CONTENTS

Hearing Dates	Page IV
Chronological List of Witnesses, Questioning and Materials Submitted	IV
Written Questions Submitted by Senate Members and Judge Kennedy's Answers	726
Additional Submissions for the Record vin	, 757
Alphabetical Index of Witnesses, Questioning and Materials Submitted for the Record	ıx
Witness List	1116

HEARING DATES

Monday Dosember 14, 1987	Page 1
Monday, December 14, 1987	1 147 245
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WITNESSES, QUESTIONING AND MATERIA SUBMITTED	ALS
Monday, December 14, 1987	
Presenters	
Wilson, Honorable Pete, United States Senator from the State of California Fazio, Honorable Vic, Representative in Congress from the State of	2
California	7, 21 21
Opening Statements of Committee Members	21
Biden, Honorable Joseph R., Jr. Thurmond, Honorable Strom. Kennedy, Honorable Edward M. Hatch, Honorable Orrin G. Metzenbaum, Honorable Howard M. Simpson, Honorable Alan K. DeConcini, Honorable Dennis Grassley, Honorable Charles E. Leahy, Honorable Patrick J. Specter, Honorable Arlen. Heflin, Honorable Howell T. Humphrey, Honorable Gordon J.	22 30 38 40 46 49 52 54 58 67 70
Witness	
Kennedy, Anthony M., United States Circuit Court Judge for the Ninth Circuit, to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States: Opening statement Questioning by: Chairman Biden Senator Thurmond Senator Kennedy Senator Hatch Senator DeConcini Senator Simpson Senator Heflin Senator Grassley	83 84 91 99 107 116 124 132
Prepared Statements	
Wilson, Honorable Pete Biden, Honorable Joseph R., Jr. Thurmond, Honorable Strom Kennedy, Honorable Edward M Hatch, Honorable Orrin G Metzenbaum, Honorable Howard M Grassley, Honorable Charles E	7 26 33 39 44 47 56

Leahy, Honorable Patrick J	Pa
Heflin, Honorable Howell T	
Humphrey, Honorable Gordon J	······································
Simon, Honorable Paul	
Dole, Honorable Bob	
Materials Submitted for the Record	
Letter from Dean Gordon D. Schaber to Congressman Fazio, De	cember 2, 1987
Oakley, John B., "A Liberal Democrat's Case for Judge Kenned mento Bee, November 29, 1987	iy, The Sacra-
Tuesday, December 15, 1987	
Witness	
Kennedy, Anthony M., United States Circuit Court Judge Circuit, to be Assoicate Justice of the Supreme Court of the	
Questioning by:	Officed Blaces.
Senator Specter	148, 219, 2
Senator Metzenbaum	
Senator Hatch	161, 1
Senator Leahy	163, 165, 202, 2
Chairman Biden	164, 181, 202, 2
Senator Humphrey	
Senator Thurmond	
Senator Kennedy Senator Simpson	
Senator Grassley	
Senator Heflin	
Senator Byrd	
Wednesday, December 16, 1987	,
•	
Witnesses Panel:	
Tyler, Harold R., Jr., chairman, Standing Committee on	Federal Judicia
ary of the American Bar Association	
Andrews, J. David, Ninth Circuit representative, Standing	Committee on
Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association	
Elam, John C., Sixth Circuit representative, Standing Com	mittee on Fed-
eral Judiciary of the American Bar Association	2
Lane, John D., Federal Circuit representative, Standing	Committee on
Federal Judiciary of the American Bar Association	2
Questioning by: Senator Kennedy	957 9
Senator Thurmond	
Senator Metzenbaum	
Senator Hatch	
Senator Leahy	
Senator Simpson	
Senator Heflin	
Senator Grassley	
Chairman Biden	2
Senator Specter	2
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law SchoolQuestioning by:	
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	3 335, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3 335, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3 335, 3 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3 335, 3 346, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3 335, 3 3 346, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3
Tribe, Laurence H., professor, Harvard Law School	335, 3 335, 3 335, 3 346, 3 D.C 3

