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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 31, 2006, at noon.

Senate

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 2006

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable ROBERT F. BENNETT, a Senator from the State of Utah.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Eternal God, to whom a thousand years are but a moment, by Your mercy we have received the gift of another day. Help us to maximize today's possibilities with humble and grateful hearts. Forgive our past faults and failures and empower us to press forward with faith toward a productive tomorrow.

Bless our lawmakers and the members of their staffs. May the words of their lips and the meditations of their hearts bring glory to You. Let not life's weariness or this world's confusion rob them of their trust in You.

Take control of our lives. Make us large of spirit, generous, and merciful. Use us to lift the fallen and remind us to bless even those who curse us. Show us the straight path and a clear way over the difficulties of today and tomorrow.

We pray in Your sovereign Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable ROBERT F. BENNETT led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. STEVENS).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, January 30, 2006.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable ROBERT F. BENNETT, a Senator from the State of Utah, to perform the duties of the Chair.

TED STEVENS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. BENNETT thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADERSHIP TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate is available for morning business.

The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, last Thursday I submitted a statement expressing my concerns with the nomination of Judge Samuel Alito to the United States Supreme Court.

I am here today to reiterate these concerns as we move toward a final vote on this nomination.

There is no higher legal body in the United States than the Supreme Court. It is the final authority on the meaning of laws and the Constitution.

A Supreme Court Justice could serve for the life of the nominee, so the consequences of confirming a Supreme Court Justice can span decades.

The confirmation of a Supreme Court Justice is one of the most important votes a Senator will take.

With that in mind, after careful consideration, I have concluded I cannot support Judge Alito's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.

My first step in evaluating a nominee is to consider whether he or she is appropriately qualified and capable of handling the responsibilities of a Justice.

Looking over Judge Alito's qualifications, it is clear this minimum standard has been met. However, there are additional factors in considering a judicial nominee.

One such factor is the judicial philosophy of the nominee. Many of my colleagues argue this should have no part in the Senate's deliberations.

However, if judicial philosophy helps determine who the President chooses, the Senate should also be allowed to consider this factor when deciding whether to approve or disapprove the nominee.

This information is critical to retain the balance of power that the Framers of our Constitution envisioned.

In addition to the individual's judicial philosophy, we must also consider the cumulative effect that approving a nominee will have on the Supreme Court.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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S259

In the recent past, Republican Presidents have made 15 of the last 17 nominations to the Supreme Court.

The Republican stamp on the current Court is undeniable, and clearly the prospects of the Court becoming more moderate in the near future are unlikely.

Upon this backdrop, I have evaluated the decisions and writings of Judge Alito, closely watched the nomination hearing in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and listened to the statements of many colleagues on his nomination.

I have come away from this review with a number of concerns.

First, Judge Alito did not provide complete answers on many important topics the way now Chief Justice Roberts did during his nomination hearing. These included many critical issues such as: Is *Roe* settled law? What are the limits of the executive branch's power?

Second, Judge Alito failed to distance himself from the radical views he expressed in his earlier writings on the supremacy of executive power.

Third, Judge Alito's record includes troubling decisions on vital issues such as search and seizure, reproductive rights, the power of Congress, civil rights, and affirmative action.

Because of these facts, I have concluded that the addition of Judge Alito to the Supreme Court would unacceptably shift the balance of the Court on many critical questions facing our country, such as:

Are there limits on the power of the presidency?

Can the Congress regulate the activities of the states?

How expansive is the right to privacy?

What deference should be given to legislative acts of the Congress?

How the Court addresses these questions goes to the heart of what we stand for as a country, which is why this nomination is so important.

While many of my colleagues will disagree with my assessment of Judge Alito, this will be a lifetime appointment and a lifetime is too long to be wrong.

I yield the floor.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF SAMUEL A. ALITO, JR., TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session and resume consideration of Calendar No. 490, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Samuel A. Alito, Jr., of New Jersey, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the time from 10 to 11 shall be under the control of the Democratic side.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, today at 4:30, Members of this body will be casting an extremely important vote, the implications of which are going to be felt not only in the next several months but for a great number of years, not only for this generation but for the next generation and the following. It is on a nomination for the Supreme Court of the United States and whether we are going to move ahead and have a final vote tomorrow.

