

understand, to protect colleagues on this side, particularly those on the Commerce Committee which has over-all jurisdiction.

Mr. DODD. If my colleague will yield, if there is no objection to the amendment being incorporated in the bill, this may be the one opportunity where we will be able to do something about these firefighters.

Mr. WARNER. I want to help you. I am going to vote with you. But I am dutybound, as you understand, to protect those on this side. I do not know what the chairman of the Commerce Committee, on your side, has said about this issue, but I do know members of the Commerce Committee, on this side, certainly must be protected—at least be given an opportunity to speak to this amendment if it is brought up for purposes of a rollcall vote.

Mr. DODD. Why don't we proceed this way, if we could: After the Senator from Minnesota has been heard, if I can offer the amendment, I would like to discuss it. In the meantime, we can have conversations. We have already had conversations with members of the Commerce Committee. If they are going to object to us voting on this prior to the cloture vote tomorrow, or allow us to have a voice vote on this, then so be it. But if not, then it could go through this evening. We ought to try to do it.

Is that all right?

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, that seems to me to be an orderly procedure.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that immediately following the statement of the Senator from Minnesota, we return to the Defense authorization bill and Senator DODD be recognized to offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, could that be 15 minutes?

Mr. LEVIN. Just to offer it.

Mr. WARNER. He wanted 15 minutes to offer it, which is fine. I have no objection, but I do want to get back to this question of amendments.

Mr. LEVIN. And that Senator DODD's speech be limited to 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Minnesota.

THANKING SENATOR BYRD

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, before Senator BYRD leaves the Chamber, I also want to thank him for his service to the Senate and the country. I am annoyed with myself for not having thought that we should have as a part of the RECORD the difference between the language that came from the White House and the resolution that we passed. It is so important that that be part of the RECORD.

I say to my colleague that up until about 1 o'clock in the morning, I did

not think I could support it. I thought it was too broad, too open ended. I think Senator LEVIN did say this, but while you were busy on that appropriations bill, Senator LEVIN was one of the key Senators—along with staff—who really did yeomen's work to try to have that resolution focus on the September 11 attacks. It was entirely different wording.

But I thank you, Senator BYRD, for what you have done today in this Senate Chamber.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, just very quickly?

Mr. WELLSTONE. I am happy to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator for his observations. I would be remiss if I did not likewise express my gratitude to Senator LEVIN and to Senator BIDEN and to other Senators who worked together to modify that language and to greatly improve the language over what it was when it was sent from the White House to the Senate.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Senator.

I also say to my colleague, I believe Senator KERRY from Massachusetts, and also the majority leader, Senator DASCHLE—all of them—

Mr. BYRD. Yes, absolutely.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Did yeomen work.

REFUGEE CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I want to talk about an amendment that I hope will be part of the Defense authorization bill. But as long as we are talking about the resolution for a moment, I want to borrow from a piece I just finished writing. I will not go through the whole piece, but that deals with the humanitarian catastrophe that is now taking place in Afghanistan. I think it is relevant to talk about this.

You have a situation on the ground that is unimaginable: 4 years of relentless drought, the worst in 3 decades, and the total failure of the Taliban government to administer to the country. Four million people have abandoned their homes in search of food in Pakistan, Iran, and elsewhere. Those left behind now eat meals of locust and animal fodder. This is in Afghanistan.

Five million people inside this country are threatened by famine, according to the United Nations. As President Bush made clear, we are waging a campaign against terrorists, not ordinary Afghans—I think that is an important distinction to make—who are some of the poorest and most beleaguered people on the planet and who were actually our allies during the cold war.

Any military action by our country must be targeted against those responsible for the terror acts and those harboring them. And we must plan such action to minimize the danger to innocent civilians who are on the edge of starvation.

Let me repeat that one more time. Any military action must be targeted against those who are responsible for the terror acts and those who have harbored them. And we must plan such action to minimize the danger to innocent civilians who are on the edge of starvation. And we must be prepared to address any humanitarian consequences of whatever action we take as soon as possible.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a piece that I just finished writing be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. MUST LEAD EFFORTS TO PREVENT REFUGEE CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN

(By U.S. Senator Paul Wellstone, Chairman, Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, September 28, 2001)

The September 11 attacks in New York and Washington require our country to respond assertively and effectively against international terrorism. As the Administration reviews all its options, it must consider the humanitarian consequences of any military action against terrorist sites in Afghanistan, and take urgent steps now to address them.

