

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

The Senator from Iowa.

THE NEED FOR COHERENT DRUG POLICY

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, for my colleagues who may have missed the information during the August break, or the news since, the latest household survey numbers on drug use are out. For anyone concerned about drug use in this country, those numbers tell a depressing story. The story is quite simply this: more kids are using more drugs. Put what gloss you want on the numbers, the depressing fact is, we are in the midst of a new drug crisis.

There are five major surveys of drug use in this country. These include the Drug Abuse Warning Network, or DAWN, which surveys hospital emergency room admission rates. The high school survey, which studies use among seniors and others in high school. The Parents' Resource Institute for Drug Education, or PRIDE survey of high school substance abuse. The Drug Use Forecasting, or DUF, survey that tests for substance abuse among arrestees.

And the household survey, which samples over 17,000 households to look at drug use trends in the population age 12 and older. These surveys are our early warning network. And the alarm bells are ringing. The emergency lights are flashing. We need to heed the warning.

To understand the warning in its fullness, we need a little perspective. Today's growing problem does not occur in isolation. It is not the result of ignorance of the dangers of drug use.

The 1960's and 1970's taught us a bitter lesson about that. They taught us about the risks individuals and communities run in dealing, or failing to deal, with the drug problem. Since 1981, when we began to fight back seriously, we have spent \$128 billion at the Federal level to combat illegal drug use. We have spent a like amount at the State and local levels. In addition, we have spent in the neighborhood of \$1 trillion on the indirect costs of drug use and an additional \$1 trillion, out of individual pockets, to buy illegal drugs.

This is only the fiscal summary. It does not begin to tote up the human toll. These numbers do not account for the tens of thousands of deaths or the millions of addicts. They do not make plain the toll of drug-addicted babies. Mere numbers do not convey the suffering, the loss of life, the damaged lives, the ruined prospects and shattered dreams that are all part of the legacy of this country's flirtation with dangerous drugs. In a generation, we went from a nation with no drug problem to a country in which one-fifth of the population has tried drugs and over 6 million people who are addicts.

There is not a single, major social pathology today that is not in some way

linked to drugs. From family violence to drive-by shootings, from drug-addicted babies to devastated inner-city neighborhoods, the legacy of drugs is written in bold print across the face of this country.

We got ourselves into this mess because we allowed our cultural elite and others to persuade us, against our understanding, that drugs were really OK. That using drugs was merely a form of personal expression that did not hurt anyone, not even the user.

We bought into that idea and lived it through the 1960's and 1970's. We came dangerously close to legalizing drug use. And we delegitimized the notion of enforcing our laws against drug use. We are living with the consequences. Today's billions spent on the war on drugs are a direct result of the choices that we made yesterday. Our drug problem was no accident. Movies and music glorified drugs. Politicians publicly questioned the usefulness of preventing individual drug use.

Our cultural elite talked of legalization. In virtually all our means for communicating what we think is proper and appropriate, we sent the signal that drugs were OK. And who were we talking to? Who was listening? who got the message? It was our kids. And it was our kids who ended up as the principal casualties of this so-called enlightened policy. What were we thinking?

In the 1980's, however, we realized our mistake. We began to fight back. It was not that we just spent money on the problem. Parents and communities, schools and businesses, civic and political leaders came together to stop the nonsense. They formed coalitions, lobbied their public officials, and organized public and private efforts to fight back, to save the kids. And it was working. Between 1985 and 1992 drug use in this country went down. More important, attitudes among kids about drugs improved.

More and more kids came to see drugs as dangerous. More kids stayed away from using. That was no accident. Everywhere they looked the message they got was the drugs were bad. The message was, just say no. And they listened.

That did not mean that our difficulties were past. We still had a large addict population that was using more and more. We had enriched powerful drug organizations that had extensive networks for drug smuggling and money laundering.

We still had to deal with a lingering notion that somehow, despite the evidence before our eyes, drugs were OK. Nevertheless, we were on the right track. In recent years, however, we have gone off the rails. In some areas, we have been pulling up the tracks and shooting the engineers and conductors.

This is what the most recent household survey makes clear. It shows that marijuana use among young people is up over 100 percent since 1992.

It went up 37 percent last year alone. Overall drug use has risen 78 percent

since 1992, 33 percent last year. Fully 10.9 percent of young people aged 12 to 17 reported using marijuana monthly last year. That is up from 8.2 percent the year before. At this rate, we will have lost all the ground that we won in the late 1980's and early 1990's. And the people who are at risk, once again, are kids and teenagers and young adults. If this trend continues, and it is showing no signs of changing under present policies, in the next few years we will have wiped out all the gains made in the 1980's.

