

immigrant mother work long hours as a seamstress so that she could afford to send her children to good schools. She was living proof for Gerry that, with hard work, you can make a good life for your children in America. She never forgot what her mother did for her and kept her maiden name after she married as a sign of respect.

Gerry Ferraro was a true egalitarian. When she learned that because she was married she was paid less than male attorneys, she quit and ran for Congress. She fought for the equal rights amendment and cosponsored the Economic Equity Act to end pension inequality.

President Clinton appointed her to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and later the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

I had the opportunity to serve with Gerry in the House of Representatives in a very difficult time, and I am honored to have called her my friend. I offer my deepest condolences to her husband John, her children Donna, Laura and John Jr., and her eight grandchildren. Geraldine's passing is a great loss for so many people, but her hard work and accomplishments will continue to live.

Mr. REID. Madam President, America's favorite people are pioneers. We are a nation that celebrates those who first touched the moon, discovered the technologies that changed the world, and fought for what is right before everyone else.

We believe in the brave and admire those who believe in their own dreams—those who pursue them fearlessly, who leave a trail for the rest of us to follow and a legacy to emulate.

This week, America honors a woman we will always remember for breaking one of the highest glass ceilings in history. For two centuries, in election after election, Americans went into voting booths and saw lots of Williams and Johns and Jameses on the ballot. Then, in 1984, they saw the name Geraldine.

As the first woman on a major Presidential ticket, Geraldine Ferraro continued America's proud pioneer tradition. It wasn't the first time she led the way. Congresswoman Ferraro worked her way through law school at a time when few women did so. When the people of Queens, NY, elected her to the House of Representatives she was 1 of only 16 women Members. There was only one at the time serving in the Senate. Today there are 76 women serving in the House—one of whom was the first woman Speaker of the House—and 17 in the Senate.

I served in the House of Representatives with Congresswoman Ferraro and am deeply saddened by her death. She was an inspiration to my daughter and nine granddaughters, and to all of us who believe in our Nation's eternal pursuit of equality. On behalf of the people of Nevada—a State settled, built, and strengthened by pioneers—I honor the memory of my friend, Geraldine Ferraro.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, at 12:42 p.m., the Senate recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. WEBB).

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FINANCIAL TROUBLES

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I wish to talk about our Nation's financial troubles. Over the years, I have supported a balanced budget amendment, spending caps, and spending cuts. Recently, we had a proposal to fund the government for the remainder of the fiscal year, and I voted against it because I felt we needed to do more than the amendment proposed.

The fact is, we need to do much more. I agree Congress should cut expenses. But taking whacks at only 12 percent of the budget—that part of the budget that is the so-called discretionary spending portion outside of Defense, that is not part of the mandatory spending, such as all the entitlement programs, and that is only 12 percent of the budget and includes funding for education and roads and bridges and medical research and NASA and environmental research—even if we whacked all that, it is still not going to solve the problem.

Cutting this domestic discretionary spending alone is barely a bandaid, let alone a real cure.

What we need is a comprehensive long-term package. For example, when American families fall on hard times, they just do not cut back on eating out or going to the movies. The American family is forced to make wholesale lifestyle sacrifices. Or take, for instance, when a company, a corporation, faces the threat of bankruptcy. They do not only cut salaries or stop buying office supplies, they go in and restructure entire delivery schemes and future investments.

In the same way, we just cannot focus on slicing what is the conversation that is going on down in the House of Representatives right now, slicing one small part of the budget, which is discretionary spending, because that is not going to reduce the annual deficit and get at the national debt. We have to do more.

Even if we cut huge swaths of discretionary spending, including the programs that help those who need it the most, our expenses for all the other programs in government, mandatory programs, are still growing exponentially. So everything has to be on the table.

Now, how in the world are we going to do this in the next few days? By the time the clock runs out on April 8, where we are faced with funding the government for the remaining 6 months of this fiscal year, how are we going to do it? What would it look like if our debt keeps growing?

Well, the Federal Government is going to have to start writing huge checks to our creditors. Who is a creditor? China is a creditor, and we are having to write for them huge checks on interest payments alone. We will not have anything left to pay for things that we promised to our people, and no one else will want to lend us any more money.

The money people have spent their lives paying in to Social Security may not come back to them unless we can solve this budgetary crisis. Bonds that have been bought and held for decades will go down in value if we cannot meet our debt obligations. Of course, if we do not get to the point that we can pay our debts, then the stock market could even have a worse crash than we had last time.

So if we do not address this pending debt crisis now, our children and grandchildren could be sorely affected by the financial condition of this country in the future.

Every economist we have listened to lately has said that we need to provide certainty to our creditors and to the markets. In other words, they need to know that we will get our debt under control before interest payments skyrocket and overwhelm our obligations. No one knows how long we have before our creditors get nervous and start to make it harder for the United States to borrow money. But they all agree we have to put into place a long-term plan instead of waiting to act until the crisis is upon us. The crisis is coming. It is coming on April 8. That is the first crisis.

Assuming that we can get through this and get the government funded for the remaining 6 months of the fiscal year—until the end of September—the next crisis that is coming is the debt ceiling—probably in early June—that has to be raised in order for the government to pay its obligations.

And then we are going to have to have a plan for next year's budget, the fiscal year that starts October 1, in order to get the votes to increase the debt ceiling. So between now and June, first in a couple of weeks, and then in a couple of months, we are going to have to devise a comprehensive plan.

I am going to support cuts across the board. I am going to support cuts in discretionary spending. But I also want

to see cuts in what we call tax expenditures, which are equivalent to spending, but are nothing more than outrageous tax breaks to big corporations that make billions of dollars in profits each year. For example, some of the royalty payments that are not being paid by oil companies for their privilege of extracting oil from Federal lands, particularly those lands in the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. There are corporations that ship massive amounts of jobs overseas, and they get tax breaks for it.