PanelContinued	Page
	358
Rauh, Joseph L., Jr., vice chairman, Americans for Democratic Action,	
	379
Ross, Susan Deller, professor, Georgetown University Law Center, on behalf of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund	390
Levi, Jeffrey, executive director, National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	426
Questioning by:	
Chairman Biden	
	$\frac{436}{440}$
	442
	445
Senator Simon	44 8
Panel:	
	456
Perdue, Wendy Collins, associate professor, Georgetown University Law	462 468
Prager, Susan Westerberg, dean, University of California at Los Angeles	475
School of LawQuestioning by:	#10
	479
Senator Heflin	480
Panel:	100
Martinez, Michael, president, Hispanic National Bar Association Hernandez, Antonia, president and general counsel, Mexican American	486
	495
Feinberg, Audrey, consultant, The Nation Institute	543
Wallace, Henry Scott, legislative director, National Association of Crimi-	
	549
Questioning by:	563
	535
Senator Specter 537,	
	542 595
Senator HeflinPanel:	999
	599
Plant, Forrest A., Diepenbrock, Wulff, Plant & Hannegan, Sacramento,	602
	606
Cartwright, Robert E., Cartwright, Sucherman, Slobodin & Fowler, Inc.,	613
	625
Kepley, Elizabeth Y., director of legislative affairs, Concerned Women for	
America, on behalf of Beverly LaHaye, president, Concerned Women	
	639
Questioning by: Chairman Biden	646
	648
	650
	653
Senator Heflin	655
Hughes, Johnny L., director, legislative and congressional affairs, Nation-	
al Troopers Association Vaughn, Jerald, executive director, International Association of Chiefs of	661
	668
	679
Questioning by:	000
	$\frac{699}{720}$
	$\frac{720}{720}$
	721

Closing Statements	Page
Biden, Honorable Joseph R., Jr	723
Thurmond, Honorable Strom.	723
Specter, Honorable Arlen	725
Prepared Statements	
•	2.40
Tyler, Harold R., Jr	$\frac{248}{304}$
Tribe, Laurence H	360
Rauh, Joseph L., Jr	382
Ross, Susan Deller	394
Levi, Jeffrey	428
Schaber, Gordon D	458
Levin, A. Leo.	463
Perdue, Wendy Collins	$\frac{470}{477}$
Martinez, Michael	489
Hernandez, Antonia	498
Feinberg, Audrey	546
Wallace, Henry Scott	551
Kiehl, Kristina	565 604
Plant, Forrest A	608
Cartwright, Robert E	615
Colley, Nathaniel S., Sr	628
LaHaye, Beverly	641
Hughes, Johnny L.	663
Vaughn, Jerald Stokes, Dewey R	$\frac{670}{681}$
Stokes, Dewey R	001
Materials Submitted for the Record	
Letter from Harold R. Tyler, Jr. to Chairman Biden regarding the nomination	
of Judge Anthony M. Kennedy to be Associate Justice of the Supreme	
Court of the United States, December 15, 1987	252
Letter from Senator Metzenbaum to Harold R. Tyler, Jr., August 26, 1987	269
Letter from Harold R. Tyler, Jr. to Senator Metzenbaum, September 4, 1987	271
Letter from Senator Specter, with attachment, to Harold R. Tyler, Jr., No-	294
vember 11, 1987 Letter from Harold R. Tyler, Jr. to Senator Specter, November 16, 1987	294 296
Written question submitted by Chairman Biden to Laurence H. Tribe	338
Letter from Laurence H. Tribe to Chairman Biden in response to the Chair-	000
man's written question, January 11, 1988	339
Article by Arthur S. Leonard, "Kennedy and the Gays, Again," New York	400
Native, December 7, 1987	430
Law to Chairman Biden, December 10, 1987	484
Statement of Robert B. McKay	600
Statement of Robert B. McKay	
Boston Globe, December 5, 1987	657
Statement of Larry D. Thompson	692
Statement of Robert R. Fuesel	$\begin{array}{c} 701 \\ 704 \end{array}$
Statement of John J. Bellizzi	713
WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATE MEMBERS AND JUD KENNEDY'S RESPONSES	GE
Questions submitted by Chairman Biden, with Judge Kennedy's answers	727
Questions submitted by Senator DeConcini, with Judge Kennedy's answers	733 737
Questions submitted by Senator Simon, with Judge Kennedy's answers	739
Questions submitted by Senator Levin, with Judge Kennedy's answers	755

