

for downgrading the whole effort to have a national strategy. The administration's proposal for reauthorizing the drug czar's office drops the idea of a national strategy for an annual report. It proposes a 10-year strategy document instead. The effect of this sleight-of-hand is to reduce the drug strategy to a proforma exercise, which, by the way, is another means to dodge accountability. This administration will leave office without ever having provided a serious accounting for its drug policy. If present trends continue, it will leave office having presided over a renewed drug epidemic.

It is in keeping with a number of other things the administration has done to signal its real feelings about the war on drugs.

In keeping with this pattern, this administration has one of the worst records I know of in responding to congressional requests. I am not talking about responding to all the requests for information in response to major investigations. I am talking about responses to the normal business of Government. I am still waiting for the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Justice Department to respond to questions from a hearing last May. Last you think the questions were a burden, I only asked three. I am still waiting.

We only recently received responses from the administration to a hearing from last October, and not even all those are in. I also have requests of correspondence to the Department of Defense, Health and Human Services, Justice, and others that are months old. It routinely takes this administration, 3, 4, 5, even 6 months to answer a letter, respond to a request, or provide answers to complete the record of hearings. And the answers are often pretty slim and uncommunicative. This is an administration that needs to do a lot of explaining.

The administration is now proposing to undermine the laws on cocaine sentencing. Let me note at the outset, that contrary to the impression in some quarters, the United States does not, I repeat, does not fill its jails with nonviolent drug offenders. It does not fill its jails with simple users. The majority of felons in our jails for drug crimes are there for trafficking and violent crimes. In the face of the drug epidemic, Congress passed and the public supported tougher sentencing for dealers and traffickers who pushed crack to our kids.

Now, however, the administration is planning to walk backwards on crack. The administration plans to deal with a disparity in crack and powder cocaine sentencing by reducing sentencing for crack. Instead of lowering the boom they're lowering the standards. This is hardly a message to be sending at a time when use of drugs is on the rise. But it is in character with what we have seen.

From our borders to our streets, we see a similar image. We see disarray and a lack of seriousness. Let me share

with you one last example to illustrate why I am a little frustrated. Recently, \$3.5 million was set aside on ONDCP's budget to assist parent groups in prevention work with youth. Keep that number, \$3.5 million in mind. Remember, it was intended to support parent groups. Also keep in mind that these groups have a long track record of working with parents on drug prevention. Now, here goes. Of that \$3.5 million, ONDCP pocketed \$500,000 that did not go to the parent groups. That leaves \$3 million. So far so good. That money was transferred to the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) at HHS. Of that, it appears that CSAP kept \$600,000, presumably for administrative costs. That leaves \$2.4 million for parent groups. Of that, CSAP awarded a private contractor, with no experience in parent movements and drug prevention, some \$900,000. The purpose was to develop a program for parent groups. Never mind that the parent groups were the experts. Never mind that the contractor then had to spend its money talking to these same parent groups on how to help parent groups. Never mind that the parent groups have disavowed the resulting study and the proposed prevention effort as unworkable. That left roughly \$1.5 million for the parent groups. That is to be spread over 2 years. It is to be shared by several different groups. The result? Each group will receive less than \$70,000 a year, hardly enough to cover their costs. Is it any wonder that so many prevention groups have a hearty dislike for CSAP. This is hardly a reassuring story. It is, unfortunately, not atypical. It is a small example that explains a lot.

These are only some of the examples of problems in our drug control program. I will have more to say about failures and shortcomings in our international efforts later. The story there is just as grim.

EXHIBIT 1

DUBIOUS DATA MADE HEADLINES IN 1997

Each year at this time, the Statistical Assessment Service, a Washington research organization that abbreviates itself STATS, releases its annual list of the most absurd, amusing and alarming science and statistical news stories of 1997.

Herewith, a few of the group's choices. The full list may be found on the World Wide Web at www.stats.org.

Study Links Cancer Deaths to Site—Associated Press, Sept. 11.

The AP reported on a new study that linked low levels of radioactivity to cancer deaths among nuclear workers. The researchers found that 29 percent of all deaths among former employees of the Rocketdyne Santa Susana Field Laboratory were attributable to cancer.

Sounds pretty scary, but compared to what? For the general population, 35 percent of all deaths of those between 44 and 65 years of age are attributable to cancer, as are 25 percent for all deaths of those over 44, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. So the workers died from cancer at about the same rate as anyone else.

YOUR CHILD'S BRAIN ON DRUGS

Teen Drug Use Dips Down—Associated Press, Aug. 7.

