

eat there, to sleep there, to exist there for month after month after month without even the opportunity to leave the Embassy. And yet they did so, demonstrating all the professionalism that we could probably expect, even as they watched this Congress shut the Government down, and as they attempted to explain to those Bosnian nationals who were working for the United States Government, in particular, why we could not pay them. They worked anyway. They carried on their mission as best they could.

So it was with our U.S. military. In mud that had to have been 10 inches deep, in tents and in buildings on top of a hill, they tried as best they could to establish a presence from which to carry on their operations. Soldiers told us that one night, after having just constructed their tents and established their infrastructure in this base, 80-mile-per-hour winds blew it down, blew down equipment, blew down tents, blew down virtually everything that was standing. So, again, the next morning, with the determination we have come to expect from the U.S. military, they put it all back, determined to carry out the mission as only the U.S. military can.

As we traveled all through Bosnia and all the former Republics of Yugoslavia, the one thing we were told over and over again is that while it may be a 32-country mission, the fact is one country made the difference, one country made it happen, one country made it all possible. One country had the credibility, the stature, the power to bring peace to this region. That one country is well represented by our military and Foreign Service personnel.

My third observation is that we must applaud the people of the former Yugoslavia, especially those in Bosnia, for their resiliency, their determination to find peace, tranquility, stability, economic vitality, and, yes, a political opportunity to achieve the same level of democracy as others in the region. That determination could not have been more evident.

I thought it was a poignant metaphor to be standing on a hill in Sarajevo overlooking two soccer fields. One soccer field was filled with crosses, thousands and thousands of crosses marking the graves of casualties of the war. The other soccer field was filled with mud and young boys playing soccer, mud on every inch of their bodies, determined to play, recognizing that in the field just next to them lay their former friends and relatives, brothers and sisters.

It is that determination, that willingness to survive it all, to confront it all, that we found in great abundance throughout the country. Certainly, we applaud the people in all of these Republics, in all of these countries, struggling to achieve democracy, for their determination and their ability to accomplish what they know they can.

Finally, Mr. President, we ask frequently as we traveled through each

country, "Tell us why a skeptical South Dakotan or a skeptical American ought to agree that our presence there is in our best interest. How would you tell him or her that our troops, our personnel ought to be there, and what is it about the American interests that would convince a skeptical American that they should stay, at least through the end of this year?"

I think the answer, as given on so many occasions in such eloquent fashion, simply came down to this: "Only you can make it happen. Only you can ensure that the progress you are seeing continues." A Slovenian perhaps said it best when he looked me in the eye as we were discussing this, and he said, "Let me tell you very honestly, in the short-term there is nothing in it for you—nothing. But in the long term, you who espouse democracy, who have enjoyed it for 200 years, have the opportunity to see people who have lived for generations under tyranny, under dictatorship, under communism, now breathe freely under democracy. We, the small, struggling republics, could be like you."

"What is that worth? How much is that worth to you?"

He said, "New little countries are like children: They fight sometimes, often unnecessarily. They need a firm hand. They need guidance. They need somebody to watch over them as they struggle to grow. And you—well, you are like a big brother. You are the only one we've got. You can turn away or you can stay. It's up to you."

Mr. President, let us hope these democracies—these children—continue to grow. Let us hope that the people of these wonderful little countries continue to experience democracy and free enterprise. Let us hope that as they do, we have the courage and the dedication and the opportunity to make little, weak democracies strong ones. That is what this is all about.

Let me say it again, were it not for the courage and the commitment of this administration, our military, and Foreign Service personnel, little countries would have no reason to dream, would have no opportunity to experience what we in this great country experience each and every morning when we wake up.

Mr. President, I see the distinguished Senator from Washington waiting to speak. I had another statement, but I will wait until she has concluded before I make that statement. I yield the floor.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, let me congratulate my colleague, the minority leader, for an excellent statement. I hope that all of our colleagues take time to read it. Certainly, we do stop and question our role in the world often on this floor, and I think the words that Senator DASCHLE just gave to us are words that we all should heed. I appreciate his statement.