VIII

ADDITIONAL SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

AFL-CIO:	-
Letter from Lane Kirkland to Chairman Biden, with attachments, Janu-	Page
ary 22, 1988	757
Alliance for Justice:	
Statement, January 22, 1988	771
American Civil Liberties Union:	
Statement, January 22, 1988	781
American Samoa Government:	
Letter from UTU R.M. Sinagege to Chairman Biden, December 16, 1987	861
Concurrent Resolution	863
Carrington, Frank:	- • -
Statement, December 1987	866
Center for Constitutional Rights:	- • -
Statement	874
Committee for the Preservation of Civil Rights:	٠.٠
Letter to Committee Members, December 11, 1987	883
Doner, Jack:	000
Letter to Chairman Biden, December 18, 1987	889
Federation of Women Lawyers' Judicial Screening Panel, Women's Legal	
Defense Fund and Equal Rights Advocates:	
Statement, January 25, 1988	892
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights:	002
Statement of Benjamin L. Hooks and Ralph G. Neas, December 11, 1987	908
Statement, January 21, 1988	911
McGeorge School of Law:	011
Letter from selected faculty members to Committee Members, December	
10, 1987	914
Telegram from the third year evening class to Chairman Biden, Decem-	017
ber 17, 1987	915
The Nation Institute:	019
"Judge Kennedy's Record. The Supreme Court Watch Project's Analysis	
of the Judicial Opinions of Judge Anthony M. Kennedy"	916
Letter from Emily Sack to Chairman Biden, December 31, 1987	1075
National Abortion Rights Action League:	1010
Statement of Kate Michelman, December 17, 1987	1084
National Association of Women Judges:	1004
Letter to Chairman Biden, January 7, 1988	1098
National Democratic Policy Committee:	1950
Letter from Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. to Chairman Biden	1101
National Lawyers Guild:	1101
Statement with the Center for Constitutional Rights	1104
United States Justice Foundation:	1104
Statement of Gary G. Kreep	1115
Statement of Gary G. Areep	1110

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF WITNESSES, QUESTIONING AND MATERIALS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

AFL-CIO:	D
Letter from Lane Kirkland to Unairman Biden, with attachments, Janu-	Page 757
Alliance for Justice	
Statement, January 22, 1988	771
American Bar Association:	
Letter from Harold R. Tyler, Jr. to Chairman Biden, regarding the nomi-	
nation of Judge Anthony M. Kennedy to be Associate Justice of the	
Supreme Court of the United States, December 15, 1987	252
American Civil Liberties Union:	
Statement, January 22, 1988	781
American Samoa Government:	
	861
	863
	000
Andrews, J. David Testimony	247
	241
Bator, Paul:	200
= -7-7	599
Bellizzi, John J.:	710
	713
Biden, Chairman Joseph R., Jr.:	
Opening Statement	22
Prepared Statement	26
Closing Statement	723
Questioning of:	
Judge Kennedy	234
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
John D. Lane	285
Laurence H. Tribe 335.	343
Panel of Molly Yard, Patricia Ireland, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Susan	
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi 432, 438.	449
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	
Susan Westerberg Prager	479
Panel of Michael Martinez, Audrey Feinberg, Antonia Hernandez,	
Henry Scott Wallace and Kristina Kiehl	542
Panel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	074
Nathaniel S. Colley, Sr., Elizabeth Y. Kepley and Paul Bator 625,	646
	699
	727
	338
	999
Bittick, L. Cary:	704
	704
Byrd, Honorable Robert C.:	
Questioning of:	00.4
Judge Kennedy	234
Carrington, Frank:	
	866
Cartwright, Robert E.:	
Prepared Statement	615
	613
Center for Constitutional Rights:	
	874
Colley, Nathaniel S., Sr.:	
	628
Testimony	625

