

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

position in the Soviet Union. Mr. Brezhnev then became the First Secretary, and who Nikolai Bulganin who became the Premier of the Soviet Union. But those were the conditions 39 years ago right now in this city.

Well, fortunately, we are not facing what appeared to then be perhaps an immediate nuclear attack on this country. And some of the nuclear missiles could have emanated from Cuba. Here we are again now, and we have received a terrorist attack on the World Trade buildings in New York City and on the Pentagon. We are faced now with an even more subtle and sinister attack on the people in this city. As I said earlier, the Postmaster General indicated just this morning that the American people cannot be guaranteed their mail is safe.

I say to my wife—my wife of 64 years, I hasten to add—Don't you go to the mailbox. Leave the mail in that box until I come home. I will get the mail out of the box.

That is the kind of fear that is permeating this whole country, this whole city, this whole complex from which I speak today.

Our staffs are warned about the mail that comes to us from our constituents. It may be a letter, a package, something that was not sent by a constituent in our mail. So our staffs are in fear.

The unemployment rate is expected to soar to well over 5 percent in this month alone. The Congress will soon consider a stimulus plan. It is being discussed. Preparations for such a plan are going forward. I have had my Appropriations Committee staff working on a stimulus package, one that will include funds for homeland security, homeland defense. This stimulus plan is aimed at providing a shot in the arm to our flagging economy.

We hear a lot about business tax cuts. I have already voted against a gargantuan \$1.3 or \$1.6 or \$1.8 or \$2 trillion tax cut earlier this year. Now we hear that there are going to be further tax cuts. A measure is making its way in the House of Representatives, I understand, that would provide up to \$100 billion in tax cuts and almost \$200 billion, \$195 billion over 10 years. Business tax cuts, increased unemployment benefits, subsidized health insurance premiums are all on the table. But none of these—none of these—will help to assuage the psychology of fear that grips this land of ours.

The surest way to stabilize the economy and encourage Americans to get back on airplanes, to go back to the shopping malls, to go back to the automobile dealerships—look over those shiny automobiles, kick the tires, see if the windshield wiper works, raise the lid of the trunk—the way to get people back to those dealerships, the way to get people back to those neighborhood restaurants, the way to get people back to the movie theaters and to take their children is to take positive steps to address their fears, the fears of the Amer-

ican people about future terrorist attacks.

I might as well talk about this fear. We all know it is here. The distinguished Senator from Florida, who is a former astronaut, who presides over the Senate today with such a degree of skill and dignity, he knows this, he knows what we are talking about. The people at the desk here in front of us, this is no secret to them; they know what fear is. The pages know about it. Why not say it?

The best way to make our people feel safe again and to defeat the intentions of the terrorists is to go ahead with this stimulus package, certainly to move ahead with funding for homeland security in its many forms.

We can start by addressing our woefully inadequate border security; put more Immigration and Naturalization Service personnel on our borders; put more Customs agents on our borders; enhance this woefully inadequate border security. I doubt that many Americans find comfort in learning that the Immigration and Naturalization Service cannot account for how 6 of the 19 hijackers involved in the September 11 attacks got into the United States. Likewise, how much comfort do the American people find in knowing that the U.S. Customs Service—get this now—inspects only 2 percent of the cargo that enters the United States? We are wide open—wide open. And the terrorists have known that. As a matter of fact, we have been lucky not to have been hit many times prior to September 11.

We can reassure the American people that the Government of the United States is doing all it can to prepare for a biological or chemical act. The American people have learned firsthand in recent days that chemical and biological weapons are no longer the stuff of fiction but are real threats that can suddenly claim the lives of American citizens. We must train our doctors and nurses to diagnose and care for victims of bioterrorism as well as to contain any possible resulting outbreak.

We must expand our Nation's reserve of vaccines and antibiotics, and we must provide our local health departments, in Beckley, WV, Parkersburg, Clarksburg, Martinsburg, in cities all throughout this land, in towns all throughout this land, in hamlets all throughout this land, provide our local health departments, so many of which are in rural isolated areas, with access to the Nation's computerized networks of medical response information.

