

will have access to the best treatments, not just the cheapest. Terrorism is no excuse for delay. We need a Patients' Bill of Rights just as much today as we did before September 11. I urge the Congress to pass it now, and the President to sign it. And I urge the President and Members of Congress to keep the promise we all have made to guarantee all our seniors access to affordable prescription drugs. They need that help now, just as much as they did before.

There is something we need now even more than we did then: We must strengthen our fragile public health infrastructure to deal with the clear and present dangers of chemical and biological attack. On Capitol Hill, we know the threat first hand; we must defeat it, and we will.

Today, Senators and Members of Congress have the best of the Nation's health care at our disposal. Imagine the millions who do not. Many Americans do not even know where to go to find a doctor's help immediately. We need an emergency health care system sufficient beyond doubt to meet the dangers we may face—not just tomorrow, but over the next decade.

The bioterrorist threat should remind us of an ideal too long denied in this country: Health care is a fundamental right, not just when a terrorist attacks, but when cancer or diabetes or any other disease strikes. We have made progress; we must keep moving forward; we must get there.

Finally, the new economy has produced vast new wealth and opportunities, and reduced poverty by 25 percent since 1993. But millions are still left behind, and working families have not gained their fair share of this new national wealth. So when prosperity returns, we must ensure that we can all advance together. We must open new doors for every American. We must help 21st century mothers and fathers cope with the stresses of choosing between the jobs they need and the children they love. We must make the workplace more flexible, so that workers cannot only provide for their families, but also care for them. We must also provide a more decent living to the Nation's caregivers, to teachers, nurses, and child care workers, who give so much, yet earn so little. We must make sure the new economy works for all Americans.

Some say we cannot fight for a safer society and a more just society at the same time. I say, we weaken ourselves abroad if we do not strengthen ourselves at home. We cannot defend democracy abroad unless we extend democracy at home. In America and Britain, World War II was accompanied and followed by a period of great reform and historic transformation in society. Now, in this time of crisis, we cannot settle for anything else.

The spirit of September 11 points the way. In that spirit, we must continue to care about each other, and fulfill the promise and opportunity of America for all our people.

This spirit of September 11 has compelled so many of our citizens to do more for our country, our communities and our fellow Americans. This time calls for active citizenship, whether by children getting involved in service learning programs at school or senior citizens signing up for the Retired Senior Volunteer Program. This Saturday is Make A Difference Day, sponsored by America's Promise and the Points of Light Foundation. All Americans should use this occasion to find new ways to make their own contribution.

We are one American community. September 11 proved that. Active citizenship will nourish that spirit and sustain us in the challenges ahead. So we must reject any attempt to misuse the terrorist threat as an excuse to deny or delay our obligations to teach our children well, to treat the sick, help the needy, and make the new economy a new foundation for a stronger family life and a higher standard of life for all our families.

We have heard such excuses for inaction in the past. We will hear them again in this crisis, that the war on terrorism will deplete our resources and delay our commitment to "a more perfect union." Always in the past, there were doubters in America. But always we kept faith with America's ideals, and came together to fight the hardest battles and respond to the greatest social needs. We mobilized our government and our whole Nation, wisely and well, to defeat our enemies and meet the demands of our best ideals.

It has never been more critical to do so than it is today.

Let us start with a stimulus package that truly lifts our economy. And then let us finish the great work we are in—which is not just to win a war, but to build a future of "liberty and justice for all."

So my message now is fundamental. We need not and we must not sacrifice the home front to the war front. They are one and the same. We are all in this together, as we always have been throughout our great history.

If we meet the new standard of September 11, no one will stand in our way, and many more will join us. And the heroes of that day will have left an undying legacy—a proud new chapter in annals of America's greatness.

Let us pledge our energies to this cause. Let us show, that as the battle goes on for a world free from fear, the work goes on to move America forward.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Florida). Under the previous order, the Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I honestly and sincerely say it is one of the best speeches I have heard on the floor of the Senate in the 11 years I have been here. It is very connected to values I hold dear. I think what Senator KENNEDY just said, especially if it

gets translated into our doing the work and passing this legislation, is so important. These times call on all of us to be our own best selves. I believe that is what the Senator's speech has called for us to do here, and for all Americans, we need each other as never before. We need each other as never before in relation to the physical security challenges, in relation to the uncertainty of the world, and we need each other as never before in terms of how we help one another to be strong in our own Nation.

I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for a marvelous speech.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. WELLSTONE. I yield.

Mr. REID. I agree with the Senator. It is one of the finest speeches I have heard on the Senate floor. It covers areas that needed to be covered. It was an elaborate speech, very substantive. I agree with the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, we have to make sure it translates into getting work done.

#### FOREIGN OPERATIONS EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002—Continued

AMENDMENT NO. 1922

Mr. WELLSTONE. I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE], for himself and Mrs. BOXER, proposes an amendment numbered 1922.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

(1) Afghanistan's neighbors should reopen their borders to allow for the safe passage of refugees, and the international community must be prepared to contribute to the economic costs incurred by the flight of desperate Afghan civilians;

(2) as the United States engages in military action in Afghanistan, it must work to deliver assistance, particularly through overland truck convoys, and safe humanitarian access to affected populations, in partnership with humanitarian agencies in quantities sufficient to alleviate a large scale humanitarian catastrophe; and

(3) the United States should contribute to efforts by the international community to provide long-term, sustainable reconstruction and development assistance for the people of Afghanistan, including efforts to protect the basic human rights of women and children.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank both my colleagues. I think there may be support for this amendment. I think there should be. I will not take a lot of time. Let me explain why I think it is so important the Senate go on record.

