

prisoners of war, a further testament to the courage and patriotism present in West Virginia. Still today, Jessica is being treated for an injury to her spine and fractures to her right arm, both legs, and her right foot and ankle. She has endured so much pain, and yet her family tells me she has remained cheerful since her rescue. So much courage in such a young soldier as Jessica inspires us all, and underscores how proud I am to represent my fellow West Virginians.

We all owe these soldiers and so many more from all over West Virginia and across the country, past and present, an enormous debt of gratitude. For the dead: we celebrate and remember their lives, mourn their deaths, and thank God that such people served.

For the living, we must fight for them, who have fought so bravely for us. We cannot forget to honor our veterans. I will continue to fight for them as well—for the nearly 25,000 West Virginia veterans of the Persian Gulf, for the 65,000 surviving West Virginia veterans from the Vietnam era, for the more than 30,000 surviving West Virginia veterans of the Korean War, for the 36,000 aging veterans of World War II, and for the next generation of veterans coming home from the Middle East. So today, with my sincerest gratitude and pride for the services of these men and women, I pledge to always honor their sacrifices, because all West Virginians understand the sacrifices they have made and the respect they have earned.

West Virginians have always felt a sense of duty toward America, and we have always answered the call for military service. West Virginians understand the importance of living in a free society, and we also understand the patriotic duty and sacrifice required to do so. West Virginia soldiers have always reminded me of General MacArthur's description of the American soldier: "Possessed of enduring fortitude, patriotic self-denial, invincible determination . . . giving his youth and strength, love and loyalty . . . one of the world's noblest figures." I am honored to say that the good people of West Virginia, in particular, exemplify noble military service and proud patriotism.

#### THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF COALITION BOMBING ATTACKS IN AFGHANISTAN

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the innocent victims of coalition bombing raids in Afghanistan, and to submit for the record, an article regarding this situation from the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. DODD. After many years of armed conflict and internal unrest, Af-

ghans are currently in the process of rebuilding their nation. And, now that the majority of military action in that country is complete, it is clear that many innocent Afghans lost their lives, homes, or family members as a result of coalition attacks. Certainly, I have no doubt that throughout our military actions in Afghanistan, our troops acted with the highest possible level of precision and professionalism in order to avoid civilian injuries or deaths. I applaud their valiant efforts and their excellent performance. We all do. However, in all armed conflicts there are mistakes made, and in this conflict, several hundred Afghans died as a result.

The village of Madoo is a chilling example of this loss of life. An estimated 150 people were killed in this village, which was bombed by coalition forces, along with other villages located near Osama bin Laden's former lair in the mountains at Tora Bora. And, the magnitude of this loss of life is highlighted exponentially when one considers that Madoo was home to only 300 people. In these raids, not only was Madoo reduced to ruins, but half of its population died; half of all its inhabitants lost their lives. These were innocent people, and the ones who remain—like so many others in Afghanistan—are destitute. They did not only lose their friends and family; they lost their homes, possessions, and their livelihoods.

Sadly, it has now been over a year since much of this damage was inflicted, and while some have begun to receive this aid, those injured by coalition bomb attacks are still in desperate need of assistance. With each passing day, there is growing doubt amongst many of the victims as to whether or not American aid will ever arrive. This is a troubling situation, and I hope my colleagues will join me in calling on the administration to ensure that these funds quickly reach all of those in need.

Indeed, Congress has already appropriated funds to assist humanitarian and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the disbursement of these funds to victims of coalition attacks has been hindered for a number of reasons. Ongoing military skirmishes in Southeastern Afghanistan have in many cases prevented aid workers from safely reaching the most war-torn villages. In addition, widespread destruction caused by decades of conflict has spurred some Afghans to falsely attribute their suffering with coalition attacks. Moreover, local rivalries between clans and villages require the United States and the international community to distribute aid equitably, so that no particular group will feel a sense of inequity in the distribution of American aid, which would only serve to heighten tensions.

I also understand the concerns expressed by some members of the administration regarding the complicated policy implications that providing

monetary compensation for victims of coalition bombing raids could create. Certainly, the security interests of the United States are in the forefront of the minds of every member of this chamber. However, with our vast resources, as well as American ingenuity and creativity, we should work to develop innovative approaches that will ensure American aid reaches all of those in need, while also protecting regional and global American interests.

I am heartened by recent developments that will allow the United States Agency for International Development, USAID, to begin distributing aid to war-affected communities in Afghanistan. The \$1.25 million obligation for this effort is a good start. However, while there are many reasons for the slow distribution of American aid, the reality is that the victims of these attacks are still in great need of assistance.

It is absolutely imperative that the administration now acts with the same swiftness and clarity witnessed in the fight against the Taliban to aid these innocent men, women, and children. We must remind them that our quarrel was not with the Afghan people, but rather the Taliban. Now that we have freed them from the oppressive hand of that brutal regime, we must not leave them alone.

