

**Statement Of Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.),  
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee,  
On Judicial Nominations  
December 10, 2010**

I have been urging Republicans and Democrats in the Senate to come together and take action to begin to end the vacancy crisis that is threatening the administration of justice by our Federal courts. I asked only that Senators follow the Golden Rule. Regrettably that has not happened. Now 38 judicial nominees whose qualifications are well established are being delayed. They should be confirmed before we adjourn.

Adherence to the Golden Rule, a simple step, would help us return to our Senate traditions, and allow the Senate to better fulfill its responsibilities to the American people and the Federal judiciary.

I was encouraged last week when Senator Sessions, the Judiciary Committee's Ranking Republican, provided assurance that the many judicial nominees who have been stalled for months and months without Senate action will be confirmed before we adjourn. He is in a position to know. As the Republican leader on the Committee, he works directly with the Republican leadership that continues to hold up virtually all judicial nominees, just as it has for months and months. At our Judiciary Committee business meeting on December 1, Senator Sessions said: "The truth is except for a few nominees, the overwhelming majority have moved with bipartisan unanimous support and will be confirmed on the floor." He went on to predict that a number "will clear before the session is over." I hope this assurance is true. I look forward to working with Senator Sessions to ensure that the Senate acts before adjourning.

He is right: The overwhelming majority of the judicial nominees awaiting final action have strong bipartisan support. This makes the Republican obstruction of their confirmation all the more mystifying. Twenty-nine of the judicial nominees whose confirmations are being stonewalled were not opposed by any Senator, Republican or Democrat, during Judiciary Committee consideration. Two others had only one or two votes in opposition. Committee Republicans voted in lockstep to oppose only four of the 38 pending nominations. I believe that if debated by the Senate, those nominations, too, would be confirmed.

Had we adhered to the Golden Rule, the judicial nominees who have been delayed for weeks and months would already be confirmed. That had been our practice and tradition. Democratic Senators did not stall the nominees of President Bush in this way. Senate Republicans should end their across the board blockade of noncontroversial judicial nominees. With 111 vacancies – a historically high number – plaguing our Federal courts today, the American people cannot afford this gamesmanship.

Despite these skyrocketing vacancies, the Senate has not been permitted by Republicans to consider a single judicial nomination since September 13, when we confirmed Jane Stranch of Tennessee to the Sixth Circuit. Only after 10 months of delay was the Senate permitted to act. The Stranch nomination was the only nomination we were permitted to consider that entire work period. In fact, the Republican blockade of judicial nominations has been so complete that the

Senate has been permitted to confirm only five Federal circuit and district court nominations since the July 4<sup>th</sup> recess. While one in eight Federal judgeships remains vacant, Senate Republicans consented to confirm only a single judicial nomination in July. They consented to consider only four judicial nominations before the August recess, despite 21 nominations then on the calendar. We have considered only the Stranch nomination since returning from that recess. I do not recall a time when one party so thoroughly prevented the Senate from acting on consensus nominees with bipartisan support.

I have been trying to end this obstruction, yet it continues. Democratic Senators have sought agreement on the Floor to debate and consider nominations, but the Republican leadership has objected time and time again. The Democratic cloakroom has sought consent from the Republican cloakroom to move nominations, but there has been no consent.

The Judiciary Committee has favorably reported 80 of President Obama's Federal circuit and district court nominees. Due to Republican obstruction we have been able to consider only 41 of these. That is barely half. This is in sharp contrast to the first two years of President Bush's first term when I was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and the Senate confirmed all 100 of the judicial nominations reported by the Judiciary Committee to the Senate. In 2002, we proceeded in the lame duck session after the election to confirm 20 of President Bush's judicial nominees. This year by contrast none have been considered since the November elections.