	Page
Committee for the Preservation of Civil Rights:	00
Letter to Committee Members, December 11, 1987	883
Opening Statement	52
Questioning of:	02
Judge Kennedy	116
Written questions submitted to Judge Kennedy	733
Dole, Honorable Bob:	
Prepared Statement	81
Doner, Jack:	000
Tal T.L. C	889
	247
Fazio, Honorable Vic.	271
Testimony	. 21
Federation of Women Lawyers' Judicial Screening Panel, Women's Legal	•
Defense Fund and Equal Rights Advocates:	
	892
Feinberg, Audrey:	
	546
	543
Fuesel, Robert R.:	701
StatementGrassley, Honorable Charles E.:	701
Opening Statement	54
Prepared Statement	56
Questioning of:	00
Judge Kennedy	207
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
John D. Lane 282,	287
Griswold, Erwin N.:	
	354
Hatch, Honorable Orrin G.:	
Opening Statement	40
Prepared Statement	44
Questioning of:	100
Judge Kennedy	199
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and John D. Lane	261
Heflin, Honorable Howell T.:	201
Opening Statement	70
Prepared Statement	72
Questioning of:	
Judge Kennedy	214
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
	279
Panel of Gordon D. Schaber, A. Leo Levin, Wendy Collins Perdue and	100
Susan Westerberg Prager	480
Panel of Michael Martinez, Audrey Feinberg, Antonia Hernandez,	595
Henry Scott Wallace and Kristina KiehlPanel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	000
Nathaniel S. Colley, Sr., Elizabeth Y. Kepley and Paul Bator	655
	720
Written questions submitted to Judge Kennedy	737
Hernandez, Antonia:	
	498
	495
Hughes, Johnny L.:	000
== · F ···································	663
	661
Humphrey, Honorable Gordon, J.: Opening Statement	76
Prepared Statement	77
Questioning of:	
Judge Kennedy	231
Ireland, Patricia:	
	358

	Page
"Kemp Aids Once Critical of Jews, Catholics," Boston Globe, December 5, 1987	657
Kennedy, Judge Anthony M.:	
Opening Statement	83
Testimony	147
	727
	733
Answers to questions submitted by Senator Heflin	737
	739
	755
Kennedy, Honorable Edward M :	
Opening Statement	38
Prepared Statement	39
Questioning of:	
Judge Kennedy	193
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
John D. Lane	287
Laurence H. Tribe	344
Panel of Molly Yard, Patricia Ireland, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Susan	
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	440
Panel of Michael Martinez, Audrey Feinberg, Antonia Hernandez,	
Henry Scott Wallace and Kristina Kiehl	535
Kepley, Elizabeth Y.:	
Testimony	639
Kiehl, Kristina:	
Prepared Statement	565
Testimony	563
Kuhl, Carolyn:	
Prepared Statement	608
Testimony	606
LaHaye, Beverly:	
	641
Lane, John D.:	
Testimony	247
La Raza Law School Students Association of the McGeorge School of Law:	
Letter to Chairman Biden, December 10, 1987	484
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights:	
Statement of Benjamin L. Hooks and Ralph G. Neas, December 11, 1987	58
Statement, January 21, 1988	911
Leahy, Honorable Patrick J.:	01.
Opening Statement	58
Prepared Statement	61
Questioning of:	.,_
Judge Kennedy	214
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
John D. Lane	272
Leonard, Arthur S.:	
"Kennedy and the Gays, Again," New York Native, December 7, 1987	430
Levi, Jeffrey:	100
Prepared Statement	428
Testimony	426
Levin, A. Leo:	120
Prepared Statement	463
Testimony	462
Levin, Honorable Carl M.:	102
	755
Martinez, Michael:	100
Prepared Statement	489
Testimony	486
Matsui, Honorable Robert T.:	400
Testimony	21
McGeorge School of Law:	21
Letter from selected faculty members to Committee Members, December	
_ 10, 1987	914
Telegram from the third year evening class to Chairman Biden, Decem-	-11
ber 17, 1987	915
McKay, Robert B.:	. I.O
	200

