ● ● DeLauro, Dem ● ● ● ● Shays, GOP ● ● ● ● Maloney, Dem ● ● ● ● Johnson, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>INDIANA</b> Vickroy, Dem ● ● ● ● McIntosh, Dem ● ● ● ● Roemer, Dem ● ● ● ● Souder, Dem ● ● ● ● Buyer, GOP ● ● ● ● Burton, Dem ● ● ● ● Pease, Dem ● ● ● ● Hovatter, GOP ● ● ● ● Hamilton, Dem ● ● ● ● Cannon, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MINNESOTA</b> Gutknecht, GOP ● ● ● ● Minge, Dem ● ● ● ● Ramstad, GOP ● ● ● ● Vento, Dem ● ● ● ● Sabo, Dem ● ● ● ● Luther, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, Dem ● ● ● ● Oberstar, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW MEXICO</b> Wilson, GOP ● ● ● ● Skeen, Dem ● ● ● ● Redmond, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW YORK</b> Forbes, GOP ● ● ● ● Lazio, GOP ● ● ● ● Kang, GOP ● ● ● ● McCarthy, Dem ● ● ● ● Ackerman, Dem ● ● ● ● Meeks, Dem ● ● ● ● Manton, Dem ● ● ● ● Nadler, Dem ● ● ● ● Schumer, Dem ● ● ● ● Town, Dem ● ● ● ● Owens, Dem ● ● ● ● Velazquez, Dem ● ● ● ● Fostella, GOP ● ● ● ● Gutknecht, GOP ● ● ● ● Minge, Dem ● ● ● ● Ramstad, GOP ● ● ● ● Vento, Dem ● ● ● ● Sabo, Dem ● ● ● ● Luther, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, Dem ● ● ● ● Oberstar, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>OKLAHOMA</b> Largent, GOP ● ● ● ● Coburn, GOP ● ● ● ● Walters, GOP ● ● ● ● Watts, GOP ● ● ● ● Isakoo, GOP ● ● ● ● Lucas, GOP ● ● ● ●	Paul, GOP ● ● ● ● Hinojosa, Dem ● ● ● ● Reyes, Dem ● ● ● ● Stenholm, Dem ● ● ● ● Jackson Lee, Dem ● ● ● ● Combest, GOP ● ● ● ● Gonzalez, Dem ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● DeLay, GOP ● ● ● ● Furse, Dem ● ● ● ● Blumenauer, Dem ● ● ● ● Defazio, Dem ● ● ● ● Hooley, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b> Brady, Dem ● ● ● ● Fattah, Dem ● ● ● ● Borski, Dem ● ● ● ● Yibrk, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, GOP ● ● ● ● Holden, Dem ● ● ● ● Weldon, GOP ● ● ● ● Greenwood, GOP ● ● ● ● Shuster, GOP ● ● ● ● McDade, GOP ● ● ● ● Kanjorski, Dem ● ● ● ● Murtha, Dem ● ● ● ● Fox, GOP ● ● ● ● Coyne, Dem ● ● ● ● McHale, Dem ● ● ● ● Pitts, GOP ● ● ● ● Gasko, GOP ● ● ● ● Doyle, Dem ● ● ● ● Goodling, GOP ● ● ● ● Mascara, Dem ● ● ● ● English, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>UTAH</b> Hansen, GOP ● ● ● ● Cohen, GOP ● ● ● ● Cannon, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>VERMONT</b> Sanders, Ind. ● ● ● ●	<b>VIRGINIA</b> Battman, GOP ● ● ● ● Pickett, Dem ● ● ● ● Scott, Dem ● ● ● ● Sissick, Dem ● ● ● ● Goode, Dem ● ● ● ● Goodlatte, GOP ● ● ● ● Billey, GOP ● ● ● ● Moran, Dem ● ● ● ● Boucher, Dem ● ● ● ● Welf, GOP ● ● ● ● Davis, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b> Kennedy, Dem ● ● ● ● Weyand, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b> Sanford, GOP ● ● ● ● Spence, GOP ● ● ● ● Graham, GOP ● ● ● ● Ingalls, GOP ● ● ● ● Spart, Dem ● ● ● ● Cyburn, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b> Thune, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>TENNESSEE</b> Jenkins, GOP ● ● ● ● Duncan, GOP ● ● ● ● Wamp, GOP ● ● ● ● Hillery, GOP ● ● ● ● Clement, Dem ● ● ● ● Gordon, Dem ● ● ● ● Bryant, GOP ● ● ● ● Tanner, Dem ● ● ● ● Ford, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b> Molichot, Dem ● ● ● ● Wise, Dem ● ● ● ● Rahall, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>WISCONSIN</b> Neumann, GOP ● ● ● ● Krug, GOP ● ● ● ● Kind, Dem ● ● ● ● Kieckhafer, Dem ● ● ● ● Barnett, Dem ● ● ● ● Pelt, GOP ● ● ● ● Obey, Dem ● ● ● ● Johnson, Dem ● ● ● ● Sensenbrenner, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>WYOMING</b> Cubin, GOP ● ● ● ●
<b>ARIZONA</b> Selmon, GOP ● ● ● ● Pastor, Dem ● ● ● ● Shays, Dem ● ● ● ● Shadegg, GOP ● ● ● ● Kolbe, Dem ● ● ● ● Hayworth, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>FLORIDA</b> Scarbrough, GOP ● ● ● ● Blond, Dem ● ● ● ● Brow, Dem ● ● ● ● Fowler, GOP ● ● ● ● Thurman, Dem ● ● ● ● Steams, GOP ● ● ● ● Mica, GOP ● ● ● ● McCollum, GOP ● ● ● ● Billakis, GOP ● ● ● ● Young, GOP ● ● ● ● Davis, Dem ● ● ● ● Canady, GOP ● ● ● ● Miller, GOP ● ● ● ● Goss, GOP ● ● ● ● Weidon, GOP ● ● ● ● Foley, GOP ● ● ● ● Mack, Dem ● ● ● ● Roe-Latham, GOP ● ● ● ● Wesley, Dem ● ● ● ● Deutch, Dem ● ● ● ● Diaz-Balart, GOP ● ● ● ● Shaw, GOP ● ● ● ● Hastings, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>IOWA</b> Leach, GOP ● ● ● ● Nussle, GOP ● ● ● ● Boehner, Dem ● ● ● ● Ganske, GOP ● ● ● ● Latham, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>KANSAS</b> Moran, Dem ● ● ● ● Ryan, Dem ● ● ● ● Snowberger, Dem ● ● ● ● Tiahrt, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>KENTUCKY</b> Whitfield, Dem ● ● ● ● Lewis, Dem ● ● ● ● Meek, Dem ● ● ● ● Wes-Latham, Dem ● ● ● ● Wesley, Dem ● ● ● ● Deutch, Dem ● ● ● ● Diaz-Balart, Dem ● ● ● ● Baesler, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>LOUISIANA</b> Livingston, Dem ● ● ● ● Jefferson, Dem ● ● ● ● Touzin, Dem ● ● ● ● McCreary, Dem ● ● ● ● Cooksey, Dem ● ● ● ● Baker, Dem ● ● ● ● John, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MAINE</b> Allen, Dem ● ● ● ● Baldacci, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MARYLAND</b> Glavin, Dem ● ● ● ● Ench, Dem ● ● ● ● Cardin, Dem ● ● ● ● Wynn, Dem ● ● ● ● Hoyer, Dem ● ● ● ● Barrett, Dem ● ● ● ● Cummings, Dem ● ● ● ● Morella, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b> Oliver, Dem ● ● ● ● Niemi, Dem ● ● ● ● McGovern, Dem ● ● ● ● Frank, Dem ● ● ● ● Meahar, Dem ● ● ● ● Tierney, Dem ● ● ● ● Markey, Dem ● ● ● ● Kennedy, Dem ● ● ● ● Maloney, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MICHIGAN</b> Stupak, Dem ● ● ● ● Weller, Dem ● ● ● ● Hoekstra, Dem ● ● ● ● Ehlers, GOP ● ● ● ● Camp, GOP ● ● ● ● Barcia, Dem ● ● ● ● Upton, GOP ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● Stabenow, Dem ● ● ● ● Kildee, Dem ● ● ● ● Boni, Dem ● ● ● ● Knollenberg, GOP ● ● ● ● Levin, Dem ● ● ● ● Rivers, Dem ● ● ● ● Conyers, Dem ● ● ● ● Kipatnick, Dem ● ● ● ● Dingell, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MINNESOTA</b> Gutknecht, GOP ● ● ● ● Minge, Dem ● ● ● ● Ramstad, GOP ● ● ● ● Vento, Dem ● ● ● ● Sabo, Dem ● ● ● ● Luther, Dem ● ● ● ● Peterson, Dem ● ● ● ● Oberstar, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MISSISSIPPI</b> Wicker, GOP ● ● ● ● Thompson, Dem ● ● ● ● Pickens, Dem ● ● ● ● Parler, Dem ● ● ● ● Taylor, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MISSOURI</b> Clay, Dem ● ● ● ● Talbot, Dem ● ● ● ● Geplhardt, Dem ● ● ● ● Shelton, Dem ● ● ● ● McCarthy, Dem ● ● ● ● Danner, Dem ● ● ● ● Blunt, Dem ● ● ● ● Emerson, GOP ● ● ● ● Hults, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>MONTANA</b> Hill, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>NEBRASKA</b> Bereuter, Dem ● ● ● ● Christensen, Dem ● ● ● ● Barrett, Dem ● ● ● ●	<b>NEVADA</b> Ensign, GOP ● ● ● ● Gibbons, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b> Sununu, GOP ● ● ● ● Bass, GOP ● ● ● ●	<b>NEW JERSEY</b> <td>Andrews, Dem ● ● ● ● LoBiondo, Dem ● ● ● ● Saxton, Dem ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● Roukema, GOP ● ● ● ● Palone, Dem ● ● ● ● Franks, GOP ● ● ● ● Pascrell, Dem ● ● ● ● Rothman, Dem ● ● ● ● Pomri, Dem ● ● ● ● Frelinghuysen, Dem ● ● ● ● Pappas, Dem ● ● ● ● Mazencio, Dem ● ● ● ●</td>	Andrews, Dem ● ● ● ● LoBiondo, Dem ● ● ● ● Saxton, Dem ● ● ● ● Smith, GOP ● ● ● ● Roukema, GOP ● ● ● ● Palone, Dem ● ● ● ● Franks, GOP ● ● ● ● Pascrell, Dem ● ● ● ● Rothman, Dem ● ● ● ● Pomri, Dem ● ● ● ● Frelinghuysen, Dem ● ● ● ● Pappas, Dem ● ● ● ● Mazencio, Dem ● ● ● ●	



