

# The Sensenbrenner Hearings

*These are excerpts from the House Judiciary Committee hearing May 30, 2006, on the FBI raid on the Congressional office of Rep. William Jefferson.*

**Rep. James Sensenbrenner (R-Wisc.), Chairman:** On May 20th and 21st, for the first time in 219 years, the Department of Justice entered a Capitol Hill office and removed documents and materials without the involvement of a single legal representative of Congress. Exactly what was taken is known only to the Department of Justice.

Certainly, any member of Congress who has committed a crime should be prosecuted for his criminal acts. But the issues involved in this unprecedented action by the executive branch transcend any particular member.

A constitutional question is raised when communications between members of Congress and their constituents, documents having nothing whatsoever to do with any crime, are seized by the executive branch without constitutional authority.

This seizure occurred without so much as lawyers or representatives of Congress being allowed to simply observe the search and how it was conducted. Neither was anyone representing the institutional interests of Congress allowed to make a case before a judge raising these important separation of powers issues.

Our founding fathers Thomas Jefferson and James Madison made clear that a general legislative constitutional safeguard designed to prevent encroachments by the executive branch upon the legislative branch is embodied in Article I, Section 6, Clause 1 of the Constitution, which provides, "The senators and representatives shall not be questioned for any speech or debate in either house."

The purpose of the speech or debate clause was aptly summarized by the Supreme Court in *Eastland v. U.S. Servicemen's Fund*, in which it stated: "The central role of the clause is to prevent intimidation of legislators by the executive and accountability before a possibly hostile judiciary". . . .

In the case of Representative William J. Jefferson, the search warrant the Justice Department obtained from the federal judge allowed for his congressional office to largely be combed over, with materials including computer hard drives placed in the sole possession of the Department of Justice.

The materials taken very likely include communications created in the course of legitimate legislative process that have nothing to do whatsoever with the criminal inquiry into Representative Jefferson's activities.

The Justice Department had the ability to seek enforce-

ment of their federal grand jury subpoena in federal court to obtain the same documents seized from Congressman Jefferson's Capitol Hill office but chose not to do so. The Justice Department has historically used grand jury subpoenas to obtain documents relevant to a criminal investigation of a congressman or senator. . . .

**Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich), Ranking Member:** This is a historic moment in the House of Representatives. I've been on the Judiciary Committee for four decades now, and never has anything of this nature come to our attention and require that we try to bring the three branches of government into more harmony.

Now, there's no doubt that members of Congress are not above the law. The Public Integrity Unit at the Department of Justice is an aggressive, professional unit. They've convicted one member of Congress this year already, and have several pending investigations. They have the full power of not only the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but the grand jury behind them. And they can be quite persuasive and resourceful when they're interested in obtaining evidence or witnesses in corruption investigations.

But the procedures employed on the Saturday night in question were sloppy at best but reckless at worst.

What we have brought down on our heads is 219 years in which, in this history of the United States, have been able to avoid the spectacle of the Federal Bureau of Investigation swooping down into the Capitol in direct confrontation with another duly empowered police force.

Ten days after the fact, we have yet to be told why the pending subpoena against a member could not have been enforced consistent with the law. We've never been told why this search had to be done in the middle of the night, at a time when the constitutional representatives of this body were unreachable.

And we've never learned why the member in question was not permitted to have his attorneys present while his offices were searched for some 18 hours. . . .

**Rep. Robert C. Scott (D-Va.):** . . . But there is a concern with this because this kind of search hasn't happened in the history of the United States. Over 200 years, it hasn't happened. It didn't happen in Representative Cunningham's case. It hadn't happen in any Abramoff investigations. It didn't happen when Representative Traficant was accused of taking kickbacks right from his office. Wasn't used in the bank scandal or even Abscam.

What is so special about this case that this procedure had to be used?

It is also a concern about the breadth of the subpoena. I think the analysis would be different in the subpoena had been based on the fact that a reliable informant had said that, "There's evidence that can be found in the lower left-hand drawer." Say, the money was there. They went in, executed the search warrant, came out with the money, and left.

I think the analysis would be a little different than the FBI staying there for 18 hours, rummaging through everything, including documents, which you have to read all the documents to know what you have, which means all of the sensitive information, all of your sources, if you're having an impeachment inquiry, all of that information gets to be read, sensitive information from constituents, all is read before you can get to anything that you know you might use. . . .

**Charles Tiefer, Professor, University of Baltimore School of Law:** I was solicitor and deputy general of the House in 1984-1995. That's the office that represents the bipartisan leadership group of the House of Representatives in court.

The framers' purpose in the speech or debate clause of the Constitution was, "to prevent intimidation by the executive," of the Congress. That's the Supreme Court's term, "intimidation." And the clause applies to all the records in the Congress of legislative activities: not just floor speeches and bills, but most of the work in committees and legislative caucuses.

Its privilege is not that it puts members above the law. Members are frequently investigated, frequently charged, frequently tried, frequently convicted. But it is an absolute privilege against law enforcers getting or seeing or using the legislative records I just talked about.

