

on our American military. Our troops should not have to worry about tax deadlines and paperwork when they are preparing to defend our Nation.

I urge the Senate to pass, this week, the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act, without loading it down with any special interest giveaways. While some are preoccupied with tax cuts for "Joe Millionaire," we should be preoccupied with GI Joe and GI Jane.

At the same time, we need to look at the financial burden many of the families are facing. Let's talk about the National Guard and the Reserves. The Senate also has to help the Guard and Reserves. They have been called up in record numbers. Right this minute, 168,000 Guard and Reservists are serving alongside our active-duty military.

Since September 11, over 230,000 of our National Guardsmen and Reservists have been mobilized. In my own home State of Maryland, that number is at least 4,000. And not only have they been called up, but many have been called up more than once over the past year and a half.

The Guard and Reserves are ready to serve. They are our citizen soldiers. They are called up in times of national emergency. Yet they are being asked to serve for longer periods of time. Many have been called up three or four times since September 11. This places a tremendous burden on their families. There are financial burdens of losing pay and losing businesses. Let me give you some examples from my own home State of Maryland.

The 115th Military Police Battalion of the Maryland Army National Guard has been deployed repeatedly since September 12, after the attack on the United States of America. That is when they were called up to stand guard at the Pentagon. When I went over to the Pentagon after the attack, I saw Maryland responding: I saw on the perimeters our own National Guard protecting the Pentagon, and Maryland first responders doing the rescue and recovery. When they were called up, they wanted to be there. Then they had a two-week breather. But then they were called up to guard the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay, and now they are deployed in Afghanistan.

The long periods of mobilization are hard not only on them but on their families. Let me give you some examples of what the families are facing.

I will talk about a reservist in Columbia, MD. He is a wonderful guy, and he owns a small home improvement business. After the terrible snows, this business would be booming, but he is not there to fix gutters or sidings, or help seniors repair those leaky basements. He has been called up most of the year. He has already been called up three times, and now he has been called up once again. He has been called up so often that he has had to shut down his home improvement business, where he was the sole employee. His family is now forced to borrow against their home to make ends meet. They have

already gone through their savings, and they have already gone through their children's tuition money for college. We have to think about this man and his family.

In a family in Centreville, the husband has been activated four times over the past year and a half. He is the main breadwinner. The family has already lost half of their income this year. They are having a difficult time making payments on their home and, in fact, the wife and children are now considering moving in with her parents.

Then there is the National Guardsman in St. Mary's County, who has been deployed 9 months out of the last 18 months. In February, he was deployed again. His wife is now working two jobs to make ends meet.

We have to face this challenge. For years we have faced the challenge of how we had been shortchanging our military. We have increased pay for full-time duty and we have improved benefits. We needed to do that and that was the right thing to do.

Now we are facing a unique challenge, looking at the Guard and the Reserves who are ready to do their duty, but they are now being deployed as frequently as if they were on active duty and their families are facing hardship.

As part of this response, I will be joining Senator DICK DURBIN to introduce legislation called the Reservists Pay Security Act of 2003. It would ensure that Federal employees who take leave to serve in our military reserves receive the same pay as if no interruption in their employment occurred. Why start with Federal employees? Well, many large companies and local governments continue to pay the full salary of their employees when they are activated. I applaud those excellent corporate citizens and those local governments. Some of the largest employers in my own State are also meeting that responsibility. The Federal Government should be a model employer and set the example for large businesses. This should be a first step.

I believe we should move quickly to pass this bill because many members of the Guard and Reserves do work for the Federal Government in highly specialized areas. But the Federal Government needs to do more than that. We need to take a look at those who work for small business and those who are self-employed. A call for duty will be responded to, but a call for duty time and time again in a single-year period places the responsibility on the family. American families should never subsidize our war effort. We should be looking out for those families.

Supporting our troops should be more than speeches, it should be more than parades. Sure, when the war begins—if it does begin—I believe there will be an outpouring of great American sympathy. But we need to put it into action to help the men and women defending our Nation; and for the full-time active duty, continue raising pay

and improving benefits; and for our Reserves and our Guardsmen, to close the gap between the income they are leaving behind and the country they are working to defend.

Please, let's pass that Tax Fairness Act. Our military should not even be paying taxes when they are at war in Iraq. There should be shared sacrifice in the United States of America, and that means not only shared sacrifice in terms of those who are willing to go and fight, but we need to fight for those who are fighting for us.