## The Clinton impeachment

The scene

## In a week full of surprises, Livingston adds yet another

By Michael Kranish  
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — Representative Jon Christensen, a Nebraska Republican, was not worried about criticism that his party was overreaching in impeaching President Clinton. Nor was he bothered by the seeming implosion of the House after Speaker-elect Robert L. Livingston shocked his party by resigning after admitting extramarital affairs.

"I still feel this will go down as a day when adultery is wrong," Christensen said, applauding Livingston's decision to step aside and urging the president to follow suit.

But all around Christensen, who stood amid a phalanx of reporters in the elegant Speaker's Lobby, other House members seemed stunned.

Some members sought to spin on a dime and put the day's events in a positive light.

Representative Charles Rangel, a New York Democrat, expressed disbelief at the way he said the GOP right wing was devouring the rest of the party. "Is there going to be a marriage fidelity test for the next candidate?" Rangel asked.

Republicans quickly came out to proclaim they played no role in Livingston's action. "There was no coup," said Representative Donald Manzullo, Republican of Illinois. Still, he sounded appreciative, saying, "What Livingston did is what people in the corporate world would have done."

The analogy seemed apt, as the carefully suited and coiffed men and women of the House went about their work with grim determination of bankers at a corporate take-over.

Outside the Capitol, however, a slice of the 1960s sprawled onto the lawns and the sidewalks, as several thousand protesters with varying views gathered to mark the historic moment. The Capitol "triangle," a

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REPRESENTATIVE DONALD MANZULLO  
Republican of Illinois

patch of lawn outside the House, was turned into a Washington version of Speaker's Corner in London, with people loudly arguing with one another about whether Clinton should be impeached.

"They are spending all our money talking about sex," yelled elementary school teacher Matthew Meyer. "I have third and fourth grade students who can't read. We need the money!"

This prompted a protester to interject: "We already pay enough taxes."

"I know we pay enough taxes. But my member of Congress can't even vote," Meyer said, referring to District of Columbia delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, who is allowed to participate in House debate but has no vote on the floor.

Nearby, two people yelled back and forth about the basis for the impeachment articles. "It came out of a civil suit," a Clinton defender said, as television camera operators ran to film the ongoing debate. "It came out of a lie," an impeachment proponent responded.

Back inside the Capitol, the expected outcome of the impeachment vote led many members to focus on Livingston's surprise announcement.

Representative Richard H. Baker, a Lou-

siana Republican, wondered aloud how Livingston's private affairs became public. Alluding to an ad placed by the publisher of Hustler magazine, which sought information about affairs by members of Congress, Baker asked: "Why did Larry Flynt place that ad during the impeachment hearings?"

"I don't think we've ever seen a week like this," said Representative Donald Payne, a New Jersey Democrat, referring to the simultaneous impeachment of a president, the bombing of Iraq, and the Livingston resignation.

Earlier in the day, Democrats were briefly buoyed by the appearance of Hillary Rodham Clinton, who urged them at a party meeting to stand by her husband.

By 9 a.m., the debate began on the floor, with most Democrats urging censure and most Republicans backing impeachment. Then, with no advance warning to his colleagues, Livingston took the floor.

At first, it seemed as though Livingston was making just another speech urging Clinton to step down. "You, sir, may resign your post," Livingston said.

"No, no!" cried dozens of Democrats. Then, things got a bit nasty, as some Democrats began to catcall and said to Livingston: "You resign!"

Livingston, who just weeks ago was elected to replace Speaker Newt Gingrich, then announced, "I must set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow. I will not stand for speaker."

For a moment, the House was stunned. "We need to stop destroying imperfect people at the altar of an unobtainable morality," said House minority leader Richard Gephardt. House majority whip Tom DeLay, a major force behind the impeachment case, seemed near tears.



Minority Whip David Bonior (left) angrily pointed toward the House Chamber, while Representative Sherla Jackson Lee (above) waved upon her return to the Capitol yesterday.

Representative J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, said the case is about defending the rule of law in the face of polls that showed broad opposition to Clinton's impeachment.

"Polls measure changing feelings, not steadfast principles," Watts said. "Polls would have rejected the Ten Commandments. Polls would have embraced slavery, and ridiculed women's rights."

"Bob Livingston's resignation... is a surrender to a developing sexual McCarthyism," said Representative Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat. "We are losing sight of the distinction between sins, which ought to be between a person and his family and his God, and crimes, which are the concern of the state and of society as a whole."

Nadler described Clinton as a target of the same "McCarthyism."

Hyde agreed in part. "Those of us who are sinners must feel especially wretched about Livingston's resignation," he said.

But he drew a distinction between private sexual infidelity and dishonesty in a court proceeding, describing Clinton as "a serial violator of the oath."

The day's events began with a rousing speech to House Democrats by Hillary Rodham Clinton. She cited her experience as a legal aide to the Watergate committee investigating President Richard M. Nixon, and rallied against the notion of impeaching a president on a narrow, party line.

"She galvanized the caucus," Delahunt said. "She was very inspiring."

Several hours later, with her husband impeached, Mrs. Clinton stood silently by his side as he lashed out at the "obsessive animosity" of their political foes.



House Democrats poured out of the chambers on Capitol Hill yesterday in protest after Republicans blocked their effort to force a vote on censure.

## House OK's 2 charges, paving way for Senate trial

IMPEACHMENT  
Continued from Page A1

"We have fulfilled our duty to our magnificent Constitution," said Livingston, who earlier had shocked the House by announcing he will abandon his pending speakership — and resign from the House entirely later next year — amid controversy over his recently disclosed adultery.

"We are not ruled by kings or emperors," Livingston said, "and there is no divine right of presidents."

Clinton, portraying his impeachment as the product of "poisonous venom and excessive partisanship," vowed afterward to serve out his term despite a fresh flurry of calls for his resignation. He made the pledge on the White House lawn, surrounded by House Democrats who had tried to spare him the shame of impeachment.

"We have just witnessed a partisan vote that was a disgrace to our country and our Constitution," said the House Democratic leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri.

On a gray, wintry day in Washington, as US forces continued a massive airstrike against Iraq, the first impeachment count passed the House at 1:25 p.m. six days before Christmas.

The charge alleges that Clinton repeatedly and "willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony" to a federal grand jury investigating his illicit affair with the former intern, Monica S. Lewinsky.

"Article I is approved," announced Representative Ray LaHood, an Illinois Republican who presided over the turbulent, two-day debate.

Five members of each party broke ranks as the House approved the charge, 228-206. The only New England representatives who voted for the perjury count were Charles F. Bass and John E. Sununu of New Hampshire and Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut, all Republicans.

At 1:59, the obstruction of justice charge passed by a narrower margin, 221-212, as the five dissenting Democrats made the difference by joining 216 GOP lawmakers in supporting the count. Twelve Republicans opposed the charge, including Johnson.

That left Bass and Sununu as the only New Englanders supporting the obstruction charge, which lists seven allegations that Clinton engaged in an elaborate attempt to conceal his affair with Lewinsky in the face of a sexual harassment suit that was filed against him by Paula Corbin Jones and settled last month for \$850,000.

Each charge states: "William Jefferson Clinton has undermined the integrity of his office, has brought disrepute to the presidency, has betrayed his trust as president, and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States."

The Senate majority leader, Trent Lott



of Mississippi, said he has begun the process of organizing a trial and senators were "prepared to fulfill their constitutional obligations" in the impeachment case.

"The decision by the House of Representatives concerning the conduct of the president sets in motion a solemn process in the Senate of the United States," Lott said.

Senators in both parties issued statements declaring their sadness about the impeachment and their intention to judge Clinton fairly. Others expressed outrage. "The House action is an insult to the country and the Constitution," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy. "The impeachment resolution is irreparably poisoned by the vindictive partisanship of the House Republican extremists."

His fellow Massachusetts Democrat, Senator John F. Kerry, was no less harsh. Blasting the GOP refusal to allow a censure vote, he said, "That is disgraceful, and the Republicans will pay a high price for their fear of the democratic process."

Kerry added: "We desperately need to move away from this modern-day Salem witch hunt."

Representative Tom Allen, a Maine Democrat who voted against two articles and expressed opposition to all of them, did not vote on the obstruction and abuse of power counts because he rushed home for his daughter's wedding.

"I know a bunch of bullies when I see them. The bullies get theirs, and you're going to get yours."

