

the filibuster. The norms of the Senate mitigate against firing that weapon as part of an explicit party strategy. Nonetheless, groups of Senators have engaged in extended floor debate to try to defeat judicial nominations. More than a dozen cloture motions were filed to end filibusters on judicial nominations between 1980 and 2000. But only one judicial nominee was successfully blocked by a filibuster. In 1968 Republicans and Southern Democrats used a filibuster to defeat President Lyndon Johnson's effort to elevate Justice Abe Fortas to chief justice.

So the Senate Democrats' resort to a filibuster on the Estrada nomination is not unprecedented but it is highly unusual and extreme by Senate conventions. It is the latest escalation in what has been an intensifying "War of the Roses" between the parties in Washington. Earlier episodes included divisive battles over the Supreme Court nominations of Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas; the winter 1995-96 budget fights that led to government shutdowns; and the long-running independent counsel investigations of Clinton, leading to his impeachment by the Republican House.

That war is partly a consequence of razor-thin majorities in the Congress, the increasing ideological polarization between the parties, and the extension of the permanent campaign to the Congress. It has intensified as a result of the circumstances and leadership style of George W. Bush's presidency.

Bush was elected in 2000 in the closest and arguably most controversial presidential election in U.S. history. He lost the popular vote but won a bare majority of the electoral vote but won a bare majority of the electoral vote thanks to flawed ballot designs in two Florida counties and to an audacious 5-4 Supreme Court decision to halt a statewide recount.

Yet he has governed with great ambition and confidence, asserting presidential prerogatives and advancing a bold conservative agenda through policy proposals and nominations. He has played hardball with Democrats, in D.C. and on the 2002 campaign trail, while providing regular sustenance to his conservative base. After the 2000 election and then again after Sept. 11, 2001, Democrats expected something akin to a government of national unity. Instead, they encountered a president who seemed determined to wage institutional, ideological and partisan war. They have decided to reciprocate. The atmosphere is poisonous. Miguel Estrada is now a part of that war.

The only way to break this cycle of escalation is for Bush to take pre-emptive action by submitting a more balanced ticket of judicial nominees and engaging in genuine negotiation and compromise with both parties in Congress. That seems most unlikely.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will return to legislative session.

CONDEMNING THE SELECTION OF LIBYA TO CHAIR THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. FRIST. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Con. Res. 13, which is at the desk. This is a resolution introduced by Senators LAUTENBERG and SMITH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 13) condemning the selection of Libya to chair the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. FRIST. I ask unanimous consent that the Lautenberg amendment at the desk be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid on the table; further, that the concurrent resolution, as amended, be agreed to and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table; that the preamble be agreed to, and the motion to reconsider be laid on the table, with no intervening action or debate.

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

The amendment (No. 257) was agreed to, as follows:

On page 8, strike line 21 and insert: "(10) objects"

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 13), as amended, was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. CON. RES. 13

Whereas on January 20, 2003, Libya, a gross violator of human rights and State sponsor of terrorism, was elected to chair the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (the "Commission"), a body charged with the responsibility of promoting universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all;

Whereas according to the rotation system that governs the selection of the Executive Board of the Commission, 2003 was designated as the year for the Africa Group to chair the Commission, and the Africa Group selected Libya as its candidate;

Whereas South Africa's Democratic Alliance spokeswoman, Dene Smuts, was quoted by the British Broadcasting Corporation as saying that the Government of South Africa's decision to support the election of Libya was an insult to human rights and that African countries "should have supported a candidate of whom all Africans could be proud";

Whereas Amnesty International has repeatedly documented that the human rights situation in Libya continues to seriously deteriorate, with systematic occurrences of gross human rights violations, including the extrajudicial execution of government opponents and the routine torture, and occasional resulting death, of political detainees during interrogation;

Whereas Human Rights Watch recently declared that "[o]ver the past three decades, Libya's human rights record has been appalling" and that "Libya has been a closed country for United Nations and nongovernmental human rights investigators";

Whereas Human Rights Watch further asserted that "Libya's election poses a real test for the Commission," observing that "[r]epressive governments must not be allowed to hijack the United Nations human rights system";

Whereas the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights urged that "the Government of Libya should not be entrusted by the United Nations to lead its international effort to promote human rights around the world";

