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Senate

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU, a Senator from the State of New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, Rabbi Gary Zola, Jacob Rader Marcus Center, Cincinnati, OH.

PRAYER

The guest Chaplain offered the following prayer:

Eternal One, Rock of all ages, help us to hear the voices of our forebears that still linger in the silent places of this historic Chamber of debate and decision. Let us draw devotional inspiration this morning from the life of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, founder of the Hebrew Union College, who led this Senate in prayer 135 years ago to this very week. May one brief moment from the life of this famed American clergyman renew in us a commitment to the core of righteous living.

For we have been taught that once, when this rabbi took ill amidst a class and was compelled to descend from his teaching platform, a young, eager student jumped up, grabbed his arm, and said: "May I help you down, Doctor?"

In response to this question, the rabbi uttered words that remind us anew of what is good and what God does require of us all: "Never help a person down," the rabbi told his student. "Try always to help people up."

In this year, marking 350 years of Jewish life in America, we offer up our prayerful and reverential gratitude to the source of life for implanting within our hearts the vision of our noble Republic, ever striving to help people up.

O may all who labor in this House—and in every house—be inspired anew by the prophet Micah's exhortation, a charge that the father of this Nation deeply cherished and repeatedly cited: Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.

Fervently we pray that the vision we hallow will animate all of us to live

"with malice toward none, with charity for all . . . [so we can finish] the work we are in."

Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. STEVENS).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, May 26, 2005.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable JOHN E. SUNUNU, a Senator from the State of New Hampshire, to perform the duties of the Chair.

TED STEVENS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SUNUNU thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, today, following the leader time, we will resume debate on the nomination of John Bolton to be ambassador to the Security Council of the United Nations. The debate will be divided until the cloture

vote which is scheduled for 6 o'clock tonight. If we are able to invoke cloture at 6, then we would immediately vote up or down on the nomination of John Bolton. We will also receive from the House a short-term extension of the highway bill. We will need to pass that measure before we finish our work for the week as well. We hope to finish our business this evening, and if so, we would not be in session on Friday. That implies a full day today, a lot of discussion and cooperation among our colleagues to accomplish that. We will be making further announcements regarding our schedule when we return at the close of business today.

Finally, I ask unanimous consent that at 5:30, Senator STEVENS be recognized for up to 10 minutes, to be followed by the Democratic leader for 10 minutes, to be followed by the majority leader for up to 10 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader is recognized.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, so we have an orderly process on our side, I would ask unanimous consent that of the time that has been allotted this side, Senator BOXER be given 45 minutes; Senator DODD, 60 minutes; Senator SARBANES, 15 minutes; Senator VOINOVICH, 30 minutes; Senator KERRY, 30 minutes; Senator FEINGOLD, 20 minutes; Senator NELSON of Florida, 10 minutes; Senator OBAMA, 15 minutes; Senator REID, 15 minutes; and Senator BIDEN to control the remaining time for 15 minutes. I am quite certain that the staff has worked it out so our time

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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is equal to what Senator LUGAR controls on his side. If there is any difference in the numbers, he and Senator DODD can adjust it accordingly.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

NOMINATION OF JOHN ROBERT BOLTON TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume executive session for the consideration of Calendar No. 103, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of John Robert Bolton, of Maryland, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the time until 6 p.m. will be equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which 1 hour will be reserved under the control of the Senator from Ohio, Mr. VOINOVICH, and with the exceptions just noted by consent.

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I will yield shortly to distinguished colleagues who have sought an opportunity to speak for the first time on the nomination of John Bolton. I had the privilege of addressing the Senate yesterday for over 50 minutes in which I attempted to outline all of the best reasons for John Bolton's confirmation, which I hope will occur today. I believe he will be an outstanding representative of our country, a very able diplomat to the United Nations.

During the course of my comments—now reflected, because they were delivered yesterday, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today—we attempted to go through each of the case histories of interviews completed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in response to the questions or allegations made about the nominee. Affirmatively, I have tried to point out the tens of very able Americans who have endorsed John Bolton, including a large number of former Secretaries of State, Defense, National Security Directors, and, most importantly, people who have worked with him at the United Nations, at USAID.

I ask Members to reference the specifics of my speech yesterday, if there are questions with regard to the work done by the able staff on both sides of the Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee, to make certain that each of the arguments that has been presented has been met and fairly argued.

