

of 13 possible recess appointments under consideration for the Nov. 20–Jan. 24 intersession recess. Inhofe and others object to five on the list who have holds or prospective holds on their nominations. Eight are considered acceptable.

Nov. 19, 1999 Inhofe Floor Speech 10 Minutes Before Adjournment: "If anyone other than these eight individuals is recess appointed, we will put a hold on every single judicial nominee of this President for the remainder of his term in office . . . I reemphasize, if there is some other interpretation as to the meaning of the (Nov. 10) letter, it does not make any difference, we are still going to put holds on them. I want to make sure there is a very clear understanding: If these nominees come in, if he does violate the intent (of the agreement) as we interpret it, then we will have holds on these nominees."

Nov. 23, 1999 Inhofe Letter to Clinton: In a spirit of cooperation, Inhofe acknowledges one additional acceptable appointment has been added to the list. "I hope this makes our position clear. Any recess appointment other than the nine listed above would constitute a violation of the spirit of our agreement and trigger multiple holds on judicial nominees."

Dec. 7, 1999 Inhofe Privately Urges White House Not to Violate Agreement: Notified by the Majority Leader's office that the President was contemplating at least two recess appointments (Weisberg and Fox) which were not included on the list submitted in advance of the recess, Inhofe reiterated that making these appointments would trigger a hold on all judicial nominees.

Dec. 9, 1999 Clinton Violates Agreement—Appoints Stuart Weisberg to OSHA Review Commission: Name was not included on list submitted in advance of the recess. Weisberg appointment was strongly opposed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. Weisberg is a liberal advocate of expanded regulatory authority who had compiled a controversial record of decisions consistently unfavorable to employers.

Dec. 17, 1999 Clinton Violates Agreement—Appoints Sarah Fox to NLRB: Name was not included on list submitted in advance of the recess. Fox is a stridently pro-labor former Ted Kennedy staffer whose policy decisions were consistently pro-union on such key issues as striker replacements, Davis-Bacon wage laws and the Beck decision of compulsory union dues.

Dec. 20, 1999 Inhofe Responds by Announcing Effort to Block Judges: "I am announcing today that I will do exactly what I said I would do if the President deliberately violated our agreement."

Jan. 25, 2000 Inhofe Places Hold on All Judicial Nominees: "It is in anticipation of just such defiance that I and my colleagues warned the President on at least five separate occasions exactly what our response would be if he violated the agreement. We would put on hold on all judicial nominees. So today it will come as no surprise to the President that we are putting a hold on all judicial nominees. We are simply doing what we said we would do to uphold Constitutional respect for the Senate's proper role in the confirmation process."

Feb. 10, 2000 Inhofe Hold is Overruled by Majority Leader Trent Lott: Inhofe thanked the 19 Republican senators who, in a key procedural vote, supported his effort to demand presidential accountability. Those Senators were: Shelby (Ala.), Murkowski (Alaska), Allard (Colo.), Craig (Idaho), Crapo (Idaho), Grassley (Iowa), McConnell (Ky.), Bunning

(Ky), Grams (Minn.), Burns (Mont.), Smith (N.H.), Gregg, (N.H.), Domenici (N.M.), Helms (N.C.), Inhofe (Okla.), Thurmond (S.C.), Gramm (Texas), Thomas (Wy.), and Enzi (Wy.).

August 3–31, 2000 Clinton Grants 17 Recess Appointments in Defiance of the Senate: Rejecting his commitment to cooperate with the Senate, Clinton grants appointments to Bill Lann Lee and other whom the Senate specifically said were unacceptable as recess appointments. Clinton's action was a deliberate affront to the Senate, a violation of the spirit of the Byrd-Reagan agreement and an abuse of power undermining the "advise and consent" clause of the Constitution.

Mr. INHOFE. I would like to say we made it very clear to this President on two of the recesses since that time, that if he did not live up to the standards as were put in the letter by Ronald Reagan and to which he agreed, that we would put holds on all these nominations.

Obviously, I had holds on these nominations. I have to admit it was not the Democrats; Republicans were not a lot of help to me at that time. They voted and overruled the hold that I had.

I would say the Senators who voted with me at that time to uphold the Constitution were Senators SHELBY, MURKOWSKI, ALLARD, CRAIG, CRAPO, GRASSLEY, MCCONNELL, BUNNING, GRAMS of Minnesota, BURNS, SMITH of New Hampshire, GREGG, DOMENICI, HELMS—as I said, INHOFE—THURMOND, GRAMM of Texas, THOMAS, and ENZI.

In spite of the fact that that happened, they went ahead, the President went ahead and has continued to make recess appointments. The last time he did was during our August recess between the 3rd and 31st. He granted 17 recess appointments in just an arrogant defiance of the Senate's prerogative of advise and consent for confirmation purposes.

Even though it is kind of an empty threat now, I will do it—I am announcing tonight I am going to put a hold on all judicial nominations for the rest of his term, not that there are that many, because if we stopped right now, there would still be fewer vacancies than were there at the end of the Bush administration. But when we took office, we swore to uphold the Constitution and the Constitution is very specific. Today I am making this announcement that we are going to hold up all judicial nominations. I am doing exactly what Senator BYRD would do under the same circumstances. I yield the floor.

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I would like to talk today about the need to move through a number of important judicial nominations. This process has been dragging on for too long.

Pending before the Judiciary Committee are dozens of federal appeals court nominations, including that of my Iowa constituent, Bonnie J. Camp-

bell for the Eighth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

There are 22 vacancies in our federal appeals courts. With the growing number of vacancies in the federal courts, these positions should be filled with qualified individuals as soon as possible. And so I urge the Republican leadership to take the steps necessary to allow the full Senate to vote up or down on these important nominations.

Ms. Campbell, who received a hearing by the Judiciary Committee in June, would serve on the 8th Circuit with honor, fairness, and distinction.

Bonnie Campbell has a long and distinguished history in the field of law. She began her career as a private practice lawyer in Des Moines in 1984. She worked on cases involving medical malpractice, employment discrimination, personal injury, real estate, and family law.

She was elected as Iowa's Attorney General in 1990—the first woman ever to hold that office in Iowa. During her tenure, she received high praise from both ends of the political spectrum for her outstanding work enforcing the law, reducing crime, and protecting consumers.

In 1995, she was appointed as the Director of the Violence Against Women Office in the Department of Justice. In that position, she played a critical role in implementing the Violence Against Women provisions of the 1994 Crime Act.

Again, she won the respect of individuals with a wide range of views on this issue. She has been, and still remains, responsible for the overall coordination and agenda of the Department of Justice's efforts to combat violence against women.

Mr. President, I've known Bonnie Campbell for many years. She is a person of unparalleled integrity, keen intellect, and outstanding judgment. She is fair, level-headed, and even-handed.

These qualities, and her significant experience, make her an ideal candidate for this important position.

Her nomination has been strongly supported by many of her colleagues, including the current Iowa Attorney General and the President of the Iowa State Police Association. Her nomination has also been approved by the American Bar Association. And Bonnie Campbell has the solid support of both myself and my Iowa colleague, Senator GRASSLEY.

Mr. President, I view the Senate's "advise and consent" responsibility on judicial nominations in the Senate to be on par with our annual responsibility to move appropriations bills. And, as such, the Senate's schedule between now and adjournment should be adjusted to assure adequate time for their consideration.

We have the time if we have the will. Again, Mr. President, we have a backlog of judicial vacancies, and it is