There is also money made by U.S. citizens that is being held offshore in foreign accounts, which is not reported to the United States, and tax is not being paid on that income. So there is plenty of opportunity to tighten up.

Another place that we can tighten up is to implement the changes that we made in the health care bill that cut the fraud that plagues programs like Medicare and Medicaid. It is costing us billions and billions of dollars.

So there are tireless efforts that are being made by a lot of Senators right now trying to work together to draft a comprehensive plan. I came to the Senate to fight for my State and for our country, and if we continue to allow a debt crisis to happen when, in fact, we had the opportunity to avoid it, it is going to be far more reckless than casting a vote that is going to be disliked by some. I am ready to stand and have that fight. Yet we should not have to. We should, as the Good Book says, "Come, let us reason together." Then we can find a comprehensive solution to this budgetary crisis.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LIBYA

Mr. McCAIN. I would like to take time today to address the ongoing situation in Libya. Last night, the President made a strong defense of our military action in Libya. I welcome his remarks, and I appreciate that he explained why this intervention was both right and necessary, especially in light of the unprecedented democratic awakening that is now sweeping the broader Middle East.

There has been much criticism of the President's handling of the situation in Libya—some legitimate, some not. But the fact is, because we did act, the United States and our coalition part-

ners averted a strategic and humanitarian disaster in Libya.

Even as we seek adjustments to U.S. policy where appropriate to ensure that we accomplish the U.S. goal as stated by the President of forcing Qadhafi to leave power, I believe the President's decision to intervene in Libya deserves strong bipartisan support in Congress and among all Americans.

It is worth remembering, especially for the critics of this intervention, exactly what we would be facing in Libya now had we not taken action. Just over 1 week ago, Qadhafi was bearing down on Benghazi, a city of 700,000 people, and the main seat of the Libyan opposition, as well as the provisional government that has now emerged.

Qadhafi pledged in his words: No mercy for these people. He pledged to go house to house, to crush everyone opposed to him. Had we not taken action in Libya, Benghazi would now be remembered in the same breath as Srebrenica, a scene of mass slaughter and a source of international shame.

Libyan refugees would now be streaming into Egypt and Tunisia destabilizing those critical countries during their already daunting political transitions. If we had allowed Qadhafi to slaughter Arabs and Muslims in Benghazi who were pleading for the U.S. military to rescue them, America's moral standing in the broader Middle East would have been devastated. Al-Qaida and other violent extremists would have exploited the resulting chaos and hopelessness. The forces of counterrevolution in the region would have gotten the message that the world would tolerate the violent oppression of peaceful demonstrations for universal rights. This would have been a dramatic setback for the Arab spring which represents the most consequential geopolitical opportunity in centuries.

That is why Libya matters and why we were right to intervene. Yes, there are many other places in the world where evil resides, where monsters brutalize civilians. The United States cannot and should not intervene in all of these places. But we were right to do so in Libya because of the unique position this country now occupies at a moment of historic change in the Middle East and North Africa. This does not mean we should take the same actions toward other countries in the region as we have toward Libya.

Each of these countries is different. Their challenges and situations are different. When governments, both friend and foe, use force and oppression to crush peaceful demands for universal rights, we need to be clear in our condemnation, and we need to support the aspirations of all people who seek greater freedom, justice, and economic opportunity.

But let's be clear. Qadhafi's brutal and vicious slaughter of fellow Arabs and Muslims has set Libya completely apart from other countries in the re-

gion, and it warranted the decisive military response we and our international partners have taken. While some believe the President should have sought a congressional authorization for the use of force, or even a formal declaration of war prior to taking military action in Libya, I think his actions were in keeping both with the constitutional powers of the President and with past practices, be it President Reagan's action in Grenada or President Clinton's action in the Balkans.

Had Congress taken even a few days to debate the use of force prior to acting in Libya, there would have been nothing left to save in Benghazi. That is why our Founders gave the President the power as Commander in Chief to respond swiftly and energetically to crises. What we need now is not a debate about the past; that can come later. Many of us who wanted a no-fly zone at the time still are convinced that this could have been over by now. But the fact is, it is in the past.

What we need is a forward-looking strategy to accomplish the U.S. goal—as articulated by the President—of forcing Qadhafi to leave power. We have prevented the worst outcome in Libya, but we have not yet secured our goal. As some of us predicted, U.S. and coalition airpower has decisively and quickly reversed the momentum of Qadhafi's forces, but now we need to refine U.S. strategy to achieve success as quickly as possible.

As every military strategist knows, the purpose of employing military force is to achieve policy goals. Our goal in Libya is that Qadhafi must go, and it is the right goal. But let's be honest with ourselves: We are indeed talking about regime change, whether the President wants to call it that or not. While I agree with the President that we should not send U.S. ground troops to Libya to remove Qadhafi from power, that is exactly what Libyan opposition forces are fighting to do. They are now on the outskirts of Qadhafi's hometown of Surt, and they appear to have no intention of stopping there.

Thus far, U.S. and coalition airpower has cleared a path for the opposition to advance. U.N. Security Council Resolution 1973 authorizes the use of "all necessary measures" to protect civilians in Libya. As long as Qadhafi remains in power, he will pose an increasing danger to the world, and civilians in Libya will not be safe.

Ultimately, we need to be straight with the American people and with ourselves. We are not neutral in the conflict in Libya. We want the opposition to succeed, and we want Qadhafi to leave power. These are just causes. And we must therefore provide the necessary and appropriate assistance to aid the opposition in their fight. That certainly means continuing to use air power to degrade Qadhafi's military forces in the field, and I am encouraged by the fact that we are now bringing in AC-130 and A-10 attack aircraft to provide more close-in air support.