**	Page
Metzenbaum, Honorable Howard M.:	
Opening Statement	46
Prepared Statement	47
Questioning of:	104
Judge Kennedy	, 184
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	nen
John D. Lane	$\frac{260}{348}$
Laurence H. Tribe	940
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	445
Panel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	440
Nathaniel S. Colley, Sr., Elizabeth Y. Kepley and Paul Bator	650
Letter to Harold R. Tyler, Jr., August 26, 1987	269
The Nation Institute:	200
"Judge Kennedy's Record. The Supreme Court Watch Project's Analysis	
of the Judicial Opinions of Judge Anthony M. Kennedy"	916
Letter from Emily Sack to Chairman Biden, December 31, 1987	1075
National Abortion Rights Action League	
	1084
National Association of Women Judges:	
	1098
National Democratic Policy Committee:	
	1101
National Lawyers Guild:	
	1104
Oakley, John B.:	
"A Liberal Democrat's Case for Judge Kennedy," The Sacramento Bee,	10
November 29, 1987 Perdue, Wendy Collins:	18
Prepared Statement	470
Testimony	468
Plant, Forrest A.:	400
Prepared Statement	604
Testimony	602
Prager, Susan Westerberg:	
Prepared Statement	477
Testimony	475
Rauh, Joseph L., Jr.:	
Prepared Statement	382
Testimony	379
Ross, Susan Deller:	20.4
Prepared Statement	394
Testimony	390
Schaber, Gordon D.:	458
Prepared Statement Testimony	456
Letter to Congressman Fazio, December 2, 1987	14
Simon, Honorable Paul:	11
Prepared Statement	79
Questioning of:	
Panel of Molly Yard, Patricia Ireland, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Susan	
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	448
Written questions submitted to Judge Kennedy	739
Simpson, Honorable Alan K.:	
Opening Statement	49
Questioning of:	100
Judge Kennedy	, 198
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and John D. Lane	275
Laurence H. Tribe	341
Panel of Molly Yard, Patricia Ireland, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Susan	041
Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	436
Specter Honorable Arlen	.00
Opening Statement	67
Closing Statement	725
Questioning of: Judga Kennedy 148 219	225
Judga Kennedy 148 219	- 2.79

Specter, Honorable Arlen—Continued	r a,
Questioning of—Continued	
Panel of Harold R. Tyler, Jr., J. David Andrews, John C. Elam and	
John D. Lane	28
Laurence H. Tribe	3
Erwin N. Griswold.	35
Panel of Molly Yard, Patricia Ireland, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Susan Deller Ross and Jeffrey Levi	44
Panel of Michael Martinez, Audrey Feinberg, Antonia Hernandez,	•
Henry Scott Wallace and Kristina Kiehl	50
Panel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	
Nathaniel S. Colley, Sr., Elizabeth Y. Kepley and Paul Bator	6
Panel of Johnny L. Hughes, Jerald Vaughn and Dewey R. Stokes	72
Letter to Harold R. Tyler, Jr., with attachment, November 11, 1987	29
Stokes, Dewey R.:	~
Prepared Statement	68
Testimony	6
Thompson, Larry D.:	69
Statement	D;
Opening Statement	4
Prepared Statement	
Closing Statement	72
Questioning of:	•••
Judge Kennedy	. 18
Judge Kennedy	
John D. Lane Panel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	2
Panel of Forrest A. Plant, Carolyn B. Kuhl, Robert E. Cartwright,	
Nathaniel S. Colley, Sr., Elizabeth Y. Kepley and Paul Bator	64
Panel of Johnny L. Hughes, Jerald Vaughn and Dewey R. Stokes	69
Tribe, Laurence H.:	72
Prepared Statement	30
Testimony	30
Letter to Chairman Biden in response to the Chairman's written ques-	•
tion, January 11, 1988	33
Tyler, Harold R., Jr.:	
Prepared Statement	2
Testimony	2
Letter to Chairman Biden, December 15, 1987	2
Letter to Senator Metzenbaum, September 4, 1987	2
Letter to Senator Specter, November 16, 1987	2
Vaughn, Jerald:	۵.
Prepared Statement	6
Testimony	60
United States Justice Foundation:	11
Statement of Gary G. Kreep	11:
Prepared Statement	5
Testimony	5
Wilson, Honorable Pete:	0,
Prepared Statement	
Testimony	
Witness list	11
Yard, Molly:	
Prepared Statement	3
Testimony	2