

talking about families on the ranch, for example, when they have to pay for their own and it costs \$15,000 a year for insurance. I am talking about the things we might do to give more tax-free savings accounts so these insurance policies can be more for coverage of catastrophic events and be less expensive and we can have more ownership in them. Those are the kinds of things we need to take a look at.

We need to promote agriculture in our trade programs that will be coming up. Agriculture is a very difficult issue with respect to foreign trade, but it is very important.

I spent some time in Argentina at the global warming meeting and I got some insight as to what is happening in Brazil and Argentina in terms of livestock production, and it is going to be enormous. We have to be prepared.

Obviously, we will be talking about changes in Social Security. We will be meeting with the President today, with the Finance Committee, to get better ideas of what the details are, but clearly we need to do something there.

The highway bill—we have gone several years without the highway bill we passed some time ago. Can you think of anything more important in our communities than to maintain and develop new highways and keep them up? We have not done that, and we need to do it.

Tort reform—whether it is broad, whether it is class action suits, whether it is malpractice in health care—these are issues we need to accomplish. We talk about them, we argue about them, and then we walk away from them. It seems to me there are a number of those issues where we ought to just buckle down and come to the snugging post and do some things that need to be done.

Spending? I don't think any of us deny that we need to do something about spending. We need to do something about the deficit that we have created—that we have created. We need to do some things there.

I think we have some real opportunities to do some more than we have in the past. We have a chance to move forward.

Class action is apparently going to be out here soon. Clearly, there are some changes that need to be made. The whole tort reform area is difficult. Nevertheless, we ought to be able to do that.

Those are the things I hope we can take a long look at. I know we all have some different ideas about what the priorities ought to be. But it is pretty clear some of these things need to be handled. There are different views about how they need to be handled, but something needs to be done about them, and it is our responsibility to do that. We can fuss and have disagreements and walk off the floor and all that sort of thing, but the fact is, it is our responsibility to do things. It is our opportunity to do them now. I look forward to a productive session. I hope we can get started very soon.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

#### NOMINATION OF CONDOLEEZZA RICE

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise according to the order to speak as in morning business, but I will be addressing my remarks to the nomination of Dr. Rice to be Secretary of State.

First, in supporting Dr. Rice's nomination, I wish to set this in context. President Bush was reelected last November. He took the oath of office last Thursday and swore to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution and the laws give him the authority to nominate people who he wants to take leadership positions in his administration.

We, now, have our constitutional responsibility in the Senate of the United States to advise and consent. But I have always believed that our responsibility to advise and consent does not mean we have to agree with every opinion or every action the nominee has ever taken, but that nominee deserves the benefit of the doubt and our responsibility is to determine whether the nominee is fit for the position for which the President has nominated him or her, and whether the nominee, in our judgment, will serve in the national interest. Of course, I conclude that Dr. Condoleezza Rice met that standard at least and much more.

Second, this element of the context in which this nomination is put before us. We are at war. It is a war unlike any we have ever fought before. Here I speak of the world war with Islamic terrorism. It is joined on battlefields in places like Iraq, of course, but it is being fought in the shadows and corners against an enemy that is driven by fanaticism and acts without regard to human life—others or their own.

I embrace the best tradition of American foreign policy that says and always has said that partisanship should end at the Nation's shores. Note this: It doesn't say policy differences should end; it doesn't say ideological differences should end; it says partisanship should end at the Nation's shores, particularly so when our Nation is engaged in war, a global war on terrorism, a war in Iraq in which Americans have lost their lives in the cause of freedom and in protection of our security.

What I wish to say here is that the nomination of Secretary of State in a second term of a President naturally is an opportunity, appropriately, for people to raise questions about the foreign policy of that administration. But in the final analysis, I hope it is also an opportunity around this very qualified nominee for us to come together and say to one another and to the world, both our enemy and our allies, that in the final analysis Americans will stand shoulder to shoulder against terrorism,

against the enemy in pursuit of the freedom and liberty and opportunity that Dr. Rice spoke about in her opening statement before the Foreign Relations Committee and that President Bush spoke about in his inaugural address last week.

One of the great strengths which Condoleezza Rice will bring to the office of Secretary of State is that the world knows she has the President's trust and confidence. I respect the right of any of my colleagues, of course, to reach a different decision today and to oppose this nomination, but I hope and believe that the Senate today across partisan lines will resoundingly endorse this nomination and send the message to friend and foe alike that while we have our disagreements, ultimately what unites us around this very qualified nominee in this hour of war is much greater than that which divides us. In times like these, it is important that the world not only know that this Secretary of State has the ear of the President, but that she has, if you will allow me to put it this way, America's heart—a heart that beats with the freedom and security and opportunity that we dream of for our own people and for the people of the world.

In the world today, we face a time of grave peril but also great promise. It is in many ways, it seems to me, like the time our predecessors faced after the Second World War at the outbreak of the Cold War. As then, now it is a hostile ideology which threatens freedom around the world as terrorism has replaced communism as liberty's foremost foe. Now, as then, it is the United States that must show leadership and resolve as the world's strongest nation in the face of this danger from terrorism to life and liberty—not just ourselves but everyone who does not exactly agree with the terrorists. Now, as then, the President and Members of Congress must depend on the advice and counsel of the Secretary of State as we craft the policies with an unblinking resolve that will rally our friends and rattle our enemies, that will diminish—we pray, eliminate—the perils we face and realize the extraordinary promises of our time.

The very first Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, once wrote:

We confide in our strength without boasting of it. We respect that of others without fearing it.

Jefferson's 18th century insights will serve us well in the face of the 21st century threats we confront. I know Dr. Rice understands and appreciates that well.

