

including the Republican leadership in Congress—is keeping our negotiating partner from the negotiating table, and it is pretty hard to negotiate without someone on the other side of the table to talk to.

Republicans have to resolve their own deep disagreements before we can find middle ground between the two parties. We have tried to wait patiently for them to do that, but our patience and the patience of the American people is wearing very thin.

We have only 2 weeks before the current temporary budget expires. Time is not on our side. It is time, I say to my Republican colleagues, to get to work. Work out your differences.

I, once again, remind the Senate that our willingness to compromise is in recognition of reality. We have already voted on a Democratic proposal and a Republican proposal. We have seen in practice—not just theory—that neither plan can pass unless it is adjusted. We all know neither party can pass a bill without the other party and neither Chamber can send that bill to the President without the other Chamber.

Democrats have long ago acknowledged that we need Republicans to pass a bill. But Republicans still have not admitted to themselves they need Democrats to pass a bill. Cooperation and compromise are not just good ideas. They are not political slogans. They are essential to the endgame. With a cooperative spirit and willingness to compromise, we can move the country forward. Without them, we cannot. It is as simple as that.

I can only speak for my Democrats when I say we are ready to negotiate and legislate. We are ready to do our jobs. But we cannot negotiate with ourselves, and we will not negotiate through the media. Once the Republicans settle their own internal disagreements and decide for what they stand, we will get this done. Until that happens, the country waits, watches, and worries.

SCHEDULE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, following any remarks of Senator McCONNELL, if he does wish to speak, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business until 3 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each. At 3 p.m., the Senate will resume consideration of the small business jobs bill. There are currently 10 amendments pending. We will continue to work through them in order to complete action on this bill this week.

At 4:30 p.m. today, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 40, the nomination of Mae D'Agostino, of New York, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of New York. At 5:30 p.m., the Senate will vote on that judgeship that needs to be filled.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator BOOZMAN be recognized at 2:30 p.m. for up to 20 minutes to make his maiden speech to the Senate.

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

Mr. REID. Will the Chair announce morning business, please.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period for the transaction of morning business until 3 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

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

MILITARY ACTION IN LIBYA

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, today, as the American naval aviators in the Mediterranean wait offshore to fly combat missions against the Libyan Army, as marines wait for the call to go ashore to rescue a downed pilot, or as Air Force pilots fly combat air patrol, we are confident that all military orders will be met with the same professionalism and skill we have come to expect of our All-Volunteer Force. The valor and loyalty of the men and women of our Nation's Armed Forces have never been in question. Yet, despite that certainty, many Americans view our military intervention in Libya with anxiety and uncertainty. They are wondering why U.S. forces are once again engaged in combat action against an Arab regime in the Middle East. They are wondering when this operation will end and when their loved ones will return. And they are asking another reasonable question: What is the mission?

If the American people are uncertain as to our military objectives in Libya, it is with good cause. The President has failed to explain up to this point

what follows the evident establishment of a no-fly zone over Libya as it was originally described. Further, the President has articulated a wider political objective of regime change in Libya that is not the stated objective of our military intervention, nor is it the mandate of the U.N. resolution the President has used as a justification for our military efforts there.

Now that the objective of establishing a no-fly zone has been reached and our NATO allies are ready to assume the command and execution of this mission, it is fair to ask, what is the role of our military and military alliance in providing support to an opposition we are only now beginning to understand?

These concerns and questions are equally relevant here in the Senate and in the Congress since it is the responsibility of Congress to declare war, if it is war, and, of course, to fund our military operations.

The President stated:

There is no decision I face as your commander in chief that I consider as carefully as the decision to ask our men and women to use military force. Particularly at a time when our military is fighting in Afghanistan and winding down our activities in Iraq, that decision is only made more difficult.

Yet this latest decision was taken without adequate consultation with Congress or sufficient explanation to the American people.

Since returning from South America, the President has begun to talk in greater detail about our involvement in Libya. For the second time, he has discussed our operations in and around Libya with the congressional leadership. Over the weekend, he devoted his entire address to the topic, and he will speak to the American people tonight about our operations in Libya. All of this is welcome and, in my view, overdue.

Before addressing what answers I hope to hear from the President this evening, let me address the notifications to Congress that the President made.

Prior to the initiation of combat activities in Libya, the congressional leadership received two forms of notification of the President's decision to order Americans into harm's way. Prior to departing for his overseas trip, the President notified the congressional leadership of his plans to send American forces into combat action in a limited, discrete role to destroy the integrated air defenses of the Libyan Government and to enable our allies to establish a no-fly zone over Libya. The second notification was a written communication as part of his responsibilities under the War Powers Resolution.

Throughout his communications with the congressional leadership, the President has emphasized that the U.S. military would not undertake ground combat against the Libyan Army and that the American combat role would be limited in time, scope, and would be used simply as a means "to set the conditions for our European allies and

Arab partners to carry out the measures authorized by the U.N. Security Council Resolution.”

The President and his military advisers and commanders have explained that the overwhelming American capabilities to destroy enemy air defenses, target command-and-control structures, jam communications signals, and monitor the battlefield would all be employed to allow NATO and the coalition to assume responsibility for the no-fly zone. It was the limited nature of our combat role that encouraged me that the President was acting within his article II authorities as Commander in Chief. And the actions by NATO over the past few days to take over command and responsibility for the no-fly zone are consistent with the President's commitment that “limited U.S. actions will set the stage for further action by our coalition partners.”