Whereas Freedom House declared that "[a] country [such as Libya] with such a gross record of human rights abuses should not direct the proceedings of the United Nation's

main human rights monitoring body" because it would "undermine the United Nation's moral authority and send a strong and clear message to fellow rights violators that they are in the clear";

Whereas on November 13, 2001, a German court convicted a Libyan national for the 1986 bombing of the La Belle disco club in Berlin which killed two United States servicemen, and the court further declared that there was clear evidence of responsibility of the Government of Libya for the bombing;

Whereas Libya was responsible for the December 21, 1988, explosion of Pan American World Airways Flight 103 ("Pan Am Flight 103") en route from London to New York City that crashed in Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 259 passengers and crew and 11 other people on the ground;

Whereas a French court convicted 6 Libyan government officials in absentia for the bombing of UTA Flight 772 over Niger in 1989;

Whereas, in response to Libya's complicity in international terrorism, United Nations Security Council Resolution 748 of March 31, 1992, imposed an arms and air embargo on Libya and established a United Nations Security Council sanctions committee to address measures against Libya;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 883 of November 11, 1993, tightened sanctions on Libya, including the freezing of Libyan funds and financial resources in other countries, and banned the provision to Libya of equipment for oil refining and transportation;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 1192 of August 27, 1998, reaffirmed that the measures set forth in previous resolutions remain in effect and binding on all Member States, and further expressed the intention of the United Nations to consider additional measures if the individuals charged in connection with the bombings of Pan Am Flight 103 and UTA Flight 772 had not promptly arrived or appeared for trial on those charges in accordance with paragraph (8) of that Resolution;

Whereas in January 2001, a three-judge Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands found Libyan Abdel Basset al-Megrahi guilty of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, sentenced him to life imprisonment, and said the court accepted evidence that he was a member of Libya's Jamahariya Security Organization, and in March 2002, a five-judge Scottish appeals court sitting in the Netherlands upheld the conviction;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolutions 731, 748, 883, and 1192 demanded that the Government of Libya provide appropriate compensation to the families of the victims, accept responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, provide a full accounting of its involvement in that terrorist act, and cease all support for terrorism;

Whereas Libya remains on the Department of State's list of state-sponsors of terrorism;

Whereas the United States found the selection of Libya to chair the Commission to be an affront to international human rights efforts and, in particular, to victims of Libya's repression and Libyan-sponsored terrorism, and therefore broke with precedent and called for a recorded vote among Commission members on Libya's chairmanship;

Whereas Canada and one other country joined the United States in voting against Libya, with 17 countries abstaining from the recorded vote among Commission members on Libya's chairmanship of the Commission;

Whereas the common position of the members of the European Union was to abstain from the recorded vote on the selection of Libya as chair of the Commission;

Whereas 33 countries ignored Libya's record on human rights and status as a country subject to United Nations sanctions for the terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 and voted for Libya to lead the Commission;

Whereas the majority of the countries that voted for Libya are recipients of United States foreign aid;

Whereas the selection of Libya to chair the Commission is only the most recent example of a malaise plaguing the Commission that has called into question the Commission's credibility as the membership ranks of the Commission have swelled in recent years with countries that have a history of egregious human rights violations;

Whereas the challenge by the United States to the selection of Libya is part of a broader effort to reform the Commission, reclaim it from the oppressors, and ensure that it fulfills its mandate;

Whereas on January 20, 2003, Ambassador Kevin Moley, United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva, emphasized that the United States "seek[s] to actively engage and strengthen the moral authority of the Commission on Human Rights, so that it once again proves itself a forceful advocate for those in need of having their human rights protected" and that "[w]e are convinced that the best way for the Commission to ensure the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights over the long-term is to have a membership comprised of countries with strong human rights records at home";

Whereas a majority of the 53 member states of the Commission are participants in the Community of Democracies and signed the Community of Democracies Statement on Terrorism (the "Statement on Terrorism") on November 12, 2002, at the Second Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies held in Seoul, South Korea (the "Seoul Ministerial"), calling upon democratic nations to work together to uphold the principles of democracy, freedom, good governance, and accountability in international organizations;

Whereas the Seoul Ministerial participants declared in the Statement on Terrorism that they "strongly denounced terrorism as a grave threat to democratic societies and the values they embrace[...] reaffirmed that terrorism constitutes a threat to international peace and security as well as to humanity in general and indeed to the very foundation on which democracies are built[...]" and stated that "[t]he most recent terrorist attacks confirm that international cooperation against terrorism will remain a long-term effort and requires a sustained universal commitment";