REP. JOSE E. SERRANO  
New York Democrat  
to House Republicans

He left a House divided. "My God, what kind of country are we becoming?" Representative Martin T. Meehan, a Lowell Democrat, said on the House floor. "What kind of institution are we becoming?"

The House rejected the charge that Clinton lied under oath in the civil deposition, 223-205, as 29 Republicans broke ranks, including Christopher Shays of Connecticut, the only GOP member from New England to vote against all four counts. Bass, Sununu, and Johnson supported the charge.

The final count, alleging abuse of power, was handily rejected, 285-148, with Sununu the only New Englander to support it.

The vote, at 2:13 p.m., ended Clinton's impeachment House odyssey, which deeply divided the institution and indirectly toppled two speakers, Newt Gingrich and his would-be successor.

In a stunning development, Livingston was midway through a speech calling on Clinton to resign

when several Democrats began chanting, "You resign," Livingston, as it happened, was about to do just that.

"I must set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow," he said.

In an unprecedented scene, the House was occupied for the next several hours with debating Clinton's impeachment and with a mad scramble among GOP leaders for the suddenly vacant speakership.



## The Clinton impeachment

## The debate in the House

Excerpts from statements made by supporters of impeachment in yesterday's debate on the House floor.

## J.C. Watts

REPUBLICAN, OKLAHOMA

There is no joy sometimes in upholding the law. It is so unpleasant sometimes that we hire other people to do it for us. Ask the police or judges, it is tiring and thankless, but we know it must be done.

If we do not point at lawlessness, our children cannot see it. If we do not label lawlessness, our children cannot recognize it. And if we do not punish lawlessness, our children will not believe it. So if someone were to ask me, "J.C., why did you vote for the articles of impeachment?" I would say, I did it for our children.

How can we tell our children that honesty is the best policy if we do not demand honesty as a policy.

How can we expect a boy scout to honor his oath if elected officials don't honor theirs? How can we expect a business executive to honor a promise when the chief executive abandons his or hers? Whether it's a promise or a truth or a vow or an oath, a person's word is the firm footing our society stands upon, and the average kid understands that.

And they do not bicker over what is and what is not a lie. They know. So do I. So do the American people. . . . You hear, "Let's get on with the business of our country." What business is more important than teaching our children right from wrong?

## Tom Delay

REPUBLICAN, TEXAS

I don't know if I can make this speech. But I'm going to try. You know, believe it or not, I've been very depressed about this whole proceeding. When I came to work yesterday it really hit me what we were about to do.

But, after this morning, it made me realize even more what this is all about. And I feel great about it because . . . no matter how low we think we are, or depressed we are, this country shows us time and time again, how great it is.

It was . . . a debate about relativism versus absolute truth. The president's defenders have said that the president is morally reprehensible, that he is reckless, that he has violated the trust of the American people, lessened their esteem for the office of president, and dishonored the office which they have entrusted him.

But that doesn't rise to the level of impeachment. What the defenders want to do is lower the standards by which we hold this president, and lower the standards, force our society by doing so. I cannot in good conscience after watching Newt Gingrich put the country, his caucus, his House above himself and resign, and I cannot stand before you watching Bob Livingston put his family, and I hope you'll think about his family, his friends, his House and his country above any ambitions that he may have.

So ladies and gentlemen, we will proceed, we will elect another speaker, this country will be better for it, and I can't say this strong enough, this is God's country, and I know he will bless America.

## Rep. Richard Arment

MAJORITY LEADER, OF TEXAS

A nation of laws cannot be ruled by a person who breaks the law. Otherwise, it would be as if we had one set of rules for the leaders and another for the governed. We would have one standard for the powerful, the popular and the wealthy, and another for everyone else.

This would belie our ideal that we have equal justice under the law. That would weaken the rule of law and leave our children and grandchildren with a very poor legacy. I don't know what challenges they will face in their time, but I do know they need to face those challenges with the greatest constitutional security and the soundest rule of fair and equal law available in the history of the world. And I don't want us to risk their losing that.

Mr. Speaker, none of us . . . are here by accident. We asked for these jobs. We went before the American people and we asked for the privilege and the honor to hold these offices. The American people gave us their trust and they expect us to use it to serve the nation, its heritage, and its future.

We are not supposed to use it for ourselves. Sadly, it seems that is exactly what the president has done. He failed in his duty to comply with the law of the land . . . that he swore to uphold.

We are not supposed to use it for ourselves. Sadly, it seems that is exactly what the president has done. He failed in his duty to comply with the law of the land . . . the law of the land that he swore to uphold. He did that to protect his own person, not his office; not the duties of his office. He then used the powers of his office once again for his own purposes.

## Finding a speaker

## Stunned by Livingston, GOP mulls Hastert

By Aaron Zitner and Mary Leonard  
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — House Republicans, stunned by the decision of Speaker-designate Robert L. Livingston to step aside because he had been unfaithful to his wife, yesterday scrambled to align behind a new leader and struggled to draw the lines between public lives and private morality.

Members of the current House leadership, including Speaker Newt Gingrich, pressed for a quick endorsement of Representative J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois as speaker for the next Congress. Allies of Hastert, a former high school wrestling coach and restaurateur, late yesterday said they had 118 "hard commitments," more than needed for victory among the 223 Republican House members who will serve in the next Congress.

"We're well over the top," said Peter Jeffries, a spokesman for Hastert.

House Republicans have not yet voted formally, however, and Hastert's aides released the names of only 80 of their supporters, leaving a chance that a challenger might arise.

GOP leaders have set a tentative date of Jan. 5 for Republicans to formally select the new speaker.

Congressional aides said Livingston made his decision to resign after being informed Friday that about a dozen conservative Republicans had reservations about electing him speaker. On Thursday, Livingston, who is 55 and a father of four grown daughters, revealed that he had on several occasions "strayed" during his 33-year marriage. He said the announcement was prompted by word that Hustler magazine, which had posted a \$1 million bounty for information about lawmakers' private lives, was preparing a report on his past.

"I must set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow," Livingston said in a floor speech delivered just hours before the House voted to impeach the president. "I will not stand for speaker of the House."

Lawmakers of both parties feared what Livingston's departure augured for those who serve in public office.

"What's next? Go to the video rental store and check out what videos they were renting? Do we check the 900 lines?" asked Representative Richard Baker, a Republican from Livingston's home state of Louisiana. "Where in God's name does the public right to know end and individual rights begin?"

After the impeachment votes, Republicans met privately to decide how to proceed in the wake of their own sex scandal. During the meeting, aides said Gingrich rose, listed the five characteristics of a good speaker, and said Hastert was "the only one man who has them all."

Majority leader Richard K. Arment has also endorsed Hastert, and majority whip Tom DeLay told reporters, "He will make a great speaker."

Hastert, 56, now serves as a deputy whip, whose job is to count votes for the GOP leadership and maintain contacts with Republican lawmakers. About 15 or 20 members who are part of the whip organization met in Hastert's office after Livingston's announcement and by midafternoon were soliciting support for Hastert.

Hastert said in a statement that a "sense of duty now calls me to serve our free nation by seeking a position of great responsibility. . . . It is a calling that I have not sought; however, it is a duty that I cannot ignore."

Early yesterday most lawmakers said Hastert would probably face at least one challenger, possibly Representative Christo-

pher Cox of California. But Cox said on CNN's "Larry King Live" last night that he would not be a candidate, saying, "I'm prepared to support Denny Hastert," the Associated Press reported.

"There are no known opponents looking for the speaker's position," said Jeffries, the Hastert spokesman.

Representative Mark Souder, an Indiana Republican who supports Hastert, said that the stocky, gray-haired, and slightly ruffled Hastert was not telegraphic but that he could heal divisions in the House. He described Hastert as "a teddy bear, a vote-counter, a peacemaker."

DeLay, an architect of the House GOP's impeachment strategy and the third-highest-ranking Republican House leader, told colleagues that family obligations kept him from running for speaker. Some members suggested that DeLay was too partisan to repair the deeply divided House.

Livingston was selected by House Republicans Nov. 18 to replace Gingrich, who resigned after the November elections. Liv-

ingston was not to take office formally until next month.

It became increasingly clear this week that Livingston had two predicaments. One was acknowledging his own sexual peccadilloes while leading a party that was impeaching the president for his misconduct. The other was getting the often unmanageable GOP social conservatives under control next year in the closely divided House while Livingston was under a moral cloud of his own.

Representative Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat, told Livingston not to give in to the destructive forces that were pushing honorable people out of public life and urged him to reconsider his resignation.

"It is a surrender to a developing sexual McCarthyism," Nadler told his House colleagues. "Are we going to have a new test if someone wants to run for public office: Are you now or have you ever been an adulterer?"

"We are losing sight of the distinction between sins, which ought to be between a person and his family and his God, and crimes, which are the concern of the state and soci-

ety as a whole."

Livingston told his colleagues he was "prepared to lead our narrow majority as speaker, and I believe I had it in me to do a fine job. But I cannot do that kind of job to be the kind of leader that I would like to be under current circumstances."

He added that he would retire from Congress next summer.

"Bob Livingston did his fair share in creating this atmosphere of hatred and hostility by participating in this abuse of the impeachment process," said Kim Gandy, executive vice president of the National Organization for Women. "Having helped foul this pond, now he doesn't want to swim in it."

Gandy, who was among a group of feminists who last week pressed Livingston to censure rather than impeach Clinton, said she feared a bad precedent was being set. "If you require that every politician who cheated on his spouse must resign, you are going to have some loud echoes in Congress and state legislatures all over the country."



