

both on new investment in Burma and on importing goods produced in Burma.

Because the Burmese military government has failed to address human rights abuses, including the unconditional release of all political prisoners, and to move forward in talks with the NLD and other pro-democracy groups toward establishing a democratic government, the United States should increase well-targeted sanctions, including an import ban on goods produced in Burma, and encourage the United Nations and other countries to join with the United States in adopting similar sanctions.

The United States should redouble its efforts with the governments of China, Japan and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, particularly Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia, to press the SPDC to work with the NLD and ethnic nationalities toward political transition in Burma. The United States, as a member of the SEAN Regional Forum, should urge ASEAN to consider seriously the cross-border effects of internal problems including illegal migration, health, trafficking, narcotics and other issues connected with the internal situation in Burma. The United States should also continue to coordinate closely with the European Union on policies toward Burma.

Until the SPDC makes substantial progress in improving human rights and engaging in substantive political dialogue with the democratic opposition, the United States should strongly discourage the government of Japan from forgiving outstanding debt from bilateral grants and loans except those that directly address basic human needs. Such aid should exclude infrastructure projects, such as dams and airport renovations, and also be limited to basic human needs. Moreover, the United States should encourage Japan to use its influence with ASEAN governments to urge them to become pro-active in support of democracy and human rights in Burma.

While maintaining its own sanctions on Burma, the United States, as one of the largest donors to the international financial institutions, should urge Asian investors to press the Burmese government to begin implementing the economic measures recommended by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank as one of the prerequisites for further investment. The United States should also urge China to use its influence to press the Burmese government to reform its economy and move towards democratic governance in order to promote stability in the region.

In order to develop capacity for future democratic governance and to rebuild technical competence in Burma, the United States should promote cultural, media and educational exchanges with the Burmese, provided that these opportunities are readily accessible to qualified candidates, including representatives of the political opposition. The selection process should include widespread publicity of exchange and fellowship opportunities, a joint selection committee comprised of Burmese civilian authorities (academics, intellectuals) and representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon who, after consulting broadly, make their selections based on the quality of candidates and their potential to contribute to Burma's future. In addition, the United States should provide increased funding for the American Center in Rangoon as well as for English language training and scholarship opportunities.

#### *U.S. narcotics control policy toward Burma*

The United States should not certify Burma at this time because it has "failed demonstrably" to curtail drug production,

drug trafficking and money laundering. In addition, the United States should not provide any counter-narcotics assistance to the Burmese government. Increased counter-narcotics cooperation should depend, at minimum, on significant steps by the Burmese government to curb methamphetamine production, to arrest leading traffickers, and to stop channeling drug money into the illicit economy.

#### *IV. Refugees, migrants and internally displaced persons*

The United States should strongly urge the Thai government to halt deportations of Burmese and protect the security of Burmese living in Thailand, regardless of their status. In addition, the United States should coordinate U.S. policy towards Thailand with donors, such as the governments of Norway, Denmark, Japan, and Canada.

The United States should provide increased humanitarian assistance, including cross-border assistance, for displaced Burmese along both sides of the Thai-Burma border as well as on Burmese's borders with India, Bangladesh, and China, as well as inside Burma. Support should be provided for clean water, sanitation services, primary health care, reproductive health, and health education for refugees and undocumented migrants living in refugee-like circumstances. Support of education, especially for women and children, is also critical.

The United States should urge greater access by international NGOs and UN agencies to northern Rakhine State provide humanitarian assistance and monitor abuses committed against Muslim communities and returned refugees.

#### SAVING FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Mr. HOLLINGS, Madam President, we are in trouble. The Federal Communications Commission, by a three to two vote, is prepared to bring about monopolistic control of the news, monopolistic control of the media, monopolistic control of entertainment. Public interest rules for cross ownership and market control are being abolished and no one points this out more cogently than Mortimer B. Zuckerman, Editor in Chief, in the June 23, 2003 edition of the U.S. News and World Report. The Congress will be compelled to act if we are to save freedom of speech in this country. To understand the issues I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD. I also commend to my colleagues the Columbia Journalism Review—[www.cjr.org](http://www.cjr.org)—of who owns what, listing the holdings of the five behemoths Viacom, News Corporation, AOL-Time Warner, Walt Disney Company and General Electric too much under the present rulings.

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

[From U.S. News & World Report, June 23, 2001]

#### A SURE-FIRE RECIPE FOR TROUBLE

(By Mortimer B. Zuckerman)

Three anonymous political appointees to the Federal Communications Commission have just delivered a body blow to American democracy. Large media companies are to be allowed to buy up more TV stations and newspapers, becoming more powerful and reaping a financial bonanza. Astonishingly,

the FCC has done this without public review, without analyzing its consequences, and without the American people getting a dime in return for their public airwaves. Under the FCC deal, big media companies must make no commitment to provide better news, or even unbiased news. Ditto with local news coverage and children's programming. In fact, the new rules dramatically worsen opportunities for local news coverage, for diversity of views, and for competition. "The public be damned!" was a robber baron's slogan from the Gilded Age. Seems to be just what the FCC is saying.

