

as legislators start understanding that the media then has a profound impact on children as well. Should we understand when the media pumps images—thousands and thousands and thousands of images—of murder that tell our young children the way adults solve their problems is to kill someone, to stab someone, to murder someone? That is the way adults solve their problems, according to television programs.

Yes, it is fiction, but how do children know that? Yes, you can say parents should do a better job of seeing what their children are watching, but it is very hard.

I have a lot more to say about this but I know colleagues are waiting. I am sure I join all of my colleagues in saying we are heartbroken by what is happening in this country and what happened in Littleton, CO. My thoughts and prayers go to all of those families and friends who lost loved ones.

I watched the images of the funerals today in Littleton, and I want to be part of anything any of us can do to try to find reasons and try to develop policies to see if we can't steer all of us in a more constructive direction. In the meantime, my thoughts and prayers are with all of those in Colorado and around this country who today grieve for those young children and the teacher who lost their lives.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST DAM REMOVAL

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, dam removal as a serious option for salmon recovery on the Snake River died last week. It was killed by the National Marine Fisheries Service, the arm of the Clinton administration assigned to save those endangered salmon.

Why and how?

Three runs of salmon on the upper Snake River were listed as endangered in 1991 and 1992. On April 14, NMFS announced its determination that only 19 percent of salmon smolts barged around the dams, die. In fact, we now know that downriver survival rates are at least as high as they were in the 1960's before the Snake River dams were built!

As a result, NMFS now believes that the chance of recovery for the endangered runs is only 64 percent if all four Snake River dams are removed, as against 53 percent by continuing to transport smolts around the dams. The difference is barely statistically significant.

We can assume that NMFS science is the best available. That science is a vital component of public policy, but only one component of good public policy and not absolutely determinative to the exclusion of all other concerns.

So against the modest 11-percent improvement in survival chances for these populations of salmon from dam removal, we must weigh the immense

costs of removal. Earlier this month at a Senate Energy Committee field hearing, a representative from Bonneville Power testified that BPA would lose approximately \$263 million in power revenues in each average water year in perpetuity under medium future economic conditions. BPA also estimates that removal of the four lower Snake River dams is likely to increase its power rates by as much as 30 percent. The cost of removal itself, the destruction of navigation, the loss of irrigated farms and the human and community devastation add untold billions to that figure. That cost is vastly out of proportion to the salmon recovery goal, much less to the extremely modest improvement even in the prospects for recovery.

So dam removal as a rational option is dead. We in the Pacific Northwest, specifically residents in eastern, rural Washington, have been waging this war with the environmental community. It gives me great pleasure today to present my assessment of the recently released National Marine Fisheries Service report on Snake River dams and salmon recovery options.

I cannot support the effort to dismantle the world's most productive hydroelectric system when the costs are so great in relation to the benefit to a few selected salmon runs. Under the current management of the Columbia/Snake River system, Northwest ratepayers have contributed \$366 million per year on average since 1995 to salmon recovery. The plan requires flow augmentation, dam spill, surface bypass, juvenile and adult fish passage improvements, water supply studies, PIT tag monitoring, and additional salmon barges. Although many, myself included, have been highly critical of Federal salmon recovery efforts, the results are beginning to show signs of progress. Based on new technology for salmon monitoring using Pit-Tags, NMFS estimates a significant increase in downriver survival for juvenile salmon. It estimates salmon are now surviving at a rate of 50 to 68 percent for juvenile salmon that migrate through eight Snake and Columbia River dams. Since about 60 percent of juvenile salmon are barged at a survival rate of 98 percent, the combined salmon survival rate to Portland, past eight dams, exceeds 80 percent.

Why are some in such a rush to consider dam removal when faced with these statistics? According to NMFS, these statistics may be further enhanced during the next three to four years of monitoring the adult fish returning to the river. However, the single-interest advocacy groups claim we can't wait any longer—they say we must remove the dams now.