Now, if you do not believe that legalization is a rational policy, then you cannot welcome the recent news. And if you do not think 10, 11, and 12 year olds ought to be making their own decisions about using heroin or cocaine, then you have to conclude that the present trend is a disaster in the making. As I suggested earlier, the warning lights are flashing.

When the oil light goes on in your car, it is time to check the engine. If you decide to ignore the light you risk making an expensive mistake.

Well, the Nation's warning light is on. And what do you find when you open the hood and check on the reasons? As it turns out, we've been trying to run our programs without the right stuff.

Despite what some of my colleagues have argued on this floor, this administration simply has not taken the drug issue seriously. Not from day one, and not, so far as I can see, yet. In fact, its policy, where one can be disconcerted, has downplayed the issue and distanced the President from any involvement.

Now, having said this, I know that one of my colleagues is likely to be down here any minute accusing me of playing politics. That seems to be the administration's line any time someone criticizes them. Indeed, Secretary Shalala and the Attorney General have been going around saying this. They have blamed Congress for lack of funding. They have pointed to increases of drug use in Europe. They have also taken to blaming the Bush administration for the present problem. When they do that, reaching back 4 years to try to blame someone else, that is not playing politics, of course.

That is not dodging. That's not blowing smoke. That is what passes for policy in this administration. But serious policy is more than artful dodging.

Let me remind you, that this administration came into office saying that the Bush administration had not fought a real drug war—that claim was made despite the fact of steady declines in teen use. The present occupant of the White House promised to do better. At the least, then, we should expect to see the trend of teen use continuing to decline.

We should expect that teenage attitudes about drug use would remain negative. But that is not the case. In fact, it is exactly the reverse. And it was not the Bush administration that presided over these recent increases. It

was not past policies that created the present crisis. The administration's own numbers make this clear. All you have to do is look at those numbers. But, in keeping with this administration's whole program, the response is deny, deny, deny.

I am sure most parents have had the experience in dealing with their kids that when the crockery gets broken, it was some mysterious villain that did the deed. Just ask the child. "I didn't do it." Or, "George did it." Or, "I don't know how it happened." These excuses are what one expects. From children. As adults, however, we are supposed to know better. But, even as the numbers grow worse, the administration is still hoping to pin the blame on someone, anyone else. But, in the end, it is their policies, it is their programs, it is their attitudes that have shaped how we have dealt with the drug issue in the past 4 years.

And, the fact remains, after years of decline, drug use among kids is getting worse by the minute, and this administration cannot think of anything more constructive to do than pass the blame.

All of this is a matter of record. I and others here and across the country have documented this story. Even the President's drug czar now acknowledges that we are in the midst of a crisis of new drug use. In one of his most recent press releases outlining the problem, however, he wants us to develop amnesia about how we got into this mess.

He wants us to look only at what we must do about it. I understand why he may want us to overlook the recent past. But no serious effort to get our programs back on track can hope to succeed if we do not grasp why it is we are having the problem. This is not playing politics, this is talking about policy. It is talking seriously about responsibility.

We are in this mess because of choices that were made about what to do. We are talking about conscious decisions deliberately made.

But it is now clear, that those decisions were, are a mistake. Our present policies are simply not up to the task. Benign neglect, indifference, and just say maybe are not good policy choices. We have the evidence of what happens when they are, however, our policy.

Clearly, by all the warning systems that we have developed to give us feed back, those choices have failed. The extent of that failure is shocking. If we are to change this, we must start doing something different, we must do it better, and we must do it now. To repeat the mistakes of the 1960's and 1970's would be a shameful retreat from responsibility.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STEVENS). Under the previous order, the Senate stands in adjournment until 9:30 a.m., Friday, September 20, 1996.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 10:04 p.m., adjourned until Friday, September 20, 1996, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 19, 1996:

U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE

JOSEPH LANE KIRKLAND, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE FOR A TERM EXPIRING JANUARY 19, 1997, VICE ALLEN WEINSTEIN, TERM EXPIRED.