I urge my colleagues to join me in putting the men and women of our military at the top of our agenda, whether as we look at the issues facing the economy or facing taxes, because, remember, as our budget is strained, theirs is near the breaking point.

I conclude by saying God bless our troops and God bless America.

A DIPLOMATIC LOSS

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to a piece that appeared on the editorial pages of the Washington Post on Sunday. It was a letter of resignation from John Brady Kiesling, a career State Department diplomat who offered some very compelling thoughts about the state of our international relations.

After two decades with the State Department, Mr. Kiesling left his job on March 7 because he no longer believed the President's policies reflected the interests of the American people.

Mr. Kiesling wrote that in our pursuit of war with Iraq, the U.S. had squandered the legitimacy: that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson.

We have begun to dismantle the largest and most effective web of international relationships the world has ever known.

Mr. Kiesling wrote:

Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security.

But it was this thought that I found most compelling:

When our friends are afraid of us rather than for us, it is time to worry. And now they are afraid. Who will tell them convincingly that the United States is as it was, a beacon of liberty, security and justice for the planet?

This central question raised by Mr. Kiesling resonates with many Americans who feel frustrated and confused by the way the Bush Administration is performing on the international stage:

Why have we failed to persuade more of the world that a war with Iraq is necessary?

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kiesling's full letter of resignation, as it appears in yesterday's Washington Post, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

THE DIPLOMAT'S GOODBYE

FEBRUARY 27, 2003

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing you to submit my resignation from the Foreign

Service of the United States and from my position as Political Counselor in U.S. Embassy Athens, effective March 7. I do so with a heavy heart.

The baggage of my upbringing included a felt obligation to give something back to my country. Service as a U.S. diplomat was a dream job. I was paid to understand foreign languages and cultures, to seek out diplomats, politicians, scholars and journalists, and to persuade them that U.S. interests and theirs fundamentally coincided. My faith in my country and its values was the most powerful weapon in my diplomatic arsenal.

It is inevitable that during twenty years with the State Department I would become more sophisticated and cynical about the narrow and selfish bureaucratic motives that sometimes shaped our policies. Human nature is what it is, and I was rewarded and promoted for understanding human nature. But until this Administration it had been possible to believe that by upholding the policies of my president I was also upholding the interests of the American people and the world. I believe it no longer.

The policies we are now asked to advance are incompatible not only with American values but also with American interests. Our fervent pursuit of war with Iraq is driving us to squander the international legitimacy that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson. We have begun to dismantle the largest and most effective web of international relationships the world has ever known. Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security.

The sacrifice of global interests to domestic politics and to bureaucratic self-interest is nothing new, and it is certainly not a uniquely American problem. Still, we have not seen such systematic distortion of intelligence, such systematic manipulation of American opinion, since the war in Vietnam. The September 11 tragedy left us stronger than before, rallying around us a vast international coalition to cooperate for the first time in a systematic way against the threat of terrorism. But rather than take credit for those successes and build on them, this Administration has chosen to make terrorism a domestic political tool, enlisting a scattered and largely defeated Al Qaeda as its bureaucratic ally. We spread disproportionate terror and confusion in the public mind, arbitrarily linking the unrelated problems of terrorism and Iraq. The result, and perhaps the motive, is to justify a vast misallocation of shrinking public wealth to the military and to weaken the safeguards that protect American citizens from the heavy hand of government. September 11 did not do as much damage to the fabric of American society as we seem determined to do to ourselves. Is the Russia of the late Romanovs really our model, a selfish, superstitious empire thrashing toward self-destruction in the name of a doomed status quo?

We should ask ourselves why we have failed to persuade more of the world that a war with Iraq is necessary. We have over the past two years done too much to assert to our world partners that narrow and mercenary U.S. interests override the cherished values of our partners. Even where our aims were not in question, our consistency is at issue. The model of Afghanistan is little comfort to allies wondering on what basis we plan to rebuild the Middle East, and in whose image and interests. Have we indeed become blind, as Russia is blind in Chechnya, as Israel is blind in the Occupied Territories, to our own advice, that overwhelming military power is not the answer to terrorism? After the shambles of post-war Iraq joins the shambles in Grozny and Ramallah, it will be a brave foreigner who forms ranks with Micronesia to follow where we lead.

We have a coalition still, a good one. The loyalty of many of our friends is impressive, a tribute to American moral capital built up over a century. But our closest allies are persuaded less that war is justified than that it would be perilous to allow the U.S. to drift into complete solipsism. Loyalty should be reciprocal. Why does our President condone the swaggering and contemptuous approach to our friends and allies this Administration is fostering, including among its most senior officials. Has *oderint dum metuant* [Ed. note: Latin for "Let them hate so long as they fear," thought to be a favorite saying of Caligula] really become our motto?