Consider the enormity of the changes. The commissioners removed the ban on broadcasting and newspaper cross-ownership. They raised the national cap on audience reach by station-group owners to 45 percent. They allowed ownership of two stations in more markets, and even three in a handful of markets. There's more, but you get the idea.

Monopolies. These FCC rules allow new merger possibilities without any public-interest review. The details are complicated, but basically, thanks to the FCC, one company now can own UHF TV stations in 199 of the nation's 210 TV markets, which is pretty much the equivalent of owning stations in every TV market in every state except California. That means a single company could influence the elections for 98 U.S. senators, 382 members of the House of Representatives, 49 governors, 49 state legislatures, and countless local races. Employing another strategy now allowed by the FCC, that same company could own VHF stations in every TV market in 38 states, with the power to influence elections in 76 U.S. senate races, 182 House races, 38 gubernatorial races, and 38 state legislatures, along with countless local races. There are other scenarios. But again, you get the idea.

Easing the rules on cross-ownership means that in many local markets one company could own its leading daily newspaper—and, often, its only newspaper—its top-rated TV station, the local cable company, and, as a bonus, five to eight radio stations. Previously, no TV and newspaper mergers were allowed in the same market, except when a firm was failing. Now the merger of the dominant newspaper and TV station could create local news monopolies in 200 markets serving 98 percent of all Americans.

What's going on? Several years ago, the FCC allowed one company to own as many radio stations as it wanted. The unintended result is the monopolization of many local markets and three national companies owning half the stations in America, delivering a homogenized product that neglects local news coverage. Small to midsize firms know that major networks will gobble up affiliates, cut local programming costs, and program centrally from their own stations. Independents will be squeezed out. "For Sale" signs are already going up. More consolidation, more news sharing, and fewer journalists add up to an enhanced danger of media corporations abusing market power to slant coverage in ways that fit their political and financial interests—and suppressing coverage that doesn't. One defense of this outrage that big media companies offer is the diversity of the Web. Well, yes. But does anyone really think the Internet is anything like an organized political or media power, much less a counterweight to a clique of billion-dollar media behemoths?

The good news is that the nation, finally, is waking up. The FCC has received hundreds of thousands of protests. Congressmen, both Democrats and Republicans, are alarmed. So are groups as diverse as Common Cause, the National Rifle Association, and the Screen Actors Guild. One of our more thoughtful conservative columnists, William Safire of

the New York Times, writes that “the concentration of power—political, corporate, media, cultural—should be anathema to conservatives.” John Roberts in the Chicago Tribune deplores the “blatantly disingenuous, if not dishonest, explanations being given by FCC Chairman Michael Powell and his supporters for their actions.”

No prizes for guessing who supports the commission: the major media conglomerates who have coincidentally spent more than \$80 million on lobbying, plus over \$25 million in political contributions, in the past three years and stand to gain enormously from this.

Regardless of their political ideology, we cannot risk nonelected media bosses having inappropriate local, regional, or national power. The FCC was created to ensure that the public interest is served by the media companies that use our airwaves. Everyone is entitled to a mistake sometime, but the FCC is abusing the privilege. Congress must act now and reverse the FCC’s irresponsible new rules.

#### CHANGES TO H. CON. RES. 95 PURSUANT TO SECTION 401 MEDICARE RESERVE FUND ADJUSTMENT

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, section 401 of H. Con. Res. 95, the FY 2004 Budget Resolution, permits the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to make adjustments to the allocation of budget authority and outlays to the Senate Committee on Finance, provided certain conditions are met.

Pursuant to section 401, I ask unanimous consent that the following revisions to H. Con. Res. 95 be printed in the RECORD.