I will not spend a lot of time on statistics. There are 7.5 million people inside Afghanistan who are threatened

by famine or severe hunger as cold weather approaches. President Bush has made it crystal clear that our military action is not against ordinary Afghans; it is against terrorists and their supporters. Ordinary Afghans are among the poorest and most beleaguered people on the planet. They were our allies during the cold war.

By the way, this amendment I send to the desk with Senator BOXER, as well.

Yet right now, on present course, time is not neutral and time is not on our side, and, more importantly, time is not on the side of ordinary Afghans. There will be at least another 100,000 children who will starve to death. The winter months are approaching.

Even before the world focused on it as a sanctuary for Osama bin Laden and other terrorists, Afghanistan was on the brink of a humanitarian catastrophe, the site of the greatest crisis in hunger and refugee displacement in the world. Now the worsening situation on the ground is almost unimaginable. After four years of relentless drought, the worst in three decades, and the total failure of the Taliban government in administering the country, four million people have abandoned their homes in search of food in Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan and elsewhere, while those left behind eat meals of locusts and animal fodder.

Mr. President, 7.5 million people inside the country are threatened by famine or severe hunger as cold weather approaches, according to the United Nations.

As President Bush made clear, we are waging a campaign against terrorists, not ordinary Afghans, who are some of the poorest and most beleaguered people on the planet and were our allies during the cold war.

Yet, the current military air strikes and the disintegration of security is worsening the humanitarian situation on the ground.

Aid organizations are increasingly concerned about their ability to deliver aid to Afghanistan while the United States continues its bombing campaign. Several aid organizations have been accidentally bombed by the U.S. in the last week. In addition to these accidental bombings, law and order are breaking down inside Afghanistan. Reports indicate that thieves have broken into several aid organization offices, beat up the Afghan staff and stolen vehicles, spare parts, and other equipment.

Warehouses of the International Red Cross in Kabul were bombed yesterday. The ICRC says that the warehouses were clearly marked white with a large red cross visible from the air. One worker was wounded and is now in stable condition. One warehouse suffered a direct hit, which destroyed tarpaulins, plastic sheeting, and blankets, while another containing food caught on fire and was partially destroyed. The Pentagon claimed responsibility for the bombing later in the day, adding that

they "regret any innocent casualties," and that the ICRC warehouses were part of a series of warehouses that the United States believed were used to store military equipment. "There are huge needs for the civilian population, and definitely it will hamper our operations," Robert Monin, head of the International Red Cross' Afghanistan delegation, said in Islamabad, Pakistan.

Another missile struck near a World Food Program warehouse in Afsotar, wounding one laborer. The missile struck as trucks were being loaded for an Oxfam convoy to the Hazarajat region, where winter will begin closing off the passes in the next two weeks. Loading was suspended and the warehouse remains closed today.

Last week, four U.N. workers for a demining operation were accidentally killed when a bomb struck their office in Kabul.

In response to the dangers threatening humanitarian operations, the Oxfam America president said, "It is now evident that we cannot, in reasonable safety, get food to hungry Afghan people. We've reached the point where it is simply unrealistic for us to do our job in Afghanistan. We've run out of food, the borders are closed, we can't reach our staff, and time's running out."

The World Food Program was feeding 3.8 million people a day in Afghanistan even before the bombing campaign began. These included 900,000 internally displaced people at camps. Although the U.S. military has dropped thousands of ready to eat meals, everyone agrees that only truck convoys can move sufficient food into Afghanistan before winter. As of last Friday, there were only two convoys confirmed to have gotten through. WFP announced that two more convoys since the bombing campaign started were nearing Kabul.

Complications and delays in delivering emergency food supplies to Afghanistan could cause rising death rates from starvation and illness as winter sets in. Many of the high mountain passes will be closed by mid-November due to 20-30 foot snows.

Aid agencies are falling behind in their efforts to deliver enough emergency relief to Afghans to avoid a large loss of life this winter. UNICEF estimates that, in addition to the total of 300,000 Afghan children who die of "preventable causes" each year, 100,000 more children might die this winter from hunger and disease.

The main reasons for this shortfall in aid are related to security concerns. Aid agencies have withdrawn their international staff, and local staff have attempted to continue the aid programs but have been subjected to intimidation, theft, and harassment. As the United States continues to pound Taliban targets, law and order in some cities is reportedly also breaking down. Truck drivers are unwilling to deliver supplies to some areas for fear of being

bombed by the United States, or being attacked by one faction or another. Taliban supporters have obstructed aid deliveries on some occasions.

Despite these nightmares, shipment of food and non-food emergency items arrive in Afghanistan daily—but the total shipped is only about one-half of what is needed. The situation is particularly urgent as some of the poorest and most needy areas will be cut-off from overland routes by mid-November. An estimated 600,000 people in the central highlands are dependent upon international food aid, and little is on hand for them now.

The food shortfall in Afghanistan may result in an increased flow of refugees to the borders. A flood of refugees to the border would present a different but also challenging set of problems. Clearly, as everyone has said, it is better for them to remain at home than flee to neighboring countries out of hunger.

