

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter that I cherish from Senator Goldwater after my first appearance on the floor managing the budget bill be printed in the RECORD.

In his own manner, he would go back to the office frequently and dictate a brief letter. This is one of those, which he gave to me in 1981, as I started down this long process trying to balance the U.S. budget. He gave me a little encouragement and enthusiasm. I thought it might be good to just show what kind of person he was to younger Senators like myself back in 1981, along with all the things I wanted to say.

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

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, DC, July 3, 1981.

Hon. PETE DOMENICI,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR PETE: When your class came into the Senate something inside of me said, this could be the best that every came along since you've been here. As I watched all of you develop through the years, nothing has happened to change that original opinion.

Your handling of the budget bill was done in a superb manner, probably as well done as any I have ever listened to and that includes some real old pros. You did a wonderful job with it Pete. I am proud of you and I am going to watch your future with a great deal of interest. You are going to go a long way.

With pride and best wishes,

BARRY GOLDWATER.

NATIONAL TOBACCO POLICY AND YOUTH SMOKING REDUCTION ACT

The Senate continued with consideration of the bill.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I don't know where the bill before the Senate goes next, but obviously I have joined with Senator GRAMM in trying to make a statement about this bill. In the process of trying to do that, there are many ways to make statements and there are many ways to talk about what is in a bill, what is out of it, what is not in the bill, to argue about what its value is, what its ultimate goal is, and what it might achieve.

There is another way, and that is to offer an amendment or amendments. There are a lot of amendments pending. As I indicated, I don't know how many of them are serious. I have five or six myself that I think are serious that in due course I will offer. I would like to discuss, from the standpoint of those who are wondering about the Gramm-Domenici amendment to cut taxes on a very deserving group of Americans, what it is all about.

When you raise taxes on anybody in the United States, you have to ask yourself a very fundamental question of what you ought to do with the taxes you raise. Now, if America were undertaxed and we were taxing Americans—be it a cigarette tax that at \$1.10 a pack would yield over time \$750 to \$800 billion, or whether it is an income tax or sales tax—you have to ask your-

self, if America is being taxed too much already, shouldn't something very high on the list of considerations for what to do with the increased revenue be a consideration of lowering the taxes on Americans?

Obviously, there have been some arguments already, and there will be more about the amendment which we offered which, hopefully, will be modified, that says let's give back some of the taxes we pick up here to Americans who are suffering the penalty of a Tax Code that punishes people for being married and earning a living by both spouses working. For they, in most cases, pay more in taxes than if they both had the identical jobs, at the same annual earnings, and were not married and filing separate returns—one of the most onerous, ill-conceived uses of the Tax Code.

How in the world can we run around, as policymakers, and say we favor the family and then add a burden of taxation to spouses, who are part of a family, by taxing them more because they are married and working than if they were single and working? That has to be an absolutely absurd policy in light of the problems we have in this country that are family oriented, and many of them have to do with income of families.

Secondly, it is obvious that every cent of a cigarette tax that we all of a sudden came up with and has been debated on the floor as a tax that should be \$1.10, maybe \$1.50, maybe 75 cents, and then for somebody to come to the floor and assume that whatever the level is, every penny of it ought to be spent for new programs—now, that isn't the way it is said; it is said, new programs to do some great things.

Well, I think everything the Government tries to do and spends money on ought to be things we really believe are important things, important aspects, important events, important projects. Now we are reinventing a bunch of new ones, and then we are saying to the States: You spend your money in very specific ways.

I don't care who agreed to the ways that we are going to send this money back to the States to be spent, it seems to me the question has to be asked first, How much is needed to direct a program that has a probability of success in terms of making our young people alter their smoking habits and quit smoking? And nobody can say that you need a huge portion of this tax bill to run advertisements on that, to have programs in our schools or wherever to try to inhibit that. That can't come close to spending the amount of money that is in this bill.

Mr. KERRY. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, this is my first speech in a couple of days. I am sorry. I will yield soon. In fact, I will yield the floor.

Mr. President, the point is that nobody can stand up on this floor and say we knew when we started talking about cigarette taxes and how much it

would yield precisely how much ought to be spent for some American programs that would help alleviate the smoking problem, or even research more into the cause of cancer and try to cure it. Nobody knows what is the right number, but everybody knows that as much money as this bill will raise is not needed for that.

Anybody in their right mind would look at how much is coming in and how much you need to do precisely the kind of things that people say this bill ought to do, and it is not close to the amount of money that is coming in. So that leads you to a conclusion, in my humble opinion, that you ought to give some of this money back to the taxpayers of the country.

