

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 Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. How long does the Senator desire to speak?

Mr. GRASSLEY. Ten minutes.

#### THE MORAL CHARACTER OF CONTENT

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, after 3 years of inaudible policy on drugs, the administration is suddenly trying to find its voice. Naturally, after not having been used for so long on this issue, the voice is a bit rusty and unsteady. For those of us not used to the sound after so long a silence, it is just a little hard to make out the meaning. At the moment, the meaning sounds a lot like a New Year's resolution—full of seasonal promises. It is not too clear just what is being said or how much faith we ought to put in this election-year resolution. It is also not too clear if what is being said bears any relationship to the issue being addressed.

The question is, Is the voice speaking from principle or opportunism? The answer lies in finding clues to see whether we are in the presence of conviction or convenience. Sincerity, after all, is not measured in the volume of one's words or the lofty sentiments with which they are pressed. It is to be gaged by actions that match rhetoric. It is measured not in sound bites or self-serving gestures but in commitments made and promises kept. It is signified by candor and stout-heartedness. It is judged by deeds. It is marked by courage. And it is generally easy to tell the difference between stage-managed courage and the genuine article. The genuine article generally has a past and a future because it is based on substance, on character. Its history is not one of fair-weather friendships and will-o'-the-wisp obligations. The counterfeit tends to swell on cue and to fade when the audience leaves.

So, as the administration clears its throat on the drug issue, it might be timely to take a look at the content and context of the pronouncements that are likely to ensue. At the moment, the new-found conviction of the President on the drug issue, as I said, looks a lot like a New Year's resolution. It is probably only a coincidence that this new year is also an election year. I hope, however, that the present resolution is a little sturdier than most New Year's declarations—so full of promise and so short on fulfillment. We do have some guideposts to go by to decide whether what we have on the drug issue reflects principle or calculation.

It is no secret to the press or to many in the public that the President is can-

dor-challenged. He has a problem with consistency when it comes to what he says. And much of this fidelity deficit seems to owe a lot to expediency. The question is, Does policy grow from sound foundations or from what sounds good at the moment? It was one of the chief advisers to the President who gave us some insight on this. As Mr. Stephanopolous told us, to this President, words are actions. Just listen to what I say, don't look at what I do—or say tomorrow.

There is something of the magician in this philosophy. It is, after all, essential to the illusionists' art that you be distracted by words from what the hands are up to. Thus, it is possible to have no consistent policy but to claim one. It is possible to have mismanaged foreign affairs and assert the opposite. It is possible to have reneged on a bounty of campaign promises and to call it keeping faith. It is possible to make a virtue of having offered no fiscally responsible budgets while blaming others for the lapse. It is possible to have discovered the drug issue on the eve of an election and then to denounce critics as playing politics. And all of this with an elegant turn of phrase.

But there is more involved here than words. We have actions to guide us, to help us go beyond the sleigh of hand. What do they tell us when it comes to sincerity on fighting drugs? In this case, actions do speak louder than words.

The echoes of the Inauguration balls were hardly over before the President cut the Office of National Drug Control Policy—the Nation's drug czar—by 80 percent. That gesture was not an economy it was a massacre. It would also seem to be a statement about the importance of drug policy in the President's own household. But it was not singular.

The new-car smell of the administration had hardly dissipated when the Nation's chief medical officer, the Surgeon General, suggested we could legalize our way out of the drug problem. The tepid condemnation that followed from the President did nothing to foreclose this line of thinking. In fact, the idea of normalizing drug use has gathered strength in the last few years. But this was not all.

The administration also cut interdiction funding. This controlled shift in the priorities in our interdiction policies produced uncontrolled muddle here and abroad. We may not have scared our enemies with this policy, but we successfully confused our friends and our own people. But the story does not end here.

Along with these actions, the President also abandoned the bully pulpit. This is, perhaps, the truest measure of intent. If there is one thing that the President is able to do, it is to talk. He has a gift for words. We must ask ourselves, knowing this, why the President spoke virtually not at all on the drug issue for 3 years? What does this

say about a commitment to the drug issue? In over 1,700 utterances in 1994 alone, illegal drugs were mentioned less than a dozen times. As they say, "silence is golden." This is a silence that speaks volumes. But there's more.

