

consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order immediately following my remarks.

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

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, for the benefit of everybody, this is probably going to be something less than 10 minutes. I ask permission to speak for a period of time as if in morning business.

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

THE VOID IN MORAL LEADERSHIP PART IV

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, last week I began giving a series of speeches about the void in moral leadership in the White House.

By moral leadership, I don't mean morality. I mean simply setting a good example for the American people: Being trustworthy, honest, candid, and so on, simple, basic values that all Americans share, and that all Americans expect to see in their leaders.

Frankly, there has been a failure by this White House to set a good example.

And I have been very specific about my observations, what the President, the First Lady and others have done, and where the good example broke down.

I began this series of speeches with the words of two great American presidents in mind.

The first was a pronouncement by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

FDR said that, the Presidency is preeminently about moral leadership.

It's not about being a good engineer or a good decisionmaker or a good speaker.

It's about moral leadership.

The second was from Teddy Roosevelt.

He talked about the obligation we have to tell the truth about the President, more than any other American.

To not do so, he said, was both base and servile.

And so I have felt an obligation to make this observation, Mr. President:

There has been a failure in this White House of setting a good example for the American people.

Today, I will further support my claim.

I will refer to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll, conducted March 14-17 of 1,512 randomly selected adults.

In the survey, half of the respondents said they thought the First Lady is not telling the truth about Whitewater.

Questions about the candor and straight-forwardness of the First Lady go right to the heart of my point.

It goes beyond the issue of anyone calling anyone dishonest, or a liar.

That would not be proper!

My point is that there is a growing perception out there in grassroots America that the First Lady has not told the truth.

How can the moral authority to lead survive such a perception with this White House?

At this point, the most qualified outside observer of the Whitewater and Travelgate issues is James B. Stewart. Mr. Stewart was given access to sources by the White House. Mr. Stewart is also described as ideologically akin to the Clintons. He is a respected, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, formerly with the Wall Street Journal. His bona fides are generally recognized as impeccable.

On March 11, Mr. Stewart was interviewed by ABC's Ted Koppel on "Nightline."

Mr. Koppel asked the following question:

And to those who say, has all of this investigation, the congressional investigations, the independent prosecutors, the time that you have spent in putting this book together * * * was it all worth all the money and the time and the effort and the pain?

Here is Mr. Stewart's reply:

I think in the end we'll find that it was—that the truth is important in our society, that justice is important in our society.

I don't think you can put a pricetag on those things.

Yes, It's terribly expensive, and at times it seems very wasteful, and at times it's nasty and partisan.

It often is a blood sport, as Vince Foster said. But why is that?

It's because the truth was never honored in the first place, and I hope if there's any lesson that comes out of that, that people in the future will recognize that.

Mr. President, that is a hard punch taken at the White House.

That truth was never honored in the first place.

But it is a fair punch.

It is observations like Mr. Stewart's which are having an impact out at the grassroots.

The Washington Post ran a story about the new Post-ABC poll in its March 24 edition.

The article was written by R.H. Melton, and was entitled, "First Lady Bears the Brunt of Unfavorable Opinion on Whitewater."

One grocery store manager in Pontiac, MI, seems to support the contention of Mr. Stewart on "Nightline."

The store manager, Dwight Bradford, age 27, said:

This is something he should have settled before becoming president.

By him not taking action, the Republicans have made him look a little dumbfounded.

And if she knew something, she's been withholding evidence.

And that is wrong for a government official.

It makes the United States look bad.

The Post article also showed that the Whitewater response by the White House is having repercussions that cut across party affiliation.

Rouvain Benison, a Democrat, is also quoted in the story, saying the following:

Whitewater is a symptom, the lack of moral leadership, of moral integrity, strength, courage—all the good things in a person's character.

These were not my words, Mr. President.

In fact, this gentleman stated the case more eloquently than I did in each of my speeches of the past week.

It is a symptom of a lack of moral leadership.

Word is getting out in the countryside, Mr. President.

The people we serve know when their leaders are failing to lead.

They know that moral leadership is not coming from their White House.

Since the time of the Post-ABC survey, a new revelation from the White House has reinforced the perception of a lack of candor.

I am referring to the First Lady's March 21 responses to formal questions from the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

The subject matter was, who knew what, when, about the firing of innocent workers in the White House Travel Office.

Never mind that the White House released her responses too late for the evening news shows to do any serious reporting.

That is an old trick in this town.

If there is bad news, or if you want to minimize coverage, just wait till the TV news shows are over to release it.

But the real news in this story—the real news in the First Lady's responses—was the fueling of the perception of a lack of straight forwardness, of candor.

In a 25-page response, only 16 pages of which contained actual responses, here is what appeared: the words "I do not recall" appeared 21 times; the words "I do not believe" appeared 9 times; the words "I believe" appeared 7 times; the words "I may have" appeared 5 times; the words "it is possible that" appeared 3 times; the words "no specific recollection" appeared 2 times; in one case, she reports "she had heard" something, which is hearsay, yet in three other cases she reports merely that she had "no first-hand knowledge"; and, the following phrases were used once each: "I cannot recall"; "he may have mentioned"; "a vague recollection"; "I do not remember"; "it is hard to remember"; and "a general recollection."

