

January 9, 2017

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE Civil and Human Rights Organizations Oppose Confirmation of Jeff Sessions

Dear Senate Judiciary Committee Member:

On behalf of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, a coalition of more than 200 national organizations committed to promote and protect the civil and human rights of all persons in the United States, and the 438 undersigned national, state and local organizations, we are writing to express our strong opposition to the confirmation of Senator Jefferson B. Sessions (R-AL) to be the 84th Attorney General of the United States.

Senator Sessions has a 30-year record of racial insensitivity, bias against immigrants, disregard for the rule of law, and hostility to the protection of civil rights that makes him unfit to serve as the Attorney General of the United States. In our democracy, the Attorney General is charged with enforcing our nation's laws without prejudice and with an eye toward justice. And, just as important, the Attorney General has to be seen by the public – every member of the public, from every community – as a fair arbiter of justice. Unfortunately, there is little in Senator Sessions' record that demonstrates that he would meet such a standard.

In 1986, when then-U.S. Attorney Sessions was nominated by former President Ronald Reagan to serve as a judge on the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Alabama, the Republican-controlled Senate upheld its constitutional duty, undertaking a careful and comprehensive review of his record at that time. The Judiciary Committee was presented with compelling evidence that then-U.S. Attorney Sessions had a deeply troubling record as an opponent of civil rights enforcement, a champion of voter suppression tactics targeting African Americans, and a history of making racially-insensitive statements. This record included warning an African-American colleague to be careful about what he said "to white folks," and speaking favorably about the Ku Klux Klan, as well as his prosecution of three African-American voting rights activists on dozens of charges that were promptly rejected by a jury. i

As you know, the Attorney General is our nation's highest law enforcement official, with a particular responsibility to protect the civil and human rights of all Americans. The Leadership Conference opposes Senator Sessions' nomination to become Attorney General, in part, because of the previous record we have cited. However, it would be a grave mistake to assume that our opposition is based only on incidents prior to his judicial nomination. Indeed, the following are examples of his actions as a Senator over the past 20 years that raise very disturbing questions about his fitness to serve as Attorney General:

Officers Chair Judith L. Lichtman National Partnership for Women & Families Vice Chairs Jacqueline Pata National Congress of American Indians Thomas A. Saenz Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund Hilary Shelton NAACP Secretary Jo Ann Jenkins AARP

Treasurer Lee A. Saunders American Federation of State County & Municipal Employees **Board of Directors**

Helena Berger American Association of People with Disabilities Cornell William Brooks NAACP Kristen Clarke Lawyers' Committee for

Civil Rights Under Law

Lily Eskelsen García National Education Association Marcia D. Greenberger National Women's Law Center Chad Griffin Human Rights Campaign Wylecia Wiggs Harris

League of Women Voters of the United States Mary Kay Henry Service Employees International Union

Sherrilyn Ifill NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Michael B. Keegan People for the American Way

Mark Hopkins

Samer E. Khalaf American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee Marc Morial

National Urban League Mee Moua Asian Americans Advancing Justice I

Janet Murguía National Council of La Raza Debra Ness National Partnership for

Women & Families Terry O'Neill National Organization for Women Rabbi Jonah Pesne Religious Action Center Of Reform Judaism Anthony Romero American Civil Liberties Union

Shanna Smith National Fair Housing Alliance Richard L. Trumka AFI -CIO Randi Weingarten American Federation of Teachers Dennis Williams

International Union, UAW William Yoshino

Japanese American Citizens League

Policy and Enforcement Committee Chair Michael Lieberman Anti-Defamation League President & CEO Wade J. Henderson Executive Vice President & COO Karen McGill Lawson



Voting Rights: In addition to his failed 1985 prosecution of three voting rights activists who were working to increase African-American registration and turnout, Senator Sessions has voiced strong support for restrictive voter ID laws that have had the effect of disenfranchising many otherwise eligible voters, called the Voting Rights Act "intrusive" as it seeks to protect eligible minority voters, and praised the Supreme Court ruling in *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) that gutted a key part of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This is hardly the record of someone to be entrusted with the protection of voting rights for all Americans.