Drug Use Rising Among Young Adults—Associated Press, a few hours later the same day.

These dueling headlines were based on the same National Household Study on Drug Abuse survey, which found that illicit drug use among the young was up, alarmingly in some cases. The AP's first headline and the story accompanying it illustrate the perils of data slicing—focusing on only one segment of the study population—and a failure to appreciate a concept called statistical significance. According to the study, young people between ages 12 and 15 did report a slight decline in the use of marijuana.

But another age bracket, dubbed "young adults" 18 to 25, showed a significant increase in marijuana use. More importantly, the drop among younger people was not statistically significant, which means there's a fair chance that the apparent decrease was due to sampling error.

YOUNGER THAN SPRINGTIME

Premature Puberty: Is Early Sexual Development the Price of Pollution?—E—The Environmental Magazine, Nov./Dec. issue.

In April, a study published in the medical journal *Pediatrics* reported that the mean age of onset of menstruation occurred at 12.2 years for African American girls and 12.9 years for white girls.

As The Washington Post correctly reported, this meant that American girls were "developing pubertal characteristics at younger ages than currently used norms," which were based on a study of British girls in the 1950s.

But many journalists interpreted the findings as an alarming new trend toward lower ages for puberty.

This produced scary headlines such as "Girls Facing the Perils of Puberty Earlier" (Hartford Courant), "Puberty Find Could Point to Danger" (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette) and "Girls Hitting Puberty at an Earlier Age; Some Worry Environmental Estrogens Could be Behind a New Study's Findings" (Des Moines Register).

These fears of pollution-induced puberty ignored the fact that, as The Post reported, "the age at which girls first menstruate hasn't changed much since 1950."

Mr. GRASSLEY. I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

NATO EXPANSION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, my attention was called to an article, an op-ed article, in the New York Times for Wednesday, February 4, of this year entitled: "NATO: A Debate Recast." It was authored by Howard Baker, Sam Nunn, Brent Scowcroft and Alton Frye.

I read the article with great interest and asked the question of whether this had been inserted in the RECORD at the time it was written. I am informed that that was not the case, that it has not been put in the RECORD, not been called to the attention of the Members of the Senate.

I call the attention of the Members in the Senate to this article because I

think it makes some very good points about NATO expansion. I particularly want to quote this one provision. These writers said:

The Senate would be wise to link NATO and European Union expansion. If that link is made, it is essential to stipulate that admission to the European Union is not sufficient qualification for entry into NATO. NATO should weigh any future applicant against the contributions and burdens its membership would entail. What is called for is a definite, if not permanent, pause in this process.

Mr. President, we soon will be, I assume, taking up the debate on NATO expansion. I do ask that Members pay attention to the words of our two former colleagues, Senator Baker and Senator Nunn; and also Brent Scowcroft, who was the National Security Advisor to Presidents Ford and Bush; and Alton Frye, who is senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Feb. 4, 1998]

NATO: A DEBATE RECAST

(By Howard Baker, Jr., Sam Nunn, Brent Scowcroft and Alton Frye)

The looming Senate debate over NATO enlargement marks a historic encounter between good intentions and sound strategy. Despite momentum toward admitting three more members—Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic—the fundamental interests at stake demand probing examination of the specific candidacies, the approach that has brought the alliance to this fateful juncture and the troubling implications of that approach. Along with many who have worked to build a strong NATO, we harbor grave reservations about the pending expansion and the direction it points.

Far from being a cold war relic, NATO should be the cornerstone of an evolving security order in Europe. It provides the infrastructure and experience indispensable to coping with instabilities—Bosnia today, and other troublespots tomorrow. NATO is vital to insuring arms control and maintaining the kind of industrial base that provides a solid defense. Perhaps most important, NATO provides the institutional home for coalitions to meet crises beyond Europe.

But a cornerstone is not a sponge. The function of a cornerstone is to protect its own integrity to support a wider security structure, not to dissipate its cohesion by absorbing members and responsibilities beyond prudent limits. A powerful NATO undergirds other institutions, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Western European Union. It makes possible the Partnership for Peace to promote cooperation among countries that are not NATO members.

The rush to expand the alliance has put the cart before the horse. Advocates and skeptics of NATO enlargement agree that the transformation of Europe's security structure should be related to the transformation of its economy. As James Baker, the former Secretary of State, has testified, European Union membership "is just as important as membership in NATO for the countries involved," and "we must make clear that NATO membership for the countries of Central Europe is not a substitute for closer economic ties to the E.U."