In these years of just say nothing, the nature of our drug problem began to change. Although we still had a hardcore addict population largely resistant to our efforts to treat them, we had made major strides in reducing use, particularly among our young people. Between 1980 and 1992 we had succeeded in reducing so-called casual use by more than 50 percent for all drugs, and over 70 percent for cocaine. We had succeeded in persuading young people that drugs were both dangerous and wrong to use. That is now changing.

Since 1992, teenage drug use has surged. The age of people using drugs has dropped. The belief that drugs are dangerous and wrong has reversed. Popular culture once again abounds in drug glorification messages. The legalization movement is better funded and organized, and has found allies like William Buckley. Much of the media has declared a moratorium on discussing drugs—unless it is to give space to legalization arguments. All of this in 3 years, and all of it with hardly a word from the Nation's leading wizard of words.

If the past is any guide, then, we need to approach the present born-again resolution on drug policy with some questions about its meaning and purpose. In this regard, I was struck by comments in several leading periodicals about the new resolution on drugs coming from the White House this election year. These may give us a hint about the future, about whether the President's new found voice speaks from principle or poetic license.

The Weekly-Standard, a policy journal, recently editorialized that "Bill Clinton is mostly talk. He enjoys daily political combat and negotiates its demands with rare talent. But he has never been much for actual, week-in, week-out government. Over any given administrative term in his long career, the Clinton record is thickly stained with the evidence both of his personal disengagement and of the ideological inclinations of his loosely supervised appointees." The piece further notes, "So the early months of a Clinton election year always look the same: He mounts a slick and furious propaganda offensive to muddy that evidence, the better to confuse and silence his opponents. What looks bad, Clinton knows, can often be made to look good—if you jabber about it enough."

If this view is any indication of the depth of the recent pronouncements on drug policy by the President, then we are in the presence of a pretty shallow reservoir. We have words filling in for action. But this was not the only comment on the President's newly found vocabulary on drugs.

A recent piece in the Wall Street Journal noted that "Bill Clinton's retreat in the drug war is among the

worst sins for which his administration should be held accountable." The editorial reminds us that the President didn't inhale. It also reminds us that "some dozen White House employees, including senior staff, had been 'requested to be part of an individual drug testing program' because of their prior drug history." But past indiscretion may be no guide to the future.

The Journal piece, however, touches on something more fundamental. Something that I have talked about before that may be more telling. This involves the character issue. The Journal notes, " \* \* \* we would like to know exactly why Bill Clinton took a powder on the drugs wars \* \* \* ." It then adds, " \* \* \* the heart of our complaint with this President's attitude on drugs has to do with what we would call its character, its moral content."

It goes on to make the following point: "Unlike the Reagans, you will never see the Clintons articulating the war on drugs as an essentially moral crusade \* \* \* the Clintons, like the generation of liberal constituencies that they lead, are going to be rhetorically correct, believers in the powers of bureaucratic healing—and nonjudgmental." In other words, Clinton is unable to be a leader on this issue because his opinions on the subject have no fixed address. If this is an accurate assessment, then the President's newly found fervor on the drug issue is likely to have moved on by next November. If true, the present commitment will not last much beyond the echo of his pronouncements. It is not based on principle but on opportunism.

There are many more news accounts about the President's election-eve conversion. These provides us with more insight on how we are to judge the present situation. They do not give us a definitive answer. We must judge for ourselves. But there is not much in the past to indicate that strong principle informs the present sincere-sounding rhetoric. It must have content not just context. For the content to be serious, it must be backed up by character. Without principle what confidence can we have in the words? What we need, what we are looking for, is not resolutions but resoluteness. We do not live by words alone. But it seems that words are all we are likely to get.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that these news items be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 2, 1996]

WAITING TO EXHALE

Now, in April 1996, with eight months left on a four-year term, Bill Clinton flies the press into Miami so he can be seen standing shoulder to shoulder with General Barry McCaffrey, a decorated war hero he's enlisted to lead a war on drugs. Standing among school children Monday, the President poured his great rhetorical heart onto the drug war. Along the way came these key words: "Make no mistake about it, this has

got to be a bipartisan, American, nonpolitical effort." Translation: Don't blame me for this problem, especially during an election campaign.