Here I am reminded of the important contribution of Secretary of Defense Robert Gates in advising the President since he came to office. The President is fortunate to be able to call upon the wisdom of this seasoned national security expert in considering our operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya. It was Secretary Gates who reminded the American people of the risks inherent in military intervention. I know his views will be critical as we transfer further responsibilities to the coalition, and I hope the administration pays close attention to what he says.

This week, NATO will consider the last part of the mission that must be transferred. What the United Nations resolution refers to as protection of civilian personnel has included attacks on Libyan ground forces and strike missions conducted by American warplanes. If U.S. military forces were to have responsibility for close air support or execute additional strike missions in support of opposition forces, then that, of course, would exceed the President's definition of a limited, supporting role. Such a mission could last indefinitely and would trigger congressional consideration of our larger role in the war.

My expectation is that the President will explain this transfer of responsibility in his speech tonight and that NATO will resolve this issue this week, ending our efforts there as the primary force.

As the commander of U.S. African Command, GEN Carter Ham has said:

Our mandate—again, our mission—is to protect civilians from attack by the regime ground forces. Our mission is not to support any opposition forces.

General Ham has also said:

We do not operate in direct support of the opposition forces.

So as President Obama addresses the Nation this evening, like many Americans, I will be listening for answers to the following questions: When will the U.S. combat role in the operation end? Will America's commitment end in days, not weeks, as the President promised? What will be the duration of

the noncombat operation, and what will be the cost? What national security interests of the United States justify the risk of American life? What is the role of our country in Libya's ongoing civil war?

The President made clear that our combat forces' role in Libya will be limited in scope and duration. Tonight, I hope he will reiterate that pledge or ask Congress before extending the duration or scope of our mission there. And, as always, our thoughts are with the brave young Americans in places such as Helmand Province and Baghdad, those in Japan helping the Japanese people recover from the natural disaster there, and with those who are once again off the shores of Tripoli.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Arkansas.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. BOOZMAN. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the floor of this Chamber for the first time as a Senator. I am honored to have this opportunity to be a voice for Arkansans who want to change the direction our country is headed so that we still have a great nation to leave behind for future generations, just as the greatest generation did for us.

I am eager to carry out the traditions of this body and I am honored to serve alongside my distinguished colleagues. The traditions set forth and established in this Chamber have long been admired and often imitated in governments around the world. The work done here sets an example of how people of different backgrounds and expertise can come together for the betterment of this country. We need to provide results by balancing the budget, cutting the deficit, creating jobs and putting our differences aside to work for the best interests of our country. I am up for the task assigned by the American people.

We are a nation of great thinkers and innovators and I am confident the ideas proposed and debated here will put us on the continued path to success. There is no question that we have faced difficult times in our Nation's history. We have been tried and tested before. We have weathered the storms and have always emerged as a better, stronger country.

The debates and issues we face today are just as challenging as those faced by the men and women who served in this body before us. As the first Republican elected to this Arkansas Senate seat since reconstruction, it is evident that Arkansans and all Americans are anxious for new results with new leaders to move our country into the future.

When I look back at the Senators who have served the great State of Arkansas, I am inspired by their service, dedication and commitment.

Growing up in Fort Smith, in Sebastian County, we were taught at an

early age about William Sebastian. At 36, he was the youngest Senator in the 30th U.S. Congress after leading an already distinguished career as a cotton farmer, judge and State legislator.

Hattie Caraway broke the glass ceiling, becoming the first woman to serve in the U.S. Senate. She recognized the important role of agriculture to the State and requested a seat on the Agriculture Committee. There is no doubt agriculture is still critical to the State today. My predecessor, Senator Blanche Lincoln, was the first woman to chair the Agriculture Committee and I am pleased to have a seat on that same committee and be part of the debates and discussions as we formulate future agriculture policies.

Throughout history, our State has been represented in this body by a diverse group of men and women who have put Arkansas and America first and I am honored to follow in their footsteps.

Each of these individuals had their generation's crises to address. We have our own as well.

The American people are worried. And rightfully so. Some of them have to check the morning news to see if they still have a job. Still many other able-bodied, ready-to-work Americans have not received a paycheck for months, some for years now.

Between November and December of last year, unemployment rates increased in 72 of the 75 counties in my home State of Arkansas.

And these are not small hits to our communities. A plywood plant in Fordyce, a town of 5,000 closed its doors, displacing almost 350 workers. That is more than 14 percent of the town's population.

It is not any easier in the State's larger cities either. In Fort Smith, Arkansas's second largest city, a leading appliance manufacturer laid off 850 employees last year.

Even our Nation's largest retailer, and Arkansas's largest employer, is not immune to this crisis. The economic downturn forced Wal-Mart to cut hundreds of jobs in its corporate office in Bentonville.

Like much of the rest of our Nation, Arkansas's job creators are nervous. It is hard for a small business owner to invest in their business and create jobs if they are concerned about the negative impact actions in Washington will have on their bottom line.

Given the right tools and circumstances, small business owners can and will create good paying jobs for the people of Arkansas and all Americans. We need to create policies that empower the private sector. That means fostering an environment that promotes economic certainty and encourages growth and innovation.

We can see results of the combined efforts of city, county, State and Federal leaders with Mitsubishi's decision to build a wind-turbine manufacturing plant in Fort Smith. The region's business leaders spent more than a year