In our view, it would have been preferable not to invite more countries to join NATO. At the very least, it would be desirable for the European Union to proceed with its planned expansion before NATO completes the acceptance of the new members.

The European Union has now decided to begin negotiations with six aspirants, including the three candidates NATO is considering. Linking NATO expansion to the expansion of the European Union would accomplish several things:

It would underscore the connection between Europe's security and its economy—and offer certification that entrants to NATO could afford to meet its defense obligations.

It would permit the Partnership for Peace to demonstrate that it should be the proper association for countries outside NATO. So long as the option to join NATO remains open, it utterly undercuts the partnership as the preferred mode of cooperation.

It would allow the United States and Russia to focus on the gravest security problem still before us, the formidable hangover of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The cooperative framework provided by the NATO-Russia Founding Act may be useful, but frictions over NATO distract Moscow and Washington from profound common dangers. Even if everything goes right in expanding NATO, we will have misplaced our priorities during a critical window of opportunity to gain Russian cooperation in controlling nuclear arsenals and preventing proliferation. Russian antagonism is sure to grow if the alliance extends ever closer to Russian territory.

The Senate would be wise to link NATO and European Union expansion. If that link is made, it is essential to stipulate that admission to the European Union is not sufficient qualification for entry into NATO. NATO should weigh any future applicant against the contributions and burdens its membership would entail. What is called for is a definite, if not permanent, pause in this process.

By leading the charge for NATO expansion, the Clinton Administration may well elicit hasty proposals and considerable pressure to admit other countries. Other Central and East European countries are hoping that they, too, will soon be welcomed into allied ranks.

But a military alliance is not a club, and the Administration's rhetoric and policy risk converting NATO into an organization in which obligations are diluted and action is enfeebled. Pursuing that path may simultaneously spur Russian animosity and weaken the alliance's capability to contain it, if required. William Perry, the former Defense Secretary, and Warren Christopher, the former Secretary of State, acknowledge the problematic situation in which the country finds itself. In their words, "there is no consensus on the wisdom of the path taken so far by the alliance and spearheaded by the Clinton Administration."

While Mr. Perry and Mr. Christopher state that NATO should remain open "in principle," they contend that no additional members should be designated until the three current candidates "are fully prepared to bear the responsibilities of membership and have been integrated into the alliance." That reads to us like advice to slow this train down. We are in accord with that view, and with their argument that NATO should make the experience of Partnership for Peace membership for non-NATO members "as similar as possible to the experience of NATO membership."

We are dubious, however, that consensus can be found on the Administration's premise that NATO should be receptive to

many additional members. That is a prescription for destroying the alliance. It guarantees future discord with present allies, few of whom are prepared to follow the Clinton policy to its logical end, the inclusion of Russia.

The task is to build a security structure in which Russia assumes a place commensurate with its geostrategic importance and its progress toward democracy and a market economy. With due respect, those campaigning to expand NATO confuse the longer term challenge of shaping a comprehensive security system with our continuing responsibility to sustain a robust NATO as our principal security bulwark.

The question confronting the Senate is not only whether to enlarge NATO, but how, when and on what terms. The imperative now is for the Senate to bring to bear the independent assessment mandated by the Constitution. In that assessment it has several options, including linking alliance expansion with enlargement of the European Union and laying down a marker against an excessively elastic NATO.

The Senate has constructive leverage to shape a wiser outcome than simple acquiescence in the President's plan. The widespread grumble that "NATO expansion is a bad idea whose time has come" is no basis for policy. This is not a dose of medicine one can swallow and be done with. It is a fundamental extension of American security guarantees, an ill-defined invitation for new members unrelated either to military threats or military capabilities.

A final caution to the Administration: It is no service to candor or consensus to invoke the shadow of Versailles, implying that resistance to NATO enlargement would be comparable to Senate rejection of the League of Nations. One doubts that senators will respond well to overdrawn analogies. As John Maynard Keynes noted at the time, the central failure of Versailles lay in the fatal miscalculation of how to deal with a demoralized former adversary. That, above all, is the error we must not repeat.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I believe we are in morning business, is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

READ ACROSS AMERICA DAY

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the key to our children's future, and to commemorate an individual who dedicated his life's work to this great cause. Through a resolution sponsored by my good friend Senator CHUCK ROBB, and co-sponsored by myself and 91 other Senate co-sponsors, today has been proclaimed Read Across America Day. The day to celebrate the 94th birthday of Dr. Seuss and a day when all across the country adults will be reading out loud to children.

In fact, Senator ROBB is unable to join me right now because he spent the