

from Washington (Ms. CANTWELL) were added as cosponsors of S. 1065, a bill to authorize State and local governments to direct divestiture from, and prevent investment in, companies with investments of \$20,000,000 or more in Iran's energy sector, and for other purposes.

S. 1121

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. BEGICH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1121, a bill to amend part D of title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide grants for the repair, renovation, and construction of elementary and secondary schools, including early learning facilities at the elementary schools.

S. 1215

At the request of Mr. CASEY, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1215, a bill to amend the Safe Drinking Water Act to repeal a certain exemption for hydraulic fracturing, and for other purposes.

S. 1239

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mrs. HAGAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1239, a bill to amend section 340B of the Public Health Service Act to revise and expand the drug discount program under that section to improve the provision of discounts on drug purchases for certain safety net providers.

S. 1265

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mr. MARTINEZ) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1265, a bill to amend the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 to provide members of the Armed Forces and their family members equal access to voter registration assistance, and for other purposes.

S. 1379

At the request of Mr. WHITEHOUSE, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. BENNET) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1379, a bill to encourage energy efficiency and conservation and development of renewable energy sources for housing, commercial structures, and other buildings, and to create sustainable communities.

S. 1428

At the request of Mr. WHITEHOUSE, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1428, a bill to amend the Toxic Substances Control Act to phase out the use of mercury in the manufacture of chlorine and caustic soda, and for other purposes.

S. 1439

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. RISCH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1439, a bill to provide for duty-free treatment of certain recreational performance outerwear, and for other purposes.

S. 1490

At the request of Mr. LEAHY, the name of the Senator from New York

(Mr. SCHUMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1490, a bill to prevent and mitigate identity theft, to ensure privacy, to provide notice of security breaches, and to enhance criminal penalties, law enforcement assistance, and other protections against security breaches, fraudulent access, and misuse of personally identifiable information.

S. 1505

At the request of Mr. PRYOR, the name of the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SESSIONS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1505, a bill to provide immigration reform by securing America's borders, clarifying and enforcing existing laws, and enabling a practical employer verification program, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 1701

At the request of Mr. JOHANNIS, the name of the Senator from Kansas (Mr. ROBERTS) was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 1701 intended to be proposed to S. 1390, an original bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2010 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. FEINGOLD (for himself, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, and Mr. CARDIN):

S. 1516. A bill to secure the Federal voting rights of persons who have been released from incarceration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, in a democracy, no right is more important than the right to vote; in our democracy, no right has been so dearly won. This country was founded on the idea that a just government derives its power from the consent of the governed, a principle codified in the very first words of our Constitution: "We the People of the United States." From the Civil War through the women's suffrage movement through the Voting Rights Act of 1965 through the 26th Amendment, the continuing expansion of the franchise, a broadening of who "we the people" are, is one of our great American narratives.

Today I introduce the Democracy Restoration Act of 2009. This bill will guarantee that citizens who are not incarcerated have the right to vote in Federal elections. I am proud that the junior Senator from Rhode Island, Sen. WHITEHOUSE, and the junior Senator from Maryland, Sen. CARDIN, have agreed to cosponsor this legislation.

Once, only wealthy white men could vote. Once, African Americans, ethnic minorities, women, young people, the poor, and the uneducated were all excluded. Today, we look back at those times and wonder how our country could have denied its citizens such a fundamental right for so long. Yet

today, we continue to disenfranchise an estimated four million of our fellow citizens who were convicted of felonies but are no longer in prison. Two million of these people have fully served their sentences, and the other two million are on probation, parole, or supervised release. These people are living and working in the community, paying taxes, and contributing to society. But they cannot vote.

At this time, 10 States still strip some people who have entirely completed their sentences—who have paid their debt to society—of their right to vote. Some 35 States deny the vote to people on parole, and 30 of those states also deny the vote to people on probation. I believe that the practice of stripping our fellow citizens of their voting rights is un-American. It weakens our democracy. It is an anachronism, one of the last vestiges of a medieval jurisprudence that declared convicted criminals to be outlaws, irrevocably expelled from society. This principle was called "civil death."

Back then, in the despotisms of medieval Europe, it was reserved for the worst crimes. Yet today, here, in the greatest democracy in the world, we continue to sentence 4 million people—people who have served their time, people who are contributing members of society—to civil death.

One might ask how something as undemocratic as civil death could have survived to the present day. Unfortunately the practice of disenfranchising people with felony convictions has an explicitly racist history. Like the grandfather clause, the literacy test, and the poll tax, civil death became a tool of Jim Crow.

