

The legislation also extends these benefits to the families of the victims of the space shuttle *Columbia* tragedy. The *Columbia* provisions address many of the goals in the Assistance for Families of Space Shuttle *Columbia* Heroes Act, which I cosponsored with Senator BAUCUS.

Finally, I would like to emphasize a crucial provision addressing IRS treatment of terrorist organizations. Currently, when the United States designates an entity a terrorist organization, there is a long delay before the IRS revokes its tax-exempt status. There is no reason to postpone the action, but it takes time to update these lists. This bill will automatically suspend the tax-exempt status of designated terrorist organizations, expediting the consequences of the designation. Last Congress, Senators GRASSLEY and JOHNSON introduced bills with this practical remedy, but we have yet to pass it into law. The House version of the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act does not contain this language, but I will work with my colleagues in both bodies to ensure that when we send this bill to the President, this important provision is included.

Mr. President, the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act supports our men and women in uniform during these trying times. I urge my colleagues to give it their full support.

I yield the floor.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I rise today with great pride to support the Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act. As I speak, America's military is fighting in the dangerous and inhospitable deserts of Iraq. And when I watch the remarkable news coverage of the progress in Iraq, I am awed by the skills, dedication, and courage of our fighting forces. Passing this legislation is the least that we can do to show those brave men and women that we support them, we are proud of them, and their nation is grateful for their sacrifice.

This Congress ought not to pretend that the bill we are considering is some altruistic gift to the men and women serving our country in the military. Rather, today we will pass legislation that restores basic fairness to the tax code. We demand extraordinary sacrifices of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. They are often stationed far away from their families. They are frequently uprooted and forced to sell their homes on short notice. And in a military increasingly dependent on the National Guard and Reserves, we ask some of our vital troops to travel great distances at their own expense to train with their units.

Often the burden of these sacrifices is increased by the inflexibility of the Tax Code. For example, a serviceman stationed in Saudi Arabia obviously cannot meet the residency requirements associated with the capital gains tax exclusion for his house in the States. It is spectacularly unfair for us to send a soldier away from his home,

and then punish him with increased taxes if he decides to sell that home. The bill we will pass today rectifies this problem by suspending the residency requirements for military personnel that are away from home on active duty assignment.

This bill also ensures that the full death gratuity payment made to the survivors of military personnel killed on duty will be exempt from income tax. The death benefits paid to survivors are intended to cover funeral costs and immediate expenses while the family gets back on its feet. The current death benefit is not large; it is \$6,000. Inexcusably, half of that benefit is subject to income tax. This legislation excludes the full value of the death benefit from tax. To say that the survivors of those recently killed in Iraq deserve to receive the entire death benefit, tax-free, is an extraordinary understatement.

One of the most important provisions of this bill is the above-the-line-deduction for overnight travel expenses for members of the National Guard and Reserves. Many of these troops travel more than 100 miles to serve with their units. They have to pay the costs of traveling to their base; and many of them also have to pay for their meals and lodging while away from home. Under current law, these expenses can be deducted from income only if the individual itemizes deductions on his or her tax return. This onerous requirement prevents many eligible individuals from taking advantage of the deduction.

The bill we will pass today ensures that the expenses associated with overnight travel to attend National Guard and Reserve meetings can be deducted even if a person does not itemize deductions. This provision is expected to save National Guardsmen and reservists more than \$800 million over the next 10 years. We have seen how valiantly these members of our Armed Forces are serving—leaving their homes, families, and regular jobs, to serve in Iraq, Afghanistan, or wherever their Commander in Chief sends them. It is the least we can do to minimize the financial burden this service places on them and their families.

I have highlighted just a few of the important provisions of this bill. Let me speak for a moment about how important this legislation will be for my own State of West Virginia. West Virginians have a proud tradition of serving in the military. Tens of thousands of West Virginians are serving on Active Duty in our Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. More than 3,000 West Virginia members of the National Guard and Reserves have been activated. I am pleased to be able to support legislation that recognizes their sacrifices and rewards their service.

The Senate passed legislation very similar to this bill last year. I was extremely disappointed that the House of Representatives did not act on that bill

in the 107th Congress. We should waste no more time. Recently, the House passed a bill to provide tax fairness for members of our Armed Forces. However, the Senate has taken the responsible step of offsetting the costs of these changes to the tax code. The Senate bill will close loopholes that currently allow some individuals to renounce their American citizenship simply to avoid paying income taxes. I can think of no better way to finance tax relief to the brave patriots in our military than by forbidding anyone to shirk income taxes by renouncing citizenship in the United States. The tax loophole that rewards such unconscionable behavior ought to be closed and now is the time to do so. I urge the House of Representatives to approve the Senate bill.