I cannot believe we are so unconcerned about the taxpayers of this country that we would sort of block off this \$700 billion in new revenues—if that is what it is over 25 years—and say, look, the American people and their tax-paying requirements have nothing to do with this new tax imposed on them. Why not? Why do we say that? We are adding to the tax "take," and we give no benefit to the American people for these new taxes we are going to raise.

Back to my argument. One way to try to send a message and distinguish between various approaches, which I choose to call tax and spend it all, or another group who would say tax and give some of it back to the American people who already feel, in many instances—and they are right—that they are paying too much in taxes.

Now, that is why the Gramm-Domenici amendment is important. I have already stated its precise purpose is to try to ameliorate the negative tax treatment on married couples, both of whom work, from a Tax Code which penalizes that versus the same two people making the same amount of money, but not married, and are part of a family—they pay less.

So the purpose is good, but the message is completely different. The message is, when you have this much new revenue, shouldn't you give some of it back to the taxpayers of America? Nobody is going to be able to come to this floor, with our ability to proliferate in producing charts, and tell the American people with any credibility that every single dollar coming in on this tax has a nice precise niche that it should be spent for, all of which is aimed at helping to try to get kids to stop smoking cigarettes. Or I am willing to add one—doing research and trying to prevent the diseases that come from smoking. Take the two together and you could not produce a credible chart showing how every penny in this bill must be spent for that or you are not doing your job.

So I believe that, sooner or later, we deserve an opportunity to have an up-or-down vote on the proposition that I have just described here today. It is very simple. One, do you think you should change the Tax Code as it pertains to the marriage tax penalty and

help families and married couples out who are being penalized because of this Tax Code? And, two, do you think that, with this large new tax being imposed, you ought to give about a third of it back to the taxpayers of this country? We want the public to just focus, very simply, on those two issues.

This bill will permit us to do both. I have no doubt, Mr. President, that what is left over is more than adequate. In fact, I am not sure I would vote to spend all of the money that is left over for the program described in this bill. Nonetheless, that is not at issue with reference to the Gramm-Domenici amendment.

The issue is a simple proposition: Do you think the marriage tax penalty ought to be fixed? Secondly, do you think when you have this huge new tax increase, you ought to give some of it back to the American people? We want to vote on that. That is a way of distinguishing between the feelings of various Senators about a new tax bill that is essentially, in its current form, tax and spend versus another approach that says tax—which may be helpful, we are not sure—and give some of it back to the American people. Under that is the very interesting proposition that there probably is no fairer thing to do with better, positive American policy than to fix the marriage tax penalty while you are at it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MCCAIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I am interested to hear these comments by Senator DOMENICI. Just a short time ago—a month ago—Senator COVERDELL proposed an amendment on the budget resolution that would have repealed the marriage penalty or marriage tax, and a budget point of order was lodged against it. The Senator from New Mexico, apparently, for reasons that are not clear, voted against waiving the Budget Act. Now the Senator from New Mexico will say that he didn't want to waive the Budget Act. The fact is that if the Budget Act had been waived, the marriage penalty would have been repealed.

Mr. DOMENICI. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCCAIN. No. That is a fact. That is what the vote was on the budget resolution. It was not carried by a vote. It was rejected 38-62; 38 Republicans felt strongly that the marriage tax should be repealed. Those who voted against it were Senators BOND, CHAFEE, COATS, COCHRAN, COLLINS, D'AMATO, DEWINE, DOMENICI, GORTON, GRASSLEY, HAGEL, JEFFORDS, LUGAR, MACK, SNOWE, SPENCER, and STEVENS.

Mr. President, I have a letter sent to Senator LOTT and Senator DASCHLE. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

DEAR SENATORS LOTT AND DASCHLE: As the Senate continues to consider tobacco legisla-

tion, the nation's Governors want to make clear that we will oppose any amendments that would effectively reduce the \$196.5 billion in tobacco settlement funds dedicated to states and territories to settle state lawsuits. Naturally, the federal government is free to prioritize how it will use those tobacco revenues generated by S. 1415 not reserved for the states and territories—a total that will exceed \$300 billion over twenty-five years. These federally prioritized uses of tobacco revenues, however, must not cut into the state settlement pool.