Our Nation's transportation network faces a similar daunting upgrade. In the days immediately following the September 11 attacks, airport security was improved, but much remains to be done. New scanning equipment must be built and installed as quickly as possible. Better trained inspectors must be hired. Security enhancements must be made at our Nation's airports, and the same case must be made for improve-

ments to our roads and bridges, our railroads, our water and sewer systems, our law enforcement capabilities that have suffered due to years of neglect. Hear me now! Due to years of neglect, we have allowed our infrastructure to become antiquated! With the threat of further violence on American soil, everything from dams and reservoirs and locks and dams to nuclear powerplants to the method of transporting the Nation's food supply, we need to beef up the inspections of our meat, our poultry, our imported food—all these things must be examined in terms of their potential vulnerability. By renewing our commitment to investments in our own country, we can help to mend the holes in America's homeland security.

Mr. President, the American people are looking to the Congress for reassurance. The American people want to know that their representatives understand their fears—the people's fears—and the people's uncertainties. They want to know that the men and women in this legislative branch—the Senate and the House—understand these things and are taking steps to deal with potential threats.

Partisan disputes breed uncertainty in our financial markets and in our economy. All of us ought to be ashamed of the slowness with which we have dealt with the appropriations bills. They are ready. We have completed conferences on and we have acted upon the conference reports on 2 bills—2 out of 13 bills. And here we are. We have had two continuing resolutions, and we are now somewhat in the midst of the time allotted by the second continuing resolution. We have instead been arguing over other things—things that didn't have anything to do, as far as I am concerned, with getting on with the appropriations bills.

Partisanship. Partisanship must no longer reign over this Senate or over the House of Representatives—at least until we get our appropriations bills completed. And we had better be busy about that. We should allow the President 10 days after we send him the last appropriations bill. He should be allowed 10 days in which to sign the last appropriations bill or to veto it. He should not be given the opportunity to pocket veto an appropriations bill. We need to be busy about the people's business.

The American people want to regain that sense of security that they lost on September 11. They want to get on an airplane without worrying about hijackers. They want to go to work free of angst about every piece of mail that comes into the office. Those who go to movies want to relax while they are there, and they are entitled to that. Those who go to the shopping malls want to relax without looking over their shoulders, as it were. Unless we take—when I say “we,” I mean us folks—unless we take immediate and serious steps to address these fears, all of the rhetoric about normalcy is just plain old hot air.

This Government's most basic responsibility is to take all—not just a few but all—feasible steps to protect its citizens. The conflict is not just in the steep mountains of the Himalayas in Afghanistan. I was there 46 years ago. Let me tell you folks, you have seen the Rockies. Go to the Himalayas; spend some time in Afghanistan. The winter is coming on, and soon. And there are millions of landmines waiting on a footstep.

The conflict is not just in the mountains of Afghanistan. Our people are at risk on our own soil. Congress, therefore, must act now to ensure the security of the Nation and the American people. By investing in measures that strengthen our ability to guard our citizens right here at home, we can take an important step toward removing the paralysis—the paralysis—go look that word up in the dictionary, and if you haven't noticed it before, you will see it—the paralysis of fear. Look at our empty office buildings on Jenkins Hill right here.

We can take an important step toward removing the paralysis that results from living in fear. This should be our mission in the days ahead as we craft a stimulus package. Whether or not we craft a stimulus package, we have 11 appropriations bills awaiting action here in one form or another. They will be coming along in conference reports. There are appropriations bills such as the one before the Senate now that will be up for action in this body. So let's get busy about our work. This should be our mission in the days ahead as we craft a stimulus package that can restore confidence, which is the backbone of a strong economy.

Mr. President, I thank all Senators and I yield.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. CLINTON). The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Madam President, I rise to speak about an amendment to the foreign operations bill. I understand it has been accepted. It deals with funding for leadership training for Afghan women. I think this is an important amendment. Even though it is not a great deal of money that is involved, I think it is important for us to do.

The proposed amendment funds a specially created training program for Afghan women involving civil society development, democracy building, and leadership, at a cost of \$2 million. It is not a large amount of money, but if we can get women involved back in the Afghan society, it is an important amount of money.