In fact, Bill Clinton's retreat in the drug war is among the worst sins for which his Administration should be held accountable. After years of decline in drug use, recent surveys make it clear that a younger generation of Americans is again at risk (see the chart nearby). The number of 12-to-17-year-olds using marijuana increased to 2.9 million in 1994 from 1.6 million in 1992. Marijuana use increased 200% among 14-to-15-year-olds during the same period. Since 1992, according to large surveys of high school students, there has been a 52% increase in the number of seniors using drugs monthly. One in three report having used marijuana in the past year. Private anti-drug advocates such as Jim Burke of the Partnership for a Drug Free America and Joe Califano of Columbia University's Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse have been running alongside this drug fire, yelling for help to anyone who'd listen.

Better late than never, of course, and it is good that Mr. Clinton wants to mend his ways with General McCaffrey. We applaud the appointment and think General McCaffrey has sounded many right notes. Legalization, he says, "is out of the question."

A quarterly regional analysis put out by his office brings the problem up to date: "A recent New York State high school survey reports that 12% of New York teens said that they smoked marijuana at least four times a month, double the number in the 1990 survey." Discussing "Emerging Drugs," the report notes methamphetamine's popularity in the San Francisco area: "in addition to its use by young users who combine it with heroin ('a meth speedball') it can also be found in 'biker's coffee,' a combination of methamphetamine and coffee popular among young, fairly affluent urbanites." Additionally, the report notes that "Club drugs, a name which generally includes MDMA, Ketamine, 2c-B, LSD, psilocybin and a range of other hallucinogens, are increasingly mentioned in this quarter."

These recent events are not a coincidence. The drug retreat was the result of a series of explicit policy decisions by Mr. Clinton and those around him. Which is why we think it is worth focusing on the meaning of his wish that the anti-drug war be "bipartisan, American, nonpolitical." This means that between now and November's election no one is allowed to utter the phrase "didn't inhale." No one is allowed to remember Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders talking about drug legalization, even as her own son was arrested and convicted on drug-sale charges.

Nor should anyone be allowed to bring up White House deputy personnel director Patsy Thomasson's admission to a congressional committee that some dozen White House employees, including senior staff, had been "requested to be part of an individual drug testing program" because of their prior drug history. Ms. Thomasson's experience in these drug mop-up duties extends back to her days in Arkansas when she took over the business of Dan Lasater—Little Rock bond dealer, Clinton campaign contributor and friend-of-brother Roger—while Mr. Lasater served prison time for "social distribution" of cocaine. This week Mr. Lasater is testifying before the Senate Whitewater Committee, and we assume he will be asked to enlighten the committee about the millions of dollars of mysterious trades that his firm made through an account without the knowledge of the account's owner, Kentucky resident Dennis Patrick.

On matters of pure policy, among Bill Clinton's first acts was to cut spending on the war. The staff of the Office of National Drug

Control Policy was cut to 25 from 146. Drug interdiction funds were cut. The number of trafficker aircraft seized by Customs fell to 10 from 37 in FY '93-'95. Drug czar Lee Brown wandered the nation's editorial pages seeking the public support he rarely got from his President. New York Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel announced: "I really never thought I'd miss Nancy Reagan, but I do."

Finally, about a year ago, Mr. Clinton received a stinging letter from FBI Director Louis Freeh and DEA director Tom Constantine, charging that the President's anti-drug effort was adrift. So now we have General McCaffrey, who says, "There is no reason why we can't return America to a 1960s level, pre-Vietnam era level of drug use."

Sorry, General, but pre-Vietnam America is not coming back. General McCaffrey's current President is a founding member of the generation that transformed America in the years of Vietnam and those that followed. It bequeathed to all of us a culture and ethos of such personal and moral slovenliness that we must now enlist a battle-hardened soldier to save the children of the anti-Vietnam generation from drugs. It is perhaps the most perfect, bitter irony that when these parents now exhort their children to stop using marijuana (of a strain that is significantly more potent than anything they dabbled in), the kids reply: "Why should we? We're not hurting anyone."

Basically, we'd very much like to know exactly why Bill Clinton took a powder on the drug wars after he became President. There was in fact a rationale of sorts offered at the time for the change in tone and direction. In contrast to what was thought to be the Republican approach of throwing people in jail for drug offenses, the Clinton approach would emphasize prevention and treatment. There is a case to be made for prevention and treatment, but the heart of our complaint with this President's attitude on drugs has to do with what we would call its character, its moral content.