During the entirety of the debate yesterday, the arguments that were made were not new ones. They may be important ones, and perhaps they will be reargued today. But I ask Members to think constructively now about the President of the United States, his desire for reform of the United Nations, and his desire to have John Bolton there at the United Nations to work in that capacity for reform of an institution that the United States wishes to see much stronger, more able, and certainly a valuable part of American diplomacy and national security policy.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I listen to my distinguished chairman, and I wonder who he is actually talking about when he says there is so much support for John Bolton. There has been an unprecedented outcry of Republicans and Democrats against this nomination.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the votes on U.S. ambassadors at the United Nations since 1945.

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

VOTES ON U.S. AMBASSADORS TO THE UN

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (1945–1946): Voice Vote

Warren R. Austin (1947–1953): Unanimous Consent

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1953–1960): Unanimous Consent

James J. Wadsworth (1960–1961): Unanimous Consent

Adlai E. Stevenson (1961–1965): Unanimous Consent

Arthur J. Goldberg (1965–1968): Unanimous Consent

George W. Ball (1968–1968): Unanimous Consent

James Russell Wiggins (1968–1969): Unanimous Consent

Charles W. Yost (1969–1971): Unanimous Consent

George Bush (1971–1973): Unanimous Consent

John A. Scali (1973–1975): Unanimous Consent

Daniel P. Moynihan (1975–1976): Unanimous Consent

William W. Scranton (1976–1977): Unanimous Consent

Andrew J. Young (1977–1979) 89–3 :

Donald F. McHenry (1979–1981) 83–0 :

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (1981–1985) 81–0 :

Vernon A. Walters (1985–1989): Voice Vote

Thomas R. Pickering (1989–1992) 99–0 :

Edward Joseph Perkins (1992–1993): Unanimous Consent

Madeleine K. Albright (1993–1997): Unanimous Consent

Bill Richardson 100–0 (1997–1998):

Richard Holbrooke (1999–2001) 81–16 :

John D. Negroponte (2001–2004): Voice Vote

John C. Danforth (2004–2005): Voice Vote

Mrs. BOXER. What this will show for the record is that starting in 1945, we have had voice votes and unanimous consent votes on almost all of these nominees. There were few exceptions. Andrew Young got the post 89 to 2;

Donald McHenry, 83 to nothing—they had votes—Jeane Kirkpatrick, 81 to nothing. The largest “no” vote was Richard Holbrooke, who had 16 against him. Bill Richardson was 100 to nothing; John Negroponte, voice vote; Danforth, voice vote.

I am putting this in the RECORD because when you listen to my friends who are supporting John Bolton, you would think that this is just a run-of-the-mill type appointment, that it is usual to have this kind of firestorm. Nothing could be further from the truth. This nomination is a diversion from the consensus candidates that we have had in the past. Since my chairman talked about all the support John Bolton has, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD in a letter dated May 9, 2005.

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

Updated May 9, 2005.

Hon. RICHARD G. LUGAR,
Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

Hon. JOSEPH R. BIDEN,
Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR LUGAR AND SENATOR BIDEN: We have noted with appreciation the moves of President Bush at the beginning of his second term to improve U.S. relations with the countries of the European Union and of the United Nations. Maintaining these ties and the willingness of those countries to cooperate with the United States is essential to U.S. security.

It is for this reason that we write you to express our concern over the nomination of John R. Bolton to be permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations. We urge you to reject that nomination.

By virtue of service in the State Department, USAID and Justice Departments, John Bolton has the professional background needed for this position. But his past activities and statements indicate conclusively that he is the wrong man for this position at a time when the U.N. is entering a critically important phase of modernization, seeking to promote economic development and democratic reforms and searching for ways to cope better with proliferation crises and a spurt of natural disasters and internal conflicts.

John Bolton has an exceptional record of opposition to efforts to enhance U.S. security through arms control. He led a campaign against ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Today, the administration is pressing for development of new types of nuclear weapons. John Bolton blocked more extensive international agreement to limit sales of small arms, the main killer in internal wars. He led the fight to continue U.S. refusal to participate in the Ottawa Landmine Treaty. Today, the U.S. has joined Russia and China in insisting on the right to continue to deploy antipersonnel landmines. John Bolton crafted the U.S. withdrawal from the joint efforts of 40 countries to formulate a verification system for the Biological Weapons Convention and blocked continuation of these efforts in a period of increasing concern over potential terrorist use of these weapons and of terrorist access to the stocks of countries covertly producing these weapons. John Bolton's unsubstantiated claims that Cuba and Syria