There is no easy solution to this humanitarian crisis. It is complex and requires the international community to take urgent and imaginative action to boost the flow of food inside. The United States should take the lead in helping to devise aggressive and imaginative ways to expand the delivery of food. These could include the creation of humanitarian corridors, the use of existing commercial trading companies and air deliveries to airports that have not yet been bombed.

The establishment of humanitarian ground and air corridors should be considered for the secure transportation and distribution of emergency aid. The Administration should push to have some roads or air routes in areas of limited conflict be designated as protected humanitarian routes. Such possible ground and air corridors include Northern Alliance held territory along the border of Tajikstan, and Northern Alliance airfields which have not been bombed. These airfields could be used for a Berlin style airlift to get massive amounts of aid into the country quickly.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that 1.5 million additional Afghans could seek to flee the country in coming months due to the ongoing military conflict.

All six countries neighboring Afghanistan have closed their borders to refugees both on security grounds and citing an inability to economically provide for more refugees. Thousands have been trapped at borders with no food, shelter, water or medical care.

I am introducing a resolution today which addresses this crisis. The text of the resolution states the following:

Afghanistan's neighbors should reopen their borders to allow for the safe passage of refugees, and the international community must be prepared to contribute to the economic costs incurred by the flight of desperate Afghan civilians;

As the United States engages in military action in Afghanistan, it must

work to deliver assistance, particularly through overland truck convoys, and safe humanitarian access to affected populations, in partnership with humanitarian agencies in quantities sufficient to alleviate a large scale humanitarian catastrophe:

The United States should contribute to efforts by the international community to provide long-term, sustainable reconstruction and development assistance for the people of Afghanistan, including efforts to protect the basic human rights of women and children.

I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

There has been a lot of focus on airdrops. The truth of the matter is, airdrops from 50,000 feet—and I know the Presiding Officer was present during the committee hearing we had—are not all that effective. Basically, all of the United Nations, the nongovernment organization, people on the ground have all said that not even 1 percent of the people are helped this way. Secretary Powell and the administration know this. At the same time, the reality is we have to do a couple of different things. If we don't, there will be a lot of innocent people who will starve to death. That is a reality. That is not consistent with our values; that is not who we are.

Frankly, if I were to make a political national interest argument—which I am not comfortable making because I think values enough should dictate what we do—I would say absolutely the worst thing imaginable would be, in the next several weeks or months to come, for there to be a situation where the Bin Ladens of this world were able to use the pictures of starving children in Afghanistan against our country. We don't want that.

Colleagues, on present course, that is what will happen. Therefore, there are a number of things we can do. I will go to the wording of the amendment. One is, we need the highest level United States engagement to open the borders, especially the Pakistani border. The administration has spoken about this. It is extremely important. Right now there are lots of refugees amassed at the border who cannot get over. It is a humanitarian crisis.

By the way, probably more serious than the 1.5 million refugees we will have, given the dangerous situation for themselves and their loved ones, is the people left behind in Afghanistan. The people who do not try to cross the borders are the poorest of the Afghans. They are the elderly, the most infirm.

The second thing I mention today is we have to do a better job. Our Government has to do a better job of efficiently making sure the money we have committed—we have made a generous commitment—actually flows to the United Nations organizations and nongovernmental organizations that are delivering the food. It wasn't until last weekend that the first installment was made. That was \$10 million to the United Nations; yesterday, \$20 million

to the NGO. Some of this was held up by Osama bin Laden. We have to be much more efficient at making sure the money flows to the people who are on the ground to deliver the food.

The third point is we are just going to need a more imaginative response, more imaginative action.

There are a number of different proposals that have been made, and the resolution is broad and just says we need to make that commitment, for example, opening up humanitarian response corridors. The most effective way to get food to people is going to be over land, by truck convoy. We may need to do a better job of coordination vis-a-vis our military action to open up those corridors and make sure the trucks can move and the food can flow.

Another thing is we are probably going to need to take a very serious look at these different airstrips. Airstrips that are in low conflict areas, we have to make sure they are going to be maintained because we may need to do a Berlin-style airdrop and planes actually land and we then get the food to people, which can be very effective.

What I am saying today is that we need to put every bit as much effort into the humanitarian relief right now as to the military effort. Both are extremely important.

I will just read the wording of the amendment which basically calls on Afghanistan's neighbors to open their borders for safe passage and makes it clear we are going to help with the economic costs and the plight of desperate Afghan civilians.

Second, it makes the point that in partnership with humanitarian agencies we have to do everything we can to deliver the food assistance in the most imaginative and effective ways possible. And then third, it talks about the obvious contribution we will make with the international community in terms of long-term sustainable reconstruction development and assistance for the people of Afghanistan.

I have decided not to take a lot of time because I believe there will be support. The aid agencies are falling behind in their effort to provide the emergency relief. UNISEF estimates that in addition to the 300,000 Afghan children who die of preventable causes each year, 100,000 more children are going to die this winter as a result of hunger and disease. That is unacceptable. That is unconscionable.

So what this first amendment that I have introduced does is it puts the Senate on record with a strong statement that we understand the urgency of getting the humanitarian assistance to the innocent people of Afghanistan. Again, I think this is a powerful and important message for us to deliver. We cannot be silent about this. We cannot put the fact that many, many people could and will starve to death in parentheses. We can't do that.