IN OPPOSITION TO RIDERS ATTACHED TO THE INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, today is Earth Day. It is a day that many young people and adults across our country take time out to plant a tree, clean up a river or a lakeside, and to make the statement that each of us has a responsibility to pass on a safe, clean, healthy, and secure environment to the generations that come behind us.

Mr. President, today I use Earth Day to voice my concerns with the many riders that are attached to the Interior section I of the omnibus appropriations bill that is currently in conference. These riders, I believe, are not good policies for today or for tomorrow, and they certainly go against the concept that Earth Day was designed to highlight.

Mr. President, I am particularly concerned about three riders that most directly affect my home State of Washington. The riders are the limitations to the interior Columbia basin ecosystem management project, the restricted timber salvage provisions, and the threats to the Lummi Nation.

Mr. President, let me begin with the Columbia basin ecosystem management project. Most people in this Chamber know little about the Columbia basin project. I would like to change that today by explaining briefly what the project is and what its creators hope to accomplish.

This project is a joint planning effort by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management to develop a scientifically sound ecosystem-based strategy for managing the forests and the lands of the interior Columbia basin. Its most salient feature is that it is one of the first attempts made in natural resource policy to get ahead of the problem, rather than simply reacting to it. Its original proponents, Senator HATFIELD and former Speaker Foley, had dealt firsthand with the spotted owl controversy and wanted to attack the problems of the inland West differently.

In addition—and this may come as a surprise to my colleagues—almost everyone, from commodity interests to environmental activists, agrees that we have problems with the ecosystems of the inland West. They agree on something. So let us use that consensus to figure out how to manage these damaged or unhealthy lands. We need to develop a plan to ensure sustainable commodity production, healthy fish stocks and wildlife populations, and protection of ecosystems. That is what the Columbia basin project attempts to do.

Unfortunately, some commodity interests are afraid of this project. I don't want to discount their fear, because I know some businesses have been hurt by changing Federal policies and lawsuits. However, the limitations imposed in the Interior appropriations rider will too severely restrict sound

resource management, ecosystem restoration, and decisionmaking.

At every stage of this lengthy appropriations process, I have tried to improve the Columbia basin provisions, since I knew I did not have the votes to strike the section. I was successful in two areas. First, we have allowed the agencies to spend up to \$4 million to finish this important project. This is a dramatic improvement over the original House bill, which prohibited any money from being spent for implementation of the project and which allowed only \$600,000 to be spent to complete the project.

The second important change I fought for was the removal of shackles from the scientists. The bill had limited the scientific assessment to such things as forest land management and had prohibited study of anything else. The omnibus appropriations bill now allows a scientific assessment of the entire ecosystem, not just that portion of the system primarily affecting commodity production.

So, the Columbia basin project provisions have improved somewhat from what the House originally proposed. However, serious, serious problems remain. The most wrongheaded provision is that shielding many timber sales, mining operations, and other projects from Endangered Species Act consultation. Any national forest or BLM district may, at its discretion, amend the plans in place for protecting threatened fish and wildlife, namely PACFISH and INFISH, and thereby avoid later consultation on potentially harmful activities.

This provision is made worse by another limitation imposed in the appropriations bill: The agencies may not select preferred management alternatives in the draft environmental impact statements or publish a record of decision. These restrictions on implementation of the National Environmental Policy Act thwart decisionmaking about management decisions that affect diverse and wide-ranging species, such as salmon and bull trout. It allows individual forests to alter existing fish and wildlife protections in any manner they desire and then escape ESA consultation scrutiny on individual projects and timber sales.