Across the country, thirteen percent of African-American men are disenfranchised because of a felony conviction. In 14 States, civil death provisions have stripped more than ten percent of the entire African-American voting-age population of the right to vote. In 4 States, civil death provisions disenfranchise more than 20 percent of eligible African-American voters.

The architects of Jim Crow would be proud of their handiwork, and how it has lasted long after the rest of their evil system was dismantled. The rest of us should be ashamed, and yes, outraged. If we believe in redemption, we should be outraged. Because civil death has denied 4 million Americans a chance at redemption. If we believe in progress, we should be outraged. Because civil death keeps this country chained to the worst moments of our past. If we believe in democracy, we should be outraged. Because civil death strikes at the heart of our democracy.

There is a growing movement across the country to expand the franchise and restore voting rights to people coming out of prison and reentering the community. In the last decade, 16 states have reformed their laws to expand the franchise or ease voting rights restoration procedures. This bill continues that movement. It provides

that the right to vote for candidates for Federal office shall not be denied or abridged because a person has been convicted of a crime unless that person is actually in prison serving a felony sentence. It gives the Attorney General of the U.S. the power to obtain declaratory or injunctive relief to enforce that right. It gives a person whose rights are being violated a right to go to court to get relief.

The bill also requires federal and state officials to notify individuals of their right to vote once their sentences have been served. This is an important part of the bill, given the long history of these civil death provisions. Even after this bill passes, many ex-offenders may not know their rights, and we should take affirmative steps to make sure that they do.

Upon signing the Voting Rights Act of 1965, President Johnson said:

The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men.

When prisoners return to their communities after serving their sentences, we expect and hope that they will reintegrate themselves into society as productive citizens. Yet, without the right to vote, rehabilitated felons are already a step behind in regaining a sense of civic responsibility and commitment to their communities. If our country wants ex-offenders to succeed at becoming better citizens, who both abide by the law and act as responsible individuals, then we need to restore this most fundamental right. I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1516

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Democracy Restoration Act of 2009".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The right to vote is the most basic constitutive act of citizenship. Regaining the right to vote reintegrates offenders into free society, helping to enhance public safety.

(2) Article I, section 4 of the Constitution of the United States grants Congress ultimate supervisory power over Federal elections, an authority which has repeatedly been upheld by the Supreme Court.

(3) Basic constitutional principles of fairness and equal protection require an equal opportunity for Americans to vote in Federal elections. The right to vote may not be abridged or denied by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, gender or previous condition of servitude. The 14th, 15th, 19th, 24th, and 26th Amendments to the Constitution empower Congress to enact measures to protect the right to vote in Federal elections.

(4) There are three areas where discrepancies in State laws regarding felony convictions

lead to unfairness in Federal elections—

(A) there is no uniform standard for voting in Federal elections which leads to an unfair disparity and unequal participation in Federal elections based solely on where a person lives;

(B) laws governing the restoration of voting rights after a felony conviction vary throughout the country and persons in some States can easily regain their voting rights while in other States persons effectively lose their right to vote permanently; and

(C) State disenfranchisement laws disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities.

(5) Disenfranchisement results from varying State laws that restrict voting while under some form of criminal justice supervision or after the completion of a felony sentence in some States. Two States do not disenfranchise felons at all (Maine and Vermont). Forty-eight States and the District of Columbia have disenfranchisement laws that deprive convicted offenders of the right to vote while they are in prison. In thirty-five States, convicted offenders may not vote while they are on parole and thirty of these States disenfranchise felony probationers as well. In ten States, a conviction can result in lifetime disenfranchisement.

(6) An estimated 5,300,000 Americans, or about one in forty-one adults, currently cannot vote as a result of a felony conviction. Nearly 4,000,000 (74 percent) of the 5,300,000 disqualified voters are not in prison, but are on probation or parole, or are ex-offenders. Approximately 2,000,000 of those individuals are individuals who have completed their entire sentence, including probation and parole, yet remain disenfranchised.

(7) In those States that disenfranchise ex-offenders, the right to vote can be regained in theory, but in practice this possibility is often granted in a nonuniform and potentially discriminatory manner. Offenders must either obtain a pardon or order from the Governor or action by the parole or pardon board, depending on the offense and State. Offenders convicted of a Federal offense often have additional barriers to regaining voting rights.

(8) State disenfranchisement laws disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities. Eight percent of the African American population, or 2,000,000 African Americans, are disenfranchised. Given current rates of incarceration, approximately one in three of the next generation of African American men will be disenfranchised at some point during their lifetime. Hispanic citizens are also disproportionately disenfranchised based upon their disproportionate representation in the criminal justice system.