JOSEPH LANE KIRKLAND, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE FOR A TERM EXPIRING JANUARY 19, 2001. (REAPPOINTMENT)

FOREIGN SERVICE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS OF THE AGENCIES INDICATED FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF THE CLASSES STATED, AND ALSO FOR THE OTHER APPOINTMENTS INDICATED HEREWITH:

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS ONE, CONSULAR OFFICER AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LARRY CORBETT, OF NEVADA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS FOUR, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

HANS J. AMRHEIN, OF VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PHYLLIS MARIE POWERS, OF TEXAS
MICHAEL S. TULLEY, OF CALIFORNIA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS THREE, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

KIMBERLY J. DELANEY, OF VIRGINIA
EDITH FAYSSOUX JONES HUMPHREYS, OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JEMILE L. BERTOT, OF CONNECTICUT

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS FOUR, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ALFRED B. ANZALDUA, OF CALIFORNIA
DAVID A. BEAM, OF PENNSYLVANIA
DONALD ARMIN BLOME, OF ILLINOIS
P.P. DECLAN BYRNE, OF WASHINGTON
LAUREN W. CATIPON, OF NEW JERSEY
JAMES PATRICK DEHART, OF MICHIGAN
JOSEPH DEMARIA, OF NEW JERSEY
MICHAEL RALPH DETAR, OF NEW YORK
RODGER JAN DEUERLEIN, OF CALIFORNIA
STEPHEN A. DRUZAK, OF WASHINGTON
MARY EILEEN EARL, OF VIRGINIA
LINDA LAURENTS EICHBLATT, OF TEXAS
JESSICA ELLIS, OF WASHINGTON
STEPHANIE JANE FOSSAN, OF VIRGINIA
CHRISTOPHER SCOTT HEGADORN, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
HARRY R. KAMIAN, OF CALIFORNIA
MARC E. KNAPPER, OF CALIFORNIA
BLAIR L. LABARGE, OF UTAH
WILLIAM SCOTT LAIDLAW, OF WASHINGTON
KAYE-ANNE LEE, OF WASHINGTON
BRIAN LIEKE, OF TEXAS
BERNARD EDWARD LINK, OF DELAWARE
LEE MAC TAGGART, OF WASHINGTON
RICHARD T. REITER, OF CALIFORNIA
KAI RYSSDAL, OF VIRGINIA
NORMAN THATHCER SCHARPF, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
JENNIFER LEIGH SCHOOLS, OF TEXAS
JUSTIN H. SIBERELL, OF CALIFORNIA
ANTHONY SYRETT, OF WASHINGTON
HERBERT S. TRAUB III, OF FLORIDA
ARNOLDO VELA, OF TEXAS
J. RICHARD WALSH, OF ALABAMA
DAVID K. YOUNG, OF FLORIDA
DARCY FYOCK ZOTTER, OF VERMONT

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO BE CONSULAR OFFICERS AND/OR SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AS INDICATED:

CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEREK A. BOWER, OF VIRGINIA
STEVEN P. CHISHOLM, OF VIRGINIA

HENRY J. HEIM JR., OF VIRGINIA
HOLLY ANN HERMAN, OF VIRGINIA
E. KEITH KIRKHAM, OF MAINE
MARY PAT MOYNIHAN, OF VIRGINIA
JOHN W. RATKIEWICZ, OF NEW JERSEY

SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

WILLIAM B. CLATANOFF, JR., OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR PROMOTION IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED, EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 18, 1992:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

ELIZABETH B. BOLLMANN, OF MISSOURI
MARSHA D. VON DUECKHEIM, OF CALIFORNIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW TO BE EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

JOAN ELLEN CORBETT, OF VIRGINIA
JUDITH RODES JOHNSON, OF TEXAS
MARY ELIZABETH SWOPE, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW TO BE EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 6, 1991:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

SYLVIA G. STANFIELD, OF TEXAS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON NOVEMBER 6, 1988, NOW EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 12, 1986:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JOAN ELLEN CORBETT, OF VIRGINIA
JUDITH RODES JOHNSON, OF TEXAS
MARY ELIZABETH SWOPE, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON NOVEMBER 6, 1988, NOW EFFECTIVE JANUARY 3, 1988:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

SYLVIA G. STANFIELD, OF TEXAS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON APRIL 7, 1991, NOW EFFECTIVE NOVEMBER 19, 1989:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

VIRGINIA CARSON YOUNG, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 6, 1991, NOW EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JUDITH M. HEIMANN, OF CONNECTICUT

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JUDYT LANDSTEIN MANDEL, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARY C. PENDLETON, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 6, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELORS:

JEAN ANNE LOUIS, OF VIRGINIA
SHARON K. MERCURIO, OF CALIFORNIA
RUTH H. VAN HEUVEN, OF CONNECTICUT
ROBIN LANE WHITE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR PROMOTION TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES AIR