Let me close by thanking all of the members of our Armed Forces. Whether they are currently serving overseas or at home, whether they will see combat this week or provide support from far away, all these brave men and women are making America very proud. This legislation recognizes their sacrifices. I urge my colleagues to support the bill and hope that Congress will send it to the President without delay.

EXPRESSING GRATITUDE OF
UNITED STATES TO NATIONS
PARTICIPATING IN COALITION
TO DISARM IRAQ

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the measure is laid aside, and the Senate will proceed to the consideration of S. Con. Res. 30, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 30) expressing the sense of Congress to commend and express the gratitude of the United States to the nations participating with the United States in the Coalition to Disarm Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 1 hour of debate equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may require on this initial statement.

I ask unanimous consent that Senators WARNER and ALLEN be added as cosponsors of S. Con. Res. 30.

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

Mr. LUGAR. I rise in support of this resolution thanking those nations participating with the United States in the "Coalition to Disarm Iraq." I am pleased that this resolution enjoys the strong support of the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Delaware, and the leadership on both sides of the aisle.

Our resolution cites the important diplomatic initiatives originally undertaken by our allies in Europe in support of U.S. resolve to enforce U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441. On January 30, 2003, the Prime Ministers of Denmark, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, and the United Kingdom, and the Presidents of the Czech Republic and the Spanish Government issued a declaration stating the “the Iraqi regime and its weapons of mass destruction represent a clear threat to world security.” The declaration went on to say that “. . . our governments have a common responsibility to face this threat. . . .”

These European leaders were immediately joined by the Foreign Ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia. In a declaration of February 5, 2003, the Foreign Minister stated in part: “the clear and present danger posed by Saddam Hussein’s regime requires a united response from the community of democracies. We call upon the United Nations Security Council to take the necessary and appropriate action in response to Iraq’s continuing threat to international peace and security.”

This is not the first time the Senate has commended the important contributions made by the leaders and Foreign Ministers of these countries, but at a time when some question international support in Iraq, we thought it important to revisit their statements of support and reiterate our gratitude.

In addition to these statements of support, our resolution identifies additional nations that have expressed their support for coalition action in Iraq. Nations around the world are providing important diplomatic and strategic support in a number of ways, including expressions of political support, overflights and basing authorization, intelligence-sharing, and other important strategies contributions. This list includes long-standing U.S. allies and relatively new partners in the war on terrorism: large nations with strong militaries and small nations who share our view of the inherent threat posed by Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction. In addition to the nations mentioned, international support grows each day. In an effort to acknowledge the contributions of each, I will list those nations who have made their contributions public to date: Afghanistan, Angola, Australia, Azerbaijan, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Georgia, Honduras, Iceland, Japan, Kuwait, Macedonia, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Mongolia, The Netherlands, Nicaragua, Palau, Panama, The Philippines, Rwanda, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Tonga, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

More specifically, our resolution expresses our Nation’s sincere gratitude to Australia, Denmark, Poland, and

the United Kingdom, whose forces have joined with the United States in sending troops into harm’s way. Each of these nations is making important contributions to coalition efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein’s regime of its weapons of mass destruction. In addition, we thank the numerous other nations that are providing military and logistical support to operations in the region.

We also pay special tribute to the leaders of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Spain. Prime Minister Tony Blair, Prime Minister John Howard, and President of the Spanish Government, Jose Maria Aznar, have provided courageous leadership to efforts to disarm Iraq, and the Senate of the United States commends them for their efforts and expresses its thanks.

I welcome the opportunity to introduce this resolution of gratitude to our allies around the world who are supporting our efforts in Iraq in so many important ways. I am hopeful this resolution will receive the unanimous support of the Senate, to ensure a strong expression of appreciation and commendation of the important contributions by members of the international community who are making the “Coalition to Disarm Iraq” a success.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleague, the chairman of the committee, in support of S. Con. Res. 30, which commends and expresses the gratitude of the United States to the other nations participating with us in the Coalition to Disarm Iraq. The American people and this Congress stand with our Commander in Chief and behind our men and women in uniform. It is their responsibility, and the Commander in Chief’s, to prosecute this war in Iraq, but it is our responsibility to give them the support they need and deserve.