During my 11 years in service for the House and 4 years in a similar Senate office before then, many investigations occurred successfully of members of Congress. I cited some of them in my testimony. They started with Abscam, which occurred soon after I started work. We had Congressman Flake, Congressman Biaggi, Congressman Rostenkowski, Congressman Swindoll, Congressman McDade. Several of these were acquitted, several of these were convicted. The process succeeded, it worked.

Not during that time, not before then, not since then in two centuries has the Justice Department ever resorted to a raid on Congress to get its evidence.

Now, this raid had all the elements of unconstitutional executive intimidation. It breached what I have just described, a previously sacrosanct constitutional tradition. Without—

not just without a showing of a unique necessity, but not even a claim of unique necessity. . . .

And now we look at those methods. What were those methods? I think that the opening statements of the chair and the ranking member and the other members have ably brought out what was involved in those methods: sweeping, indiscriminate wholesale search by the FBI of the entire office of this member for 18 hours during the night and the downloading of the whole hard drive of his computer, besides carting away reams of documents.

When you take the whole computer of a member of Congress, that means you're catching countless innocent constituents in there in your dragnet.

And since every congressional office contains extensive privileged legislative materials—because that's what the members are here to do, legislative work—that means that there inevitably was a wholesale constitutional violation, a wholesale intrusion by executive agents, in an intimidating way, of legislative materials.

Furthermore, there was the exclusion of the House counsel even as a mere observer, and neither the representative nor any counsel were enabled to make privileged objections. Instead, the Justice Department appointed itself to look into everything and to decide for itself what was privileged. . . .

**Jonathan Turley, Professor of Law, George Washington University Law School:** There have been very few times that this House has faced a moment of self-definition, where your identity and your independence are at issue.

The raid on this office of Representative Jefferson represents a profound and almost gratuitous insult to a coequal branch of government. In the history of this country, no President has ever ordered or allowed a search of the office of a sitting member of this House.

Now, there's a reason for that, that over 200 years this hasn't occurred. It's not because there has been a lack of interest of criminal investigators; there have been many investigations and many prosecutions. But there has been a tradition of mutual respect and mutual restraint between the branches. What occurred on that Saturday night shattered that tradition. . . .

And by the way, there's this great irony that in this administration there seems to be no limits as to claims of what executive privilege means; that executive privilege covers the Vice President, covers everything that comes within a mile of the White House.

Executive privilege isn't mentioned in the Constitution; it was created by the courts. And yet you have this robust interpretation. But the privilege that is mentioned, apparently is too small to even slow an FBI raid on an office.

**Bruce Fein, former Reagan-Bush Justice Department official:** Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, checks and balances are every bit as indispensable to our civil liberties as the Bill of Rights. And yet the Bush Administration has been bent on a scheme for years of reducing Congress

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to akin to an extra in a Cecil B. DeMille political extravaganza: signing statements that are the equivalent of line-item vetoes; the assertion of executive privilege to deny Congress any authority to oversee executive branch operations; a claim of inherent presidential authority to flout any statute that he thinks impedes his ability to gather foreign intelligence, whether opening mail, conducting electronic surveillance, breaking and entering, or committing torture.

This latest use of a search warrant by the executive branch to rummage through the files of a member's office is simply an additional instrument of the Bush Administration to cow Congress.

It is exceptionally important that the Congress respond clearly and authoritatively with a statute that rejects the authority of the executive branch, whether or not a search warrant is authorized by a judge, to look through the files of a member's office and glance at legislative protected materials under the speech or debate clause.

That kind of authority can be abused to intimidate, to cow Congress into submission to executive desires.

Principles unchecked lie around like loaded weapons, and they will be used for political purposes whenever an urgent need is claimed by the incumbent. That's why it's so important to reject the principle involved in the search warrant, not focus on the details of the Jefferson warrant and search.

The speech or debate clause is violated whenever the executive branch would obtain a search warrant that would require reading the files of a member's office in order to determine whether any of the documents fit the demands of the search warrant. And that's the only way in which a search warrant for documents can be implemented. You have to read every file to know whether or not it identifies something in the search warrant. And that, inescapably, means when you're searching a legislative office, you must come across speech- or debate-protected materials.

## Impeachment

**Rep. Darrell Issa (R-Calif.):** We have—and I hope this is appropriately controversial—we have the power to impeach the attorney general. We have the power to impeach that particular judge who decided that our body, particularly even our own very small police force, had no powers to stop the other two branches. . . .

**Turley:** But I also want to encourage you that the framers gave you the ability of self-defense. You have appropriations authority, oversight authority, you have, ultimately, the impeachment authority. And I don't consider that to be such a trivial question. I think that when you have an offense that strikes at the separation of powers, you're talking about something that threatens the very stability of the system. You have those powers, and I hope that you will use them, because the framers expected that you would jealously protect your own authority, because I promise you the other branches are not likely to do so with as equal vigor. . . .