Moreover, I think we can and should and must, as responsible lawmakers, make it crystal clear that there are

some things we know need to be done: opening the borders to people, making sure the money flows more efficiently from the United States to these relief organizations, and again find creative new ways of getting them the food. Airdrops alone from 50,000 feet are not going to do the job.

I think the administration knows this. I hope there will be yet an even stronger commitment. I believe this statement from the Senate is extremely important. That is why I introduced this first amendment.

Mr. President, I think what I am going to do in order to move things forward is I am going to move to the second amendment which deals with Uzbekistan. Basically, it is a reporting requirement that not later than 3 months after the date of enactment of this act and then 6 months thereafter, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees the following. This basically we want to get an accounting of how our money is used by the military there. This is a human rights amendment. I will explain it in a moment, after I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator asking unanimous consent to lay aside the pending amendment?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Until both managers are on the floor, I will lay aside the first amendment and then we can deal with both of them. I think both amendments will be accepted.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1923

Mr. WELLSTONE. I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE] proposes an amendment numbered 1923.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert:

SEC. . UZBEKISTAN.

REPORTS.—Not later than three months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and then six months thereafter, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate Congressional committees on the following:

(1) The defense articles, defense services, and financial assistance provided by the United States to Uzbekistan during the six-month period ending on the date of such report.

(2) The use during such period of defense articles and defense services provided by the United States by units of the Uzbek armed forces, border guards, Ministry of National Security, or Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(3) The extent to which any units referred to in paragraph (2) engaged in human rights violations, or violations of international law, during such period.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I did not understand the request. May I inquire of the Senator how long he will be speaking?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I say to my colleague from West Virginia, I am actually trying to help the managers move along. I think I will probably be able to do this in less than 15 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, would the Senator include my request that I follow his remarks with a statement of my own?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks regarding this amendment, the Senator from West Virginia have the floor.

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

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator and I remove my reservation.

Mr. WELLSTONE. The reason I offer this amendment requiring a report to Congress with respect to our efforts in Uzbekistan is that prior to the tragedies of September 11, few of us knew anything about this central Asian country. Yet today Uzbekistan has become one of our most important allies in this battle against terrorism. In fact, it is one of only two states bordering Afghanistan which is willing to host overt U.S. military operations to find Osama bin Laden.

Although we should welcome the cooperation of Uzbekistan in our efforts, we cannot overlook what is happening in Uzbekistan itself. Since 1997, this Government has used the threat of terrorism to justify a total crackdown on independent, peaceful Muslims who pray at home, study the Koran in small groups, belong to peaceful Islamic organizations not registered with the state, or disseminate literature not approved by the state.

Colleagues, I am pointing to a real dilemma for us. On the one hand, we understand the need for support. On the other hand, it is terribly important that we not uncritically align ourselves with governments which torture citizens.

This amendment is an important one, and I want to be clear about what it does. First and foremost, it in no way limits our ability to cooperate with Uzbekistan. We need Uzbekistan in the fight against terrorism, and we must be able to fully cooperate with their Government in that fight. But given the reports of grave abuses against civilians in the name of fighting terrorism, we need to monitor the cooperation. That is what this amendment is about.

The amendment requires that not later than 3 months after its enactment the Secretary of State report to appropriate congressional committees on, No. 1, the defense articles, services, and financial assistance provided by the United States to Uzbekistan; No. 2, the use of such articles, services, and assistance by the Armed Forces there, border guards, Ministry of National Security, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and, No. 3, the extent to which any units of these groups engage in a pattern of human rights violations or

violations of international law during that period.

In his national address on September 20th, President Bush linked the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, IMU, to Osama bin Laden, suggesting the IMU may be a target of U.S. counterterrorism attacks. Last year, the United States included the IMU on its list of terrorist organizations. The Government of Uzbekistan has also targeted the IMU as part of its own counterterrorism efforts. But according to the most recent Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, the Government of Uzbekistan has responded to the threat of terrorism by arresting "hundreds of Islamic leaders and believers on questionable grounds." In short, it has used the issue of terrorism to justify a far broader crackdown on peaceful Muslims. It has branded "independent" Muslims as "extremists," and sentenced thousands of them to long prison terms without connecting them to the IMU or to any acts recognized as crimes under international law.

The Uzbek government has particularly targeted a group known as the Party of Liberation. This is an Islamic group that supports the re-establishment of an Islamic state by peaceful means. Membership in this group or even possession of one of its pamphlets is deemed grounds for arrest and is punishable by up to twenty years in prison. Even prayer draws suspicion and has been cited in court as evidence of subversive intent. According to Human Rights Watch, in one verdict condemning an alleged Party of Liberation member to 18 years in prison, the Judge declared: "He confessed that in 1996 he started to pray." Increasingly, police arrest relatives of those accused of belonging to an unregistered Islamic group. In April 1999, the President of Uzbekistan declared that fathers would be punished for the supposed wrongs of their sons, and brothers and often arrested together and even tortured in each other's presence.