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. Five million people inside the country are threatened by famine, 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. Any military action must thus be targeted against those responsible for the terror attacks and those harboring them; planned to minimize the danger to innocent civilians on the edge of starvation; and prepared to address any humanitarian consequences as soon as possible. Since it seems clear that a major international refugee influx will require a massive expansion of existing refugee camps, and creation of new ones, the U.S. and our U.N. Security Council allies should also be thinking now about how to protect those camps, including possibly using a U.N.-sanctioned military force drawn primarily from Arab nations.

Osama bin Laden is not a native of Afghanistan, but of Saudi Arabia. Most Afghans do not support bin Laden. Instead, ninety percent of the Afghan people are subsistence farmers struggling simply to grow enough food to stay alive. War widows, orphans, and thousands of others in the cities are dependent upon international aid to survive.

Now, anticipating military strikes by the U.S. hundreds of thousands of Afghan civilians are on the move, fleeing the cities for their native villages or for the borders. According to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, nearly 20,000 have gathered at one Pakistani border crossing alone. The U.N. says it is the most tense border point in the world, with thousands of people out in the open, exposed to scorching days and frigid

nights. Kandahar, the spiritual seat of the Taliban, is said to be "half empty." Those who are left behind are the most vulnerable—the elderly, orphans, war widows, and the mentally and physically disabled.

Inside Afghanistan, the U.N.'s World Food Programme (UNWFP) aid—much of it U.S.-donated wheat—is the sole source of food for millions. After the attacks on September 11th, the UNWFP was forced to pull out. It left two weeks of food stocks to be administered by local U.N. staff, but Taliban officials last Monday broke into the U.N. compound and stole thousands of tons of grain. Under intense international pressure, the UNWFP has announced it will resume shipments of grain to Afghanistan. Yet how it will be distributed is uncertain, as the Taliban has severed contact between international aid groups and their Afghan staffs, and taken over many of their facilities. To get needed aid in, and slow the outflow of Afghan refugees driven by a lack of food at home, the Pakistani government should immediately relax its border restrictions enough to allow the flow of food and other humanitarian aid into Afghanistan, while maintaining border security.

There is no easy solution to this building crisis, and yet our government must aggressively seek solutions to the critical needs of Afghan civilians. As one of its most urgent tasks, the United States must do its part to shore up relief operations and help to again get aid flowing to refugees now. We also must prepare for an already critical situation to worsen as Afghanistan heads into its notoriously harsh winter. We must prepare now for huge numbers of refugees and humanitarian problems in the aftermath of military strikes, repositioning in the region the people and resources needed to deal with it.

The U.N. and several privately-funded aid groups are working frantically to set up new camps and bring in supplies and personnel to sites along the border. And yet, developing a stronger response to a massive outflow of Afghans into Pakistan is sure to put pressure on already over-burdened camps, and by extension Pakistani resources and patience. Pakistan is already host to over a million refugees from Afghanistan; 170,000 came as a result of recent drought in Afghanistan. Others fled earlier and have been in Pakistan for years.

The United States must do everything it can now to alleviate the suffering of ordinary Afghan civilians. We have agreed to participate in U.N. efforts to raise quickly almost \$600 million in aid funds, a number likely to grow. We should be leading that effort, including by contributing substantially. The U.S. and our allies cannot afford to be indifferent to this humanitarian crisis, especially as we seek to build a coalition of moderate Arab and non-Arab Muslims around the globe for our anti-terror efforts. If a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan is attributed to our military operations, it will weaken international support for our fight against terrorism, and may even make the American people more vulnerable in the end.

MENTAL HEALTH RESPONSE

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I rise in this Chamber to talk about the extraordinary mental health needs of the American people, and especially people of New Jersey, New York, Virginia, Washington, DC, and Pennsylvania in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.