If national tobacco legislation is intended to settle the state and territories' lawsuits against the tobacco industry, they must receive a portion of the new tobacco revenues sufficient to resolve their claims. S. 1415 dedicates \$196.5 billion to the states and territories over twenty-five years, a total consistent with the level negotiated by the state attorneys general with the tobacco industry in the original June 20, 1997, agreement. Preserving this state settlement pool, free from federal recoupment efforts, is one of the Governors' highest priorities related to S. 1415.

Reducing the size of the state tobacco settlement pool will significantly jeopardize all states and territories, including those that have individually settled their own lawsuits. Such a decision would force the Governors to reconsider our position on the state financing section of the overall bill.

Sincerely,

Governor George V. Voinovich, State of Ohio; Governor Roy Romer, State of Colorado; Governor Thomas R. Carper, State of Delaware; Governor Lawton Chiles, State of Florida; Governor Bob Miller, State of Nevada; Governor Michael O. Leavitt, State of Utah; Governor Howard Dean, M.D., State of Vermont; Governor Jim Edgar, State of Illinois; Governor Frank O'Bannon, State of Indiana; Governor Terry E. Branstad, State of Iowa; Governor John Eger, State of Michigan; Governor Mel Carnahan, State of Missouri; Governor Jeanne Shaheen, State of New Hampshire; Governor David M. Beasley, State of South Carolina; Governor Tommy G. Thompson, State of Wisconsin; Governor Benjamin J. Cayetano, State of Hawaii; Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., State of North Carolina; Governor Edward T. Schafer, State of North Dakota; Governor John A. Kitzhaber, State of Oregon; Governor Pedro Rossello, Puerto Rico; Governor Don Sundquist, State of Tennessee; Governor Gary Locke, State of Washington; Governor Christine T. Whitman, State of New Jersey; Governor Cecil H. Underwood, State of West Virginia; Governor John G. Rowland, State of Connecticut; Governor E. Benjamin Nelson, State of Nebraska; Governor Mike Huckabee, State of Arkansas; Governor Gary E. Johnson, State of New Mexico; Governor Zell Miller, State of Georgia; Governor Tom Ridge, State of Pennsylvania; Governor Pete Wilson, State of California; Governor Parris N. Glendening, State of Maryland; Governor Marc Racicot, State of Montana; Governor Jim Geringer, State of Wyoming; Governor Lincoln Almond, State of Rhode Island; and Governor Angus S. King, Jr., State of Maine.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, the Senator from New Mexico clearly feels that the money needs to go to the Federal Government. I feel, and I think conservative Republicans feel, it should go back to the States who incurred the expenses. If the Senator

from New Mexico doesn't want the money to go to the States, then he will continue to see two things happen—the money never coming to the Federal Government because the States will continue their lawsuits and the settlements—at least in the last four States—of as much as \$6.5 billion, as in the case of Minnesota; and none of that money will go to the Federal Government. Not a penny. The fact is that the money will go back to the States to repay the huge tax bill they are paying now; \$50 billion in citizens' tax dollars are going to pay, in the case of Medicare and Medicaid expenses, for tobacco-related illnesses.

Now, there are some who want this to come to the Federal Government so that the appropriators and the Budget Committee can assign the funds to wherever they want. I want a significant amount of that money to go to the States. They are the ones who have been paying a big part of the bill. If the Senator from New Mexico and the Senator from Texas want to kill this bill, then there will be 37 States that go to court, beginning the day after this legislation dies, and they will fight this out in court. They seem to win every time. They don't even go to a jury trial, Mr. President.

The tobacco companies settle, and guess what they do? They agree to smoking cessation programs and they agree to all the huge bureaucracies that have been pointed out. They go to reimburse Medicaid expenses. They pay for antitobacco advertising because the States that get the money believe that in order to stop kids from smoking, you don't just raise a tax—although that is important. You don't just raise revenue, but you have to do other things as well.

So I hope my colleagues will pay attention to the letter from the 36 Governors—I am sure the other 14 will be joining—as to how they feel about legislation that doesn't repay them for the expenses that they incurred as a result of tobacco-related illnesses.

I see that my colleague from Massachusetts wants to speak as well. Let's dispense with this myth about this being a "big tax bill." What it is is a much smaller tax bill than the tax bill that the American people are already paying in the form of Medicare and Medicaid expenses in order to pay for tobacco-related illnesses. And with children smoking going up, guess what, Mr. President? That tax bill goes up. It will get bigger and bigger. So if you want to worry about big tax bills, there is a huge tax bill we are paying right now. We will be paying a much larger tax bill if this trend of kids smoking continues to grow.