There may be difficult days ahead, but I am confident of the extraordinary skill and ultimate success of our endeavor. As we gather here today, the sons and daughters of four countries—the United Kingdom, Australia, Poland, and Denmark—are fighting alongside our troops. Our purpose today is to thank them from the bottom of our hearts for the courage they are demonstrating. It is to tell their families and loved ones of our gratitude for their sacrifice and to express to their leaders our profound admiration for their determination to join other nations, including ours, in a common and just cause.

Several dozen nations are supporting this coalition in other ways—politically, diplomatically, and strategically. They, too, have our deep appreciation. The Senator from Indiana has read the names of those nations.

Let me say a word to the leaders and the people from friendly countries and allies who do not support our effort to disarm Saddam Hussein’s regime. This

Senator and many others disagree profoundly with the choices they have made. But this Senator, at least, respects—equally profoundly—that that choice is the right of a sovereign nation to make, to differ with us.

I think it is time that we move beyond the finger-pointing and recriminations that have been flying across the Atlantic and around the world. We need one another. We will need one another in other endeavors. It is time to, again, heal the differences. We could not come together in war, but we are going to have to come together in peace.

This resolution expresses that hope. By its words, it “welcomes and encourages the active involvement of [the countries in this coalition], other nations, and key international organizations in the reconstruction and civil administration of Iraq after the conflict.”

When this war ends—hopefully, that will be soon—we will face a tremendous responsibility and an equally important opportunity in terms of Iraq’s future. Even as our thoughts and prayers are with our President, our troops, and our allies, we need to think about and act on that future now.

Why is this so important? I believe it is important because it is profoundly against the interests of the United States to be left the sole responsibility for Iraq. As my friend, and the friends of many here, Tom Friedman, has put it: We may have to rent this country for a time; but it is not our desire to own it.

There are three reasons for that:

First, it will cost tens of billions of dollars and take years to rebuild an Iraq that is secure, whole, free, and governed by its own people. We should not bear that burden or responsibility alone.

Second, an indefinite American military occupation of Iraq would fuel resentment throughout the Middle East, bolster al-Qaida’s recruitment, and make Americans a target for malcontents everywhere. We need to make the peace in Iraq the world’s responsibility, not just our own.

Third, failure to engage the U.N. and as many countries as possible in post-Saddam Iraq would miss an opportunity to repair the damage that has been done to the U.N., to our alliances, and international cooperation—all of which we will need to win the war against terrorism, to contend with North Korea and Iran’s nuclear programs, to slow the spread of weapons of mass destruction, to deal with outbreaks of disease, and to contend with so many other threats that have no respect for borders.

I hope the administration will spare no effort in securing the sanction of the United Nations for everything that will have to be done to keep the peace in Iraq after the war, to provide humanitarian aid, to rebuild the country, and to help put Iraq back into the hands of its own people.

By gaining the U.N.'s approval, we would help political leaders around the world whose people oppose the war justify their participation—including financial participation—in building the peace. It has not been lost on any of our colleagues in the last several days of debate, nor upon our fellow Americans; it is dawning on them that in the last gulf war, we paid between 17 and 20 percent of the cost of the war. For this gulf war, we are lucky to pay the totality of the bill—if not 100 percent, very close to it. The meter is just beginning to run. The chairman of the committee and I have held hearings over the last 10 months on this issue. We don't have any firm number, but we have estimates that it is going to cost—after we win—anywhere from \$19 billion a year to numbers well in excess of that. It is in our interest—our direct interest—that other nations participate in making Iraq secure.

By gaining U.N. approval, as I said, we would help the political leaders around the world who know that is in their interest as well—whose people oppose the war—to justify their participation, including financial participation. And we would demonstrate a U.S. commitment to rebuild ties to the U.N., which will be important in our long-term security.

I personally think Kosovo provides a powerful precedent for such a course of action. In Kosovo, we chose not to pursue a use of force resolution at the U.N. that we knew Russia would veto. I was in this Chamber urging that we bypass the U.N. and go directly to a coalition of the willing—in this case, the EU and NATO—to gain support for what many of us here strongly believed was in the interest of the United States, the interest of Europe, and in the humanitarian interests of hundreds of thousands of people. We moved.