According to the Human Rights Watch World Report for 2001, those arrested in Uzbekistan endure the worst torture. The Reports states: "In addition to hundreds of reports of beatings and numerous accounts of the use of electric shock, temporary suffocation, hanging by the ankles or wrists, removal of fingernails, and punctures with sharp objects, Human Rights Watch received credible reports in 2000 that police sodomized male detainees with bottles, raped them, and beat and burned them in the groin area. Male and female detainees were regularly threatened with rape. Police made such threats in particular against female detainees in the presence of male relatives to force the men to sign self-incriminating statements. Police also regularly threatened to murder detainees or their family members and to place minor children in orphanages." Human Rights Watch reports that police torture in Uzbekistan has resulted

in at least fifteen deaths in custody in the past two years alone.

According to our own Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2000, the government of Uzbekistan's "poor human rights record worsened, and the Government continued to commit numerous serious abuses." "There were credible reports that security force mistreatment resulted in the deaths of several citizens in custody. Police and the National Security Service tortured, beat, and harassed persons. The security forces arbitrarily arrested or detained pious Muslims and other citizens on false charges, frequently planting narcotics, weapons, or forbidden literature on them." "The Government continues to voice rhetorical support for human rights, but does not ensure these rights in practice."

Just listen to some of these accounts:

Thirty-year-old Komlidin Sattarov was arrested in February 2000 for alleged possession of Party of Liberation leaflets, following his elder brother's conviction for membership in the group. His defender summarized some of the young man's court testimony of his torture by police:

He stuck it out for the first one or two days, but then they used electric shock. . . . They put him in a chair and strapped electrodes to his hands, feet, and neck and gave him electric shock. He lost consciousness and then they did it again. He confessed to some of the charges. Then they began to beat him with truncheons, and he agreed to sign everything.

Prior to a July and August 2000 trial of seventeen men on charges of Wahabism, a form of Islam, the defendants were held by police and tortured over several months. Gafurjon Tohirov testified in court that he was tortured for more than 2 months, that officers had beaten him on the bottoms of his feet and that the white clothes he had been wearing—he had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca—were covered with blood. While beating another defendant, police allegedly concentrated their blows on the young man's already injured kidneys, due to which, according to one source, the defendant agreed to sign a confession. Another accused was allegedly burned with cigarettes and subsequently raped in custody; investigators also allegedly threatened to rape his wife if he refused to give a self-incriminating statement. Once transferred from custody of the National Security Service, SNB, to Tashkent police headquarters in January 2000, this defendant continued to be tortured. A state appointed lawyer allegedly requested medicine for him from his family on January 10, as well as dark trousers to replace his bloodied white ones. They man was kept incommunicado in the basement of police headquarters in Tashkent for sixty-eight days. Dismissing his and other defendants' detailed allegations of torture, a judge of the Tashkent City Court declared on the day of the verdict, "No one tortured them. There was no written complaint that they

were tortured. When they were asked, they couldn't name their torturers . . . [W]e consider their testimony [on torture] as having no grounds."

When brothers Oibek and Uigun Ruzmetov were arrested on charges of attempting to overthrow the government, on January 1, 1999, their parents were also arrested. Their father on the same day, their mother on January 5. Their mother recounted that she was held for one night in solitary confinement in the district police station, handcuffed naked and given no water. Then they showed her to her son Uigun:

They . . . stripped me naked . . . Twice they walked him by me. He looked so bad, he had been completely beaten up. I could only cry, I could not talk to him. They told him, "Your parents and your wife are also in prison. Your children are in an orphanage. If you don't sign these documents, we'll do something very bad to your wife." My son at his trial said that he was told they would rape his wife before his eyes if he did not confess.

Mr. President, these stories are incredible. We can not ignore them. To do so implies that in the war against terrorism, anything goes. That kind of attitude will only weaken our war on terrorism, not strengthen it. Eighty percent of the population of Uzbekistan is Muslim. To ignore Uzbek abuses could add fuel to the fire that this is not truly a war on terrorism, but is a war on Islam. We must ensure that anti-terrorism efforts are conducted in a manner that protects religious freedom and other human rights, and we must carefully monitor our cooperation with Uzbekistan to ensure that protection. The amendment I offer here today requiring a report to Congress on the extent to which any Uzbek units receiving US assistance engaged in human rights violations, or violations of international law, will remind the Uzbek government that although we welcome their cooperation, we are also watching them.

All I am saying is when you have a group of people in a country who, because of the practice of their faith, are being crushed in this way, and you have examples of torture and rape, to the extent that we are involved with such a country, we ought at least have a monitoring of how the money is spent.

I think I will send the statement to Senators because, frankly, it is so graphic, it is difficult to go over in great detail.

You are talking about a government that has been involved in widespread abuse of human rights. You are talking about a government that has systematically tortured its citizens. I think at a very minimum in our work with this government, we have to make sure there is a very rigorous reporting of how our money is spent in relation to the military.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment be set aside to be accepted as modified.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, what is the Senator's request?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, after both amendments are accepted, I will yield the floor.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, we have looked at both amendments. They are certainly acceptable on this side of the aisle.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I ask whether we might have a voice vote on the amendments, as modified.

Mr. President, I ask for a voice vote on both amendments, as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendments, as modified?

Without objection, the amendments are agreed to.

The amendments (No. 1923 and No. 1922) were agreed to.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the votes.

Mr. SANTORUM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I want to remind colleagues, independent of the amendments, that I later on today will have a colloquy with Senator BROWNBACK dealing with the whole question of women and girls being forced into prostitution. We want to talk about appropriations for that. I will probably be joined by my colleague, Senator FEINGOLD, in some discussion about Plan Colombia. I want to talk about the number of trips I have taken to Colombia and what I have seen focusing on human rights and having a chance to speak on the human rights position; in particular, the work I have been able to do with a very powerful Jesuit priest, Francisco De Roux, and something I think we can learn from his wisdom.