Outgoing House Speaker Newt Gingrich greeted Representative Robert L. Livingston, who announced yesterday he would not succeed Gingrich, with a laugh prior to the House vote to impeach President Clinton.

## 'Rise above the rancor,' Livingston urges

Rep. Bob Livingston, (R-La.): Mr. Speaker, I rise with the fondest hopes that the bitterness engendered in this debate will at its conclusion be put aside and that all members will return to their families for the holidays mindful of what has been done here by us as agents of principle.

We have fulfilled our duty to our magnificent Constitution. . . . I very much regret the enmity and the hostility that has been bred in the halls of Congress for the last months and year.

The debate has done nothing to bring us together, and I greatly regret that it has become quite literally the opening gambit of the intended Livingston speakership. I most certainly would have written a different scenario, had I had the chance.

A president is an ordinary citizen vested with the power to govern and sworn to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. . . .

But to the president, I would say, sir, you have done great damage to this nation over this past year and while your defenders are contending that further impeachment proceedings would only protract and exacerbate the damage to this country, I say that you have the power to terminate that damage and heal the wounds that you have created.

You, sir, may resign your post. . . . And I can only challenge you in such fashion if I am willing to heed my own words.

To my colleagues, my friends, and most especially my wife and family, I have hurt

you all deeply and I beg your forgiveness.

I was prepared to lead our narrow majority as speaker, and I believe I had it in me to do a fine job. But I cannot do that job or be the kind of leader that I would like to be under current circumstances.

So I must set the example that I hope President Clinton will follow. I will not stand for speaker of the House on Jan. 6. . . . I shall vacate my seat and ask my governor to call a special election. . . .

I thank my constituents for the opportunity to serve them. I hope they will not think badly of me for leaving. . . . And I thank my wife most especially for standing by me. I love her very much. God bless America.

## In a single act, the House crosses an ominous bar

ANALYSIS  
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nium, may have been designed to punish acts of the past but inevitably and inalterably would fashion the future, possibly making impeachment less formidable a tool, the presidency less potent an office, the separation of powers less sterile a concept.

They knew that for all of them, newcomers and retirees, Republicans and Democrats, this was a vote that marked not only the president but themselves, and that its consequences went beyond the fact that forevermore Bill Clinton would be remembered as an impeached president. They knew that, in profiles and in memories and maybe even in books and surely in obituaries, they would be remembered for this vote.

They knew that their civic lives, and the president's, would be distilled down to this single public act. They knew that, as a result of this vote, this is a different president, a different Congress, a different political system, and a different country than yesterday.

Yesterday's vote to impeach President Clinton was a cairn along the path of American politics, a turning point after which the terrain will be different, the setting will be different, the atmosphere will be different.

In the short term there almost certainly will be even more partisan strife, even more bitterness, even more suspicion, even more distrust. But all "the venom and the hatred," as retiring Democratic Representative Bill Hefner of North Carolina put it, might itself bring on a softer era as a reaction.

In the short term, yesterday's vote to impeach the president represents the triumph of religious conservatives, who reacted with outrage to the president's infidelity. Combined with the startling announcement yesterday by Louisiana Representative Robert L. Livingston that he would not accept the speakership of the House and would resign from Congress next year, it means that leaders in American public life would continue to be judged by strict, unforgiving standards of private comportment.

In the short term, yesterday's action makes impeachment less forbidding an instrument of punishment, less unthinkable a remedy for presidential wrongdoing. But in the long term, the willingness of congressional Republicans to unseat this weapon over a sexual affair might prompt future Congresses to be more wary of broaching impeachment at all.

But all of the inquiries into politicians' private lives might also lead to a backlash,

restoring the traditional barriers that allowed leaders such as John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt to be inspiring figures of great public character despite the blotches on their private character — blotches that remained private in their White House years.

Either way, a great constitutional, political, and psychological bar has been crossed. For 13 decades no House has voted to impeach a president, no Senate has prepared to try a president. The last time such an ominous event was even contemplated, when a president faced almost certain impeachment in 1974, Richard M. Nixon stepped down from office rather than face a House vote and a Senate trial.

That episode has its own shorthand in history: "Watergate." Within months it transformed the Congress, with the Democrats picking up 49 seats, some of them still in the chamber yesterday, many of them forever regarded as "Watergate babies." It prompted an overhaul in the campaign-finance system, a new openness in Congress, a moral style in politics that led to the election of Jimmy Carter, and a crusading style in American journalism.

For decades lawmakers were marked by how they voted on desegregation, or on the Voting Rights Act that extended the most

precious right to black Americans, or on the Bay of Tonkin Resolution that gave thin legal sanction to the Vietnam War.

The lawmakers who voted for or against the impeachment of the president yesterday will answer for that decision the rest of their public lives. John Kennedy, for example, never escaped his failure to vote for the censure of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the Wisconsin Republican who fueled the Communist-baiting excesses of the 1950s. Representative Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, a Pennsylvania Democrat, was so pilloried for providing the decisive vote for a budget-reconciliation measure in August 1993 that it cost her her seat.

Yesterday's vote will be reprised in the next congressional elections, perhaps in the presidential campaign of 2000 and probably in the presidential elections that follow.

On a brisk afternoon when the flags flew crisply from the flagpoles of the Capitol, when the House chamber was jammed with lawmakers, when the corridors of the old legislature were jammed with the very people the system was designed to serve, when the galleries were full to overflowing with them, the whiff of history was palpable in the air. Here, on Saturday, December 19, 1998, the future was being changed.



## The Clinton impeachment



President Clinton received a hug from House minority leader Richard A. Gephardt before the president's address outside the White House.

AP PHOTO

## Clinton pledges to serve 'until last hour'

■ CLINTON

Continued from Page A1

ignation.

The calls for his resignation are expected to intensify in the aftermath of yesterday's resignation of the House speaker-designate, Robert L. Livingston, two days after he admitted having been unfaithful to his wife.

Saying he had "accepted responsibility for what I did wrong in my personal life," Clinton asked: "The question is, what are we going to do now?"

Earlier, after Livingston announced his plan to resign on the floor of the House, Clinton, through his spokesman Joseph Lockhart, joined some Democrats in asking the speaker-designate to reconsider.

"The president firmly believes that the politics of personal destruction in this town and this country has to come to an end, and it has to stop soon," Lockhart said.

And in that spirit, Lockhart said, "The president's wish is that Representative Livingston would reconsider the decision he announced on the floor."

The quick response was an attempt to blunt any pressure on Clinton to follow Livingston's lead. "We need to stop playing these kinds of games in Washington," Lockhart said.

In his speech, Clinton made it clear that he has no intention of resigning.

"I want the American people to know today that I am still committed to working with people of good faith and good will of both parties to do what's best for our country, to bring our nation together, to lift our people up, to move us all forward," he said.

He added: "It's what I intend to do for six years. It's what I intend to do for two more — until the last hour of the last day of my term."

Vice President Al Gore said yesterday was "the saddest day I have seen in our nation's capital."

He said the House vote to impeach Clinton without allowing a vote on censure "does a great disservice to a man I believe will be regarded in the history books as one of our greatest presidents. ... There is no doubt in my mind that the verdict of history will undo the unworthy judgment rendered" by the House vote, Gore said.

Clinton implored lawmakers of both political parties to create "some atmosphere of decency and civility, some presumption of good faith, some sense of proportionality and balance in bringing judgment."

He said, "We must get rid of the poisonous venom of excessive partisanship, obsessive animosity, and uncontrolled anger."

As the House voted on the first article of impeachment, a count of perjury, Clinton was in the Oval Office finishing a prayer meeting with his spiritual adviser, the Rev. Tony Campolo, who later described Clinton as being "tired."

The president was interrupted by his chief of staff, John Podesta, and senior advisers



President Clinton, with Hillary Rodham Clinton, House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, and Vice President Al Gore en route to a rally with Democratic House members following the votes to impeach the president.

AP PHOTO

er Doug Sosnik. They broke the news that the House had approved the first article of impeachment.

After Campolo left, Clinton watched the vote on the next three articles, two of which failed, with Podesta and Sosnik. They later were joined by the president's new deputy chief of staff, Steve Ricchetti.

The four men huddled in the private study off the Oval Office, the same space where Clinton often met and exchanged gifts with Monica S. Lewinsky, the woman whose affair with the president brought him to impeachment.

Hillary Rodham Clinton did not speak after the vote, but she paid an early morning visit to the Capitol, where she received several standing ovations during a closed-door meeting with the House Democratic Caucus.

Several Democrats described the meeting as a pep rally filled with emotion, through which Mrs. Clinton kept her calm.

They said the first lady told them she watched the House impeachment debate and felt that many members were extraordinarily eloquent in phrasing their explanations of why the offenses charged against her husband were not reasons to impeach him.

Representative James P. Moran, a Virginia Democrat, said of Mrs. Clinton: "She was both personal but also very much professional in her approach to the caucus."

Representative Chet Edwards, a Democrat from Texas, quoted the first lady as saying, "I love and care deeply about my husband."

## Work to do, president says

Good afternoon. Let me begin by expressing my profound and heartfelt thanks to ... all the members of the Democratic caucus for what they did today. I thank the few brave Republicans who withstood enormous pressures to stand with them for the plain meaning of the Constitution. ...

I thank the millions upon millions of American citizens who have expressed their support and their friendship to Hillary, to me, to our family, and to our administration during these last several weeks. ...

The question is, what are we going to do now? I have accepted responsibility for what I did wrong in my personal life, and I have invited members of Congress to work with us to find a reasonable, bipartisan, and proportionate response.