I yield the floor.

Mr. KERRY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. I will be very brief. I know the Senator from Oklahoma wants to speak momentarily. How long does he think he will go?

Mr. NICKLES. I was going to speak for a few minutes. I feel that I would like to respond to a couple of comments made by the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I will be brief. I wanted to say for the Record, so that the Record is absolutely clear here, the Senator from New Mexico said that we are going to get a vote and we ought to be able to get a vote in order to properly allow the American people to receive back some of the money that is in this bill that he has charged is somehow being very badly spent.

I think it is important to understand that, No. 1, the division of the money, the revenues, that come in from this bill, was not arrived at in some sort of hasty or unthought-out way. It is not representative of a casual wish list. This is a reflection of what the Governors and the settlements originally arrived at as a notion of those concerns that ought to be addressed through any tobacco legislation.

Second, they are a reflection of the Commerce Committee that voted 19 to 1 to send this legislation to the floor with a framework that articulated the broad outlines of how money would be spent and, finally, through a fairly arduous negotiation process which measured very carefully the needs.

The Senator said he would challenge anybody to come to the floor and suggest they could defend that every penny in here is being spent as wisely as possible. That is not a hard challenge to fail on. I am not going to try to do that, nor would anybody.

Can we find some money here appropriately to try to address the question of the tax cut? We said yes. That is not the debate here. This is not the choice that he presented to the Senate, a choice either between those who want to give something back to people who want to pay a marriage penalty and those who do not. That is not the choice; it is a choice between two different approaches to doing that. We believe that we have the right to have an opportunity to have ours also voted on, that they ought to be voted on at the same time. That is what the division is over here.

I think it is important to reflect on the fact that 40 percent of these funds go back to the States in the most direct way, a reflection, I think, of the need of the Governors to be given the opportunity to make decisions about how they can best deliver back their portion of the Medicaid expenses, which is what we are refunding.

In addition to that, money is not just spent in a supercilious way, the way the Senator suggested on a whole lot of Government programs that do not already have a track record of accomplishment. Public health, NIH—I might say it was the Senator from Florida, Senator MACK, a Republican, together with Senator FRIST, who fought very hard for the notion that there ought to be adequate research funds here. NIH

and research are 22 percent of these funds.

In addition to that, farmers—I think both sides are competing over how to better take care of the farmers. That reflects some 16 percent of the expenditures, leaving you with only 22 percent that goes to public health—22 percent—that is then divided among counteradvertising, cessation programs, and other kinds of efforts to try to reduce teenage smoking.

The Senator from Missouri was on the floor a little earlier, and he was trying to suggest that there are alternative studies and the Canadian experience that somehow suggests an outcome different from what we get by raising the price here.

I simply say for the record—very quickly, because I don't want to tie the Senate up now—that I know we want to have a vote, that the methodology of the Cornell study that he referred to was very specifically found flawed, and it was found flawed both in the number of people that they examined and the manner that they examined them. When that flaw was corrected for the appropriate acknowledgment of that flaw, in fact, the Cornell study came out consistent with almost all other studies with respect to the impact of price on smoking.

It is interesting to me that those who want to come to the floor and criticize the relationship of price to discouraging kids from smoking completely choose to ignore all of the memoranda of the tobacco companies themselves, that for 20 years have said they know they lose smokers when the price goes up. Their own memoranda say it. You can't have it both ways, it seems to me. The fact is, there is a correlation.

On the Canadian experience, the Canadians specifically, as they saw an increase in their price, there was a decrease in the amount of smoking, and there was an equilibration ultimately between their prices and ours.

The Canadian experience, in fact, documents that the pattern of youth smoking in Canada confirmed the sensitivity of youth to price changes. In 1981, Canada had a youth smoking rate that was about 50 percent higher than that in the United States. Over the next decade, they raised their prices by over 100 percent and teen smoking fell by almost one-half.

Mr. President, we need to deal with the facts here. I hope that the Senate will do so as we vote over the course of the next days.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

AMENDMENT NO. 2438

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, in an effort to move things forward, I move to table the Durbin amendment No. 2438, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion

of the Senator from Mississippi to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Illinois. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT (when his name was called). Present.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH) is necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SPECTER) is absent because of illness.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH) would vote "yea."

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Delaware (Mr. BIDEN) and the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 29, nays 66, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 149 Leg.]