I want to move those amendments along.

I want to say two other things very quickly.

Last week, we passed a resolution which I have been trying to make long enough so that it can be in the Capitol Hill Police Office thanking the Capitol Police for their work.

This may be gratuitous—my guess is that Senators are doing this all the time anyway—for which I apologize. I suggest to Senators when they are passing by the Capitol Police to be sure to thank them. I met, for example, a young officer today. He told Sheila and me that he has little children. He sees them 1 hour a day. He is working six 12-hour days. He says that is better than 17-hour days.

They are working under a lot of pressure. I want on the floor of the Senate to again thank them for their work. I appeal to Senators to go out of their way to thank them.

If you look at the Capitol Hill Police men and women, you can see a lot of exhaustion in their faces. I think we owe a real debt of gratitude to them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I have spoken to the Senator from West Virginia. We have some amendments that are cleared.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished whip for the purpose that he is now requesting. I ask unanimous consent that upon the completion of his remarks and the action on amendments I be recognized.

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

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I express my appreciation to the Senator from West Virginia.

Senator McCONNELL and Senator LEAHY have every intention of moving this bill as quickly as possible. If Members have amendments, they had better bring them because the managers aren't going to wait around all day long for Members to bring amendments to the floor. After reasonable time goes by and Members haven't gone to amendments, we are going to move to third reading of this bill.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 1924 THROUGH 1939, EN BLOC

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for the Senate to consider, en bloc, 15 amendments; that the amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc; that the motions to reconsider be laid upon the table en bloc; that the consideration of these amendments appear separately in the RECORD; and that any statements or colloquies be printed in the RECORD.

These amendments have been reviewed very closely by the managers of the bill and their staff.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], for Mr. McCONNELL and others, proposes amendments numbered 1924 through 1939.

The amendments (Nos. 1924 through 1939) were agreed to, as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 1924

*(Purpose: To make available funds to assess the cause of the flooding along the Volta River in Accra, Ghana, and to make recommendations on how to solve the problem)*

On page 125 line 16, before the period at the end of the line insert the following: “*Provided further*, That, of the funds appropriated under this heading, up to \$100,000 should be made available for an assessment of the causes of the flooding along the Volta River in Accra, Ghana, and to make recommendations for solving the problem”.

AMENDMENT NO. 1925

On page 133, line 17, after “States” insert the following: “, of which not to exceed \$28,000,000 shall be available for the cost, as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, of modifying direct loans and guarantees for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia”.

AMENDMENT NO. 1926

On page 229, line 12, after “steps” insert the following: “, additional to those undertaken in fiscal year 2001”.

On page 229, line 16, strike everything after “(3)” through “law” on line 17, and insert in

lieu thereof: “taking steps, additional to those undertaken in fiscal year 2001, to implement policies which reflect a respect for minority rights and the rule of law, including the release of all political prisoners from Serbian jails and prisons”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1927

On page 176, line 15, strike “\$14,500,000” and insert in lieu thereof “\$15,500,000”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1928

At the appropriate place, insert:

## DISABILITY ACCESS

SEC. . Housing that is constructed with funds appropriated by this Act to carry out the provisions of chapter 1 of part I and chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and to carry out the provisions of the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989, shall to the maximum extent feasible, be wheelchair accessible.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1929

On page 142, line 18, after “That”, insert the following: “of the amount appropriated under this heading, not less than \$101,000,000 shall be made available for Bolivia, and not less than \$35,000,000 shall be made available for Ecuador: *Provided further*, That”.

On page 142, line 25, strike everything after “with” through “General” on page 143, line 1, and insert in lieu thereof: “the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention”.

On page 143, line 6, strike “according to the” and insert in lieu thereof: “in accordance with Colombian laws and regulations, and”.

On page 143, line 10, strike “in place” and insert in lieu thereof: “being utilized”.

On page 143, line 12, after “and” insert: “to”.

On page 216, line 14, strike “concerning” and insert in lieu thereof: “, including the identity of the person suspended and”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1930

On page 127, line 12, strike everything after “rehabilitation” through “Maluka” on line 13, and insert in lieu thereof: “and reconstruction, political reconciliation, and related activities in Aceh, Papua, West Timor, and the Malukus”.

On page 220, line 23, after “Indonesia” insert the following: “, including imposing just punishment for those involved in the murders of American citizen Carlos Caceres and two other United Nations humanitarian workers in West Timor on September 6, 2000”.

On page 221, lines 17 and 18, strike “having in place a functioning system for”.