That approach was rejected today by Republicans in the House, but I hope it will be embraced by the Senate. I hope there will be a constitutional and fair means of resolving this matter in a prompt manner.

Meanwhile, I will continue to do the work of the American people. We still, after all, have to save Social Security and Medicare for the 21st century. We have to give all our children world-class schools. We have to pass a patients' bill of rights. We have to make sure the economic turbulence around the world does not curb our economic opportunity here at home. We have to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. ...

And we still have to keep working to build that elusive one America I have

talked so much about.

For six years now, I have done everything I could to bring our country together across the lines that divide us, including bringing Washington together across party lines. Out in the country, people are pulling together. But just as America is coming together, it must look ... like Washington is coming apart. ...

We must stop the politics of personal destruction. We must get rid of the poisonous venom of excessive partisanship, obsessive animosity, and uncontrolled anger.

That is not what America deserves. That is not what America is about. We are doing well now. We are a good and decent country, but we have significant challenges we have to face.

In order to do it right, we have to have some atmosphere of decency and civility, some presumption of good faith, some sense of proportionality and balance in bringing judgment.

We have important work to do. We need a constructive debate that has all the different voices in this country heard in the halls of Congress.

I want the American people to know today that I am still committed to working with people of good faith and good will of both parties to do what's best for our country, to bring our nation together, to lift our people up, to move us all forward together.

It's what I've tried to do for six years. It's what I intend to do for two more, until the last hour of the last day of my term.

## The debate in the House

Excerpts from statements made by opponents of impeachment in yesterday's debate on the House floor.

## Christopher Shays

REPUBLICAN, CONNECTICUT

After Judge Starr's report to Congress in September, and his presentation to the Judiciary committee in November, I concluded that impeachable offenses were not proven, and that the proven offenses were not impeachable. But the president's continued failure to come to grips with his actions, the sincerity and arguments of members of the Judiciary Committee from both sides of the aisle, the change of heart and conviction by members on my side of the aisle who originally opposed impeachment and now support it, and the strong and powerful opinion of so many of my constituents who oppose my position and wanted the president impeached, caused me to rethink my position. ...

Yesterday morning before I visited with the president, I concluded that my original position was the correct one for me. I believe that the impeachable offenses have not been proven and that the proven offenses are not impeachable. But they are close. ... With no exception, I truly believe that every member of Congress of this institution is voting his or her conscience.

## Richard Gephardt

MINORITY LEADER, OF MISSOURI

I stood on this floor yesterday and implored all of us to say that the politics of slash-and-burn must end. I implored all of you that we must turn away from the politics of personal destruction and return to the politics of values.

It is with that same passion that I say, to all of you today that the gentleman from Louisiana, Bob Livingston, is a worthy and good and honorable man. I believe his decision to retire is a terrible capitulation to the negative forces that are consuming our political system and our country. And I pray with all my heart that he will reconsider this decision.

Our founding fathers created a system of government of men, not of angels. No one standing in this House today can pass a Puritanical test of purity that some are demanding that our elected leaders take.

If we demand that mere mortals live up to this standard, we will see our seats of government lay empty, and we will see the best, most able people unfairly cast out of public service.

We need to stop destroying imperfect people at the altar of an unobtainable morality. We need to start living up to the standards which the public, in its infinite wisdom, understands that imperfect people must strive towards, but too often fall short. ...

Let all of us here today say no to resignation, no to impeachment, no to hatred, no to intolerance of each other, and no to vicious self-righteousness.

We need to start healing. ... We need to end this downward spiral which will culminate in the death of representative democracy. I believe this healing can start today by changing the course we've begun. ...

This is why we ask the opportunity to vote on a bipartisan censure resolution, to begin the process of healing our nation and healing our people. We are on the brink of the abyss. ... The only way we stop this spiral is for all of us to finally say — enough.

Let us stop back from the abyss and let's begin a new politics of respect and fairness and decency which raises what has come before.

## David Bonior

MINORITY WHIP, OF MICHIGAN

What does a vote for impeachment really mean? It is a vote to nullify the most sacrosanct institution in any democracy, the ballot box. What the president did is wrong, and he should be held accountable, but the offenses he has committed do not rise to the historical standards of impeachment set by our founding fathers. We must not lower that standard today to suit the needs of angry partisans. We must not let them accomplish through impeachment what they could not do at the ballot box. ...

Today we stand against those who would hijack an election and hound the president out of office against the will of the American people. ...

A vote for impeachment today will only feed the corrosive and destructive politics of personal attack. It will prolong and escalate this whole sorry episode. Mr. Speaker, in this building are the marble halls where Daniel Webster and Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln debated the fate of the union. ...

The American people sent a clear message this November. They want this president to continue to do the job they elected him to do, and yet this Congress is deliberately ignoring their will. Let me tell you, people are angry, and they are frustrated, and they are outraged and bewildered at what is happening here.



## The Clinton impeachment

## The media

## Scandal should reduce cries of liberal bias in press

By Mark Jurkowitz  
GLOBE STAFF

In the 11 months since Matt Drudge first posted the name Monica Lewinsky on his Web site, most Americans have consistently said that they wanted the whole sordid mess to disappear.

But throughout a turbulent year that has culminated in the impeachment of a popular Democratic president, two major forces have defied public opinion to keep a story that broke in January smoldering on the front burner: Republicans on Capitol Hill and the news media.

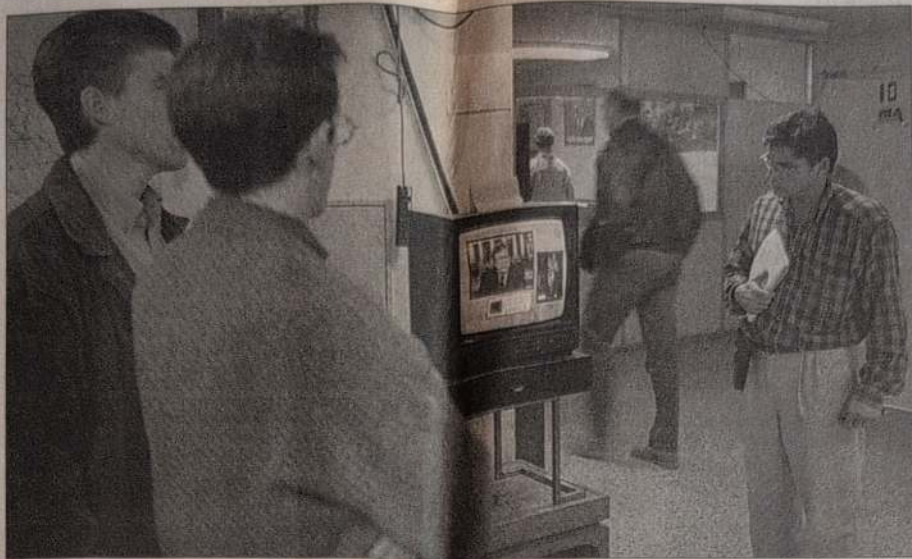
Talk about strange bedfellows. Conservatives have found common cause with same Beltway-New York media axis that they have frequently dismissed as elitist liberal dupes. (In the waning hours of their losing campaigns against Clinton in 1992 and 1996, George Bush and Bob Dole both complained of left-leaning media bias. And influential conservatives from Rush Limbaugh to Rupert Murdoch have long chanted the mantra of liberal media tilt.)

Journalism's preoccupation with the Lewinsky scandal may not conclusively demolish the charge of liberal bias. But at a minimum, it suggests that no "ism" will get in the way of the relentless pursuit of a story with all the juicy elements of this one.

"This story had irresistible ingredients. It had conflict, sex, jeopardy, and downfall," said Tom Rosenstiel, vice chairman of the Project for Excellence in Journalism. Noting that Ronald Reagan once compared journalists to sharks who sense blood in the water, Rosenstiel said: "Democrats bled the same blood as Republicans. Our animal instincts as journalists, for better or worse, aren't guided by ideology."

"In an age of miserably low civic education and public distraction from the news, sex sells," said media analyst Larry Sabato, author of "Feeding Frenzy." "It's the oldest line in the business."

Robert Giles, executive director of the



Reporters watched the House impeachment debate yesterday at the Ministry of Information in Baghdad. AP PHOTO

Media Studies Center in New York, said that in discussions with citizens about press fairness, his organization found that "they are much more concerned" about accuracy and sensationalism than about "any perceived ideological bias."

"I think you can look at the coverage of the press throughout this year and be hard pressed to find any evidence of so-called liberal bias," he added.

As the year's events unfolded — from the first reports about a semen-stained dress to salacious tales of cigar sex acts to the release of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's report and finally to a congressional impeach-

ment debate — there was some good news for journalists. "Public respect for the press in terms of being accurate grew and grew as time went on," said Giles.

The early falling grades did improve. By October, a Media Studies Center survey showed that 52 percent of the public thought coverage of the scandal was good or excellent, up from only 36 percent in January. A similar poll in late August by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found 55 percent lauding the media's performance, compared to only 42 percent a few months earlier.

Yet, on one major point, the charge of

overkill, public opinion has remained resolutely unchanged. In a survey released this week, Pew found that 64 percent thought the media had paid too much attention to the Lewinsky investigation, while only 2 percent thought too little attention had been lavished on the subject.

Earlier this year, Fred Barnes, executive editor of the conservative Weekly Standard magazine, acknowledged that charges of liberal media bias may have contributed to the public's disconnect with the story. Conservatives "have so inoculated the public that you can't trust that media [that] the public demands more than just the media saying the

president did something wrong," he said, with more than a touch of irony.