But even before the first bombs fell, we worked closely with the Security Council on an agreement to put the U.N. and other countries front and center in Kosovo for humanitarian aid and civil authority once the peace was made. As a result, we did not have to build the peace alone. Our motives were not questioned alone, and we did not bear the costs alone. Evidence the fact that we were carrying roughly 15 percent of the freight, 15 percent of the personnel, after Milosevic was defeated.

I know there is tension between those who see the efficiency of an American military occupation and those who seek the legitimacy of a U.N.-led effort.

I have made close to a dozen trips, during and after the war in Bosnia and Kosovo, to the Balkans. I can tell you, there is no U.N. organization, there is no multilateral organization, there is no organization in the world that can deliver with the speed and efficiency whatever is needed that equals that of the U.S. military; it doesn't exist—whether it is building a road, digging a well, or securing a neighborhood. But

the fact is, we have to find a place between that efficiency and the need for legitimacy.

In the immediate weeks after the war, our military will have to be in charge of the country, and long term, we will have to be in charge of the security side of the equation in the country. Longer term, our goal—working with our allies and the international community—must be to put Iraq back in the hands of the Iraqi people, and this, again, in order for it to have legitimacy and, in my view, the prospect of succeeding, will have to be viewed by the region and the rest of the world as having been and gotten the imprimatur of the international community. The last thing we need to do is look as though we are putting in a puppet government—which is not our intention—in Baghdad in order to serve our purposes. There will be no legitimacy, and it will commit us much longer and in a more costly way.

During this critical interim period, we must achieve a very difficult balance. On the one hand, we have to avoid prolonging American military occupation, and, of course, for as long as our troops are there, security must be their responsibility—U.S. responsibility, not the responsibility of the U.N. or any other organization. We also had a bite out of that apple in the Balkans, in Bosnia. It did not work. It was a mistake. We corrected that mistake in Kosovo. But it should not be their role long term to administer Iraq or to choose its future leaders.

We don't want the American military having to make political decisions day in and day out and being blamed for every grievance. That would fuel resentment and turn us from liberators into occupiers. We do not want the American military putting in place a new Iraqi government, in my view. It would be seen as a puppet and, I believe, with no legitimacy.

On the other hand, we must not leave too quickly or hand over power to the Iraqis who lack the ability, the authority, and the institutions to govern their country—and risk Iraq coming apart at the seams.

Again, this is a different circumstance in Iraq than it was in Bosnia and in Kosovo, but we had a piece of that in both those countries.

This is a difficult balance. I am not suggesting any absolute formula, but I am suggesting that, to the degree the American military commander is seen to be handpicking and/or putting in place a new Iraqi regime, a new Iraqi government, it will diminish its legitimacy. To the degree to which an American sergeant, lieutenant, or captain has to stand someplace in Kirkuk and tell a returning Kurd, who was expelled through ethnic cleansing 15 years ago, whether he can go into his home and expel the Arab Sunni living there, that is a problem for us. I do not want some American GI having to make that decision, although they are qualified to make it. They should not

have to be the ones to make each of those decisions.

Again, the handoff in the transition will be difficult, but as long as we move toward involving the international community without yielding any of our security interests, that is the way to go.

How would they deal, for example, as I said, with the Kurds, the Turkmen, and Arabs literally fighting over the oil-rich city of Kirkuk, trying to claim that city? How will they contend with uncooperative ethnic leaders bent on revenge instead of reconciliation?

We are the ones who will have to provide the military muscle for the coalition to interface between those groups, but we should have the rest of the world in on the deal and the responsibility. Instead, someone must be given the authority to resolve the incredibly complicated problems that will arise, and we should look to those experiences, as I said, in the Balkans, some of it good, some of it not so good, and draw from that experience.

We should empower an international civil servant to be the country's high commissioner or representative at some point as this transition goes forward. He or she should be backed up by an international civilian administration that empowers Iraqis, by a credible international security force with American forces at its core, American forces in the lead.

God willing, this war will continue to go well. Casualties on all sides, God willing, will be few, and, God willing, a victory will be sooner than later. And working with the international community, God willing, we will put Iraq on the path to a democratic society.

Even if we succeed in these difficult endeavors, we should not expect Iraq's promise that will come from this new government to automatically trigger progress throughout the region. Indeed, we will not truly win the peace unless we adopt and pursue a broader strategy for the Middle East. I believe the President has recognized that by underscoring and endorsing the road map between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Now we must follow through and show a consistent commitment to its implementation.

