

I am concerned, however, about the general direction of President Clinton's foreign policy.

It has been a policy with very little direction. I fear that the U.S. armed forces have become an international cleanup force sent to all parts of the world that have no strategic relationship to the United States. Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti, and other U.N. peace-keeping missions have been costly with little tangible benefits for the United States.

In the case of Bosnia, clearly, the administration misled the Congress about the length of time troops would be present there. Only after the election did the President have the courage to tell the American people that the troops would not be coming home in December of 1996 and that the deployment would extend another 18 months.

Further, with respect to Bosnia, it has now become apparent that this conflict dragged on longer than it should have because the administration and Democratic leaders in Congress blocked arm shipments for the Bosnians. Yet, in a secret policy, they allowed Iran to arm the Bosnian Muslims. This administration told the Congress one thing and Iran another.

This is an unacceptable way to conduct American foreign policy.

The Clinton administration has pursued what I call the un-Reagan doctrine. Rather than preside over the decline and fall of the last remaining communist regimes, this administration has reached out and befriended them. It gave diplomatic recognition to Vietnam. We provided foreign aid to North Korea, and we sought warmer relations with Fidel Castro until he shot down innocent civilians out of the sky. In contrast, this administration ignored, almost to its peril, the new democracies in Eastern Europe and Russia, to the point that the Communists tried to stage an electoral comeback in Russia.

This is not foreign policy America can be proud of.

Another problem with this administration is its handling of our future security from nuclear attack.

In my view, nothing is more important to the national defense of this country than deployment of a national ballistic missile defense for the United States. More than 25 countries now possess or are seeking to acquire nuclear weapons.

We have to address this issue—we cannot ignore it.

I would hope that the two people we are confirming today, both of whom are honorable, decent, hard-working people will work on these issues and improve our defense and foreign policy in the next 4 years.

Finally, Mr. President, I wish Senator Cohen well in his new position. I was pleased to serve with him for the last 4 years, and we will certainly miss him in the Senate, but the United States will be better off by having him as Secretary of Defense.

THE NUCLEAR WASTE POLICY ACT OF 1997

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I want to join with my distinguished colleagues, Mr. MURKOWSKI, chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and Mr. CRAIG of Idaho, in introducing the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1997. As a cosponsor of the legislation passed by the Senate during the 104th Congress, I believe this legislation represents the best means of ensuring that the Department of Energy meet its legal obligations to begin accepting spent nuclear fuel by 1998.

Last year, nearly identical legislation was adopted by a strong bipartisan vote in the Senate. And with nuclear waste scattered over some 35 States, including my home State of Minnesota, it was no surprise that the national interest in resolving this issue is strong. However, a variety of factors, including a lack of action by the House of Representatives, led to the demise of the 104th Congress' bill.

But support for enacting a real solution has never been stronger. Last July, the U.S. Court of Appeals reaffirmed that the DOE continues to have responsibility for permanently storing our Nation's commercial waste. It is no wonder, considering our nation's ratepayers have already contributed some \$12 billion; over \$250 million from Minnesotans alone.

Having recently returned from Yucca Mountain, the proposed permanent storage site located in Nevada, I believe much progress has been made over the last year. But after 15 years and with nearly half the nuclear trust fund depleted, there still remains no measurable value and the American public is fed up with empty promises from their Federal Government. They deserve action now.

The Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1997 delivers such action. It provides all the tools necessary to break our interim storage impasse. Furthermore, it provides mechanisms to complete the characterization of Yucca Mountain and gets the program moving out of the current stalemate.

With 1998 just around the corner, timely action on this legislation is critical. For States like Minnesota, which stand to lose nearly 30 percent of its overall energy resources, action should have occurred last year. And now, with the confirmation of a new Energy Secretary required, and the program in transition, Congress is faced with some tough challenges but our resolve must remain strong. And the introduction of this legislation today is our first step.

In the coming weeks and months, we will be asking our colleagues to join us in supporting this long overdue legislation. Rarely does the Congress have the opportunity which meets the twin goals of protecting our environment and strengthening our economy. Mr. President, I hope that the support we had last Congress will be even stronger this year. I would encourage my col-

leagues to add their name today as cosponsors to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1997.