Some journalism observers see another kind of media bias at play here that has nothing to do with ideology, economic self-interest. Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center, said "the arithmetic of scandal is that you don't need more than 20 percent of the public" to reap economic benefits for the media. "If the media has a bias, it is not an ideological one," he said. "It's in favor of themselves, in favor of building audience, in favor of building careers."

The salacious scandal was a boon to a news industry in search of what Rosenstiel called the next "summer crossover blockbuster" on the heels of two big mega-hits: the Simpson case and the death of Princess Diana.

"The national press, the mass media are in crisis because they're losing audience share. There is no mass audience for news anymore," he said. "For national news and the big media to thrive, they need to somehow reassemble that audience."

According to Andrew Tyndall, who analyzes broadcast network news, the Lewinsky coverage passed the ultimate milestone in early December. With nearly 1,800 minutes having been devoted to the scandal on the CBS, NBC, and ABC nightly newscasts, the saga surpassed the airtime given to the O.J. Simpson murder case in 1995.

For his part, Rosenstiel believes journalism is already paying a price for its constant attention to this ugly episode. "The press coverage of this is one of the reasons that the public has turned off," he said. "It's out of proportion. It's almost numbing."

But if the media and the Washington politicians are coconspirators in alienating large segments of the public, journalists may end up getting off relatively easily. When asked by the Pew poll whether 1998 has been a good year for the media, 52 percent said yes. In contrast, only one-third of the public thought it had been a good year for the major political parties.

## California perspective

## Visitors to theme park cite show, not reality

By Lynda Gorov  
GLOBE STAFF

UNIVERSAL CITY, Calif. — Watching a stunt man plunge three stories and stand up unscathed, more than one tourist at Universal Studios theme park yesterday could not avoid the comparison with yesterday's impeachment of President Clinton.

Dozens of visitors who wanted to see Clinton impeached and those who did not call it unlikely that the Senate will remove the president from office. Instead, like the "Back to the Future" ride and "ET" exhibit, one after another said that what had happened in Washington was more illusion than reality, more show than substance.

"This is a waste of our time," said Joe Barnes, an electronics technician and registered Democrat from Costa Mesa, Calif., who did not vote for Clinton. "Ultimately it won't come to his being forced out. It feels like we're just spinning our wheels."

Still, to them, impeachment was the slap that Clinton needed and deserved, many Republicans and Democrats said. And half a victory — impeached on two counts, acquitted on two — was better than nothing. In fact, despite the polls that show wide support for Clinton's presidency, half of the three dozen tourists from around the country said they had favored impeachment, if not his forced or voluntary resignation.

"Great," Joseph Noeller, a Ford salesman from Illinois, said after handing his two children drinks in cups shaped like a dinosaur from "Jurassic Park" in hearing about the vote in Congress. "There are morals to be held to in this country, and the kids need to know that lying is wrong, infidelity is wrong."

Like Noeller, who twice voted for Clinton, Glen Sherwood, a manager in Utah who votes Republican, was glad that Congress took a stand. For Sherwood too, the matter at hand was one of morals, not the strength of the economy or the US military operation in Iraq.

"It's a matter of do we reduce our expectations or do we reduce our morals?" said Sherwood, who watched the hearings on TV before heading to the theme park. "We have to start holding people accountable, even if they're the president." Added Russell Kagi, a Los Angeles law enforcement official, "Impeached on two, that's good. I don't appreciate having a president who would go in front of a court of law and lie. That's not who I want as a role model. But force him out? Whew, I'm undecided on that one."

What people shared, it seemed, were feelings of cynicism, disillusionment, and dis-

gust engendered by Clinton's affair, his lies about it and the independent counsel's investigation. Most said their opinion of the man was lower than ever. So was their opinion of their elected representatives.

"It's all a bunch of, well, I don't know if you can print this. Just say political posturing," said Lance Lovell, a manufacturing manager and Republican from Colorado Springs, Colo., who wants Clinton removed from office. "Sometimes you just feel like what's going on in Washington has nothing to do with the rest of us."

Said Alan Broviak, a computer technician from Phoenix who opposes Clinton in particular and now Congress in general, "It just seems like people can't rule with integrity, ethics, or honesty anymore. The way I see it, we need a permanent end to the political system because it's completely out of hand."

But Michael Sarisky, a self-employed excavator and registered independent from Seattle who voted for Clinton, said the most damage to America's political credibility was done by the Republicans. As "It's a Wonderful Time of the Year," played and replayed over the public address system, he said, "This whole thing has made us look stupid. During the last election it made me vote against everything Republican I could."

Said Brad Gill, an electrical contractor from Moraga, Calif., who voted for George Bush in 1992, for Clinton in 1996, "Has this given me a worse view of government? Oh yeah, if that's possible." Added Vernon Richardson, an unemployed mechanic from northeast Ohio, who voted for Clinton but would not again, "I don't think Clinton did anything wrong that harmed the country. They're all crooks anyway. Why pick on him?"

On vacation from Orlando, Fla., Michelle and Christian Andersen, said they were sorry to see Clinton impeached. They preferred censure. He made a mistake, they said, but he owned up to it. And he's only human. They were less forgiving of Congress's behavior in recent weeks.

"I'm absolutely sick of it, sick of them," said Michelle Andersen, a Democrat who voted for Clinton. "We're not being represented in Washington. Get on with the priorities for this country."

John Lack, a furniture builder from Cicero, Ill., preferred censure over impeachment, too. He said he was amazed at the partisanship demonstrated during the impeachment proceedings. "It's right down party lines. It's about politics, not what's right or wrong."



Many holiday shoppers in Downtown Crossing yesterday said they were shocked, if not surprised, by the crisis. GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / THOMAS JAMES HURST

## Local reaction

## Many say vote puts a damper on holidays

By Ellen O'Brien  
GLOBE STAFF

As Mr. Grinch learns in the classic holiday story, nothing can stop Christmas from coming.

So while the foundation of the country, the rights of the people, the importance of truth, and the issue of morality were debated in Washington yesterday, Boston shoppers went about their holiday business. They waited in lines at Macy's, listened to the strains of holiday harps at the Prudential shops, and took their children to see Santa Claus.

But many of them said they spent the day with a nagging feeling that this holiday memory would be colored by the national crisis.

"I thought the country would be a little more merciful," said Maggie Davenport, a Lawrence mother who traveled by train with two daughters and two nieces to see the Enchanted Village display at Boston's City Hall Plaza.

Just as Christmas seems to sneak up on shoppers who panic at the last minute each year, so the idea of impeachment seemed to edge its way back into the collective consciousness in recent weeks. Many holiday shoppers said they felt shock, if not surprise.

"A couple of weeks ago, it seemed impeachment would never happen," said Michael Meyers, who, more than halfway through Hanukkah, spent yesterday browsing at the Prudential shops. Meyers called the impeachment process "an embarrassment for the country."

But Meyers is a Democrat, as were most of the shoppers stopped at random yesterday. His friend, David St. Amand, a 28-year-old Republican, sounded much less disappointed.

"It's an unfortunate time of year to have it take place," he said. "It is a once-in-a-lifetime thing, though, to see it happen." If history was being made yesterday, so were Christmas tree ornaments and miniature ice skaters being prepared at the Pottery Workshop on Gloucester Street. But those who created ceramic gifts did talk impeachment while painting.

Russian-born Carla Wahnon said she was demoralized by the controversy, and concerned about how the rest of the world would view the United States.

"It is very sad that it has happened to the strongest country in the world," she said. "We have so many responsibilities — especially now," she said, referring to the crisis in Iraq.

Boston Mayor Thomas M. Menino, attending a housing dedication, said: "This

whole process is a disgrace. It's all about partisan politics. The president made a big mistake and we should take him to task but tying up the country is a total mistake."

Jedd Hall and his wife traveled from Gloucester to shop in Boston yesterday, but Hall was distracted by the importance of the rhetoric being heard in Washington. "Almost everyone I spoke with has been bewildered by the process," said Hall, a 31-year-old attorney.

Hall acknowledged that he had trouble reconciling that Clinton may have lied under oath, but, he said: "I just think the business of running the country is a lot more important."

The Rev. Gregory G. Groover Sr., who waited outside a Boylston Street shop for his family's annual Christmas cards to be printed, said he believes many people do not want to think about the distress in Washington during the holiday season.

"This is the time for hope," said Groover, a pastor at the Historic Charles Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in Roxbury. "It's a time of celebration, of God using his hope to bring families together."

Tatasha Robertson of the Globe staff contributed to this report.



## The Clinton impeachment

# Jury of 100 senators now gets the case against the president

SENATE  
Continued from Page A1

Can 100 of the most strong-headed politicians on the planet put politics aside?

Potential for prejudice is everywhere. For Democrats, this would be a vote to convict a president of their own party, a friend who has raised enormous amounts of money for numerous senators and helped many with their careers. For Republicans, this would be a vote to oust a man many consider an arch-enemy, who in many cases has worked hard for their defeat. Senate majority leader Trent Lott, for example, has already called Clinton's behavior "disgusting."

There are also conflicts with ramifications for the 2000 presidential campaign. Kerry, in effect, would be voting on whether or not to replace Clinton with Vice President Al Gore, thus boosting the stature of a man Kerry might soon oppose for the presidency. Kerry said this won't affect his vote.

Senator John McCain, an Arizona Republican, might wreck his possible presidential campaign no matter how he votes: for acquittal might anger conservatives who are important during the primary; for conviction might upset moderates of both parties needed in a general election.