I urge you to listen to America's friends around the world. Even here in Greece, purported hotbed of European anti-Americanism, we have more and closer friends than the American newspaper reader can possibly imagine. Even when they complain about American arrogance, Greeks know that the world is a difficult and dangerous place, and they want a strong international system, with the U.S. and EU in close partnership. When our friends are afraid of us rather than for us, it is time to worry. And now they are afraid. Who will tell them convincingly that the United States is as it was, a beacon of liberty, security and justice for the planet?

Mr. Secretary, I have enormous respect for your character and ability. You have preserved more international credibility for us than our policy deserves, and salvaged something positive from the excesses of an ideological and self-serving Administration. But your loyalty to the President goes too far. We are straining beyond its limits an international system we built with such toil and treasure, a web of laws, treaties, organizations and shared values that sets limits on our foes far more effectively than it ever constrained America's ability to defend its interests.

I am resigning because I have tried and failed to reconcile my conscience with my ability to represent the current U.S. Administration. I have confidence that our democratic process is ultimately self-correcting, and hope that in a small way I can contribute from outside to shaping policies that better serve the security and prosperity of the American people and the world we share.

IRAQ

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Sunday, March 9, 2003 Washington Post editorial entitled "Moment of Decision" be printed in the RECORD at the appropriate place.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. STEVENS. I believe this editorial accurately describes the current impasse at the U.N. Security Council over whether to enforce Security Council Resolution 1441.

That resolution gave Saddam Hussein a final opportunity to disarm and provided for "serious consequences" should he fail to comply. It is now clear that Saddam Hussein is in violation of Resolution 1441, yet some member states on the Security Council are using this forum to press an unrelated agenda that is hostile to the interests of the United States.

By pursuing this course of action, these member states are contributing to the global threat that Saddam Hus-

sein poses and undermining the very purpose of the United Nations—to ensure the peace and security of the international community.

We know that Saddam Hussein possesses weapons of mass destruction. We know that Saddam Hussein will use those weapons against those who oppose his tyranny. We know that Saddam Hussein has failed to disarm in violation of Security Council Resolution 1441.

Yet, rather than holding Saddam Hussein accountable for his defiance, these member states have reduced the Security Council to a debating society, hardly relevant to the tough decisions the United States and its allies face in the war against terrorism.

Only by standing together will the United Nations finally fulfill its commitment of ensuring global peace and security.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 9, 2003]

MOMENT OF DECISION

The Debate on Iraq at the United Nations Security Council no longer concerns whether Iraq has agreed to disarm; in fact, it hardly concerns Iraq at all. At Friday's meeting, once again, neither chief U.N. inspector Hans Blix nor any member of the council contended that Saddam Hussein has complied with the terms of Resolution 1441, which offered him a "final opportunity" to give up weapons of mass destruction. But most members chose not to discuss the "serious consequences" the council unanimously agreed to in the event of such non-compliance. Some, such as Mexico and Chile, essentially argued that Iraqi disarmament was less important than avoiding a split of the Security Council. Others, such as Russia and France, sought to change the subject from Iraq to the United States' global role. They argued for using Iraq to establish that international crises should be managed solely by the Security Council—and not through military action that necessarily must be led by the United States.

It's painful to imagine Saddam Hussein's satisfaction in observing the council once again descend into internal quarrels rather than hold him accountable for his defiance of its resolutions. But it's not hard to understand much of the diversionary argument. Few countries outside of the Middle East feel directly threatened by Iraq, other than the United States. Many have an understandable aversion to war when their own citizens' lives don't appear to be at risk. Some, notably Russia and France, have been unsuccessfully seeking for a decade to check American influence and create a "multipolar world"; the Iraq crisis offers a fresh platform for an agenda more important to them than the menace of a Middle Eastern dictator. The Security Council's action on Iraq "implies the international community's ability to resolve current or future crises . . . a vision of the world, a concept of the role of the United Nations," said French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin. "There may be some who believe that these problems can be resolved by force, thereby creating a new order. But this is not what France believes." To oppose the use of force in Iraq, in other words, is to oppose the exercise of the United States' unrivaled power in the world.

We share the concern of those on the council who spoke of the damage of an enduring rift over Iraq—damage for which the Bush administration's clumsy and often high-handed diplomacy will be partly responsible.