There is nothing more important than the votes we cast on nominations to the Supreme Court, except sending young Americans to war. The implications of this vote are far reaching. As one who has followed the courts of this country as they moved us to a fairer and more just nation, this nomination has enormous consequences and importance. I doubt if we will cast another such vote, unless it would be for a Supreme Court nominee, any time in the near future.

I remember the beginning of the great march towards progress this Nation made with the Fifth Circuit in the 1950s, the great heroes, Judge Wisdom, Judge Tuttle, Judge Johnson, and many others who awakened the Nation to its greatness in terms of having America be America by knocking down walls of discrimination and prejudice. Our Founding Fathers didn't get it right on that as we know. They effectively wrote slavery into the Constitution. We fought a Civil War that didn't resolve it or solve it. Though, obviously, with President Lincoln and other extraordinary leaders, we began to move the process forward to knock down the walls of discrimination.

It was really as a result of the extraordinary leadership of Dr. King, his allies and associates in the late 1950s, that America began to think about what this country was all about, recognizing the stains of discrimination. We had the beginning of the movement to knock down the walls of discrimination in the Public Accommodation Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Civil Rights Act of 1967, housing in 1968, title XIV in 1973. In 1965, we knocked down the walls of discrimination in our immigration laws, the national origin quota system. The Asian-Pacific triangle discriminated against Asians. The national origin quota system discriminated against groups of countries.

We have made enormous progress, not that laws themselves are going to solve these problems. We had laws that were passed, supported by Democrats and Republicans during this time, and we became a fairer and more just nation. Still there are important areas we have to move toward to complete the march. The stains of discrimination are still out there, not nearly as obvi-

ous as they were in the earlier part of the last century, but they are still out there. They are evident. All of us at one time or another still see them. It is not limited to a region of the Nation. It exists in my part of the country as well.

The question is, Are we moving forward to knock down the walls of discrimination? That has always been a pretty basic test for me in terms of reaching a judgment on the Supreme Court.

I remember the case of *Tennessee v. Lane* that was decided not long ago. It involved a woman in a wheelchair, a single mom with two children, trained as a court reporter. The State was Tennessee. About 60 percent of all the courtrooms in Tennessee for some reason are on the second floor. The question involved the Americans with Disabilities Act. I welcomed the opportunity to work closely with my colleague from Iowa, Senator HARKIN, on that program. By the time we came to the floor, we had bipartisan support for that legislation. President Bush 1 indicated it was the piece of legislation of which he was most proud. It wasn't always easy in terms of dealing with the disabled.

I can remember when we had 4 million children who were kept in closets rather than being able to go to school. We had bipartisanship on the IDEA, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, and we made enormous progress during that time.

Then we had *Tennessee v. Lane*. The question was whether that courthouse was going to make reasonable accommodations to let that single mother, who was trained as a court reporter, avoid being carried up a flight of stairs, avoid being carried into the ladies room, avoid other humiliating circumstances because of her disability, was that courthouse going to have to make those reasonable accommodations.

Four Justices on the Supreme Court said no, no, we don't have to make those accommodations. But five said yes. Sandra Day O'Connor said yes on that and they made those accommodations. That mother was able to gain entrance into the courthouse and has had a successful career. She appeared before our committee with tears in her eyes. If that decision had gone 5 to 4 the other way, all 50 States would have had to have passed disability rights acts—not the Americans With Disabilities Act, but a Massachusetts disabilities act, or Connecticut, or Rhode Island. But we had the Americans With Disabilities Act, so 42 million fellow citizens with physical and mental disabilities are now part of the American family today. Just as we have knocked down the walls of discrimination on race, religion, ethnicity, and gender, we have done so with disability. We have also made some progress in terms of gay and lesbian issues as well.

We have made this march toward progress. The question is whether we