Unlike the Reagans, you will never see the Clintons articulating the war on drugs as an essentially moral crusade. With its emphasis on treatment and programs and prevention, it is mainly the kind of effort that the sociologist Philip Rieff identified as the triumph of the therapeutic. Rather than the schoolmarmish Nancy Reagan, the Clintons, like the generation of liberal constituencies that they lead, are going to be rhetorically correct, believers in the powers of bureaucratic healing—and nonjudgmental. In their world, no one is ever quite caught for disastrous personal behavior or choices. Instead of absolute, there are explanations.

This, in our opinion, is the real reason the drug war waned when Bill Clinton became President. The message this new President sent to his young, yuppie, MTVish audiences was that he was just too cool to go relentlessly moralistic over something like recreational drugs. Sure he had an anti-drug policy in 1992 and a czar and speeches, but Bill Clinton wasn't going to have any cows over the subject. Surely, the drug-testing White House staff understood that much.

We don't doubt that a lot of people in this country, especially parents of teenaged and pre-teen children, would very much like to rediscover General McCaffrey's pre-Vietnam world of less constant cultural challenge. But the people who turned that culture upside down, making it a daily challenge for parents, have at last been given the chance to run the government. But this death-bed conversion on drugs simply lacks credibility. As much as we applaud General McCaffrey's new offensive, only a triumph of hope over experience could lead anyone to believe it would be sustained past November if Mr.

Clinton and his crowd are returned to the White House.

[From the Weekly Standard, May 13, 1996]  
GENERAL CLINTON, LOSING THE DRUG WAR  
(By David Tell)

Bill Clinton is mostly talk. He enjoys daily political combat and negotiates its demands with rare talent. But he has never been much for actual, week-in, week-out government. Over any given administrative term in his long career, the Clinton record is thickly stained with the evidence both of his personal disengagement and of the ideological inclinations of his loosely supervised appointees. So the early months of a Clinton election year always look the same: He mounts a slick and furious propaganda offensive to muddy that evidence, the better to confuse and silence his opponents. What looks bad, Clinton knows, can often be made to look good—if you jabber about it enough.

This is your president's brain. And this is your president's brain on drugs: Clinton is justifiably nervous that his credibility gap in the nation's drug war—still a major public preoccupation—might be exploited by Republicans in the fall.

Candidate Clinton didn't inhale. President Clinton's surgeon general, Joycelyn Elders, made repeated pronouncements on the virtues of drug legalization. Before the ink was dry on his presidential oath, Clinton gutted the White House drug office with a two-fold, shabby purpose: satisfying a campaign pledge to trim his staff, and purging a hundred-odd career civil servants whose only sin (shades of Travelgate) was to have worked under a Republican administration. That massacre remains the president's best known drug-war initiative; three years later, he has spent very little time on the effort. "I've been in Congress for over two decades," Democratic Rep. Charles B. Rangel grumped late last year. "I have never, never, never seen a president who cares less" about drugs.

So it is now, predictably, "inoculation" season, as the Clinton campaign embarks on a weeks-long media tour designed to portray the president as fully and effectively engaged in the war on drugs. Much of it is typical hokum. A talk-show schlockmeister has been recruited to produce anti-drug television commercials; "Montel Williams's leadership on this crucial effort is inspiring," bumbles the White House. A Gallup poll on the drug war has been commissioned, as the White House admits without embarrassment, "to demonstrate thinking which will support our efforts." And the president himself—in a spare Miami moment between rounds of golf and multimillion-dollar Democratic fundraisers—has unveiled a "new" drugfighting strategy. He is "working hard in Washington," he tells a group of network cameramen and middle-school students. And his work is paying off, since "every year for the last three years. . . . drug use has dropped."

We'll come back to this falsehood in a moment. Were the Clinton drug-fighting record purely a matter of Elders-like bloopers and mere inattention, the president's current show of concern—and the debut of his newly minted tough-guy "drug czar," retired army general Barry McCaffrey—might be sufficient protection against GOP election-year complaints. But it really isn't true that Clinton has done "nothing" about drugs, as Republicans may want to charge. It's worse, far worse: His administration has engineered the most significant redirection of federal drug policy in several decades. This is a poorly reported story. And an alarming one that begs for informative political debate.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the federal government pursued what might fair-

ly be described as a "do everything" strategy against illegal drugs. Executive-branch agencies conducted crop eradication and criminal investigative efforts in foreign countries. They launched "interdiction" programs against smugglers operating in the so-called transit zone between those countries and the United States, and on our borders. They undertook a dizzying variety of law-enforcement, drug-prevention, and rehabilitative-treatment initiatives here at home. It was a richly funded campaign; total federal spending on the drug war rose nearly 700 percent between 1981 and 1992. And it roughly coincided with a more than 50 percent decline in the rate of overall drug use nationwide, from its historical high in 1979 to its subsequent low in the final year of the Bush administration.