On page 221, lines 19 and 20, strike “that fund activities”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1931

On page 128, line 9, insert the following:

## LAOS

Of the funds appropriated under the headings “Child Survival and Health Programs Fund” and “Development Assistance”, \$5,000,000 should be made available for Laos: *Provided*, That funds made available in the previous proviso should be made available only through nongovernmental organizations.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1932

On page 127, line 19, strike “should” and insert in lieu thereof “shall”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1933

(Purpose: To prohibit humanitarian assistance inside Burma unless certain conditions are met)

On page 127, line 26, after “law:” insert the following: “*Provided further*, that none of the funds appropriated by this Act may be used to provide humanitarian assistance inside Burma by any individual, group, or association unless the Secretary of State certifies and reports to the Committees on Appropriations that the provision of such assistance includes the direct involvement of the democratically elected National League for Democracy:”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1934

At the appropriate place in the bill, insert the following:

## COMMUNITY-BASED POLICE ASSISTANCE

SEC. . (a) AUTHORITY.—Funds made available to carry out the provisions of chapter 1 of part I and chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, may be used, notwithstanding section 660 of that Act, to enhance the effectiveness and accountability of civilian police authority in Jamaica through training and technical assistance in internationally recognized human rights, the rule of law, strategic planning, and through the promotion of civilian police roles that support democratic governance including programs to prevent conflict and foster improved police relations with the communities they serve.

(b) REPORT.—Twelve months after the initial obligation of funds for Jamaica for activities authorized under subsection (a), the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development shall submit a report to the appropriate congressional committees describing the progress the program is making toward improving police relations with the communities they serve and institutionalizing an effective community-based police program.

(c) NOTIFICATION.—Assistance provided under subsection (a) shall be subject to the regular notification procedures of the Committee on Appropriations.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1935

On page 179, line 7, after “democracy” insert “, human rights”.

On page 179, line 8 after “which” insert: “not less than \$5,000,000 should be made available for the Human Rights and Democracy Fund of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Department of State, for such activities, and of which”.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1936

At the appropriate place, insert:

## SEC. . SEPTEMBER 11 DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAMS.

Of the funds appropriated by this Act under the heading “Economic Support Fund”, not less than \$15,000,000 shall be made available for programs and activities to foster democracy, human rights, press freedoms, and the rule of law in countries with a significant Muslim population, and where such programs and activities would be important to United States efforts to respond to, deter, or prevent acts of international terrorism: *Provided*, That funds appropriated under this section should support new initiatives or bolster ongoing programs and activities in those countries: *Provided further*, That not less than \$2,000,000 of such funds shall be made available for programs and activities that train emerging Afghan women leaders in civil society development and democracy building: *Provided further*, That not less than \$10,000,000 of such funds shall be made avail-

able for the Human Rights and Democracy Fund of the Bureau of Democracy Human Rights and Labor, Department of State, for such activities: *Provided further*, That funds made available pursuant to the authority of this section shall be subject to the regular notification procedures of the Committees on Appropriations.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1937

At the appropriate place in the bill insert:

## SEC. . UZBEKISTAN.

REPORTS.—Not later than three months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and six months thereafter, the Secretary of State shall submit a report to the appropriate congressional committees describing the following:

(1) The defense articles, defense services, and financial assistance provided by the United States to Uzbekistan during the six-month period ending on the date of such report.

(2) The use during such period of defense articles and defense services provided by the United States by units of the Uzbek armed forces, border guards, Ministry of National Security, or Ministry of Internal Affairs.

(3) The extent to which any units referred to in paragraph (2) engaged in human rights violations, or violations of international law, during such period.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1938

At the appropriate place, insert:

## SEC. . HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN.

It is the sense of the Senate that:

(1) Afghanistan’s neighbors should reopen their borders to allow for the safe passage of refugees, and the international community must be prepared to contribute to the economic costs incurred by the flight of desperate Afghan civilians;

(2) as the United States engages in military action in Afghanistan, it must work to deliver assistance, particularly through overland truck convoys, and safe humanitarian access to affected populations, in partnership with humanitarian agencies in quantities sufficient to alleviate a large scale humanitarian catastrophe; and

(3) the United States should contribute to efforts by the international community to provide long-term, sustainable reconstruction and development assistance for the people of Afghanistan, including efforts to protect the basic human rights of women and children.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1939

On page 153 line 7, after the colon insert the following: “*Provided further*, That of the funds appropriated by this paragraph, not less than \$2,300,000 shall be made available for assistance for Thailand:”

## AMENDMENT NO. 1926

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I offer this amendment along with Senators HELMS and LEAHY out of concern with the continued detention of political prisoners in Serb jails. Our amendment is simple and straightforward: It makes absolutely clear that among the certification requirements contained in section 575 of this bill is the release of these prisoners. I urge the democrats and reformers in Belgrade to take notice of our actions, and to release the political prisoners immediately. I yield the floor to my friend from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I find it incomprehensible for a government that claims to

be democratic and just to sustain this cruel vestige of the Milosevic era.

Last August, I asked my staff to travel to Serbia and visit these Albanian political prisoners. My intent was the following: I wanted to check on the physical conditions of these prisoners. I wanted to ensure that they and their families know the United States has not forgotten about their suffering. I wanted to underscore to authorities in Belgrade that they must release these political prisoners who were arrested, too often brutally tortured, sentenced and jailed by Milosevic and his system of kangaroo justice. And, I wanted to remind Belgrade that failure to do so will have consequences for their relationship with the United States.

Serbian Justice Minister Batic cooperatively arranged meetings for my staff. These took place in two Serbian jails with four Kosovar Albanian prisoners: Kurti Aljbin, Isljam Taci, Berisa Petrit, and Sulejman Bitici. These four individuals, I might add, were chosen at the recommendation of an extremely courageous woman, Natasa Kandic of the Humanitarian Law Center in Yugoslavia. Ms. Kandic is Serb, who at great risk to her personal safety, has provided these and other Albanian political prisoners legal and humanitarian assistance.