Mr. President, sufficiency language regarding the ESA and NEPA is very popular with this Congress. I believe that limiting consultation, restricting public review, and piecemeal management of public lands is a bad way to manage our Nation's resources. I urge the conferees to strip the entire Columbia basin project section. In the alternative, the conferees should delete the ESA and NEPA sufficiency language and allow the agencies to select a preferred alternative and publish a record of decision providing direction regarding the best management alternative.

TIMBER SALVAGE

Last month I offered an amendment to repeal the timber salvage rider and replace it with a long-term timber sal-

vage program. Unfortunately, the majority voted against my amendment, deciding the agencies should not be required to comply with environmental laws and should be protected from public challenge of their decisions. After the defeat of my amendment, the omnibus appropriations bill went forward with language contained in the chairman's mark designed to solve a few of the problems associated with the timber salvage rider, by only a few.

Let me be clear. I appreciate the efforts of Chairman HATFIELD to get these modest changes included in the timber salvage rider. They move in the right direction, but simply do not go far enough.

The major flaws with the salvage provisions in the omnibus appropriations bill are: First, they do not give the agencies sufficient authority to withhold sales and/or suspend harvesting where there is serious environmental damage; second, they extend the sufficiency granted these controversial old growth sales indefinitely; third, they provide language in the report that attempts to influence ongoing marbled murrelet litigation; fourth, they give too much power to timber sale contract holders in negotiations; fifth, they restrict the timeliness for buy-one provisions and alternative volume; and sixth, they provide no money to fund buyouts.

I urge the conferees to work with the administration to improve these provisions because they could provide needed flexibility on these highly controversial and damaging old growth sales. We need to provide timber purchasers with fair replacement volume or buy out their contracts as quickly as possible and ease growing tensions in the Pacific Northwest.

The anger and frustration of many citizens concerned about ecosystem health and protection of our forests is increasing. We must act quickly to avoid harming key watersheds and important old growth ecosystems. The time is now.

THE LUMMI NATION

Another provision I continue to oppose is that preventing the Lummi Nation, and potentially other tribes, from exercising their water rights on tribal lands. The Lummis and other parties, including non-Indian landholders, are engaged in negotiations that appear to be going very well. I appreciate the willingness of Senator GORTON to remove language that would likely have derailed these negotiations. However, the language still existing in the omnibus appropriations bill is counterproductive and simply ignores the history of the dispute. In addition, that language represents a threat to tribal sovereignty and sets an extremely poor precedent for government-to-government relations.

From the day I first became aware of this language I have been trying to remove or modify it because I respect tribal and local efforts to resolve the issue. Unfortunately, despite repeated

efforts to develop compromise language that would serve all parties' interests; despite repeated opposition from leading tribal policy experts in Congress; despite veto threats, as evidenced in the statement of administration policy; and despite the continued progress of negotiations, the provision remains virtually unchanged.

There is only one purpose for this provision: to threaten and coerce the Lummi people. This is the wrong way to encourage negotiated settlement of a controversial, far-reaching, and complicated dispute over tribal water rights. I urge the conferees to remove the punitive language and allow the affected people and governments to solve this problem.

Mr. President, some of my colleagues have argued that the concerns expressed by the administration have been sufficiently addressed. While I agree that progress has been made and appreciated the many concessions both sides have made in the omnibus appropriations bill, I want to state clearly that serious concerns, expressed in writing by the administration, myself and others, remain unaddressed.

Mr. President, we are already more than halfway through fiscal year 1996. We need to rid this bill of these three controversial riders, other antienvironmental riders, and others, such as those addressing individual transferable quotas for our fisheries and HIV-positive military personnel.

We need to govern. We need to fund our Government through the appropriations process and set policy through the authorizations process. Let us strip these riders and send a clean spending bill to the President—and get on with governing. It would be the right message for Earth Day.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that 15 minutes of the Democratic leader's time be reserved for Senator KENNEDY.

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

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for the purposes of morning business for such time as I may consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator may proceed.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

EARTH DAY

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, today marks Earth Day. It is a day to