I have also urged for many months that the Senate debate and a vote on those few nominees that some Republican Senators decided to oppose in Committee. These nominees include Benita Pearson of Ohio, William Martinez of Colorado, Louis Butler of Wisconsin, Edward Chen of California, John McConnell of Rhode Island, and Goodwin Liu of California. I have reviewed their records and considered their character, background and qualifications. I have heard the criticisms of the Republican Senators on the Judiciary Committee as they have voted against this handful of nominees. I disagree, and believe the Senate would vote, as I have, to confirm them. Each of these nominees have been reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee, several of them two or three times, and each deserves an up or down vote. That they will not be conservative activist judges should not disqualify them from serving.

But that is not what is happening. We are not debating the merits of those nominations, as Democratic Senators did when we opposed the most extreme handful of nominees of President Bush. What is new and particularly damaging about this Republican strategy of obstruction is that dozens of nominees reported unanimously by the Senate Judiciary Committee, without Republican opposition, are still being delayed.

The Senate has received letters from Chief Judges of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States District Courts in California, Colorado, Illinois and the District of Columbia. They have all pleaded with us to end the blockade and confirm judges nominated to fill vacancies in their courts.

The vacancies on the Federal courts around the country have doubled over the last two years and now are at the historically high level of 111. Fifty-one of these vacancies have been deemed judicial emergency vacancies by the nonpartisan Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. Due

to the Republicans' obstruction, we have not been able to keep up with attrition over the last two years.

No one can accuse this President of selecting nominees to meet an ideological agenda. Senator Sessions has acknowledged that a vast majority of these nominees are consensus nominees. These are well-qualified nominees with the support of their home state Senators, both Republicans and Democrats. The Judiciary Committee has not proceeded with a single nominee who was not supported by both home state Senators, and I have worked with all Republican Senators to ensure that they were included in the process. Democrats have worked to restore comity to the process.

Regrettably, despite these efforts and the outstanding nominees before us, the Senate is not promptly considering judicial nominations. To the contrary, as the President has pointed out, nominees are being stalled who, if allowed to be considered, would receive unanimous or near unanimous support, be confirmed, and be serving in the administration of justice throughout the country.

The North Carolina Bar Association recently urged the Senate to consider one of the nominees who was reported by the Judiciary Committee in a unanimous roll call vote - 19 to zero. Republicans have objected to his consideration since January 28. For more than 10 months, Judge Albert Diaz, a respected and experienced jurist who served in the Armed Forces, has been prevented from serving the people of North Carolina and the Fourth Circuit. He is nominated to fill a judicial emergency vacancy on the Fourth Circuit. He has the support of both his home state Senators, one a Democrat and one a Republican. Senator Burr asked nearly a year ago that the Judiciary Committee "look for an expedited review and referral to the full Senate so that that deficiency on the fourth circuit can be filled." The Senators who serve on the Judiciary Committee from South Carolina and Maryland, states also within the Fourth Circuit, also support him. The American Bar Association rated him well qualified. The North Carolina Bar Association describes him as "very qualified and highly regarded." When will the blockade be lifted so that the Senate can confirm Judge Albert Diaz of North Carolina?

Judge Diaz and six other consensus nominees to the circuit courts are stalled on the Senate Executive Calendar. Judge Ray Lohier of New York would fill one of the four current vacancies on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. He is another former prosecutor with support from both sides of the aisle. His confirmation has been stalled for no good reason for more than six months. Scott Matheson is a nominee from Utah supported by Senator Hatch; he was reported without opposition. Mary Murguia, a nominee from Arizona supported by Senator Kyl, was reported without opposition. Judge Kathleen O'Malley of Ohio is nominated to the Federal Circuit and was reported without opposition. Susan Carney of Connecticut was reported with the bipartisan support of 17 of the 19 Senators on the Judiciary Committee to serve on the Second Circuit. Justice James Graves of Mississippi was reported unanimously to serve on the Fifth Circuit. These are not nominees whose judicial philosophy Republicans even question.