There was a standard Democratic critique of government drug policy during this period of Republican presidencies: The executive branch was supposedly placing exaggerated emphasis on efforts to reduce the supply of illegal drugs to American neighborhoods, and shortchanging an equally necessary therapeutic approach to addicts and schoolchildren. The drug war's most visibly warlike aspects—its overseas and interdiction programs—were subjected to particular scorn. As the Customs Service was spending millions of dollars to get radar balloons tangled in high-tension electrical wires on the Southwest border, the scoffers said, cocaine addicts went homeless and died for want of bed-space in federally funded treatment facilities.

Of course, it is a simple fact that federal law can only be enforced by the federal government, and that effort—G-men and prisons, most obviously—is intrinsically more expensive than even the most lavish education and drug-treatment programs could ever be. And so the federal drug budget will always be heavily weighted toward "supply reduction" (and away from "demand reduction") activities. Even in a Democratic administration. President Clinton still spends twice as much money on restricting drug supply as on ending demand.

But he is spending it very differently. Democratic hostility to drug-war "militarism" is alive and well in the Clinton administration. Under his supervision, the federal government is now conducting an anti-drug effort almost exclusively inside the United States. At our borders and beyond, the drug war has, for the most part, been canceled. By formal White House directive.

In 1993, the administration instituted what is technically called a "controlled shift" of federal drug-war assets. Money and personnel devoted to anti-smuggling efforts in the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and on the U.S.-Mexican border were ostensibly redeployed directly to the Latin American countries in which most illegal drugs originate. But that redeployment has never actually occurred. The federal drug-budget accounts from which any new Latin American initiative could be funded are 55 percent smaller today than in 1992. The old-fashioned anti-smuggling effort has been "shifted" to nowhere. It has been eviscerated.

The result? Coast Guard cocaine and marijuana seizures are down 45 to 90 percent, respectively, since 1991. In 1994, the Customs Service let two million commercial trucks pass through three of the busiest ports-of-entry on the Mexican border without seizing a single kilogram of cocaine. Between 1993 and early 1995, the estimated smuggling "disruption rate" achieved by federal drug interdiction agencies fell 53 percent—the equivalent of 84 more metric tons of cocaine and marijuana arriving unimpeded in the United States each year. Drug Enforcement Agency figures suggest that cocaine and heroin are

now available on American streets in near-record purity—and at near-record-low retail prices.

Which can only be evidence that the supply of illegal drugs on American streets has significantly expanded on Bill Clinton's watch. Because the only other possible explanation, that the demand for drugs has fallen, is at variance with the facts. The president was sadly mistaken—or, well, he lied—when he told those Miami schoolchildren that American drug use "has dropped" every year since he took office. Drug use has steadily risen since 1992, especially among the young. Overall teenage drug use is up 55 percent. Marijuana consumption by teenagers has almost doubled.

This is a pretty striking picture of deliberate government decision-making gone disastrously awry. It's the president's fault. He has proposed nothing to correct it, Gen. McCaffrey and Montel Williams notwithstanding. And he should be called to account. All the president's facile election-year speechifying aside, there are serious differences of personnel and policy that divide this Democratic administration from the Republican administration that would replace it in 1997. Where the drug war is concerned, as in so many other respects, those differences should be clear. They do not flatter President Clinton.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa has made a 10-minute attack on the President on an issue dealing with the fight on drugs. I ask that the same courtesy be extended and that I be permitted to speak in morning business for 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE FIGHT ON DRUGS

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, let me say, Mr. President, that it always saddens me when the floor of the U.S. Senate is turned into a place to debate issues regarding the Presidential race. I think it is very important that when things are stated on the floor that are not true, we have an opportunity to respond. I thank the chairman of the Budget Committee for giving me that opportunity.

There is a lot of talk around here about the failure of this President to crack down on the issue of drug enforcement. I want to set the record straight. Federal drug prosecutions are up 13 percent from 1994. Federal prosecutors achieved an 84 percent conviction rate in all drug cases in 1995. So we are beginning to see a change. During the past 3 years, there has been a 9.4 percent increase in prosecutions of the toughest, most complex drug cases. There are now about 48,000 convicted