Rep. SCHUMER. Correct, right.

Mr. SULLIVAN [continuing]. And agreed with him. He—the quote is, ''He would say, 'Right,' and I could have said, 'Wrong,''' Now that is not a case for obstruction of justice. It is very common for lawyers, before the witness gets on the stand, to say, ''Now you're going to say this, you're going to say this, you're going to say this.''

Rep. SCHUMER. Right.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Now it doesn't make a difference if you've got two participants to an event and you try to nail it down, so to say.

Rep. SCHUMER. Do all of you agree with that, with the Currie—the Currie——

Mr. WELD. Yeah.

Rep. SCHUMER. And on the other two, the Lewinsky parts of this, is there——

Mr. DAVIS. I think to some——

Rep. SCHUMER. I mean, I don't even understand how they could—how Starr could think that he would have a case, not with the president of the United States, but with anybody here, when it seems so natural and so obvious that there would be an overriding desire not to have this public and to have everybody—have the two of them coordinate their stories—that is, the president and Miss Lewinsky—if there were not the faintest scintilla of any legal proceeding coming about. It just strikes me as an overwhelming stretch. Am I wrong to characterize it that way? You gentlemen all have greater experience than I do.

Mr. DAVIS. I think you're right. And also, the problem a prosecutor would face would be that in these cases, there is relationship between these people unrelated to the existence of the Paula Jones case—the relationship. And that's the motivation——

Rep. SCHUMER. Correct.

And Mr. Weld, do you disagree with—do you agree with that?

Rep. SENSENBRENNER. The gentleman's time—the gentleman's time——

Rep. SCHUMER. Could I just ask Mr. Weld for a yes or no——

Rep. SENSENBRENNER. I'm sorry, Mr. Schumer. Mr. Schumer——

Rep. SCHUMER [continuing]. For a yes or no answer to that?

Can you answer that yes or no, Governor?

Mr. WELD. I think it's a little thin, Mr. Congressman.

Rep. SCHUMER. Thank you.

Mr. NOBLE. Again, it's a specific-intent crime, and the question is, what was the President thinking when he said this? We can look at his words and try and analyze his words. But Ms. Currie says that she didn't believe he was trying to influence her and that if she'd said something different from him, if she believed something different from him, she would have felt free to say it. So for that reason, I believe, you just don't have the specific intent necessary to prove obstruction of justice with regard to the comment that you just asked me.

Manager HUTCHINSON is keeping very good company. He, like the other prosecutors, does not believe the record before you establishes obstruction of justice. We agree.

Before I close, I do want to take a moment to address a theme that the House managers sounded throughout their presentation last week—civil rights. They suggested that by not removing the President from office, the entire house of civil rights might well fall. While acknowledging that the President is a good advocate for civil rights, they suggested that they had grave concerns because of the President's conduct in the Paula Jones case.

Some managers suggested that we all should be concerned should the Senate fail to convict the President, because it would send a message that our civil rights laws and our sexual harassment laws are unimportant.

I can't let their comments go unchallenged. I speak as but one woman, but I know I speak for others as well. I know I speak for the President.

Bill Clinton's grandfather owned a store. His store catered primarily to African Americans. Apparently, his grandfather was one of only four white people in town who would do business with African Americans. He taught his grandson that the African Americans who came into his store were good people and they worked hard and they deserved a better deal in life.

The President has taken his grandfather's teachings to heart, and he has worked every day to give all of us a better deal, an equal deal.

I am not worried about the future of civil rights. I am not worried because Ms. Jones had her day in court and Judge Wright determined that all of the matters we are discussing here today were not material to her case and ultimately decided that Ms. Jones, based on the facts and the law in that case, did not have a case against the President.

I am not worried, because we have had imperfect leaders in the past and will have imperfect leaders in the future, but their imperfections did not roll back, nor did they stop, the march for civil rights and equal opportunity for all of our citizens.

Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr.—we revere these men. We should. But they were not perfect men. They made human errors, but they struggled to do humanity good. I am not worried about civil rights because this President's record on civil rights, on women's rights, on all of our rights is unimpeachable.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Senate, you have an enormous decision to make. And in truth, there is little more I can do to lighten that burden. But I can do this: I can assure you that your decision to follow the facts and the law and the Constitution and acquit this President will not shake the foundation of the house of civil rights. The house of civil rights is strong because its foundation is strong.

And with all due respect, the foundation of the house of civil rights was never at the core of the Jones case. It was never at the heart of the Jones case. The foundation of the house of civil rights is in the voices of all the great civil rights leaders and the soul of every person who heard them. It is in the hands of every person who folded a leaflet for change. And it is in the courage of every person who changed. It is here in the Senate where men and women of courage and conviction stood for progress, where Senators—some of them still in this chamber; some of them who lost their careers—looked to the Constitution, listened to their conscience, and then did the right thing.

The foundation of the house of civil rights is in all of us who gathered up our will to raise it up and keep on building. I stand here before you today because others before me decided to take a stand, or as one of my law professors so eloquently says, ''because someone claimed my opportunities for me, by fighting for my right to have the education I have, by fighting for my right to seek the employment I choose, by fighting for my right to be a lawyer,'' by sitting in and carrying signs and walking on long marches, riding freedom rides and putting their bodies on the line for civil rights.

I stand here before you today because America decided that the way things were was not how they were going to be. We, the people, decided that we all deserved a better deal. I stand here before you today because President Bill Clinton believed I could stand here for him.

Your decision whether to remove President Clinton from office, based on the articles of impeachment, I know, will be based on the law and the facts and the Constitution. It would be wrong to convict him on this record. You should acquit him on this record. And you must not let imagined harms to the house of civil rights persuade you otherwise. The President did not obstruct justice. The President did not commit perjury. The President must not be removed from office.

The CHIEF JUSTICE. The Chair recognizes the majority leader.

LEADER LECTURE SERIES

Mr. LOTT. Once again, I invite all Senators to attend the leader lecture series this evening at 6 p.m. in the Old Senate Chamber. I have already announced former President George Bush will be the speaker.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 1 P.M. TOMORROW

Mr. LOTT. Mr. Chief Justice, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now stand in adjournment under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 5:14 p.m., sitting as a Court of Impeachment, adjourned until Thursday, January 21, 1999, at 1 p.m.