The needs of the Afghan people are immediate. They cannot wait. Indeed, they have already waited too long. If we continue to sit idly by; if we do not help alleviate the suffering that was unintentionally inflicted upon them, then we will be creating an incubator for the same type of anti-American sentiment on which the Taliban and Osama bin Laden thrived. We will be laying the foundations for the very mentality that we are trying to uproot. We will be serving to destroy all that we have worked to achieve.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 28, 2003]  
AFTER THE AIRSTRIKES, JUST SILENCE; NO COMPENSATION, LITTLE AID FOR AFGHAN VICTIMS OF U.S. RAIDS

(By April Witt)

MADOO, Afghanistan.—There are more graves than houses in Madoo.

The mosque and many of the roughly 35 homes that once made up this hamlet in the White Mountains of eastern Afghanistan lie in rubble. At least 55 men, women and children—or pieces of them—are buried here, their graves marked by flags that are whipped by the wind.

Seventeen months after U.S. warplanes bombed this village and others in the vicinity of Osama bin Laden's cave complex at Tora Bora, Madoo's survivors say they can tell civilian victims of U.S. bombing in Iraq what to expect in the way of help from Washington: nothing.

"Our houses were destroyed," said Niaz Mohammad Khan, 30. "We want to rebuild, but we don't have the money. . . . We need water for our land. We need everything. People come and ask us questions, then go away. No one has helped."

Madoo is one of several enclaves in the region that the U.S. military bombed over several days in December 2001, killing an estimated 150 civilians. Once home to 300 people,

Madoo has lost roughly half its population, villagers say. In addition to the dozens killed by U.S. airstrikes, many others lost their homes and moved away. The people who remain are destitute. They live crowded in the few stone and timber homes they've managed to rebuild on their own. They subsist on bread and the vegetables they grow. Several children look slight and frail.

Half of world away in Washington, finding ways to help people in such desperate need became an immediate priority for some policymakers and a dangerous precedent to others.

Congress directed that an unspecified amount of money be spent to assist innocent victims of U.S. bombing in Afghanistan, just as it recently called on the Bush administration to identify and provide "appropriate assistance" to civilian victims in Iraq. But the money has not yet reached any of the intended recipients, U.S. officials acknowledged.

"The money is there," said Tim Rieser, an aide to Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.). "Mistakes were made. Mistakes are made in wars. We all know that. But we have yet to see the administration take action to carry out the law in Afghanistan."

The U.S. Agency for International Development, for example, had \$1.25 million in last year's budget to help Afghan civilians who suffered losses as a result of U.S. military action, according to the U.S. Embassy in Kabul. But the agency has not spent any of that money helping Afghans who had their relatives killed, their children maimed, their homes leveled or their livestock and livelihoods destroyed by American bombing, several U.S. officials in Afghanistan conceded this week.

The biggest obstacle to delivery of the aid, officials say, has been a prolonged debate over how to assist bombing victims without compensating them. To policymakers, the distinction between easing the plight of suffering innocents and compensating the victims of war is more than semantic. Both the U.S. military and the State Department are leery of setting legal precedents for compensation and have declined to establish programs that either systematically document civilian losses or give Afghans any opportunity to apply for reparations.

Short of that, military civil-affairs units in Afghanistan have, in isolated instances, provided general humanitarian assistance to communities that happen to have suffered as a result of U.S. bombing. They are, for example, helping rebuild Bamian University—but only, officials insist, because Bamian needs a new university, not because U.S. bombs destroyed the old one.

"Claims have never been processed for combat losses," said Col. Roger King, U.S. military spokesman at Bagram air base near Kabul, the Afghan capital.

The policy debate has gone on too long, Rieser said. "It's tricky," he said. "We don't imagine going around handing out dollar bills to people. We are sensitive to the issues. If we were to announce some kind of a claims program, every single person in Afghanistan would sign up. It's just not feasible."

"But we do know about a lot of these bombing incidents. We know there is a real need there. Why not start doing something about it in the context of our overall aid program? All Congress is saying is, don't leave out the people who suffered serious losses on account of our mistakes. It should have happened already."

There are no official estimates of how many Afghan civilians have been killed by U.S. bombs. A survey published last year by the human rights group Global Exchange estimated the number at more than 800.

A year and a half after the U.S.-led coalition ousted the Taliban and al Qaeda, bombs

are still falling on Afghan civilians as U.S. forces combat a resurgence of terrorism aimed at destabilizing the government of President Hamid Karzai. In eastern Afghanistan this month, a U.S. warplane mistakenly killed 11 members of one family when a 1,000-pound laser-guided bomb missed its intended target and landed on a house.

And Madoo still lies in ruins. The village, 25 miles south of Jalalabad, is not accessible by road. It is a short but arduous hike through mountain gorges from the Pakistan border. On the horizon jut the black peaks of Tora Bora, home of the cave complex where an estimated 1,000 of bin Laden's fighters are believed to have gathered after the defeat of the Taliban last fall.

It was late afternoon on Dec. 1, 2001, when U.S. warplanes appeared over Madoo. The people of Madoo were observing Ramadan, the Muslim holy month of fasting.

"It was the time of breaking fast, and we were just sitting together to have dinner," Munir, 12, recalled. "We heard the voice of the planes, and we went out to see what was happening. A bomb landed on our home. There weren't any Taliban or Arabs with us. For nothing they dropped bombs here."

After the first bombers left, Munir's mother and 8-year-old sister were dead. His infant brother, Abdul Haq, was buried alive. Relatives spied the boy's foot sticking out of a mound of dirt and dug him out.

The bombers returned three times, villagers said. In all, the people of Madoo say they buried at least 55 loved ones.

Many bodies were too damaged to identify. Some of the dozens of mounds in Madoo's hillside burial ground are marked with two and three pieces of wood, signifying that the remains of more than one person are interred there.

The people of Madoo remain puzzled by Americans. A retired Ohio lawyer, who read about one Madoo boy injured in the bombings, was so moved that he visited and gave each survivor about \$300. People bought tents and clothes and wheat seeds to plant. But Madoo's losses outstripped one man's largess.

Munir's youngest brother, now a toddler, coughs frequently and swipes at his runny nose. His family, whose home and meager possessions were destroyed in the bombing, lives with relatives.

"Before, it was good here," Munir said. "The people and my father worked on the land. Life was better than it is now. We have lost everything."

Munir's father, Shingul, 55, who is raising his four surviving children alone, tried to talk about his late wife and daughter but could only turn away and weep.

"If we were doing something wrong, I could understand this," he said when he regained his voice. "But it was Ramadan and we were breaking the fast. The main problem we have now is that we have nothing. We would really appreciate it if someone could help."

#### SCHOOL VOUCHERS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I believe all of our colleagues in the Senate will be interested in an article from today's New York Times entitled "What Some Much-Noted Data Really Showed About Vouchers" by Michael Winerip, pointing out the shocking flaws in a widely cited study released in 2000 by Paul E. Peterson on the benefits of private school voucher programs.

It is clear that no research on vouchers has conclusively shown that private school students outperform public

school students. Private school vouchers are not proven to work and should not be supported by Congress. Public funds should be used for public schools, not on dubious experiments to pay for a small number of students to attend private schools.

The No Child Left Behind Act—passed last year with the strong support of President Bush and strong bipartisan support in Congress—is the best hope for improving elementary and secondary education. Its reforms ask more of schools, teachers, and students in communities across the country. Schools need as much funding and support as possible to ensure that no child is left behind. Every dollar in public funds that goes to private schools is a dollar less for public schools.

Congress should support public schools, not abandon them. Proven effective reforms should be made—not just in a few schools, but in all schools; not just for a few students, but for all students. I urge my colleagues in Congress to reject voucher proposals and grant increased funds for public schools, and I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From The New York Times, May 7, 2003]

WHAT SOME MUCH-NOTED DATA REALLY SHOWED ABOUT VOUCHERS

(By Michael Winerip)

In August of 2000, in the midst of the Bush-Gore presidential race, a Harvard professor, Paul E. Peterson, released a study saying that school vouchers significantly improved test scores of black children. Professor Peterson had conducted the most ambitious randomized experiment on vouchers to date, and his results—showing that blacks using vouchers to attend private schools had scored six percentile points higher than a control group of blacks in public schools—became big news.

The Harvard professor appeared on CNN and "The NewsHour With Jim Lehrer." Conservative editorial writers and columnists, including William Safire of The Times, cited the Peterson study as proof that vouchers were the answer for poor blacks, that Al Gore (a voucher opponent) was out of touch with his black Democratic constituency and that George W. Bush had it right.

"The facts are clear and persuasive: school vouchers work," The Boston Herald editorialized on Aug. 30, 2000. "If candidates looked at facts, this one would be a no-brainer for Gore."

Then, three weeks later, professor Peterson's partner in the study, Mathematica, a Princeton-based research firm, issued a sharp dissent. Mathematica's report emphasized that all the gains in Professor Peterson's experiment, conducted in New York City, had come in just one of the five grades studied, the sixth, and that the rest of the black pupils, as well as Latinos and whites of all grades who used vouchers, had shown no gains. Since there was no logical explanation for this, Mathematica noted the chance of a statistical fluke. "Because gains are so concentrated in this single group, one needs to be very cautious," it said.

Several newspapers wrote about Mathematica's report, but, coming three