Association with White Nationalist and Hate Groups regarding Immigration Policy: Senator Sessions has been a fierce opponent of comprehensive immigration reform, referring to a bipartisan 2007 bill as "terrorist assistance." He has closely associated himself with NumbersUSA, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, and the Center for Immigration Studies, all three of which were founded by John Tanton, who held white nationalist beliefs and called for the preservation of a "European-American majority." Senator Sessions has also received awards from the David Horowitz Freedom Center and Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, two organizations designated as anti-Muslim hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Hate Crimes and LGBT Rights: Senator Sessions opposed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, even though a unanimous Supreme Court had long ago upheld a similar state law in *Wisconsin v. Mitchell* (1993). This is particularly disturbing at a time when there have reportedly been more than 700 hate incidents committed in the weeks since the election. The next Attorney General must recognize that hate crimes exist, and vigorously investigate them.

In addition, on LGBT rights, Senator Sessions supported a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage. He also opposed the repeal of "Don't Ask Don't Tell."

Women's Rights: Senator Sessions has consistently opposed legislation to advance women's rights, notably opposing multiple efforts to address the pay gap, to protect women's access to reproductive health services, which disproportionately affect low-income women and women of color, and to address the scourge of violence against all women. Specifically, Senator Sessions opposed the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, iii enabling women to file ongoing pay discrimination claims, and has voted multiple times against consideration of the Paycheck Fairness Act. Senator Sessions also opposed Title X funding legislation, which supports contraception, breast cancer screening and other health services for low-income women. In addition, Senator Sessions repeatedly voted to defund Planned Parenthood, and in 2014, he voted against S.2578 to fix the *Hobby Lobby* decision by prohibiting employers from denying coverage of any health care service, such as contraception, required under federal law. Senator Sessions also opposed the reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act in 2013, and when then-candidate Donald Trump was revealed in a 2005 video to have made comments bragging about physically forcing himself on women, Senator Sessions declined to condemn the remarks, even questioning whether the comments described sexual assault.



Criminal Justice Reform: Though Senator Sessions was a longtime supporter of eliminating sentencing disparities between crack and powder cocaine offenses, he has since been an ardent supporter of maintaining draconian mandatory minimum sentences. Recently, Senator Sessions helped to block broadbased, bipartisan efforts to reduce sentences for certain nonviolent drug offenses. He also opposed the President's initiative to address disparities and restore fairness to the justice system through the use of his constitutionally granted executive clemency power. He criticized the Department of Justice's Smart on Crime Initiative, which has focused on prosecuting fewer but "more serious" drug cases and over the last three years, has contributed to a 20 percent reduction in overcrowding in the federal Bureau of Prisons. Finally, Senator Sessions condemned the Department of Justice's use of its powers to investigate law enforcement agencies accused of misconduct and a "pattern or practice" of violating civil rights, calling consent decrees that mandate reform following these investigations "an end run around the democratic process."

Failing to Protect our Communities from Pollution and Climate Change: Climate change and environmental degradation disproportionately affect low-income families and communities of color. Senator Sessions has a long record of voting against protections for our clean air, water, and climate. Among his many anti-environmental votes, in 2015 he voted for the resolution to kill the clean power planxi and for the Barrasso billxii to deny protections for streams that provide drinking water for 113 million Americans. In 2012, he supported a resolution that would roll back protections from toxic mercury.xiii America needs and deserves an Attorney General who will take into account the health and safety of all communities. Senator Sessions is not qualified in this regard and cannot be counted on to protect our air, water, and climate.

Rights of People with Disabilities: Senator Sessions opposed efforts to implement Alabama's obligation to provide community-based services to individuals with disabilities who were needlessly institutionalized. In addition, he called the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act's requirements to include children with disabilities in mainstream education "the single most irritating problem for teachers throughout America today" and "a big factor in accelerating the decline in civility and discipline in classrooms all over America." This opposition to integration and inclusion is extremely concerning given the active role that the Justice Department plays in enforcing the Americans with Disabilities Act to enable people with disabilities to live independent lives, be full participants in their communities, and to be educated in neighborhood schools and regular classrooms. Senator Sessions also opposed ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

These aspects of Senator Sessions' record are among those that led The Leadership Conference to believe that he should not be confirmed as our next Attorney General. At the very least, these issues must be fully aired and deliberated before each Senator makes a final decision with respect to his nomination—otherwise, the Senate's constitutional duty to provide "advice and consent" would be reduced to a mere farce.