The President noted in his September letter to Senate leaders that the "real harm of this political game-playing falls on the American people, who turn to the courts for justice" and that the

unnecessary delay in considering these noncontroversial nominations “is undermining the ability of our courts to deliver justice to those in need . . . from working mothers seeking timely compensation for their employment discrimination claims to communities hoping for swift punishment for perpetrators of crimes to small business owners seeking protection from unfair and anticompetitive practices.”

If the Senate were allowed to consider the 38 judicial nominees that are currently on the Senate’s Executive calendar, their confirmations would raise the total from the historically low level of 41, where it currently stands, to almost 80. That would be in the range of judicial confirmations during President George H.W. Bush’s first two years (70), while resting below President Reagan’s first two years (87), and pale in comparison to the 100 confirmed in the first two years of the George W. Bush administration or those confirmed during President Clinton’s first two years (127).

In the 17 months I chaired the Judiciary Committee during President Bush’s first two years in office, I scheduled 26 hearings for the judicial nominees of a Republican President and the Judiciary Committee worked diligently to consider them. During the two years of the Obama administration, I have tried to maintain that same approach. The Committee held 25 hearings for President Obama’s Federal circuit and district court nominees this Congress. I have not altered my approach and neither have Senate Democrats. What has changed is that Senate Republicans, who used to contend that every judicial nominee reported by the Judiciary Committee is entitled to a vote, have reversed themselves and reverted to the practices they followed in obstructing President Clinton’s judicial nominees. The bottom line is that the Senate has been allowed to consider and confirm just 41 Federal circuit and district court nominees. That is less than half of the 100 such nominees we proceeded to confirm during President Bush’s first two years.

When I became Chairman of the Judiciary Committee midway through President Bush’s first tumultuous year in office, I worked very hard to make sure Senate Democrats did not perpetuate the “judge wars” as tit-for-tat. By refusing to proceed on President Clinton’s nominations while judicial vacancies skyrocketed during the six years they controlled the pace of nominations, Senate Republicans allowed judicial vacancies to rise to 110 by the end of the Clinton administration. As a result of their strategy, Federal circuit court vacancies doubled. When Democrats regained the Senate majority halfway into President Bush’s first year in office, we turned away from these bad practices. As a result, overall judicial vacancies were reduced during the Bush years from more than 10 percent to less than four percent. During the Bush years, the Federal court vacancies were reduced from 110 to 34 and Federal circuit court vacancies were reduced from a high of 32 down to single digits.

This progress has not continued with a Democratic President back in office. Instead, Senate Republicans have returned to the strategy they used during the Clinton administration of blocking the nominations of a Democratic President, again leading to skyrocketing vacancies. Last year the Senate confirmed only 12 Federal circuit and district court judges, the lowest total in 50 years. This year we have yet to confirm 30 Federal circuit and district judges. We are not even keeping up with retirements and attrition. As a result, judicial vacancies are now at 111, again more than 10 percent.

Regrettably, the Senate is not being allowed to consider the consensus, mainstream judicial nominees favorably reported from the Judiciary Committee. It has taken nearly five times as long to consider President Obama's judicial nominations as it did to consider President Bush's during his first two years in office. During the first two years of the Bush administration, the 100 judges confirmed were considered by the Senate an average of 25 days from being reported by the Judiciary Committee. The average time for confirmed circuit court nominees was 26 days. By contrast, if the Senate were allowed to consider the 34 judicial nominees being stalled by Republican objection and they were all confirmed this week, the average time Federal circuit and district and circuit court judges have been forced to wait after being considered and favorably recommended by the Judiciary Committee since President Obama took office would be five times that of those confirmed during the first two years of the Bush administration.

Time is running out in this Congress for Republicans to turn away from the disastrous strategy of blocking nominations across the board. The Senate's longstanding traditions demand that we reject this practice of obstruction. The Federal courts are suffering from rising vacancies and crushing caseloads. The victims are the American people who depend on the courts for justice.

#####