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

	Dollars in millions
<b>Current Allocation to Senate Finance Committee</b>	
FY 2004 Budget Authority .....	769,846
FY 2004 Outlays .....	773,735
FY 2004–2008 Budget Authority .....	4,504,397
FY 2004–2008 Outlays .....	4,513,658
FY 2004–2013 Budget Authority .....	10,591,162
FY 2004–2013 Outlays .....	10,606,226
<b>Adjustments</b>	
FY 2004 Budget Authority .....	
FY 2004 Outlays .....	
FY 2004–2008 Budget Authority .....	113,540
FY 2004–2008 Outlays .....	113,570
FY 2004–2013 Budget Authority .....	400,000
FY 2004–2013 Outlays .....	400,000
<b>Revised Allocation to Senate Finance Committee</b>	
FY 2004 Budget Authority .....	769,846
FY 2004 Outlays .....	773,735
FY 2004–2008 Budget Authority .....	4,617,937
FY 2004–2008 Outlays .....	4,627,228
FY 2004–2013 Budget Authority .....	10,991,162
FY 2004–2013 Outlays .....	11,006,226

#### PROTECT ACT OF 2003 TECHNICAL AMENDMENT

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I rise today to speak to an issue that we need to promptly address. As part of the Protect Act of 2003, we authorized a pilot program to study the feasibility of instituting a national background check for those who volunteer in children’s activities. The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children will provide its expertise to assist volunteer organizations in evaluating the criminal records of volunteers to determine if the volunteers are fit to interact and provide care for children.

Currently, the Protect Act tasks the National Center with operating the cyber tip line in addition to its participation in the pilot program. The Protect Act presently immunizes the National Center for operating the cyber tip line as long as it does so consistent with the purpose of the tip line. However, no similar protection was provided with respect to the National Center’s activities related to the pilot program. The bill I have offered will extend the immunity to the National Center for its participation in the pilot program.

I would urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this technical fix so that the worthy goals of the pilot program can commence.

#### LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2003

Mr. SMITH. Madam President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. On May 1, 2003, Senator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred in San Jose, CA. On October 12, 2001, a pregnant Yemini woman wearing a hijab and a long dress was beaten by a group of angry teenagers. After the attack, the woman needed to be hospitalized and remained in guarded condition until she delivered her baby.

I believe that Government’s first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

#### WRITING CONTEST ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, each year fifth graders across the United States compete in a writing contest on immigration sponsored by the American Immigrant Law Foundation and the American Immigration Layers Association. Thousands of students participated in this year’s competition, responding to the question, “Why I’m Glad America is a Nation of Immigrants.”

In 1958, President Kennedy, who was then completing his first term as a Senator, published a book with the title, “A Nation of Immigrants,” and I had the privilege of serving as one of the judges for this year’s contest. It was impressive to see how the students responded. Their essays illustrate the wealth of diverse cultures that immigrants share with our Nation. The students’ writings radiate with pride for our diversity and our immigrant heritage. Many students told personal sto-

ries of their families and friends and their immigration to the United States.

The winner of this year’s contest is Miranda Santucci of Pittsburgh. In her essay, “An American Patchwork Quilt,” Miranda explores the value of her friends’ cultures and how their diversity has enhanced her life. She compares the United States to a colorful patchwork quilt where “every fabric piece tells an immigrant’s story about overcoming hardship, seeking opportunities, and reaching for dreams,” and where “threads of different languages, customs, foods, cultures, religions and skills hold these pieces together.” Miranda’s eloquent essay reaches to the heart of what makes us all uniquely American.

Other students honored for their exceptional writing were Rachel Adams of Houston, Melissa Cheng of Atlanta, Jessica Du of Alameda, and Elias Reisman of Indianapolis. I congratulate these students on their outstanding achievement, and I know my brother would be proud of them too.

These award-winning essays will be of interest to all of us in the Senate, and I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, so ordered.

There being no objection, the essays were printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Winchester Thurston School,  
Pittsburgh, PA]

#### AN AMERICAN PATCHWORK QUILT

(By Miranda Santucci)

America reminds me of a beautiful patchwork quilt that covers our nation with a diversity of immigrants. Each quilt square is made up of different colors and textures with a unique design and pattern. Every fabric piece tells an immigrant’s story about overcoming hardships, seeking opportunities, and reaching for dreams. Threads of different languages, customs, foods, cultures, religions, and skills hold all these pieces together. I’m glad America is a nation of immigrants because these individual patchwork pieces make the whole American quilt more beautiful.

The quilt covers my home, school, neighborhood, and city. It warms me when I celebrate the feast of fishes on Christmas Eve like my father’s Italian ancestors did, when I play with my Greek friend Katarina Konstantinos after school, or when I share the basket blessing tradition at Easter with my neighbor, Peter Muszalski, in his church on Polish Hill. I see many colors in the fabric at my school when I look around at all the different skin tones. I feel how enormous the quilt is when I go through the Strip District and read the storefront signs like Sambok, Stamboolis, Benkovitz, and Sunseri.

I cherish each piece of our country’s quilt. All the immigrant patches are still unique, even though they are sewn together as one. They make our country rich, full and strong. America’s patchwork quilt is a precious heirloom that should be handled with pride, and handed down through the generations of American history.

[From the Mayde Creek Elementary,  
Houston, TX]

#### AMERICA—MY NEW HOME

(By Rachel Adams)

America, America