Let me reemphasize one glaring fact. The overall survival rate past the four lower Snake dams is at least as high today as it was in the 1960's before the dams were built, according to NMFS' own biologists. Much of this recent improvement in survival rates can be at-

tributed to technical and operational improvements at the dams. There is much more that can be done to improve survival rates past the four lower Snake dams. Unfortunately, the Army Corps of Engineers has been waiting to see if these dams are going to be removed before spending any more money on further improvements that could provide immediate benefits.

Although the passage survival is much higher now, adult salmon returns continue at a distressed level. A likely theory is that declines are due to the rise in ocean temperatures. During the Easter recess, my Interior appropriations subcommittee held a field hearing on Northwest salmon recovery in Seattle. One of NMFS' own fisheries biologists expressed optimism that the likelihood of decreasing ocean temperatures off the coast in the Pacific Northwest as indicative of an improving climate for salmon in the Northwest.

We are likely to obtain valuable new information about adult salmon returns and likely will witness a dramatic change in the ocean environment. Even under current circumstances, the difference between removing dams, to save fish or barging them around dams is too close to call. And when all the costs of dam removal are factored into this equation, it is hard to imagine why anyone would want to take this dubious course of action.

In the meantime, the debate over dam removal has led to unfortunate consequences. More realistic and cost effective salmon recovery measures with a proven track record have been delayed. I am committed to securing the funds necessary not only for dam improvements but also for local salmon enhancement groups and other conservation organizations to continue their efforts to restore salmon habitat throughout the state. Salmon recovery will take place when local people who care passionately about local watersheds have the freedom and the resources to take the steps needed on a stream-by-stream and river-by-river basis.

At my recent field hearing, I was most impressed with the way people in my state are coming together in unprecedented ways. Rather than focusing on past differences, farmers, loggers, fishermen, conservationists, locally elected officials, and countless others representing a vast array of interests and perspectives are working together to develop habitat restoration and watershed improvement plans throughout the state that will not only provide immediate benefits to our salmon resource but will do so in ways that will take into consideration the economic and social needs of our communities.

A good example of how collaborative efforts can achieve positive results for the salmon resource recently took place in the Hanford Reach area of the Columbia River. Ten years ago, the fall

chinook stock in the Hanford Reach was in bad shape. Now it is the most abundant of the wild Columbia River stocks. This is due largely to the efforts of the Grant County Public Utility District which led the effort to reach an agreement that protects the fish by regulating river flows from the time the adults spawn to the time the juveniles emerge from the gravel.

Last year, biologists discovered juvenile chinook were stranded after emerging from the gravel. Grant County PUD again led discussions involving all review mid-Columbia hydroelectric projects, together with federal, state, and tribal fishery agencies to develop a program to reduce the number of young fish stranded because of river flow fluctuations. Implementing this agreement requires a substantial loss in valuable power generation, but represents an unprecedented example of how hydroelectric projects can work proactively and cooperatively with fishery management agencies to protect salmon. This model effort deserves our encouragement and support.

Clearly, the approach being taken by communities throughout my state is far preferable to the divisive one being advocated by those who want to rip out dams in the Northwest. Rather than continuing down this misguided and confrontational course which will cost more and provide no assurances of enhanced recovery, I today call on dam removal advocates to abandon their cause, and to recognize the real implications of the NMFS report. If they are truly interested in restoring salmon, they will work with me and others in the mainstream who want to do something now positively to recover our salmon resource.

But Mr. President, we must keep in mind one important fact. Environmental bureaucrats in the Clinton-Gore administration have made it their standard operating procedure not to listen to what I, much less the region, thinks about dam removal. In fact, the Administration must have an unwritten rule somewhere not to pay attention to local people in the communities that would be destroyed by such action. It's alarming that while the region is increasingly united in its effort to preserve dams and the Northwest way of life, from the local level to the statehouse to our congressional delegation—the administration and the environmental community refuses to concede.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak in morning business for up to 25 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE BALKANS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I returned from Albania just a few hours

ago. This is the third time I have made such a trip. I went over to see whether or not the beliefs I have developed over the last 7 months were true, and I came back, really, very convinced that they in fact are true.

For one thing—I have been saying for quite some time—even though the President denies it, the President has planned all along to send American ground troops into Kosovo. I am prepared to document this.