In other words, Mr. President, these were not necessarily totally forthcoming answers.

I believe the First Lady may be totally sincere in these responses, as opposed to taking the advice of some clever lawyer and doing a soft shoe routine.

But, given the White House's history of not being forthcoming, do you not see how this could further fuel the perception of a lack of candor.

Do you not now see why honoring the truth in the first place—as "Blood Sport" author Jim Stewart put it—is so important for our national leaders.

Do you not now see my point about the need for our leaders to set a good example.

That Washington Post-ABC poll tells me that about half the people of this country do not have the level of confidence they should in their leadership in the White House.

In my view, Mr. President, setting the example is the most important

thing for our leaders in the White House.

In that respect, I agree with FDR—who I quoted earlier—but I do not believe we are getting that example, and a growing number in this country apparently agree with me.

It is a serious erosion of leadership and public confidence, and it must be restored.

I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 10 a.m., Friday, March 29.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 9:46 p.m., adjourned until Friday, March 29, 1996, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 28, 1996:

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

JOHNNY H. HAYES, OF TENNESSEE, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY FOR A TERM EXPIRING MAY 18, 2005. (REAPPOINTMENT)

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL IN THE U.S. ARMY WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

To be general

GEN. JOHN H. TILELLI, JR., 000-00-0000, U.S. ARMY.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT AS ASSISTANT COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS, HEADQUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS, AND APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL WHILE SERVING IN THAT POSITION UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 5044, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE:

ASSISTANT COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS

To be general

LT. GEN. RICHARD I. NEAL, 000-00-0000.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL IN THE U.S. MARINE CORPS WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER SECTION 601, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. TERRENCE R. DRAKE, 000-00-0000.

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624:

UNRESTRICTED LINE

To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) JAMES F. AMERAULT, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.

REAR ADM. (LH) LYLE G. BIEN, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) RICHARD A. BUCHANAN, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) WILLIAM V. CROSS II, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) WALTER F. DORAN, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) JAMES O. ELLIS, JR., 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) WILLIAM J. FALLON, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) THOMAS B. FARGO, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) DENNIS V. MCGINN, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) JOSEPH S. MOBLEY, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) EDWARD MOORE, JR., 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) DANIEL J. MURPHY, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) RODNEY P. REMPT, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) NORBERT R. RYAN, JR., 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) RAYMOND C. SMITH, JR., 000-00-0000.
REAR ADM. (LH) ANTHONY J. WATSON, 000-00-0000.

RESTRICTED LINE

To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) GEORGE P. NANOS, JR., 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) CRAIG E. STEIDLE, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) JAMES L. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) PATRICIA A. TRACEY, 000-00-0000, U.S. NAVY.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 28, 1996:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

KENNETH H. BACON, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.
FRANKLIN D. KRAMER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

DEFENSE NUCLEAR FACILITIES SAFETY BOARD

JOSEPH J. DINUNNO, OF MARYLAND, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE DEFENSE NUCLEAR FACILITIES SAFETY BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING OCTOBER 18, 2000.

The above nominations were approved subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. MICHAEL E. RYAN, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR PROMOTION IN THE REGULAR AIR FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624:

To be brigadier general

COL. TIMOTHY J. MCMAHON, 000-00-0000.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. KENNETH E. EICKMANN, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WHILE AS-

SIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. RICHARD T. SWOPE, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL IN THE U.S. ARMY WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

to be lieutenant general

LT. GEN. JOHN G. COBURN, 000-00-0000, U.S. ARMY.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL IN THE U.S. ARMY WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

to be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. JOHN J. CUSICK, 000-00-0000, U.S. ARMY.

IN THE AIR FORCE

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING HAROLD E. BURCHAM, AND ENDING KEVIN W. MORRILL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 26, 1996.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING DOUGLAS W. ANDERSON, AND ENDING HAROLD D. HITES, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MARCH 5, 1996.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING ROBERT J. ABELL, AND ENDING LEO R. SHOCKLEY, JR., WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MARCH 11, 1996.

IN THE ARMY

ARMY NOMINATION OF GARY N. JOHNSTON, WHICH WAS RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING PAT W. SIMPSON, AND ENDING WARNER J. ANDERSON, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING MARGARET B. BAINES, AND ENDING *JEFFREY S. WILLIS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING ANTHONY C. CRESCENZI, AND ENDING ALBERT R. SMITH, JR., WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING PATRICK V. ADAMCIC, AND ENDING JOSEPH M. ZIMA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 26, 1996.

IN THE NAVY

NAVY NOMINATION OF JOHN M. COONEY, WHICH WAS RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF NOVEMBER 7, 1995.

NAVY NOMINATION OF REX A. AUKER, WHICH WAS RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING RICHARD D. BOYER, AND ENDING EDWARD J. POSNAK, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON FEBRUARY 20, 1996.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING MARK A. ADMIRAL, AND ENDING ALICE A. ZENGEL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MARCH 5, 1996.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING MICHAEL P. CAVIL, AND ENDING CHARLES K. NIXON, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MARCH 11, 1996.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING JAMES L. ABRAM, AND ENDING ROBERT E. WILLIAMS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MARCH 14, 1996.