Given Senator Sessions' record and public statements, the burden should be on him to prove to the Judiciary Committee, the Senate, and the American people – especially to communities of color and immigrant communities – that he can be trusted with the tremendous power of the U.S. Justice



Department to enforce our nation's civil rights and immigration laws with integrity, fairness, and a sense of justice.

The burden on Senator Sessions is not to prove that he is not a "racist." For the record, The Leadership Conference has never made such an allegation, as we do not claim to know what has been in his heart when he has taken the actions and made the statements we have described above. Nevertheless, we believe those actions and statements are themselves disqualifying.

This is notwithstanding our recognition that Senator Sessions' record does include some positive actions. For example, the Southern Poverty Law Center, while expressing opposition to his confirmation, acknowledged that he was helpful in the Center's successful effort to sue and bankrupt the Ku Klux Klan following its role in the 1981 lynching death of Michael Donald. The Leadership Conference also worked with Senator Sessions in an effort that culminated in the passage of the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010, which reduced racial disparities in federal cocaine sentencing provisions. While these actions are noteworthy, they do not change our conclusion that Senator Sessions' overall record is too troubling for him to be confirmed as Attorney General.

The collegiality that ordinarily governs Senate decorum is no substitute for, and must not supersede, the Senate's profoundly important duty to vigorously and fairly review each nominee who comes before it. We believe that based on this review, there can be only one conclusion: Senator Sessions is the wrong person to serve as the U.S. Attorney General.

Thank you for your consideration of our views. If you would like to discuss this matter further, please contact Wade Henderson, President and CEO, or Nancy Zirkin, Executive Vice President, at (202) 466-3311.

Sincerely,

National Organizations (232)

The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights
9to5, National Association of Working Women
Advancement Project
Advocates for Youth
AFL-CIO
African American Ministers In Action
Alliance for Citizenship
Alliance for Justice
Alliance for Retired Americans
American Association for Access, Equity and Diversity (AAAED)
American Association of People with Disabilities
American Atheists



American Baptist Women's Ministries

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

American Federation of Teachers

American Humanist Association

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)

Americans United for Change

Americans United for Separation of Church and State

America's Voice Education Fund

Andrew Goodman Foundation

Arte Sana

Asian & Pacific Islander American Health Forum

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF)

Asian American Psychological Association

Asian Americans Advancing Justice - AAJC

Asian and Pacific Islander American Vote (APIAVote)

Asian Pacific Institute on Gender-Based Violence

Association of Asian Pacific Community Health Organizations

Association of Programs for Rural Independent Living

Association of University Centers on Disabilities

Autistic Self Advocacy Network

Bend The Arc Jewish Action

Bill of Rights Defense Committee/Defending Dissent Foundation

BiNet USA

The Black Church Center for Justice and Equality

Black Women's Roundtable

Black Youth Vote!

Bus Federation

Campaign for Southern Equality

Campaign for the Fair Sentencing of Youth

The Campaign Legal Center

Center for American Progress

Center for APA Women

Center for Biological Diversity

Center for Community Change Action

Center for Health and Gender Equity (CHANGE)

Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, NYU School of Law

Center for Law and Education

Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)

Center for Responsible Lending

Center for Science in the Public Interest

Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers University

Center on Reproductive Rights and Justice at UC Berkeley School of Law



Children's Defense Fund

Clearinghouse on Women's Issues

Coalition for Disability Health Equity

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

Coalition of Labor Union Women

Common Cause

Common Defense

Communications Workers of America

Community Justice Reform Coalition

Constitutional Accountability Center

Council of Parent Attorneys and Advocates

Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)

CREDO

Daily Kos

Demand Progress

Democrats for Education Reform

Demos

Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund

Earthjustice

EMILY's List

Equal Justice Society

Equal Rights Advocates

Equality Federation

Equality Now

Every Voice

Fair Elections Legal Network

Faith and Credit Roundtable of the Center for Responsible Lending

Family Equality Council

Farmworker Justice

Feminist Majority

FIRM (Fair Immigration Reform Movement)

Food & Water Watch

Four Freedoms Forum

Friends of the Earth

Gender Action

GLBTQ Legal Advocates & Defenders (GLAD)

Global Justice Clinic, NYU School of Law

GLSEN

Harm Reduction Coalition

Healthy Teen Network, Inc.

