

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF PAMELA KI MAI CHEN TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

NOMINATION OF KATHERINE POLK FAILLA TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nominations which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nominations of Pamela Ki Mai Chen, of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York, and Katherine Polk Failla, of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 30 minutes for debate equally divided in the usual form.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, last week, Congress failed to act to avoid indiscriminate across-the-board cuts from sequestration. These automatic cuts are in the tens of billions of dollars at a time when our economy is finally recovering but remains fragile. Among those who will have to endure these cuts are the overburdened Federal courts already suffering from longstanding vacancies that number almost 90 and have remained near or above 80 for almost 4 years. Budgetary cuts will mean more difficulty for the American people to get speedy justice from our Federal justice system.

Two senior district judges, one appointed by President Reagan and one appointed by President Clinton, wrote last week in U.S. News and World Report that sequestration will "devastate the judicial branch." They wrote: "[C]ourts may need to close periodically, furlough employees, and cut security, thereby, delaying proceedings. These realities, combined with a reduction in supervision of persons on bond and convicted felons who are released from prison, compromise public safety." They conclude: "[Our Federal courts provide access to justice, protect against abuses of power, and defend the Constitution. Failure to avert sequestration by March 1 undermines the ability of the Federal courts to fulfill this Constitutional mandate." I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my statement.

As we hear these warnings from judges and other officials across our three branches of Government, I hope Senators understand that sequestration is bad for the courts, bad for the economy, and bad for the American people.

Over the past 4 years, unprecedented obstruction by Senate Republicans has

meant that all judicial nominees have become wrapped around the axle of partisanship. Senators from both sides of the aisle used to agree that Federal courts are supposed to be impartial and outside of politics. Yet, the actions of Senate Republicans over the last 4 years have undermined that principle of our constitutional system and hurt the integrity of the judiciary. I hear this from judges appointed by Republican Presidents and those appointed by Democratic Presidents. They say the unprecedented delays that nominees face politicize the courts and destroy the appearance of impartiality the Federal courts need. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy said last year that this extreme partisanship erodes the public's confidence in our courts and "makes the judiciary look politicized when it is not, and it has to stop."

This obstruction has also contributed to keeping judicial vacancies at a damagingly high level for over 4 years. Persistent vacancies mean that fewer judges have to take on growing case-loads and make it harder for Americans to have access to speedy justice. There are today 89 judicial vacancies across the country. By way of contrast, that is more than double the number of vacancies that existed at this point in the Bush administration.

Senate Republicans chose to depart dramatically from well-established Senate practices from the moment President Obama took office in their efforts to delay and obstruct his judicial nominations.

Until 2009, judicial nominees reported by the Judiciary Committee with bipartisan support were generally confirmed quickly. Until 2009, we observed regular order, we usually confirmed nominees promptly, and we cleared the Senate Executive Calendar before long recesses. Until 2009, if a nominee was filibustered, it was almost always because of a substantive issue with the nominee's record. We know what has happened since 2009. The average district court nominee has been stalled 4.3 times longer and the average circuit court nominee has been stalled 7.3 times as long as it took to confirm them during the Bush administration. No other President's judicial nominees had to wait an average of over 100 days for a Senate vote after being reported by the Judiciary Committee.

Some Republicans have ignored the facts I just cited even though they came from the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service (CRS). No invented statistic can change the fact that no president's nominees have ever waited as long for a vote as President Obama's.

Senate Republicans have also claimed that President Bush had only 74 percent of his nominees confirmed during his first term. This is also not true. President Bush nominated 231 men and women to serve as circuit and district judges; of them, 205 were confirmed. That is a confirmation rate of

89 percent. During President Obama's first term, only 173 district and circuit judges were confirmed, and a much lower percentage. Contrary to the claims of Senate Republicans the Senate has confirmed far fewer of President Obama's nominees and confirmed them at a significantly lower rate at the same points in his and President Bush's administrations. Senate Republicans talk about how much progress we made during the 112th Congress, when we confirmed 113 of President Obama's circuit and district nominees. But they ignore the fact that 19 of those nominees could and should have been confirmed during the 111th Congress, and the fact that the 60 confirmations they allowed in the 111th Congress was the lowest total for a new president in over 30 years. They ignore the fact that in President Obama's first year in office they allowed just 12 of his circuit and district nominees to be confirmed, which, according to CRS, was the lowest one-year confirmation total since the Eisenhower administration when the Federal bench was barely one-third the size it is today. We have yet to make up the ground we lost during those first 2 years. Looking only at the confirmation total from last Congress while ignoring the historic obstruction of nominations that preceded it and the backlog that was created provides an incomplete and misleading picture.

There can be no question about the effect of the unprecedented effort by Senate Republicans to obstruct President Obama's judicial nominations. Despite bipartisan calls to address longstanding judicial vacancies, the delays and obstruction of judicial confirmations have led to judicial vacancies to the remaining near or above 80 for almost 4 years.

During the vote on Judge Bacharach last week, some Senators defending the filibuster that blocked his confirmation for 7 months claimed that it was just the usual Senate practice in a presidential election year. During the filibuster last year of Judge Bacharach, there was not even a pretense of any substantive concern—Senate Republicans just decided to shut down the confirmation process and contorted the "Thurmond Rule." But personal attacks on me, trying to repackage their own actions as if following the Thurmond Rule, do not change the facts. The fact is that in the past six presidential election years, Senate Democrats have never denied an up-or-down vote to a consensus circuit nominee; Senate Republicans cannot say that. Until last year, no circuit nominee with bipartisan Judiciary Committee support had ever been successfully filibustered. Senators claiming to be upholding Senate tradition while engaging in a filibuster that had no precedent in Senate history are not supported by the facts.

After last year's filibuster, Judge Bacharach waited another 7 months before being allowed a vote on the merits.