The framers of the Constitution knew partisanship would be a problem and made it very hard to remove a president from office by requiring a two-thirds vote for conviction. Removal seems unlikely given the GOP's 55-45 control of the Senate — 67 votes would be needed to convict. But the possibility remains, especially if some key Democrats use their influence. White House officials worry about a worst-case scenario in which Democratic senators such as Robert Byrd of West Virginia, Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, and Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut might favor a conviction, which could start a chain-reaction in the party.

Byrd and Moynihan have remained mostly mum, which worries the White House, and Lieberman said in an interview that it would be foolish to presume how the vote will turn out.

Not one senator has declared how he or she will vote, Lieberman noted. But he has signaled that he may vote for acquittal even if he determines that Clinton committed perjury. The question is not whether the president committed a certain crime, Lieberman said, but whether he committed an impeachable offense. Crimes can be prosecuted in criminal court later, Lieberman noted.

Under rules spelled out in a 1986 manual, "Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the United States Senate," the Senate is supposed to be immediately informed that the House has impeached the president, as it was yesterday.

When the newly installed Senate convenes around Jan. 6, its members will be given the articles of impeachment. By 1 p.m. the following day, the Senate will take up the matter.

The Senate would notify Clinton that he is to stand trial, and he is given the option of appearing himself or sending a representative. The Senate would decide how much

time to give Clinton to prepare for the case. In 1868, President Johnson asked for 40 days to prepare for his impeachment trial and was given 10. Clinton or his lawyer would enter a plea — guilty or not guilty.

The trial would begin with all senators sitting in their chairs, forbidden under the rules from speaking during the trial. Senators could send written questions to Rehnquist, who would serve as judge and sit in the chair normally occupied by the acting president of the Senate. The tables usually occupied by clerks in the Senate chamber may be turned over to the prosecution and defense teams. If Clinton chooses to appear, he would sit in a dock.

The prosecution team, more formally known as "managers" of the impeachment trial, will be led by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde of Illinois and others approved by the House. Hyde is expected to let other House Judiciary Committee members, as well as his friend, GOP chief investigative counsel David Schippers, handle various parts of the case.

Besides Hyde, the other managers, named yesterday, were Representatives James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin, Bill McCollum of Florida, George Gekas of Pennsylvania, Charles Canady of Florida, Steve Buyer of Indiana, Ed Bryant of Tennessee, Steve Chabot of Ohio, Bob Barr of Georgia, Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas, Chris Cannon of Utah, James Rogan of California and Lindsey Graham of South Carolina.

The president's attorneys, David Kendall, Gregory Craig, and White House counsel Charles Ruff, would present Clinton's defense. Unlike in the House, which based much of its impeachment case on the report by independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, Senate rules make it more likely that the managers, who perform the role of a prosecutor, would obtain evidence independently.

Just as in a regular trial, witnesses would be deposed and may be called to testify on the Senate floor. They could be cross-examined, possibly giving the president's attorneys their first chance to question Lewinsky, her one-time friend Linda R. Tripp, and others.

The rules of the trial are a mix of criminal court procedures and Senate parliamentary maneuvers.

"This is a hybrid event," said Senator Judd Gregg, the New Hampshire Republican who in his role as chief deputy whip is helping to organize the trial. "You have got a trial, but the jurors are elected officials. I don't think people realize this is essentially a criminal trial, with all the structure and formality and protections that come with a criminal trial. There will be a prosecutor, a defense, and a defendant sitting in the dock."

The Johnson trial, the only presidential impeachment case that has reached the Senate, riveted the public's attention.

Johnson, a Democrat, was impeached after he fired Secretary of War Edwin W. Stanton, who opposed many of Johnson's policies. The basis for impeaching Johnson is viewed by historians as overly political; the Republicans did not like the relatively le-

nant way that Johnson was trying to rebuild the South after the Civil War. While the Republicans had enough senators to convict the president on a party-line vote, seven Republicans joined the Democrats in voting to acquit him.

In the Clinton case, the best hope for the White House is that at least six moderate Republican senators join with the 45 Democrats in a motion to dismiss the case. While such a move is very likely to be opposed by Trent Lott, the majority leader might go along if it becomes certain that Clinton will be acquitted.

"The most significant political and structural oddity of this is that it takes 67 votes to convict, an extremely high threshold, but only 51 votes to dismiss or terminate or suspend the trial," Gregg said. "Nobody knows what is going to happen. No one in his life has ever seen something like this."

## Next step: trial in the Senate

The new House of Representatives, which is sworn in on Jan. 6, must reappoint the 13 "managers" chosen to present the impeachment case to the Senate. The new House could decide not to make the reappointment, thus halting the march toward trial in the Senate.

• The Senate also could decide to consider **censure** instead of impeachment and at any point could vote by a simple majority to **shut down the trial**.

• If neither of these events occurs, the Senate will receive **impeachment papers** from the House sometime early in the new year and prepare to conduct a trial to determine whether the president should be removed from office.

• At 1 p.m. on the day following receipt of the papers, **the trial begins**, with Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist presiding. The 100 senators (55 Republicans and 45 Democrats) will act as jurors.

• Two-thirds of the senators must vote "guilty" to **convict the president**. House managers act as prosecutors; President Clinton will be represented by his lawyers.

• Senators may pose written questions through Rehnquist

but will **not debate openly**. They will vote on a choice of judgments: removal from office, or removal as well as a prohibition against the president ever holding any future office of "honor, trust or profit under the United States."

• If fewer than two-thirds vote to convict, the case is closed.

• If two-thirds convict, the president is immediately removed from office. Vice President Al Gore would become president.

## Counting heads in the Senate

67 votes needed to remove the president

51 votes needed to dismiss, terminate, or suspend the trial

REPUBLICANS 55

DEMOCRATS 45



Democratic House members applauded President Clinton during yesterday's gathering outside the Oval Office.

## Jones case

# House rejects count of perjury in civil case

By Michael Kramish  
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — The House's rejection yesterday of two of the four articles of impeachment might provide a glimmer of hope among Democrats that the case against President Clinton has been weakened and that a Senate trial could be shortened. But Republicans and some legal analysts doubted it would make much difference.

The House approved two articles of impeachment charging that Clinton committed perjury before the Whitewater grand jury and obstructed justice. As expected, the House rejected the abuse of power article that charged Clinton with supplying false answers to 81 questions submitted by

the House Judiciary Committee.

But the House, by a 229-205 vote, rejected the article that accused Clinton of perjury in his deposition for Paula Jones's civil suit alleging sexual harassment. Clinton's testimony in that case, after all, set in motion the chain of events leading to the president's impeachment.

Clinton, in testimony he later called "legally accurate," swore he did not have sexual relations with Monica S. Lewinsky. Clinton's lawyers argued later that Clinton did not commit perjury because oral sex was not included in the definition of sexual relations and because the testimony was not "material."

It was an argument that may have helped persuade about two dozen Republicans to vote against Article II.

But Alan Baron, a former Democratic counsel involved with the impeachment trials of two federal judges before the Senate in 1988 and 1989, said he did not think it would make much difference that the House rejected the civil perjury article.

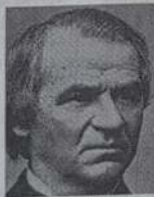
"It can come in through the back door in the Senate trial," Baron said.

Representative Martin T. Meehan, the Lowell Democrat, said failure to approve the article "weakens the case."

"It is absolutely bizarre to have the House on record saying the president perjured himself before the grand jury in explaining his civil deposition testimony, yet at the same time expressly rejecting an article of impeachment alleging civil deposition perjury," he said.

## Proceedings against presidents

Yesterday, members of Congress engaged in impassioned debate before voting to impeach President Clinton on two of the four articles recommended by the House Judiciary Committee. It was the first presidential impeachment since the House acted against Andrew Johnson 130 years ago.



Andrew Johnson



Richard M. Nixon



William J. Clinton

## What led to the executive inquiry

A Southern Democrat, Johnson was especially lenient with the former Confederacy, angering Republicans. When he tried to fire his secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, a Republican, the Senate claimed he was violating the Tenure of Office Act, which allowed the president to remove high federal officers only with Senate approval.

Revelations of White House involvement in the June 17, 1972, break-in at Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate building led to discovery of a presidential coverup. Legislators considered this a criminal act, meriting removal from office.

President Clinton, testifying in Paula Jones's sexual harassment suit on Jan. 17, 1998, denied an affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr investigated the Lewinsky matter, and on Aug. 17, Clinton testified before a federal grand jury.

## The House Judiciary Committee recommendations

On Feb. 22, 1868, the committee reported a resolution favoring impeachment. Johnson remained defiant, and most political observers predicted Congress would ultimately remove him from office. Stanton, meanwhile, refused Johnson's demand that he leave office.

On July 27-30, 1974, the committee recommended that Nixon be impeached of three charges: obstruction of justice, abuse of powers, and trying to impede the impeachment process by defying committee subpoenas. The committee rejected two other possible counts: Nixon's unauthorized, secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969 and his use of public funds to improve his private property.

On Dec. 11-12, 1998, the committee recommended that Clinton be impeached on four charges: perjury in grand jury testimony, perjury in the Paula Jones case, obstruction of justice, and abuse of power. The committee was divided along party lines, with Democrats favoring censure instead of impeachment.

## The House proceedings on articles of impeachment

On Feb. 24, 1868, the House voted 126-47 to impeach the president on a strict party-line basis. Specific articles of impeachment then were approved by the House March 2 and 3. The first eight counts were related to the president's removal of Stanton. Articles 4, 5, and 6 were unrelated to Stanton and broader in scope.