Hispanic Federation

Hollaback!

Human Rights Campaign



IAWRT USA (International Association of Women in Radio and TV)

Immigrant Legal Resource Center

Immigration Equality

In Our Own Voice: National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda

Institute for Science and Human Values interACT: Advocates for Intersex Youth

Japanese American Citizens League

Jewish Women International (JWI)

Judge David L. Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law

Justice for Families

Justice in Aging

Justice Policy Institute

Lambda Legal

Laotian American National Alliance

Latino Victory Project

LatinoJustice PRLDEF

Leaders With Vision, Inc.

League of Conservation Voters

League of United Latin American Citizens

Legal Voice

MALDEF

Matthew Shepard Foundation

Media Equity Collaborative

Men Can Stop Rape

MomsRising.org

MoveOn.org

mPOWerd Media Benefit Corp

Muslim Advocates

NAACP

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

NARAL Pro-Choice America

National Abortion Federation

National Action Network Washington Bureau

National Advocates for Pregnant Women

National Alliance for Partnerships in Equity (NAPE)

National Alliance to End Sexual Violence

National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association

National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse

National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum

National Association of Human Rights Workers

National Association of Social Workers

National Bar Association

National Black Justice Coalition



National Center for Law and Economic Justice

National Center for Lesbian Rights

National Center for Transgender Equality

National Clearinghouse on Abuse in Later Life

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence

National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development

National Coalition for the Homeless

National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs

National Coalition on Black Civic Participation

National Community Reinvestment Coalition (NCRC)

National Council of Asian Pacific Americans (NCAPA)

National Council of Asian Pacific Islander Physicians

National Council of Jewish Women

National Council of La Raza (NCLR)

National Council on Independent Living

National Domestic Violence Hotline

National Domestic Workers Alliance

The National Equal Rights Amendment Alliance, 501c3

National Education Association

National Employment Law Project

National Employment Lawyers Association

National Fair Housing Alliance

National Federation of Filipino American Associations

National Hispanic Media Coalition (NHMC)

National Immigration Law Center

National Juvenile Justice Network

National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC)

National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health

National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty

National Lawyers Guild

National LGBTQ Task Force Action Fund

National Network for Arab American Communities

National Organization for Women

National Organization of Nurses with Disabilities (NOND)

National Partnership for Women & Families

National Queer Asian Pacific Islander Alliance (NQAPIA)

National Urban League

National Women's Law Center

National Women's Political Caucus

Natural Resources Defense Council

NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice

NOW

OCA - Asian Pacific American Advocates



People Demanding Action

People For the American Way

People's Action

Physicians for Reproductive Health

Planned Parenthood Federation of America

PolicyLink

Positive Women's Network - USA

Poverty & Race Research Action Council

Prison Policy Initiative

Progressive Congress

ProgressNow

Project Vote

Public Advocates Inc.

Public Citizen

Public Knowledge

Quality Trust for Individuals with Disabilities

Raising Women's Voices for the Health Care We Need

The Relentless Feminist

The Restaurant Opportunities Centers United

Rock the Vote

Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law

SCOPE50

SEIU

Sierra Club

Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC)

Southern Poverty Law Center

StoptheDrugWar.org

Transformative Justice Coalition

The Trevor Project

UltraViolet Action

Union of Concerned Scientists

United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries

United Food & Commercial Workers International Union

United Spinal Association

US Women and Cuba Collaboration

Voices for Progress

The Voting Rights Institute

Voting Rights Forward

We Are Woman

Women Employed

Women Enabled International

Women's Center for Ethics in Action



Women's Intercultural Network (WIN)

World Without Genocide

Young Feminists and Allies: National Organization for Women's (NOW) Inaugural Virtual Chapter

YWCA USA

State and Local Organizations (206)

9to5 California

9to5 Colorado

9to5 Georgia

9to5 Wisconsin

Akron Area NOW

American Friends Service Committee of Western Massachusetts

ARCIL, Inc.