Economic development and trade and foreign direction investment and the spread of modern technology and telecommunications have raised the standard of living throughout the world and connected people of the world as never before. But too many nations and people have been left behind because of failed governments or failed economies. They have become breeding

grounds for terrorists who threaten us all.

Today, there is hope. Members of democracy are beginning to glow where that powerful light has existed little or none before. The Afghans and the Palestinians have recently held successful elections. This Sunday, Iraq will hold a historic democratic election. I know the circumstances are difficult there, but having been there myself just a few weeks ago I can speak with some confidence that the turnout will be large and the affirmation of the Iraqi people for a better and freer future will be clear.

Whether these embers grow into beacons for the rest of the Arab world or fade into dark and cold will depend uniquely upon strong, skillful American leadership and diplomacy. I conclude that Dr. Condoleezza Rice is capable of such leadership.

Nuclear proliferation threatens the world as Iran and North Korea and others strive to develop deadly weapons which will make the arms race of the Cold War look sane in comparison. In response to these dangers, President Bush in his inaugural address and Dr. Rice in her testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week have set down some basic principles which will guide our foreign and defense policy. They are based on values and hopes that have defined America: freedom, opportunity, faith, and community.

Let me read a paragraph of Dr. Rice's opening statement before the Foreign Relations Committee last Tuesday:

In these momentous times, American diplomacy has three great tasks.

First, we will unite the community of democracies in building an international system that is based on our shared values and the rule of law.

Second, we will strengthen the community of democracies to fight the threats to our common security and alleviate the hopelessness that feeds terror.

Third, we will spread freedom and democracy throughout the globe. That is the mission that the President has set for America in the world—and a great mission of American diplomacy today.

Let me read a few words from President Bush's inaugural last Thursday:

We are led by events and common sense to one conclusion. The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world. This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom by its nature must be chosen and defended by citizens and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. Democratic reformers facing oppression, prison or exile can know America sees you for who you are—future leaders of your free country. The rulers of outlaw regimes can know that we still believe, as Abraham Lincoln did, that those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under the rule of a just God cannot long retain it.

These principles and policies are neither Republican nor Democratic; they are American. In fact, the words spo-

ken by President Bush last Thursday could just as easily have been spoken by some of the great Democratic Presidents such as Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy. In fact, similar words were spoken by each of those Democratic Presidents at times of crisis—times of crisis similar in many ways to our own.

I hope, therefore, that we will now come together to implement those principles and policies in a way that will spread hope and security and build bridges throughout the world, that the President will reach out to Members of both parties in Congress, and we in turn will reach out halfway at least and meet him to implement these stirring, uniquely American goals and policies and principles with real programs that are effective public diplomacy and outreach of economic development of trade, of rule of law, of ultimately, most importantly, the spread of freedom and democracy. I conclude that Dr. Condoleezza Rice is uniquely prepared by ability and experience to lead this effort as Secretary of State.

I want to say a final word about Dr. Rice herself, whom I have come to know over the years.

President Bush has clearly nominated Dr. Rice to be Secretary of State because he values her experience, he knows her skill, and he trusts her counsel. No one believes this President chose this nominee for Secretary of State for reasons of gender or race. No one here will vote for her in this Senate for reasons of gender or race. But the fact is that Dr. Condoleezza Rice is an African-American woman. I believe, in addition to every other standard by which we judge and respond to this nomination, we should celebrate the fact that when she is confirmed, another barrier will be broken in American life. We should celebrate this fact because Dr. Rice's life speaks to the promise of America, and in very personal terms says to people throughout the world what America is about and what we hope for them.

Let us speak directly. Dr. Rice, born in 1954 in the then racially segregated South, knew the sting of bigotry. No one on the day of her birth could have rationally predicted she would grow up to be the Secretary of State of the United States of America. But she was blessed with great natural abilities, with a strong family, with an abiding faith in God. She worked hard, as others worked in her time, to break the barriers of segregation to establish the rule of law to create opportunities. She has earned the nomination the President has given her.

Just as no one in Birmingham, when this African-American girl was born in 1954, could have dreamed she would grow up to be Secretary of State of the most powerful country in the world, there are babies being born today in Baghdad and Ramallah and Kabul and Riyadh and in countries and cities throughout the world where no one could dream they might grow up to be

President of their nation or Prime Minister or Foreign Minister or president of a high-tech enterprise or a professor at a great university. They will if we, working with the people of their countries, will it.

A great man once said if you will it, it is no dream. In this hour when our security is being threatened, the promise of opportunity can, in response to the source of those threats, become real for tens of millions of children being born and growing up in places today where there is no freedom and no hope. That is the great mission our country has today. Dr. Rice understands that. Her life, as I said, speaks to brave men and women of color who, like Dr. Rice, have worked to change our Nation. Now she can, and I believe will, help lead our Nation to change the world, and in doing so enhance our values and protect our security for our children and grandchildren, as well.

I urge my colleagues to support the nomination of Dr. Condoleezza Rice to be Secretary of State.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii is recognized.

Mr. AKAKA. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. AKAKA pertaining to the introduction of S. 147 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). Without objection, it is so ordered.

---

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

---

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### NOMINATION OF CONDOLEEZZA RICE TO BE SECRETARY OF STATE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session for the consideration of Executive Calendar No. 4, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Condoleezza Rice, of California, to be Secretary of State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 9 hours of debate on the nomination equally divided between the two leaders or their designees.

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. I thank the Chair. I yield myself as much time as I may require of the time on our side.

Mr. President, I have the pleasure and honor today of speaking in support of the nomination of Dr. Condoleezza Rice to be our Secretary of State.

As a result of her distinguished career as National Security Adviser to