Finding a solution to this problem would exponentially increase our ability to promote and support democracy and democratic reform throughout the region. We must do that for the sake of its people and for the safety of our own. For when there are no democratic outlets, dissent moves underground, it turns into resentment, and it is ventilated by extremism and even terrorism. So we must make it clear to our friends in that region that their future and their future with us requires—requires—a move toward democratization.

If we listen to the voices of Arabs themselves, if we heed the wisdom of the U.N.'s Arab development report that ties progress to empowering women, reforming economies, and expanding political participation, we can

and will help infuse a sense of hope in a region that lacks hope.

Mr. President, by refusing to disarm, a defiant Saddam has made the fateful choice between war and peace. This is not an exercise of a doctrine of preemption. This is an exercise of enforcing a peace agreement. This is an enforcement action, enforcing an agreement a defeated president made in the early nineties to the whole world at the United Nations saying: If you let me remain in power, I commit to keep the following conditions to this peace agreement. That is what this was.

If this had been 1919, we would have been in Versailles having to sign an agreement. It was 1991, and it was at a time when the United Nations was available to us.

He made this choice. He made the choice between war and peace. Let us make sure that in winning the war, we also win the peace.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LUGAR. 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. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator MCCAIN be added as a cosponsor to this legislation.

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

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, how much time remains on our side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The chairman has 23½ minutes remaining, and the ranking member has 12½ minutes remaining.

Mr. LUGAR. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, as the distinguished Senator from Delaware has pointed out, the resolution addresses very specifically the future, and I cite language from the resolution we are considering. Clause 5 says:

(5) welcomes and encourages the active involvement and participation of these countries—

And those are the countries we have listed in the resolution—

other nations, and key international organizations in the reconstruction and administration of Iraq after the current conflict in Iraq;

That is an important clause. This is a resolution of commendation, of affirmation. This is our expression, as the U.S. Senate, of thanks, and we are very specific about the nature of contributions many nations have made, and their leaders specifically.

It is our intent to be inclusive deliberately and to indicate that we welcome the very broadest participation in the work to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction.

Having said that, we also welcome their thoughts, their contributions, their revenues, their physical support

as we think of the postwar situation. That is a very important set of situations, as a matter of fact.

I appreciate the good counsel of my colleague from Delaware when he talks not only about the inclusiveness and the need for participation along with us to share both the opportunities and the burdens but, likewise, the fact this will not happen by chance; this is going to require active American diplomacy.

I commend the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Dr. Rice, and others who have been visibly active in this role. But this is a role in which we can assist as a body in commending the nations today and through all of the contacts any of us may have with these nations to indicate ways in which they can be helpful and reasons they should be helpful.

The distinguished Senator from Delaware, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee last year, commenced hearings which he has cited today on the post-war Iraq situation. We could not have predicted last summer or last fall precisely in the circumstances, but at some point it was apparent to many of us that it would be important for those weapons of mass destruction to be found and to be destroyed. Our prayer then was that the coalition of nations in the United Nations, working through the Security Council or other groups, might, in fact, be persuasive; that declarations of the weapons would be made and that international authorities that could work with us in verifying their destruction. We are still in that quest. The large coalition we have talked about today is determined, in fact, to find the weapons and to destroy them, to rid the world of the problems of proliferation that could endanger any of the nations we are citing today, and others who have not chosen to join with us as yet.

Our resolution is not one of censure or condemnation. We are not about the job of finger-pointing and asking why or why not. We are affirmative. We are saying affirmatively, these nations have taken a stand, and we hope they will take a larger stand because there will be much work to do. We hope there will be more joining with us in an inclusive move.

As the Senator from Delaware has spoken, and I concur with him, we would include in that, as our resolution does, international organizations, our NATO allies, the United Nations, others who are very important for the future of the world in many sectors quite apart from the one we are discussing today.

Having said that, it is important that we all understand that we are going to have to stay the course with regard to operations in Iraq, both with regard to the military situation, the disarmament situation, and the reconstruction situation. That will not be easy. The expense of that, regardless of the estimates—and many learned people throughout this country and through-

out various organizations have been addressing this issue, our own government has been addressing the issue because it will be soon upon us, but the necessity of staying the course is absolutely imperative not only with regard to our credibility as a nation and the welfare of the people in this country and the people of Iraq and others who are with us, but with regard to the surrounding neighborhood and everybody who may be impacted by the military action presently.