Arizona AFL-CIO

Arizona Coalition to End Sexual and Domestic Violence

Arkansas State Independent Living Council

Asian Americans Advancing Justice - Atlanta

Bend the Arc: New York

Boston Area Rape Crisis Center

Boulder NOW

Brevard NOW

California Coalition Against Sexual Assault

California Employment Lawyers Association

California NOW

Casa Myrna Vazquez

Causa

The Center for Anti-Violence Education

Center for Gender & Justice

Centro Latino Americano

Charlotte NOW

Charlottesville National Organization for Women (CNOW)

Chicago Coalition for the Homeless

Chicago Votes

Christ Sophia Inclusive Catholic Community

Cities for CEDAW: Louisville, KY

Citizens for Juvenile Justice

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)

Colorado Ceasefire Legislative Action

Colorado Coalition Against Sexual Assault

Common Cause California

Common Cause Connecticut

Common Cause Delaware



Common Cause Florida

Common Cause Hawaii

Common Cause Illinois

Common Cause Indiana

Common Cause Massachusetts

Common Cause New Mexico

Common Cause New York

Common Cause North Carolina

Common Cause Ohio

Common Cause Texas

Community Service Society of New York

CONNECT

Connecticut Alliance to End Sexual Violence

Corvallis SURJ: Showing Up for Racial Justice

Day One New York

DC Abortion Fund (DCAF)

DC Coalition Against Domestic Violence

Delaware Coalition Against Gun Violence

Democratic Women's Club of the Lakes Area (Florida Democratic Women's Club)

Democratic Women's Club of Bay County, FL

Democratic Women's Club of Florida

Democratic Women's Club Of Highlands County

Disability Policy Consortium

The Dominican Bar Association

Diverse & Resilient

East Hillsborough Women's Democratic Club

Education Law Center - PA

End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin

Engage Miami

Every Woman KC

Family Forward Oregon

Florida Council Against Sexual Violence

Florida Justice Technology Center

Florida National Organization for Women

Forward Montana

Georgia Coalition Against Domestic Violence

Get Up, Stand Up LA

Greater Cleveland Immigrant Support Network

Hardwick Area Community Justice Center

Hawaii Firearms Control Coalition

Her Justice

HUDSON VALLEY COMMUNITY COALITION

Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault



The Interfaith Center of New York

Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault

Jane Doe Inc, the Massachusetts Coalition Against Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence

Jefferson City Feminists

Jews United for Justice

Latino Council

Law Project of Chicago Coalition for the Homeless

LAW Project of Los Angeles

Leaders with Vision

Legal Aid at Work

Los Angeles LGBT Center

Louisiana Center for Children's Rights

Louisiana Foundation Against Sexual Assault

Louisiana NOW

Louisville Coalition for CEDAW

Maryland National Organization for Women

Maternal and Child Health Access

Micah Institute at New York Theological Seminary

Michigan Coalition to End Domestic & Sexual Violence

Middlesex County National Organization for Women of NJ

Migrant Justice

Minnesota Coalition Against Sexual Assault

Montana Chapter of the National Organization for Women

Montana Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence

Montgomery County Civil Rights Coalition

MOVE San Antonio

MS Coalition Against Sexual Assault

Muslims United for Justice

My Sisters' Place

NAACP Corvallis-Albany

National Council of Jewish Women Bergen County Section

National Council of Jewish Women Seattle Section

National Council of Jewish Women, Greater New Orleans Section

National Council of Jewish Women, Sarasota-Manatee Section

National Council of Jewish Women-St. Louis

National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence- Maryland Chapter

National Organization for Women Broward County

National Organization for Women - Alaska Chapter

National Organization for Women of New Jersey

National Organization for Women Seattle Chapter

National Organization for Women, Columbia Area Chapter

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN, MID-SUFFOLK CHAPTER

National Organization for Women, Missouri



National Organization for Women, Northern NJ chapter

NC Coalition Against Sexual Assault

NCJW MORRIS NJ

Nebraska Coalition to End Sexual and Domestic Violence

Nevada NOW

New Destiny Housing Corporation

New Jersey Coalition Against Sexual Assault

New Jersey Institute for Social Justice

New Jersey Tenants Organization

New York City Anti-Violence Project

New York Immigration Coalition

New York State Coalition Against Sexual Assault

New York State Immigrant Action Fund

NOW, Anne Arundel County

Ohio Student Action

OneAmerica

Oregon Bus Project

P.E.A.C.E. Initiative

PCUN

Peer Network of New York

Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape

Portland Jobs with Justice

Progress Florida

ProgressNow Arizona

Public Advocates

Resisting Injustice & Standing for Equality (RISE)