The stories of these four political prisoners speak volumes to the atrocities and injustice of the Milosevic regime. Imagine being arrested because you are an Albanian student, thrown in jail only to learn later that there were no formal charges brought against you, and even if there were you couldn't appeal them because your file had "disappeared" or it was burned. Imagine being thrown out of a fourth story window so that your legs would break, or being subjected to repeated beatings, shock torture, and mock executions. That is exactly what happened during the Milosevic era.

The good news is that these tortures have ended. However, ending the torture is not enough. Each day Belgrade keeps people like Kurti Aljbin, Isljam Taci, Berisa Petrit, and Sulejman Bitici locked behind bars is another day that Belgrade has continued the horrors and injustice of the Milosevic regime. And this is totally unacceptable.

One prisoner asked the poignant question: "If Milosevic is in jail, why are we still here?" The fact is there is no justifiable answer to this question. I yield the floor to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. It has been almost a year since the fall of Milosevic, and more than five months have passed since his arrest. While some Albanian prisoners were released earlier this year, there are still more than 100 Albanian political prisoners languishing in Serb jails. There is no justification under any circumstances, to imprison innocent people. Serb officials know this. These people should never have been arrested, and they should have been released long ago.

Mr. McCONNELL. Would the Senator yield for an additional comment? I continue to be keenly interested in the investigation into the murder of the three American brothers of Albanian descent from New York who were recently found in a mass grave in Serbia. Justice must be served for their murderers, which occurred at the end of the war in Kosova.

Mr. LEAHY. I urge adoption of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized under the previous order.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

I also congratulate and thank Senator KENNEDY who spoke earlier for the proposals and suggestions, and the good counsel that he offered to the Senate at this critical time.

#### REMAINING A SENSE OF SECURITY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this morning the U.S. Postmaster General warned Americans that their mail is not guaranteed to be safe.

The American people have been on an emotional roller coaster ride ever since September 11. In the days and weeks following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the American people collectively have experienced a national anxiety attack—fear, remorse, outrage, despair, confusion, depression, and unease have all manifested themselves in recent weeks.

Before the brutal terrorist attacks of September 11, American consumers were already nervous as layoff announcements rolled out of auto factories, and stock market retirement savings dissipated into thin air. Since that dark day, the economy has grown even more unstable as consumers, seized with fear—Franklin D. Roosevelt said, there is nothing for us to fear but fear itself, but fear is here, and it permeates throughout this city and throughout the Nation—consumers, seized with fear, have stayed riveted to their television sets and away from shopping malls.

American consumers have postponed taking that much-deserved family vacation out of fear of getting onto an airplane. I would share that same fear. I know it is all right for some to say, go ahead and ride an airplanes if you have the Secret Service there to protect you and you can go on a special plane, but I would not ride on a commercial plane right now because I share that fear. Consumers are shunning restaurants, avoiding movie theaters and other public gathering places which they fear might be the target of new terrorist attacks.

Although the initial shock has begun to wear off, and economic activity has recovered somewhat from the weeks immediately following the terrorist attacks, nearly 200,000 Americans lost their jobs last month—the largest

monthly decline since February 1991, more than 10 years ago—and the unemployment rate is expected to soar to well over 5 percent in this month alone. This on top of the fear that has kept people away from the streets of Washington.

Just a few days ago, I recall, Metro was offering free tickets to people in the suburban areas in an attempt to entice them to come into the city of Washington and go to the restaurants and go to the stores. And the restaurants were offering free food in some instances or a free glass of wine to encourage people to come into this city, the Capital City, which was burned by the—I hope the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts will wait just a moment. I want to mention something he will remember.

This Capitol was burned during the War of 1812 by the British. It is practically empty now. The Senator from Massachusetts will remember, with me, something that was occurring in this city 39 years ago right now. I was here on October 22, 1962—1962 or 1963?

Mr. KENNEDY. It was 1962.

Mr. BYRD. The late President John F. Kennedy delivered an ultimatum to the then-leaders of the Soviet Union to get their missiles out of Cuba. That was on Monday of this week, 39 years ago. We Senators then felt the same angst that we do now.

The President, in a television address, delivered this ultimatum. President Kennedy also suggested that there be regional meetings where we Members of Congress—I was a Member of the Senate—could go to regional meetings and get briefings. The Senate was not in session. The Senate had gone out of session on the October 18 sine die. And the late President John F. Kennedy informed Members of Congress that he would give them notice to come into Washington if the necessity arose.

There was fear throughout the land. That was 39 years ago this week. On Sunday of this week 39 years ago Nikita Khrushchev capitulated to President Kennedy's demand that those missiles be pulled out of Cuba.

President Kennedy instructed our naval ships to stop any ship that approached Cuba and to search that ship. And there was a ship that approached Cuba. I forget what flag it was flying, but our naval units stopped it, searched it; and when we finally determined that Nikita Khrushchev really meant what he said, that he would get those missiles out of Cuba, then we relaxed.

I had no intention of bringing my wife into this city during those days. They were very tense days. The people were not just thinking of anthrax; they were thinking of nuclear war. We had strong leadership—strong leadership—that laid it down to the Soviet leaders. Mr. Khrushchev, who had once beaten his shoe upon the desk and said: We will bury you—that was Khrushchev—he was soon relieved of his leadership