TRIBUTE TO MIKE CANNELL

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to Mike Cannell, a dairy farmer and sustainable agriculture advocate from Cazenovia, WI who perished in a farming accident on December 2, 1996 while helping a neighbor unload corn. Mike died the same way he lived—helping others.

While those of us fortunate enough to have known Mike will miss him terribly, he has left us a great gift: his tireless work toward restoring and sustaining an agricultural community of healthy and economically viable family farms. His support of sustainable agriculture reflected his approach to life: balance. Sustainable agriculture is an integrated system of production that provides an adequate supply of food and fiber in a manner that enhances environmental quality, makes efficient use of limited natural resources, sustains small and medium sized farms and improves the quality of life for farmers and the community. It is an agricultural system that balances the many needs of our people and our planet.

Mike not only recognized the economic importance and the environmental benefits of a large number of small scale family farms, he recognized the ability of successfully owning and operating one's own farm to instill a sense of pride, accomplishment and satisfaction in the farmer-owner. In Mike's view, these things were at least as important as the many economic and environmental reasons to sustain small farms. In all things, especially farming, he sought balance.

I first met Mike Cannell when I was a State senator. He, along with other dairy farmers, met with me to express concern about the development of a new dairy technology that he felt was ill-timed, unnecessary and irresponsible. That technology was Bovine Growth Hormone, a product which when injected in cows results in greater milk production. The arguments made against BGH were many: increased milk production necessarily lowers milk prices; the technology will favor large farms over smaller ones; small farms will be driven out of business; there may be indirect but harmful environmental impacts, and many more.

But Mike's objections to BGH ran deeper. He did not believe in technology for technology's sake. He felt scientists and society's leaders were obligated to consider and recognize cultural traditions and predominant value systems of the community for which they were developing new technology. To him, the economic benefits of technology had to be weighed against the real or perceived ramifications on society. Mike didn't believe that the universities and private sector

firms developing BGH had done that. He predicted the outrage that introduction of the product caused among dairy farmers and consumers in Wisconsin. To this day, many dairy products in Wisconsin are labeled as free of BGH in part, due to Mike's efforts. As usual, Mike's balanced approach was right on target.

Mike, however, did not reject new technology on its face and in fact, embraced and doggedly promoted technologies and new practices that advanced his goal of a sustainable agricultural community consisting of small and medium sized family farms.

Mike's approach to dairy farming was unique when he began milking cows 15 years ago.

He was an intensive rotational grazer—a practice that many said couldn't work in Wisconsin because of our harsh winter climate. Unlike confinement dairying, rotational grazing requires fewer chemical inputs, less labor, less capital and is environmentally beneficial as well. Mike, however, viewed grazing in a broader context. Grazing was not only an environmentally friendly method of producing quality milk at reduced cost, it was also capable of supporting a family and providing a high quality of life. Mike chose to become a dairyman because of the value he placed on these last two criteria. Mike, when speaking about grazing, put it in this context: "This is the real reason we live: for our families and for our communities. Any practice that promises to make us better farmers, in part, I evaluate by how much it contributes to our families and communities." For technology to be appropriate it had to be appropriate for the farm and the community surrounding it. Again, this was Mike's balance. He supported technology and practices that promoted the goals he believed to be most important.

Mike Cannell was an innovative leader among Wisconsin farmers, resolutely seeking solutions to the complex problems facing our dairy industry. To many farmers in Wisconsin, those problems appear insurmountable; so complicated, multifarious, and seemingly incomprehensible that one person couldn't possibly make a dent in them. Mike not only believed he could make a difference, he believed he had an obligation to use his talents to do so.

Even more remarkable than Mike's willingness to actively intervene in agricultural problems, was Mike's concept of a solution: one which was not only achievable and effective but which was also socially and morally responsible. In a manner more effective than few others I've known, Mike was able to articulate the problems and identify solutions. He was not shy at criticizing entities he felt were standing in the way of a sustainable family farm sector. But he always went beyond criticism to suggest solutions and to actively work with the entities—including universities, local, State and Federal Government—he was criticizing to

eliminate the barriers facing family farms.