(9) Disenfranchising citizens who have been convicted of a felony offense and who are living and working in the community serves no compelling State interest and hinders their rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

(10) State disenfranchisement laws can suppress electoral participation among eligible voters by discouraging voting among family and community members of disenfranchised persons. Future electoral participation by the children of disenfranchised parents may be impacted as well.

(11) The United States is the only Western democracy that permits the permanent denial of voting rights to individuals with felony convictions.

SEC. 3. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

The right of an individual who is a citizen of the United States to vote in any election for Federal office shall not be denied or

abridged because that individual has been convicted of a criminal offense unless such individual is serving a felony sentence in a correctional institution or facility at the time of the election.

SEC. 4. ENFORCEMENT.

(a) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney General may, in a civil action, obtain such declaratory or injunctive relief as is necessary to remedy a violation of this Act.

(b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—A person who is aggrieved by a violation of this Act may provide written notice of the violation to the chief election official of the State involved.

(2) RELIEF.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), if the violation is not corrected within 90 days after receipt of a notice under paragraph (1), or within 20 days after receipt of the notice if the violation occurred within 120 days before the date of an election for Federal office, the aggrieved person may, in a civil action obtain declaratory or injunctive relief with respect to the violation.

(3) EXCEPTION.—If the violation occurred within 30 days before the date of an election for Federal office, the aggrieved person need not provide notice to the chief election official of the State under paragraph (1) before bringing a civil action to obtain declaratory or injunctive relief with respect to the violation.

SEC. 5. NOTIFICATION OF RESTORATION OF VOTING RIGHTS.

(a) STATE NOTIFICATION.—

(1) NOTIFICATION.—On the date determined under paragraph (2), each State shall notify in writing any individual who has been convicted of a criminal offense under the law of that State that such individual has the right to vote in an election for Federal office pursuant to the Democracy Restoration Act and may register to vote in any such election.

(2) DATE OF NOTIFICATION.—

(A) FELONY CONVICTION.—In the case of such an individual who has been convicted of a felony, the notification required under paragraph (1) shall be given on the date on which the individual—

(i) is sentenced to serve only a term of probation; or

(ii) is released from the custody of that State (other than to the custody of another State or the Federal Government to serve a term of imprisonment for a felony conviction).

(B) MISDEMEANOR CONVICTION.—In the case of such an individual who has been convicted of a misdemeanor, the notification required under paragraph (1) shall be given on the date on which such individual is sentenced by a State court.

(b) FEDERAL NOTIFICATION.—

(1) NOTIFICATION.—On the date determined under paragraph (2), the Director of the Bureau of Prisons shall notify in writing any individual who has been convicted of a criminal offense under Federal law that such individual has the right to vote in an election for Federal office pursuant to the Democracy Restoration Act and may register to vote in any such election.

(2) DATE OF NOTIFICATION.—

(A) FELONY CONVICTION.—In the case of such an individual who has been convicted of a felony, the notification required under paragraph (1) shall be given on the date on which the individual—

(i) is sentenced to serve only a term of probation by a court established by an Act of Congress; or

(ii) is released from the custody of the Bureau of Prisons (other than to the custody of a State to serve a term of imprisonment for a felony conviction).

(B) MISDEMEANOR CONVICTION.—In the case of such an individual who has been convicted

of a misdemeanor, the notification required under paragraph (1) shall be given on the date on which such individual is sentenced by a State court.

SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of this Act:

(1) **CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION OR FACILITY.**—The term “correctional institution or facility” means any prison, penitentiary, jail, or other institution or facility for the confinement of individuals convicted of criminal offenses, whether publicly or privately operated, except that such term does not include any residential community treatment center (or similar public or private facility).

(2) **ELECTION.**—The term “election” means—

(A) a general, special, primary, or runoff election;

(B) a convention or caucus of a political party held to nominate a candidate;

(C) a primary election held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party; or

(D) a primary election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President.

(3) **FEDERAL OFFICE.**—The term “Federal office” means the office of President or Vice President of the United States, or of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States.

(4) **PROBATION.**—The term “probation” means probation, imposed by a Federal, State, or local court, with or without a condition on the individual involved concerning—

(A) the individual’s freedom of movement;

(B) the payment of damages by the individual;

(C) periodic reporting by the individual to an officer of the court; or

(D) supervision of the individual by an officer of the court.

SEC. 7. RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.

(a) **STATE LAWS RELATING TO VOTING RIGHTS.**—Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit the States from enacting any State law which affords the right to vote in any election for Federal office on terms less restrictive than those established by this Act.

(b) **CERTAIN FEDERAL ACTS.**—The rights and remedies established by this Act are in addition to all other rights and remedies provided by law, and neither rights and remedies established by this Act shall supersede, restrict, or limit the application of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) or the National Voter Registration Act (42 U.S.C. 1973–gg).