This funding has two purposes. First, it helps talented but direly disenfranchised Afghan women to stra-

tegically participate in nation building. Second, this is a symbolic expression of support from the Congress for Afghan women under the present Taliban regime.

The American people are engaged in a war right now. It is a war against those who want to destroy our physical well-being, our peace of mind, and our way of life. It is a war against the Taliban, which continues to provide fertile soil and a shield for terrorists. It is not, however, a war against the Afghan people, as the President repeatedly stated and as Members of this body have stated. In fact, the Afghan people are the victims of the Taliban, and no one group has suffered more than the women.

We have all heard the horrible stories by now: How women are forced to hide behind closed doors, prisoners in their own homes, some even starving because there is no male relative to take them to market; how they are barred from schools and jobs and from desperately needed health care; how they are beaten in the streets if their ankles are showing; how they are beaten for begging, even though they are forbidden to work; how they are beaten for no reason at all; how they are continually silenced, hidden, and treated as less than human—all of this in the 21st century.

I am sure some of my colleagues and others recall the images on CNN of Afghan women fleeing Afghanistan into Pakistan dressed in burqas that completely cover them. All she has is a small mesh area through which to look and breathe. That is so dehumanizing, as if this is not a person; they are not recognized as a separate individual.

It has not always been like that in Afghanistan. That is important for us to know and remember as well. These same women who now hide with fear and are forced into these burqas once had a voice in their country. Some choose to wear a certain traditional garb, and that is wonderful, but they should not be forced to do it.

In Afghanistan, women once represented half the students, half the civil servants, and 40 percent of the doctors in Kabul were once women. Once they were valued members of their society, and they must become this again. To accomplish this, they will need our help and support, and we should give it.

I am pleased to offer this amendment with Senator BOXER. She and I helped pass a resolution 2 years ago condemning the Taliban regime. This amendment has been accepted by the managers of the bill. I am very pleased with that.

This amendment funds \$2 million for scholarships for Afghan women. There will be approximately 300 women selected to participate in training programs for emerging leaders. They will be instructed in civil society development, including effective governance, economic development, establishing nongovernmental organizations, and an

independent press, among other fundamentals of a free society, including the right to vote for all citizens in Afghanistan and human rights, including religious freedom for all citizens and people of Afghanistan.

The Afghan women will learn from top professors and experts in the field. Their curriculum will be developed in close consultation with Afghan women's groups on the ground in South Asia and in the United States. A selection of candidates will be made in close consultation with leading Afghan women in exile and leading Afghan women still in Afghanistan today, and United States embassies abroad.

I believe programs such as these can help play a key role in stabilizing the region and rebuilding the lives of its citizens. The United States is at its best when it stands up for our fundamental principles, and that includes the right to vote for everybody, the right of participation for everybody, democracy, freedom, religious freedom, and human rights.

This amendment can give the women who have far too long been victimized by the Taliban brutality the tools to rebuild a new Afghanistan on the foundation of democracy, tolerance, human rights, and equality.

Lastly, this funding not only helps Afghanistan; it also helps America. As Afghan women promote democratic values in their society, they inherently prevail over the forces of terrorism, extremism, and repression which have also victimized us.

I am pleased my colleagues have accepted this amendment, and I look forward to its implementation where we help Afghan women rebuild a civil society in their country. As we move forward in the prosecution of this war in Afghanistan, it is very important that our next step, once we are able to secure the country, is to rebuild a civil society with everybody participating.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, I rise to offer some comments on the bill before us, the foreign operations appropriations bill.

Today we are considering the fiscal year 2002 foreign operations appropriations bill. I ask my fellow Senators to consider this: The total foreign assistance spending in this legislation represents just .79 percent of the entire \$1.9 trillion Federal budget. That is less than half of what it was just 15 years ago, and it is barely .1 percent of GDP. An even smaller amount of the bill's funding is for foreign development assistance, less than .6 percent of the budget.

Anemic U.S. foreign assistance spending is not new news, but it is part of a very sad legacy of more than two decades of declining foreign assistance spending.

But at precisely the time when the events of September 11 have driven