The great fear of many nations, either expressed or unexpressed, is that without extraordinary leadership and statesmanship, there will be chaos in Iraq in the postwar situation. There are many historical reasons for that which most of us have reviewed in the course of discussing Iraq.

The whole origin of current Iraq, the repression of the Kurds which did keep the peace, albeit in a very cruel and harmful way to the people who were involved in the country, and frequently with enormous loss of life to the neighbors, as Iraq and the Saddam regime invaded other countries, used weapons of mass destruction to kill hundreds of thousands of people outside of Iraq, quite apart from those he repressed within the country. This is the history of a situation that is not on the face of itself correcting, or that of a unified spirit, or with lots of basis for democratic institutions and the ways in which people might find their way automatically.

I commend the Senator from Delaware for pointing out that it is not our purpose—and we point that out in what we are saying today—to be governors of Iraq. The whole idea is Iraq for the Iraqis, for people who come forward to take leadership swiftly and surely, but with the right instincts with regard to human rights, freedom of expression, and a respect for other nations around them, and with all of the pursuits that we think are important to express up front. This is one of the basic reasons nations have joined with us, and we commend them as they commend us. This is a coalition of the willing with regard to disarmament, but it is a coalition of countries that are striving toward some common ideals as to how people should live and how they should treat each other.

We have a very large job, and I make that point now because some have charged that the future has been muted, that there is an impression that somehow or another the war will happen, hopefully will be over swiftly and surely, the disarmament will occur, and some Americans, quite apart from the coalition of the willing we have listed, may have the impression that we are going to leave. In fact, many Americans, unless we have an up front debate, may very well favor that position and say this is a dangerous part of the world.

Granted, the Iraqis have lots of problems. We are all for them working it out and doing the best they can. This is

likely to lead to the chaos that is generally feared.

Nations, not altogether cynically, advocated the continuation of the current regime because they said it would create stability. Some nations were prepared to accept tyranny because at least it brings stability. There are not going to be changes of boundaries, changes of government, people coming and going with strange doctrines. Or, from our standpoint, having watched a failed state in Afghanistan prior to the time that al-Qaida was utilizing camps, utilizing organization and finance, using that failed state as an incubator, attacked America, Iraq is a much larger country. A failed state there is conceivably an incubator for even more harm, whether it be al-Qaida or any number of other groups, some national, some unknown to us, who find sustenance, who find the possibility for proliferation of dangerous weapons and perhaps in due course weapons of mass destruction.

To allow chaos to occur would be a monumental foreign policy and security policy failure by the United States. That is why we need to be forward looking, affirmative, inclusive, signing up more partners, commending those who come as they come.

I have heard some say, the contributions of some of the countries that are listed in our resolution are very modest. In some cases, they have barely said: We are for you. We think you are on the right track. We want to identify with the United States.

They say: Where is the beef? Where are troops? Where is money? Where are supplies? Those are legitimate questions. I would simply respond for each of the nations that we list today. They have made a declaration that could be fateful with regard to those who have authority in those countries. The leaders of those countries must answer to their parliaments, to their people, to others in the press and those who play some role in public opinion. This was not a casual association or declaration. Nor will it be after the war is over, and the responsibility for Iraq comes front and center for all of us.

By "all of us," I mean the countries we now have gathered together in the commendation and those, prayerfully, that will join us. That, hopefully, at some point will include all the nations of the United Nations and of NATO. It will include those that may not be with us as of this moment.

I will take at least a minute of this debate to commend our colleague, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, simply because he was a person, in my own experience as a young person, as mayor of Indianapolis going with him to Brussels when he was a counselor to President Nixon and representing this country in a group called the Challenges for a Modern Society, as we talked about the problems of urbanization in our NATO countries, the problems of the environment, the problems of jobs for people. With Daniel Patrick Moynihan at my

side, I invited the mayors of all the countries of the world to come to my city of Indianapolis in 1971, and he came.

He gave a great speech about international relations, what NATO could do. He gave it at a time that he was on the threshold, as it turned out, of going into a diplomacy as our Ambassador to India and then to the United Nations.

I remember visiting with him when he was our Ambassador. It was a year in which both of us were considering candidacies for the Senate, which, in fact, occurred in the year of 1976, successfully, for both of us. We came to this body together and served for 24 years.

Throughout that period of time, his counsel, I am sure if he were on the floor today speaking on some issue, would have been to be inclusive, to be hardheaded, to understand the facts, to understand the history, the traditions, the difficulties, sometimes the cynicism and the remorse, but also the triumphs that can come with successful diplomacy and successful international relations. Those were missions he undertook gladly on behalf of our country and finally in service with the Senate.