But Mike went still further. Rather than rely on others to solve all the dilemmas facing family farmers, he believed farmers also had both the ability and responsibility to help each other. And he put that into practice too.

Mike Cannell believed so strongly in the ability of rotational grazing to reverse the dramatic losses of Wisconsin family dairy farmers in the past decade that he spent the last 10 years trying to teach other farmers how to become graziers. He is responsible for starting a grazer technology transfer discussion group on the Internet—known as a List Serve—so that dairymen could share their expertise on grazing. That group now claims more than one thousand members. He was also the founder of both regional and statewide farmer to farmer grazing networks, known as the Ocooch Graziers and Grassworks. Because of Mike Cannell, rotational grazing is no longer considered an unusual dairying practice in Wisconsin. It is fast becoming mainstream.

Mike also took initiative to solve one of Wisconsin's most challenging farm problems—the retirement of older dairy farmers without younger farmers to replace them. The long hours, hard work, low return and often dim outlook for dairying have dissuaded many young people from entering the dairy industry. Rather than consider this an inevitable outcome, Mike took steps to encourage young people to enter dairying. While his positive attitude might have been enough to persuade young farmers that there was a future in dairy farming, to persuade the cynics he founded the School for Beginning Dairy Farmers to teach young farmers how to be successful in a difficult profession.

Mike's contributions to the sustainable agriculture community are real and measurable and he will be remembered for them for many years. But Mike will likely be remembered more for his steady and unswerving pursuit of a way of life he loved and from which he gained great joy, his strong belief in the value of that way of life, his efforts to share his success with others, and most important, for his commitment to community and family. In Mike's view, all things in life and agriculture should be conducted with an eye toward how they contribute to community and family. It is a valuable lesson to learn. And it is the world's great loss that Mike Cannell won't be around to teach us anymore.

I yield the floor.

PAUL TSONGAS

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about Paul Tsongas, who lost his battle against cancer on Saturday. I have lost a great friend; our Nation has lost an extraordinary American who defined the concept of public service and whose courage and conviction set an example for each and every one of us.

A son of Greek immigrants in Lowell, MA, Paul Tsongas worked in his father's drycleaning business, and served in the Peace Corps, as a Lowell City Councilor, as a Middlesex County Commissioner, as a U.S. Congressman and as a U.S. Senator in the seat that I am now honored to occupy.

Paul was able to achieve so much in his life because no matter where he went, no matter what office he held, he never left the people of Lowell. He instinctively understood not only their problems but also how government could help provide some of the solutions which were necessary to resolve them.

In 1992, when George Bush looked unbeatable, Paul Tsongas ran for the Democratic Presidential nomination because he knew his ideas for our future were better.

We must not forget the timeless principles for which Paul Tsongas fought throughout his career in elective office: balancing the Federal budget and establishing sound fiscal principles for the Federal Government, investing in our country and our children, and building our economy so future generations can attain the dreams which seem to elude us today.

Although Paul did not win the nomination, he became the catalyst who turned the national spotlight on our fiscal policies and changed the political dialog in the United States forever.

After the campaign, Paul Tsongas joined with Warren Rudman and Pete Peterson to found the Concord Coalition to promote fiscal responsibility. This organization again and again has drawn national attention to our Nation's fiscal agenda.

Since the 1992 Presidential campaign, we have cut the Federal budget deficit by more than half. The question in Washington is no longer "Can we balance the budget?", but "How soon can we do so?" Much of the progress we have made can be attributed to Paul Tsongas and his economic call to arms.

The rebuilt, reinvigorated city of Lowell, MA is another long-lasting memorial to Paul. He as much or more than any other person shepherded the revitalization program through the Congress, and by seeing and breathing life into a local pride and spirit that were still alive, he transformed a run-down mill town into an international destination with an amazing story to tell and show visitors from near and far.

Paul Tsongas' accomplishments only explain part of what made him so extraordinary. There is no way to explain the impact on others of his decency, integrity and courage. But that impact was real and pronounced.

In 1983, he was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. The next year he retired from the Senate in order to spend more time with his wife Niki, and his three daughters, Ashley, Katina and Molly. He successfully battled cancer for over a decade with a sense of grace and a strength of character that are remarkable.