I thank Senator KENNEDY for holding an extraordinary HELP Committee—

HELP is Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions—hearing on this topic last week. I am grateful to Senator WARNER for his invitation at the hearing to have some suggestions about some mental health initiatives that could be part of this DOD authorization. Senator WARNER is to be commended for his recognition that there does need to be some legislation that responds to the short-term and long-term needs of people who have been affected by these tragic events.

Many Senators are working on this issue, and I am sure the Presiding Officer, the Senator from New Jersey, is one of them. I am pleased to also do this work.

I want to talk a little bit about some of the witnesses. Carolyn Pfeffer, who is a child psychiatrist at New York University, noted that in retrospect what should really have been in place was a plan and a program in every school for how to respond to the disaster, along with prompt and effective public education for parents to help them understand how to talk to their children—in other words, she was saying, right after September 11.

She said that what is needed now is "aggressive work to identify children who have suffered the most severe stress; training of mental health professionals in how to respond to the unique needs growing out of events of this kind; government funding and leadership to assure resources are available to these children who need help."

She said we must do all we can to prepare for the unprecedented strain on our mental health system and to assure that private insurers will encourage appropriate treatment rather than establishing artificial limits on what we can provide for people.

Dr. Spencer Eth, the vice-chairman of the department of psychiatry at St. Vincent's hospital in New York, also spoke at the hearing. St. Vincent's was the hospital where the largest number of victims of the attack are being treated. Dr. Eth is also a nationally recognized authority on the psychological effects of traumatic event. He gave moving testimony about his experiences with providing treatment for emergency workers, and he said, "Never before have the gaps in the mental health system been more apparent." He urged the committee to recognize that "the magnitude of the public's need for traditional therapies, outreach to schools, businesses, and communities . . . is unprecedented. . . . He stated, "We must obtain the funding required to reach everyone at high risk and everyone who is already suffering, regardless of health coverage, language barriers, and physical disabilities."

Dr. Kerry Kelly gave what was probably the most searing testimony about her own experiences with her onsite work as chief medical officer of the New York Fire Department, minutes after the attacks. She testified that,

"the selflessness of these men and women [of the New York Fire Department] is what made them heroes, but it's also what brings me to these hearings today to urge your approval of funds to provide for the psychological and counseling need of our members and their families. As we get further away from the events of that day, the officers, firefighters, fire marshalls, emergency medical technicians and paramedics, will have to cope with delayed reactions to the trauma they experienced. And from day one, the men and women of the New York Fire Department and the families of those who were lost have had to endure a tremendous sense of grief." She said, "The emotional well-being of our department requires intervention to provide stress debriefing, bereavement counseling, and continued psychological support of our members, our families, and the children affected by this event."

Dr. Carol North pointed out that 2 years after the Oklahoma City bombing 16 percent of children 100 miles away still reported significant posttraumatic stress memories related to it.

We know one thing for sure: It is a mistake to believe that such events, of September 11 and after, cannot have a lasting impact on the mental health of those men, women, and children who have experienced them. We should not repeat the mistakes that were made in the aftermath of the Vietnam war when the trauma experienced by veterans was ignored and trivialized until well after the optimal time for treatment was passed.

We have learned from the outstanding research which has been funded by the VA and the NIMH of the severity of the disorder and the effective ways it can be treated.

Let me summarize the case for this amendment of which Senator WARNER and others have been so supportive. Let us give respect for what people have experienced and help them deal with this now in a manner which is appropriate to their individual needs. Let us help those families who have survived the loss of a loved one and may also now be dealing with preparations for a funeral or memorial without ever receiving any remains of their loved one.

Let us recognize that traumatic grief is real and has unique features that go beyond our usual understanding of death and loss. Let us help the emergency workers who stretched their bodies and minds to deal with this horror and lost so many of their friends and colleagues as well.

Let us help those who escaped with their lives but now suffer from serious injuries and many other losses of their own. Let us help those who made it out safely but who feared for their lives and witnessed such horror and are now dealing with the multiple losses of friends, families, colleagues, and their jobs. And let us help the children who must now try to understand what they