Whereas the United Nations sanctions against Libya, though suspended, remain in effect; and

Whereas Libya's continued status as an international outlaw nation and its continued unwillingness to accept responsibility for its terrorist actions provide ample justification for barring Libya from consideration as a candidate for membership in the United Nations Security Council or any other United Nations entity or affiliated agency; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—

(1) strongly condemns the selection of Libya to chair the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (the "Commission");

(2) commends the President for the principled position of the United States in objecting to and calling for a vote on Libya's chairmanship of the Commission;

(3) commends countries that joined the United States in objecting to Libya's selection as chair of the Commission;

(4) expresses its dismay at the European Union countries' common position of abstention on the critical vote over Libya's chairmanship;

(5) expresses its shock and dismay over the support provided to Libya in its efforts to lead the Commission;

(6) highlights its grave concern over the continuing efforts of countries violating human rights and terrorist countries to use international fora—

(A) to legitimize their regimes; and

(B) to continue to act with impunity;

(7) calls on the President to raise United States objections to such efforts during bilateral and multilateral discussions and to direct pertinent members of the President's Cabinet to do the same;

(8) calls on countries at various stages of democratization to—

(A) demonstrate their commitment to human rights, democracy, peace and security; and

(B) support efforts to reform the Commission;

(9) calls on the President to instruct the Secretary of State to consult with the appropriate congressional committees, within 60 calendar days after the adoption of this resolution, regarding the priorities and strategy of the United States for the 59th session of the Commission on Human Rights and its strategy and proposals for reform of the Commission;

(10) objects to the continued suspension of United Nations sanctions against Libya until the Government of Libya—

(A) publicly accepts responsibility for the bombing of Pan American World Airways Flight 103;

(B) provides appropriate compensation to the victims of the bombing; and

(C) fully complies with all of the other requirements of the United Nations sanctions imposed as a result of Libya's orchestration of the terrorist attack on Pan American World Airways Flight 103; and

(11) calls on the Secretary of State to engage Member States of the United Nations to support efforts to ensure that states that are gross violators of human rights, sponsors of terrorist activities, or subjects of United Nations sanctions are not elected to—

(A) leadership positions in the United Nations General Assembly; or

(B) membership or leadership positions on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the United Nations Security Council, or any other United Nations entity or affiliate.

ORDERS FOR FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 2003

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m., Friday, March 7. I further ask that following the prayer and pledge, the morning hour be deemed expired, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate begin a period of morning business until the hour of 12:30 p.m., with the time equally divided between Senator WARNER or his designee and the minority leader or his designee.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. FRIST. For the information of Senators, tomorrow morning the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 12:30 p.m. There will be no rollcall votes during tomorrow's session. The next vote will occur Monday, March 10, at 6 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the purpose of the morning business is to have Senators speak if they so desire. There have been some Senators wishing to speak on the situation in Iraq. The President is having a press conference tonight. It would be timely to do that. I say to those people who have indicated a desire to speak, this is their opportunity tomorrow. Is that the intent of the leader?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, that is the intent. It is important that people take advantage of that opportunity if they so wish.

In talking to the leadership on the other side of the aisle, we agreed it was important for people to have the opportunity. We have been very busy over the last several days with the Estrada nomination and today the cloture vote. There has been excellent work in terms of ratification—the vote on the Moscow Treaty. So it has been very busy.

We know the Nation is very much concerned with what is going on today and over the ensuing days in Iraq, so we did want to make that opportunity available.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 6:57 p.m., adjourned until Friday, March 7, 2003, at 9:30 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 6, 2003:

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

JANET HALE, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE UNDER SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT, DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.

THE ABOVE NOMINATION WAS APPROVED SUBJECT TO THE NOMINEE'S COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY BEFORE ANY DULY CONSTITUTED COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JEREMY H. G. IBRAHIM, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 30, 2005.

EDWARD F. REILLY, OF KANSAS, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION FOR A TERM OF SIX YEARS.

CRANSTON J. MITCHELL, OF MISSOURI, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION FOR A TERM OF SIX YEARS.

THE JUDICIARY

TIMOTHY C. STANCEU, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

PETER JOSEPH ELLIOTT, OF OHIO, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS.