

And while the SPDC claims it recognizes the NLD as a legal entity, it refuses to recognize the legal political status of key NLD party leaders, particularly General-Secretary and 1991 Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and her two co-chairs. The SPDC constrains their activities severely through security measures and threats.

The SPDC restricts freedom of religion. It exercises institutionalized control over Buddhist clergy and promotes discrimination against non-Buddhist religions. It forbids the existence of domestic human rights organizations and remains hostile to outside scrutiny of its human rights record. Violence and societal discrimination against women remain problems, as does severe child neglect, the forced labor of children, and lack of funding and facilities for education.

In sum, as the latest biannual State Department report on:

Conditions in Burma and U.S. Policy Towards Burma notes, over the last six months the SPDC has made no progress toward greater democratization, nor has it made any progress toward fundamental improvement in the quality of life of the people of Burma. The regime continues to repress the National League for Democracy . . . and attack its leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, in the state-controlled press.

Burma's political repressiveness is matched only by its poverty. Burma's population is thought to be about 48 million—we can only rely on estimates because government restrictions make accurate counts impossible. The average per capita income was estimated to be about \$300 in 1998, about \$800 if considered on the basis of purchasing power parity.

Things do not have to be this way. Burma has rich agricultural, fishing, and timber resources. It has abundant mineral resources—gas, oil, and gemstones. The world's finest jade comes from Burma. But the economic deck is stacked against Burma.

Three decades of military rule and economic mismanagement have created widespread waste, loss, and suffering. Economic policy is suddenly reversed for political reasons. Development is killed by overt and covert state involvement in economic activity, state monopolization of leading exports, a bloated bureaucracy, arbitrary and opaque governance, institutionalized corruption, and poor human and physical infrastructure. Smuggling is rampant; the destruction of the environment goes on unabated. Decades of disproportionately large military budgets have meant scant spending on social development and economic infrastructure.

There is no price stability. The Burmese currency, the Kyat, is worthless. There is a telling anecdote about this: one year, Burma asked the U.K., then its primary foreign aid donor, to give it paper so that it could print more Kyat because the Kyat was so devalued that Burma could not afford to buy the paper needed to print it. Imagine, the paper was worth more as paper than as

money. I don't know if the story is true or not. The point is that in Burma's case, it easily could have been. In 1998–1999, the official exchange rate was 6 Kyat to one dollar; the black market rate was 341 Kyat to the dollar. This says it all.

I could go on and on. But I don't need to. We all know that Burma's economy is a basket case. We all know that, for the Burmese people, mere existence, not life, is the norm. We all know that Burma cannot expect to begin the road to recovery, prosperity, and long term economic stability as long as the basic human rights and political will of the Burmese people are denied.

The questions before us now are: what tools do we have for stopping this government's inhumanity toward its own citizens and for giving hope to the Burmese people? Are the tools we are now using the correct ones?

The debate over unilateral sanctions represents a fundamental question in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy: Are U.S. interests advanced best by deepening relations or diminishing relations with a country that is not acting as we would like?

I do not endorse sanctions as a panacea. Each case must be considered on its own merits.

In Burma, I believe the United States government had a responsibility to respond to a situation in which the democratically-elected leaders had been summarily thrown out of office, assaulted, and imprisoned by renegade militarists.

Consequently, in 1996, then-Senator Cohen and I coauthored the current sanctions legislation on Burma. The Cohen-Feinstein amendment required the President to ban new investment by U.S. firms in Burma if he determined that the Government of Burma has physically harmed, rearrested for political acts, or exiled Aung San Suu Kyi or committed large-scale repression or violence against the Democratic opposition.

Shortly after Congress passed the Cohen-Feinstein Amendment, President Clinton implemented sanctions against Burma.

Unfortunately, since Cohen-Feinstein went into effect on October 1, 1996 there appears to be little improvement in human rights conditions in Burma: The SPDC continues to implement its repressive policies.

Nevertheless, until the SPDC shows a willingness to make progress towards democracy and improved human rights, the Cohen-Feinstein sanctions must remain in place.

The sanctions make us a leader on Burma and in forging a common international position. I believe, for example, that the European Union would have a much softer line on Burma if not for U.S. policy. The EU has no economic sanctions in place, but has taken some other measures, such as a visa ban for members of the SPDC government and support of the U.S. in introducing the annual United Nations

Human Rights Committee resolution on Burma. The United States must continue trying to develop a multilateral approach, particularly with the ASEAN nations, to bring additional pressure to bear on the SLORC.

There is some indication that the sanctions are causing some hardships for the SPDC. For example, last year the SPDC let the International Committee of the Red Cross back into Burma under conditions the ICRC found acceptable, including access to prisons and prisoners. Although there was no clear link to the impact of sanctions in getting the ICRC back in, some analysts contend that the SPDC is heeding international pressure. This may indicate that the SPDC could be willing to make some positive changes, even though it is still an open question if they will change the "core behavior" that triggered the sanctions to begin with.

The bottom line is that the current sanctions should not be lifted without some major concession by the SPDC. To lift any sanctions without a concession would send the wrong signal and give the SPDC the message that they could continue to stifle democracy.

We should make it clear that the United States stands on the side of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Burma. We should make it clear that the United States stands on the side of Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League of Democracy and that we support their efforts to return Burma and its government to the people.

I am pleased to co-sponsor Senator MOYNIHAN's resolution which commemorates the 10th anniversary of the free and fair elections in Burma, and calls on the SPDC to: guarantee basic freedoms to the people of Burma; accept political dialogue with the National League for Democracy; comply with UN human rights agreements; and reaffirms U.S. sanctions as appropriate to secure the restoration of democracy.

I look forward to the day when the United States has cause to lift the Cohen-Feinstein sanctions and welcome Burma into the community of free nations. In the interim, I urge my colleagues to support the Moynihan resolution.

#### CONFIRMATION OF NICHOLAS G. GARAUFIS, OF NEW YORK

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to express great appreciation for the confirmation of Nicholas G. Garaufis to be United States District Court Judge for the Eastern District of New York. I want to thank my colleague from New York, Senator SCHUMER, and Senator LEAHY, Chairman HATCH, Senator LOTT, Senator DASCHLE, and all Senators for confirming the nomination of Judge Garaufis. Hailing from Bayside, New York, he is a graduate of both Columbia College and Columbia School of Law and for the last five years has served as Chief Counsel for the Federal

Aviation Administration. He is superbly qualified and I have every confidence he will make an excellent addition to the Eastern District Court.

#### ARMED FORCES APPRECIATION DAY STATEMENT

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, each year, on the third Saturday in May, the nation expresses appreciation and gratitude to our military. In Louisiana, we are proud of our men and women in uniform and have a long-standing tradition of honoring them every year. We are proud of the military in times of war, and we are proud of the military in times of peace. We know that without our fighting men and women "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" would be just hollow words. Since the birth of our Nation, America's Armed Forces has served the United States with honor, courage, and distinction, both at home and abroad. America's patriots have assumed a sacred duty, understanding that our history, our heritage, and our honor, require us to bear the burdens of sacrifice. We acknowledge and applaud their selfless service, courage, and dedication to duty.

Today, thousands of troops are deployed throughout the world, operating in every time zone, and in every climate defending our freedom. Our sailors and Marines are aboard ships and submarines in the Adriatic. Our Air Force and Navy pilots fly the perilous skies over Iraq. Our soldiers keep the vigil and preserve the peace in the former Yugoslavia. They do it to promote American values: democracy and freedom from the oppression of demagogues, tyrants and totalitarian governments. The peace and freedom so longed for by people throughout the world often starts over here, on American soil. When our Armed Forces go overseas, they take with them our national values: a tradition of democracy and a love of individual liberty. Our service members are truly freedom's ambassadors.

So on behalf of the state of Louisiana and a grateful nation, we thank you. We thank you for all that you give to us every day of your lives. We thank those serving on active duty, those standing by in the Reserves and National Guard, and we thank all family members for their patience and their sacrifices. Thank you for your devotion to duty, for your loyalty, for your courage and for your patriotic and profound love of country.

#### NATIONAL MISSING CHILDREN DAY

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to promote awareness of missing children and honor those who work to search and rescue the thousands of children who disappear each year. As my colleagues may know, today is recognized as National Missing Children Day.

In proclaiming the first National Missing Children Day in 1983, President Ronald Reagan noted, "Our children are the Nation's most valuable and most vulnerable asset. They are our link to the future, our hope for a better life. Their protection and safety must be one of our highest priorities." Since that time, National Missing Children Day has been a reminder that we must strengthen our resolve to keep children safe.

I believe that the Federal Government can help state and local law enforcement agencies reunite missing and runaway children with their families. In particular, the Missing, Exploited, and Runaway Children Protection Act enacted by Congress last year is an example of an effective federal and state partnership that reduces crime and prevents missing children cases. This law reauthorized the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program through fiscal year 2003 and provides local communities with the resources to find missing children and prevent child victimization.

In my home state, the Jacob Wetterling Foundation and Missing Children Minnesota have worked effectively to locate missing children and raise public awareness about ways to prevent child abduction and sexual exploitation. Additionally, the Minnesota Association of Runaway Youth Services, comprising eighteen nonprofit agencies in Minnesota, has been instrumental in providing services to runaway and homeless youth and their families. Their efforts have been guided by the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program, which provides resources to community-based organizations to provide outreach, temporary shelter, and counseling each year to thousands of Minnesota's homeless young people.

I am also working to secure federal funding to support the State of Minnesota's development of a statewide criminal justice information sharing system that would allow police, judges, and other criminal justice professionals to communicate quickly about the criminal histories of violent offenders. My proposal will help to provide local communities with the technology to identify criminals and protect our communities from sexual predators and violent offenders.

As chairman of the Minnesota House Crime Prevention Committee, Representative Rich Stanek recently led the effort to pass "Katie's Law"—legislation that will provide state funding for an integrated criminal justice system. I greatly appreciate Representative Stanek's dedication to improving the Minnesota criminal justice system and the opportunity to work with him on this very important public safety initiative.

Mr. President, I again commend the numerous volunteers, organizations, businesses, state legislators, and government agencies who all work on a daily basis to find missing children. I

look forward to our continued work together.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I rise to commemorate this very special day, National Missing Children's Day. Proclaimed by President Ronald Reagan in 1983 and honored by every administration since, May 25th is the day 6 year old Ethan Patz disappeared from a New York City street corner on his way to school in 1979. His case remains unsolved and is an annual reminder to the nation to renew efforts to reunite missing children with their families and make child protection a national priority. As a mother of two beautiful children, I cannot imagine what I would do if my children were missing. All of us with children know that this a parent's greatest nightmare. Yet every 18 seconds a child disappears, and so each day over three thousand parents go through the terror of losing their child.

The Theme of this year's National Missing Children's Day is "Picture them Home." This national public awareness campaign is aimed at encouraging the public at large to be aware of their important role in the recovery of these children. One in six children featured in the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children's photo-distribution program is recovered as a direct result of someone in the public recognizing the child in the picture and notifying the authorities. Unlike so many of our national tragedies, we can do something to help return a missing child to their families. I urge the American public to really look closely at pictures of missing children they see. The small gesture can be the key to reuniting a mother or father with their missing child.

In closing, I would like to commend those individuals who were honored this morning by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), the Fraternal Order of Police and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention at the U.S. Department of Justice Fifth Annual National Missing and Exploited Children's Awards Ceremony.

Sergeant Investigator Awilda Cartagena, Texas Dept. of Public Safety—For the recovery of Johnny Tello, a family abduction victim from Dallas, Texas, after a six-year search. Special Agent K. Jill Hill, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Little Rock, Arkansas—For the location and recovery of non-family abduction victim, three-year-old Destiny Leann Richards, who was kidnapped from her home in Mabelvale, Arkansas, on June 11, 1999, and located in a wooded area the next evening following extensive ground searches. Detective Captain David W. Bailey, accepting for the Lancaster (Ohio) Police Department—for the successful local location and recovery of three-year-old Ashley Taggart, abducted in April 1999 and found three days later in the home of a twice-convicted sexual predator. Senior Resident Agent Scott Wilson, Federal Bureau of Investigation,