I want to put my remarks into four categories: One is the administration's approach to this war that we are about to get in; secondly, the cost in terms of both national security and dollars; third, refugees; and fourth, what our troops are in right now.

Before I do that, I want to go back and review a couple of remarks I made on March 23, just a month ago, to put it in proper perspective.

A month ago, I stated that I felt if we did not try to put a stop to this, we would, in fact, be in a protracted, bloody long war. This is a war in which we do not have national security interests.

A lot of people say, "Well, we do have national security interests." I know this is a relative term. You can argue it, I suppose, but the people who are really knowledgeable on this are convinced that we do not have national security interests at stake.

Henry Kissinger said:

The proposed deployment in Kosovo does not deal with any threat to American security. . . . Kosovo is no more a threat to America than Haiti was to Europe.

I further went into the conclusion that if, in fact, we do not have national security interests, it is the humanitarian motivation which is getting us involved in this war. We are concerned about it, and I want to get into some detail about that.

There are some things I have discovered in the last 3 days. However, a month ago I mentioned that if this is the case and if we are concerned about humanitarian problems that exist all around the world, why are we not concerned about the 800,000 who have been killed in ethnic strife in Rwanda, the thousands who have been killed in Ethiopia, the 140 civilians killed by paramilitary squads in Colombia, including 27 worshipers slain during a village church service? Why is there no outcry for United States involvement in these obvious humanitarian situations where far, far more people have been brutally murdered than in the current Kosovo crisis?

Let me share with you, as I did back on March 23, a couple of paragraphs from an article in the Minneapolis-St. Paul Star Tribune. This was written on January 31, 1999. This was just a few days after 45 people were killed in Kosovo. Let's keep that in mind when putting this in the proper context, Mr. President.

I am quoting from the Minneapolis-St. Paul Star Tribune:

But no one mobilized on behalf of perhaps 500 people who were shot, hacked and burned

to death in a village in eastern Congo, in central Africa around the same time. No outrage was expressed on behalf of many other innocents who had the misfortune to be slain just off the world's stage over the last few weeks.

Why do 45 white Europeans rate an all-out response [from the administration] while several hundred black Africans are barely worth the notice?

While U.S. officials struggled to provide an answer, analysts said the uneven U.S. responses to a spurt of violence in the past month illuminates not just an immoral or perhaps racist foreign policy, but one that fails on pragmatic and strategic grounds as well.

So now the President wants to send the U.S. military into Kosovo. Keep in mind, when we talked about this 1 month ago, he was still denying that he was going to send troops, and yet now we find out in the recent meeting which was held by NATO in Washington that they are doing an update strategy—an update strategy, Mr. President. That means perhaps an update of what we have previously said was our position on sending in ground troops.

I have to say, the whole purpose for me to be on the floor right now is to say I know there is no way to stop this. Once American troops are on the ground in Kosovo, we will all support them and do everything we can for the American troops. It will be the same situation we faced in Bosnia. We will not be able to turn this around. That is when it becomes protracted and without an end.

I will recount a trip I made to Kosovo recently—it was in January of this year—to find out what Kosovo was really like at that time. Keep in mind, Kosovo is only 75 miles across and 75 miles long. It is a place that has been in strife and civil war since 1389.

As I was going across Kosovo, I had a couple of experiences. One experience I had was seeing two dead bodies. These were obviously soldiers. When we turned them over, we saw that they were not Albanians; they were Serbs. They had been executed at close range by the KLA.

We went on a little bit further. I saw on the map something called a "no-go zone." I said: I would like to go in to see what it is like. They said: You can't do that; it is occupied by the KLA, the Albanian military, and they will kill anybody who comes in. They don't care if you are a United States Senator or someone from the press. Nonetheless, you will be dead if you go in there.

We did not go in.

Then we rounded another corner. There was a rocket-propelled grenade, an RPG-7, that was aimed right at our heads. They put it down, and we went over and found out they were Albanians, not Serbs.

I am saying this, and I said this back on the 23rd of March, for a specific reason, and that reason is that while Milosevic is a bad guy, he is not the only bad guy in that conflict which is taking place.