I mention that spirit today because I think it is appropriate. This is an important resolution. I appreciate the decision of the leadership to take it up now before this weekend, before any more time passes, even this sense of appreciation and mission and what is to follow, it seems to me, is critically important for all Americans, both to understand and then to participate in the debate which we surely will have.

I ask unanimous consent Senator HAGEL be added as a cosponsor to this resolution.

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

Mr. LUGAR. I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. LUGAR. I yield such time to the Senator from Virginia as he desires.

Mr. WARNER. I thank my distinguished colleague and longtime friend. This is a very important step that the Chamber is about to undertake with this vote. I anticipate it will be a vote of resounding support for this initiative and this resolution. It sends a signal far beyond the shores of our Nation.

I also wish to say a word about the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. We have served in this Chamber together, for me a quarter of a century, for 25 years. I have known committee chairmen on both sides of the aisle and we take great pride, the entire Senate, in this magnificently trained individual. He

has trained almost all his life to take on these responsibilities.

He is too modest to talk about it, but we often reminisce about our somewhat modest participation in the U.S. Navy many years ago when he was the foreign policy adviser to one of the more distinguished chiefs of naval operations in contemporary naval history. At a very young age he began to assume the mantle of responsibilities of foreign affairs. We are fortunate to have him at the helm, together with his distinguished colleague, the Senator from Delaware, Mr. BIDEN, who likewise has spent much of his life in the field of foreign affairs. These two fine leaders bring to this Chamber this important piece of legislation which has my strong support.

But, as it relates to this coalition, our thoughts and our hearts and our minds go out to the families who have lost their soldier, sailor, airman, marine in this conflict, and those who have suffered the brunt of battle and now bear the scars of conflict.

We owe a great debt to these men and women who so proudly wear the uniform of our country, and who are willing to take the risks. I mentioned earlier today, if you look at the 290 million citizens privileged to live in this great Nation, the United States of America, less than one-half of 1 percent are currently wearing the uniform and assuming the risks as their forebears did, over the 200-plus years of this great Republic. Indeed, we owe them a tremendous, great, gratitude.

This unified support is one that our President, a distinguished Commander in Chief throughout this conflict, has worked so hard to put together. This resolution recognizes in many ways the efforts of our President and the Secretary of State, to some extent the Secretary of Defense, and others to put it together.

The coalition is currently engaged in very hard and dangerous work, to eliminate the weapons of mass destruction from the hands of a proven despot, and to give a measure of freedom and democracy to the long-suffering people of Iraq. Some 47 nations have publicly declared support. I do not doubt there are others in the silence of their councils that are likewise very sympathetic and are constructively engaged in this effort. Each member of the coalition that we cite here today has demonstrated they will face the threat and take the risk as relates to their individual contributions. Certainly, the forces of Great Britain, again under the courageous leadership of Prime Minister Tony Blair, together with the Australians, Danish commandos, the Czech and Slovak units, and countless others are providing the forces necessary to bring about the goals I have just mentioned.

Every contribution, no matter how large or small, has its value. Not only its value, but it is part of the overall matrix to enable the accomplishment of these goals. Even though small in

proportion, that small participation is essential to the overall success.

I hope this coalition will grow in numbers in due course, because the importance is vital to a better understanding, not only here at home but across the world, as to the noble goals this coalition has undertaken.

I thank my colleagues who are managing this bill. I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I will speak using leader time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The leader has that right.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, last Thursday the Senate paid tribute to the military personnel and civilians of the United States who are currently engaged in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Today, the Senate likewise pays tribute to the member states of the "Coalition to Disarm Iraq" that are supporting or serving in operations against Saddam Hussein's regime.

S. Con. Res. 30 reflects our understanding that to join with us in this endeavor places a political, military and financial burden on our partners. But shared by many, the burden is lighter.

In particular, as we in the United States comfort our own who have suffered injury or the death of a family member in this conflict, our prayers are with those in other countries who likewise have family members separated from their loved ones and, in some cases, who have borne the burden of the ultimate sacrifice.

Since the campaign to disarm Iraq began several months ago, literally dozens of nations have provided diplomatic, military, logistical, and strategic support, to accomplish our shared objective, the disarmament of Iraq.