SEC. 8. FEDERAL PRISON FUNDS.

No State, unit of local government, or other person may receive or use, to construct or otherwise improve a prison, jail, or other place of incarceration, any Federal grant amounts unless that person has in effect a program under which each individual incarcerated in that person’s jurisdiction who is a citizen of the United States is notified, upon release from such incarceration, of that individual’s rights under section 3.

SEC. 9. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This Act shall apply to citizens of the United States voting in any election for Federal office held after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 223—DESIGNATING SEPTEMBER 2009 AS “NATIONAL CHILD AWARENESS MONTH” TO PROMOTE AWARENESS OF CHARITIES BENEFITTING CHILDREN AND YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND RECOGNIZING EFFORTS MADE BY THESE CHARITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH AS CRITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION

Mr. BURR (for himself and Mrs. FEINSTEIN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 223

Whereas millions of children and youth in the United States represent the hopes and future of the United States;

Whereas numerous individuals, charities benefitting children, and youth-serving organizations that work with children and youth collaborate to provide invaluable services to enrich and better the lives of children and youth throughout the United States;

Whereas raising awareness of and increasing support for organizations that provide access to healthcare, social services, education, the arts, sports, and other services will result in the development of character and the future success of the children and youth of our nation;

Whereas September, as the school year begins, is a time when parents, families, teachers, school administrators, and communities increase their focus on children and youth throughout the United States;

Whereas September is a time for the people of the United States to highlight and be mindful of the needs of children and youth;

Whereas private corporations and businesses have joined with hundreds of national and local charitable organizations throughout the United States in support of a month-long focus on children and youth; and

Whereas designating September 2009 as “National Child Awareness Month” would recognize that a long-term commitment to children and youth is in the public interest, and will encourage widespread support for charities and organizations that seek to provide a better future for the children and youth of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate designates September 2009 as “National Child Awareness Month”—

(1) to promote awareness of charities benefitting children and youth-serving organizations throughout the United States; and

(2) to recognize efforts made by such charities and organizations on behalf of children and youth as critical contributions to the future of the United States.

SENATE RESOLUTION 224—RECOGNIZING THE INCREASINGLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Mr. BOND (for himself and Mr. INOUE) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 224

Whereas the historical ties between the United States and the Republic of Indonesia began during the struggle of the people of Indonesia to become independent and the early years of independence beginning in 1945;

Whereas the constitutionally required “free and active” foreign policy of Indonesia resulted in a close relationship with the United States, and this relationship reflects growing connections between the developed and the developing world;

Whereas, following the 1998 financial crisis of Asia, Indonesia instituted numerous democratic reforms, including amending the constitution of Indonesia in order to become more democratic and transparent, holding the first direct presidential election in 2004, and direct, nationwide local elections beginning in 2006, and giving the judicial branch independent administrative and financial responsibility for all courts in 2004;

Whereas the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the first President of Indonesia elected directly by the people, is strongly committed to strengthening democracy and remains focused on developing good governance and promoting and protecting human rights, civil liberties, a free press, and a vibrant civil society;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia continues to reform the military in accordance with internationally accepted democratic principles;

Whereas Indonesia signed a peace agreement in August 2005 that ended the conflict in Aceh, met its obligations under the agreement, oversaw the return of normalcy to Aceh, and held free, transparent, and peaceful elections for local government leaders in December 2006;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia continues to work to peacefully resolve other internal conflicts, including Papua, with concern for the welfare and security of the entire population;

Whereas, following the recovery of economic and political stability in Indonesia after the 1998 Asian financial crisis, the country regained a pivotal role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and continues to work toward a secure, peaceful, and vibrant Southeast Asia, particularly by successfully proposing to establish the ASEAN Security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community, and the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community;

Whereas the Government and the people of Indonesia endured several terrorist bombings, have shown resilience in the fight against international terrorism by apprehending and bringing to justice numerous perpetrators, and remain open to international cooperation in this area;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia, together with the Governments of Malaysia and Singapore as fellow littoral states and user-countries, maintains and is further strengthening efforts to secure the important international shipping lane in the Malacca Strait;

Whereas, as shown in international fora, the Government of Indonesia remains committed to addressing the problems related to the control of the spread of weapons of mass destruction;

Whereas the Government of Indonesia deployed a military battalion to support the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations Interim Force In Lebanon, and as the largest Muslim democracy in the world, has helped facilitate dialogue among many Islamic factions in the Middle East; and

Whereas, though the Government of Indonesia has shown significant progress in the areas of democracy, good governance, human rights, and counterterrorism, there remains