Root & Rebound

San Luis Obispo chapter, National Organization for Women

Santa Fe Chapter National Organization for Women

South Jersey NOW, the Alice Paul Chapter of the National Organization for Women

Sowers of Justice Network, Louisville, KY

STEPS to End Family Violence

Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence

Texas Advocates

Thurston County NOW

UNCW Feminist Student Alliance

Unidos Bridging Community

United Nations Association-USA East Bay

Vermont Commission on Women

Vermont Network Against Domestic and Sexual Violence

Vermonters for Criminal Justice Reform

Voices of Women Organizing Project

The Washington Bus



Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs

Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs

Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence

Washington State National Organization for Women

West Pinellas NOW

West Suburban NOW

Westchester NOW

WILPF Portland Branch

WIN (Women's Information Network)

Wind of the Spirit, Immigrant Community Center

Wisconsin Coalition Against Sexual Assault

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Pittsburgh

Youth Sentencing & Reentry Project (YSRP)

YWCA Alaska

YWCA Berkeley/Oakland

YWCA Binghamton & Broome County

YWCA Brooklyn

YWCA Carlisle

YWCA Central Carolinas

YWCA Central Maine

YWCA Evanston/North Shore

YWCA Greater Johnstown

YWCA Greensboro

YWCA Malden

YWCA Mohawk Valley

YWCA Mount Desert Island

YWCA of Kauai

YWCA of Muncie

YWCA of the University of Illinois

YWCA of the Upper Lowlands, Inc.

YWCA Olympia

YWCA Orange County NY

YWCA Pasadena

YWCA Pierce County

YWCA Richmond

YWCA San Antonio

YWCA San Francisco & Marin

YWCA Seattle King Snohomish

YWCA Tulsa

YWCA West Central Michigan

YWCA Westmoreland County



ⁱ Lena Williams, "Senate Panel Hands Reagan First Defeat on Nominee for Judgeship," *New York Times*, June 6, 1986, at http://www.nytimes.com/1986/06/06/us/senate-panel-hands-reagan-first-defeat-on-nominee-for-judgeship.html https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/06/23/the-gops-stunningly-rapid-political-shift-on-the-confederate-flag/).

iii U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 111th Congress - 1st Session at http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=111&session=1&vote=00014
iv U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 113th Congress - 2nd Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=2&vote=00262
v U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 113th Congress - 2nd Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=2&vote=00228 vi U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 113th Congress-1st Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll call lists/roll call vote cfm.cfm?congress=113&session=1&vote=00019

vii Sean Sullivan, "Trump supporter Sen. Jeff Sessions reportedly said behavior Trump described in 2005 video is not sexual assault," *The Washington Post*, Oct. 10, 2016 at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/10/10/trump-supporter-sen-jeff-sessions-reportedly-said-behavior-trump-described-in-2005-video-is-not-sexual-assault/

viii "President Obama's Unprecedented Commutations of Violent Drug, Gun Felons will inflict long-term harm on the Nation." Press Statement of Senator Jeff Sessions, Aug. 5, 2016 at http://www.sessions.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/news-releases?ID=98A3011F-B35C-4223-92F4-857A5EC3E47F

ix "Federal Inmate Population Declines." *Federal Bureau of Prisons*, Oct. 4, 2016, at https://www.bop.gov/resources/news/20161004 pop_decline.jsp.

* Eli Hager, Alysia Santo and Simone Weichselbaum, "8 Ways Jeff Sessions Could Change Criminal Justice," *The Marshall Project*, Nov. 18, 2016, at https://www.themarshallproject.org/2016/11/18/8-ways-jeff-sessions-could-change-criminal-justice?ref=hp-1-122#.j2J1xp2lN

xi U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 114th Congress – 1st Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00306

xii U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 114th Congress – 1st Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll call lists/roll call vote cfm.cfm?congress=114&session=1&vote=00295

xiii U.S. Senate Rolle Call Votes 112th Congress – 1st Session at

http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=112&session=2&vote=00139

xiv Floor Statement, Education Discipline and IDEA (May 18, 2000), available at

http://www.sessions.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2000/5/education-discipline-and-idea-.