We are especially grateful to Australia, Denmark and Poland, whose military forces have joined American and British forces on the battlefield to disarm and liberate Iraq. We have a long friendship with the Australian, Danish and Polish people. Your governments' willingness to stand with us now will long be remembered.

Finally, I salute the political courage and vision of leaders such as Prime Minister John Howard of Australia and President Jose Maria Aznar of Spain. In their conduct they give us the very definition of leadership.

When the people of Iraq are free from the repressive dictatorship that they have lived under for decades, I have no doubt that they will thank the coalition states, and especially those who risked, and sacrificed, their lives to help them attain the freedom to which they are entitled.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware has 5½ minutes remaining.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, last week, the Senate passed a resolution, by unanimous vote, that expressed the sense of the Senate in commending our troops who are now fighting the war against Iraq. At that time, I expressed my reservations about extraneous clauses in the resolution that implied that Congress acted properly in authorizing the President to begin this war.

Soon the Senate will vote on a resolution to commend those nations that are in support of U.S.-led efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein and end his regime. Now that war has begun, the United States needs to act with the greatest amount of international support. The countries that are supporting our efforts deserve our gratitude, even though I believe more could have been done to build a more robust coalition which would more equally share the burdens of war in Iraq.

But this resolution, like its predecessor, not only refers to the thanks that we wish to send to our friends and allies. The resolution also contains eight whereas clauses, some of which speak to United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441. After reading these clauses, it seems to me that the resolution, intentionally or not, implies that the President of the United States acted properly in initiating a war against Iraq based upon the authority of Resolution 1441. I disagree with that conclusion.

The resolution contains two whereas clauses that describe joint statements issued by several nations on January 30, 2003, and February 5, 2003. A reading of these joint statements can be interpreted to argue that Resolution 1441 was a sufficient basis from which to launch a war on Iraq. I do not agree that the United Nations authorized the use of force against Iraq. The U.N. Secretary General seems to share my view on this point.

The Senate should give its thanks to those countries that give their support to our troops in the field. I hope that the United States will work with these countries to address the long-term reconstruction needs of Iraq. I hope that the administration will begin to repair our ties with our other allies that did not share our view of the need to use force in Iraq. But I do not believe that it is proper to give a one-sided view of the diplomacy that brought us to this point in the context of thanking our friends.

S. CON. RES. 30 AND S. 351, THE ARMED FORCES TAX FAIRNESS ACT

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in support of S. Con. Res. 30 and S. 351, The Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act.

I am pleased to see so many Americans and communities coming together, in support of our troops. Here in our nation's capitol, we think about our troops everyday. We know how hard they all are fighting for our freedoms and for the freedoms of the Iraqi people. We thank them for what they are doing and want them to know our thoughts and prayers are with them and their families.

My colleagues in Congress and I have the opportunity to lighten the burden service members often encounter while deployed, or upon their return home, with The Armed Forces Tax Fairness Act of 2003. This act would allow the American men and women serving our country at home and abroad a small, well-deserved thank you in the form of tax benefits and relief.

This reward for those who defend our freedom would help to ensure that the men and women who put themselves in harms way when America calls have peace of mind when it comes to things many take for granted, like filing tax returns or collecting travel reimbursement. The provisions of this act will save military families nearly \$500 million in taxes over the next ten years. They deserve nothing less.

Thousands of activated military, National Guard, Reservists, and their families in my home state of Montana will directly benefit from this act, and the benefit to members of our armed services on a national scale is immeasurable. It is important that we continue to support our soldiers in any way we can, recognizing the sacrifice they make for the security of our great Nation.

We have the best fighting force in the world. I remain certain that our troops will succeed in their efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein and free the Iraqi people. I am confident in our military and know that this effort will be accomplished as soon as possible so that all our troops can safely return home to their families.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, today the Senate is expressing its gratitude to the nations of the world that support the U.S. determination to remove Saddam Hussein from power and eliminate his regime's weapons of mass destruction. I wholeheartedly endorse this resolution and the message it sends to the world about so many nations' view of Saddam Hussein's regime and about the resolve and bravery of the men and women who have stepped in harm's way to remove the threat he poses to international peace and basic human decency.

According to press reports, thousands of additional United States troops have entered Iraq over the last day or so. At the same time, tens of thousands of their comrades continue their relentless and courageous march to Baghdad, making all Americans proud as they battle extreme conditions and irregular—even illegal—tactics by the enemy. Each day, our admiration of these troops and their performance grows.