Shortly after the committee's action, Republican leaders in both the House and Senate informed Nixon that the evidence against him virtually ensured that he would be impeached, convicted, and removed from office. Before the full House was scheduled to vote, Nixon became the first chief executive to resign, on Aug. 9. On Aug. 20, 1974, by a 412-3 vote, the House accepted the panel's report and recommendations and noted the president's resignation.

Yesterday, the House voted 228-206 to pass Article 1 and 221-212 to pass Article 3, while rejecting Article 2 and 4. Clinton thus became the first chief executive since Johnson to be impeached. A Senate trial seemed all but certain, since the president immediately made clear he had no intention of resigning.

## What followed

The Senate trial began March 30, and the Senate took its first vote May 16 on Article 6. The vote was 35 "guilty" to 19 "not guilty," one vote shy of the two-thirds required to convict. The Senate cast identical votes on articles 2 and 3, at which point the Senate abandoned action on the other articles and adjourned, ending the trial. Johnson served the remainder of his term.

President Gerald Ford pardoned Nixon on Sept. 8, 1974. Nixon went into retirement at San Clemente, Calif. Ford's pardon helped the nation to move on, but his decision may have cost him the closely-fought 1976 election against Jimmy Carter.

The impeachment matter goes before the Senate, where Clinton could be tried and removed from office. Any Senate action will come next year. At least 67 votes are necessary for a conviction, and 51 votes to dismiss, terminate, or suspend the trial. The Senate could also work out a censure deal instead.



## The Clinton impeachment

# A tale of great promise, great loss

## ■ CLINTON

Continued from Page A37

deep cultural divides in the country. "It has brought a lot of important issues to the surface," said Joseph Cooper, a Johns Hopkins University political scientist. "He has brought us a lot of questions to which there aren't a lot of easy answers."

Bill Clinton has added a modern twist to our politics, an ironic turn to our outlook, a morality tale to our folklore, and, most of all, a second thought to the way we view American public life. He is, more than anything, the "and yet" president.

He speaks for the best in all of us, and yet he stands as a symbol of the flaws in all of us.

He has jettisoned longtime friends and allies at a moment's notice to serve his political needs, and yet he retains the enduring loyalty of people he has never met.

He sometimes seems arrogant, and yet he oftentimes appears vulnerable.

He talks from the podium like the boy from Hope, and yet he speaks from the witness chair as the operator from Oxford.

His opponents cannot abide having him at the center of political life, and yet he would leave an enormous vacuum if he were gone.

His supporters find him endlessly beguiling, and yet his detractors find him unbearably repugnant.

"I felt like he was going to be one of the bright lights," Ray Smith, a 28-year veteran of the Arkansas legislature who was its House speaker during Clinton's first year as governor, said in an interview this week. "But I never knew why he had such a capacity to irritate people so much."

Today, the nation and Bill Clinton confront those very paradoxes, the conflicts and complexities that make Clinton at once the most compelling figure of our time and the most contradictory figure of our age.

"You look at what makes him tick and it is clear that he loves this, this idea of serving," Carolyn Staley, who grew up next door to the Clintons in Hot Springs, Ark., and who remains a close friend of the president, said this week. "But he also has a competitive streak. It has served him well through all of this. He can go harder and with more fatigue than anyone else. He sees the two things as part of the same process. He cannot have one without the other."

A prominent figure in Arkansas politics who has known Clinton since 1968, when the leading members of the political elite recognized him as the shiniest, most promising youth of his time, bound for the big city and for big things, added: "He kind of enjoys these things. There's a bigger mountain always for him to climb. But he never reckoned on a mountain this high."

The president and Hillary Rodham Clinton pride themselves on their ability to "compartmentalize" life, to keep their concerns in "little boxes" that they can stow at will. But it might be closer to the truth to say instead that these little boxes are the building blocks of an extraordinary person, so powerful in personality that he has come to dominate his time, so fragile in reality that the removal of one of the little boxes might send the whole structure tumbling to the floor.

One of those boxes came from his mother, Virginia, who taught Clinton, as one of his old friends said the other day, "that every day is a new day and you shouldn't look back." One of those boxes came from his wife, who taught him the importance of battling back, even when the odds seem insurmountable.

"He's the best in these circumstances," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the Massachusetts Democrat. "He's competitive and combative when he's worked up."

But many of the boxes came from Clinton's own experience as a young man growing up in Arkansas, viewing politics as a ladder of social mobility as much as a blunt instrument of social change; as a youthful activist, determined to bend politics to his own will even when, as he found as an operative in Texas for George McGovern's failed 1972 presidential campaign, the public resists; as a boy-wonder governor who was, former Arkansas state Representative Shirley Meehan once said, far better at sales than at production; as a presidential candidate in 1992, when he discovered that a candidate who stresses personality inevitably has to answer for his own; and as a president whose every moment in the White House has been full of tension and tumult.

"This is a presidency of unusual upheaval," said Robert Ross, a retired political scientist at the University of Northern Iowa. "There's been a heavy loading of personalism in this presidency, and the thing about it is that the upheaval is relentless, going on and on and on, and there is a raw, animalistic edge to it."

He has always been drawn to the tumult, and that, along with his marital unfaithfulness and his elastic view of the truth, is part of the Clinton character.

As a student government leader at all-white Hot Springs High School, he joined the superintendent of schools in a risky campaign for a bond issue to build a new high school for both races. He plunged into Sena-



**Jan. 1997** A triumphant President Clinton, Mrs. Clinton and daughter Chelsea wave as they walk down Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue Jan. 20, 1997 to start the presidential inaugural parade.



**Jan. 1998** In a forceful denial, Clinton says that he "did not have sexual relations with that woman," former White House intern Monica Lewinsky, and never told anyone to lie about it.



**Dec. 1998** President Clinton leaves the podium after delivering a statement on the impeachment inquiry apologizing for his conduct in the Monica Lewinsky affair, saying he would accept a congressional censure or rebuke.

tor J. William Fulbright's 1968 re-election campaign, attracting the attention of political leaders in the state, prompting many of them to think: *This is a kid, so idealistic, so sophisticated, who will do great things.* As governor, he took on the teachers' union. As president, he mounted an assault on the health-care establishment.

And yet he also shies from conflict. In Arkansas, politicians noticed that he wouldn't rest until he had won over everyone in the room, often taking more care to court his opponents than to reassure his allies. "He is a true politician," said state Representative John Dawson of Camden in south Arkansas, who dealt with Clinton as governor. "In most instances he can find an audience and tell them what they want to hear."

After the health-care plan died a miserable death in 1994, Clinton retreated. He had bitten off too much, and from then on his proposals were bite-sized, sometimes merely suggestions ("Let's think about youth curfew"), sometimes ideas snatched straight from his opponents' platforms (the emphasis on deficit reduction, which had not been a prominent part of his 1992 campaign but was a matter of orthodoxy to some elements of the Republican Party).

From his youth, he was a magnet for attention — and speculation.

His friends remember their parents saying he might be president some day. Everyone in the Clinton circle at the time was stunned when he turned down an offer to be a staff attorney for the Watergate impeachment committee; the man who would eventually be impeached himself wanted to go back to Arkansas and prepare for a House race against Representative John Paul Hammerschmidt. Another Yale Law graduate, Hillary Rodham, took the job instead. Clinton wore out three pairs of shoes in the House race, and lost.

In 1977, an Arkansas columnist would call Attorney General Bill Clinton "the most formidable state-level politician in Arkansas." He ignored the advice of one of the savvy mastodons of Arkansas politics, Senator John L. McClellan, who told Clinton the governorship was the road to nowhere, and he transformed the job into the road to the White House. Some of his predecessors, Winthrop Rockefeller, Dale Bumpers and David Pryor, had been prominent figures who won notice beyond Little Rock — Governor Rockefeller once even appeared on the cover of *Time* — but none of them held the attention of Little Rock or won attention beyond it the way Clinton did.

He almost ran for president in 1988 and then pulled back. In 1991, he looked at the race and grappled with how to deal with his pledge to serve out his full term.

"Ethically, you can't simply plead changed circumstances," he said in an interview in 1991. "Changing circumstances are why people are asked to make commitments in the first place. But most contracts have an escape clause, and I'm arguing that there's a limit as to how much any governor can do, and that if I were to win, or even to change the debate, the people of Arkansas would profit."

Then, on an airplane between Little Rock and Washington for the breakfast with reporters in which he and Mrs. Clinton would say they had worked out the problems in their marriage, he added tellingly:

"One of the biggest problems we have in this country is that no one ever believes politicians."

More than any other politician on the American scene he has been picked apart, evaluated, analyzed, and always the focus returns to his character. He may express surprise, even resentment, at how intrusive the inquiries are, but in truth, Bill Clinton has spent as much time as his opponents thinking about his own character, exploring its contours, testing its suppleness, probing for its weakness.

"I believe that people ultimately have to live with the consequences of their lives and work through them and go on," he said in an extraordinarily revealing conversation in San Antonio only weeks before he won the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992. "Questions of private character also have private consequences that either make your life or break it. I've tried to learn from it and grow as a result of it."

A man whose critics oftentimes accuse him of self-deception has an unusually deep knowledge of himself. Listen to Clinton on Clinton, reflections in a hotel suite eight years ago:

"I never thought I was as good as [my supporters] did — goodness is a function of what you feel and think as well as what you do — and I know darn well I wasn't as bad as I was being portrayed. I always thought I did a lot of good things and some bad things. ... To me, life is a journey and character is a quest. It's an unfolding thing."

Bill Clinton's journey isn't over, his quest for character continues. But as it does, America's quest to understand Clinton and to evaluate his character has come to dominate this nation's politics.