YEAS—29

Allard	Frist	Nickles
Breaux	Gorton	Robb
Bumpers	Hagel	Roth
Burns	Helms	Smith (NH)
Campbell	Hollings	Stevens
Coats	Kyl	Thomas
Cochran	Lugar	Thompson
Enzi	Mack	Thurmond
Faircloth	McCain	Warner
Ford	McConnell	

NAYS—66

Abraham	Dorgan	Lautenberg
Akaka	Durbin	Leahy
Ashcroft	Feingold	Levin
Baucus	Feinstein	Lieberman
Bennett	Glenn	Mikulski
Bingaman	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Gramm	Moynihan
Boxer	Grams	Murkowski
Brownback	Grassley	Murray
Bryan	Gregg	Reed
Byrd	Harkin	Reid
Chafee	Hutchinson	Roberts
Cleland	Hutchison	Rockefeller
Collins	Inhofe	Santorum
Conrad	Jeffords	Sarbanes
Coverdell	Johnson	Sessions
Craig	Kempthorne	Shelby
D'Amato	Kennedy	Smith (OR)
Daschle	Kerrey	Snowe
DeWine	Kerry	Torricelli
Dodd	Kohl	Wellstone
Domenici	Landrieu	Wyden

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Lott

NOT VOTING—4

Biden	Inouye
Hatch	Specter

The motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 2438) was rejected.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, since the last amendment was not tabled, I ask unanimous consent that the yeas and nays be vitiated; that the amendment be agreed to; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, all without further action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2438) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 2451 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2437

(Purpose: To stop illegal drugs from entering the United States, to provide additional

resources to combat illegal drugs, and to establish disincentives for teenagers to use illegal drugs.)

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I now send an amendment to the desk in the second degree, which is the so-called Coverdell-Craig drug amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] for Mr. COVERDELL, for himself, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. ABRAHAM, Mr. FAIRCLOTH, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. SESSIONS, and Mr. GRASSLEY, proposes an amendment numbered 2451 to amendment No. 2437.

Mr. LOTT. I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object, I only do so to note to my colleagues that this is the third Republican amendment now in a row. And I am hopeful we can continue to alternate back and forth, but I will not object.

Mr. LOTT. I thought we just voted on the Durbin amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. LOTT. Was there objection?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There was no objection.

Mr. LOTT. For the information of all Senators, pending now is the drug amendment. I hope Senators will begin to debate this very important amendment. I know that there are very strong feelings on this amendment also. However, no further votes will occur tonight. I expect the debate on the amendment to continue through tomorrow's session.

The minority leader filed a cloture motion on the committee amendment earlier today. That cloture vote will occur on Tuesday, at a time to be determined after discussion between the two of us and after consultation with others in terms of schedule. So there will be no votes in Friday's session of the Senate.

However, Senator DASCHLE and I are looking at bills that are relatively noncontroversial or noncontroversial that we may be able to take up tomorrow during the day. And the vote would be scheduled in the group on Tuesday morning when we vote, at a time we will notify the Members later on on Tuesday.

Now, again, I hope we can reach agreement tomorrow to provide for a vote on this amendment, hopefully prior to the cloture vote; but all Senators will be notified about the voting schedule. I urge the Senators who have been working on the marriage penalty tax to continue to work to get an agreement on that amendment so that we can have a vote on it. We will try to see if we can reach agreement perhaps to consider another bill on Monday. But we will continue on amendments

to the tobacco bill beginning after the cloture vote is defeated on Tuesday morning.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is not in order.

Mr. DASCHLE. Does the majority leader yield?

Mr. LOTT. I will be glad to yield, Mr. President.

Mr. DASCHLE. The majority leader noted that tentatively the vote, the cloture vote, is scheduled for Tuesday. There are only two ways that could occur. One would be for us to seek unanimous consent for the vote to be postponed until Tuesday; or, secondly, that we are not in session on Monday, which would then make Tuesday the next business day when the cloture vote would ripen.

I am hopeful that the majority leader and I can find a way with which to resolve the schedule that will accommodate both sides. So I hope that perhaps we might tentatively announce that the vote will be held on Tuesday, but certainly if we are in session, I am not prepared at this point to agree to a unanimous consent request that would move it to Tuesday until we have been able to talk through the balance of the schedule.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, if I could respond. I thought that Senator DASCHLE and I had talked about it and had an agreement that we would do it on Tuesday morning. I realize we have to get consent to do that. The alternative is, as he said, that we not be in session on Monday, which is, I guess, a possibility, but it is pretty hard to complain about not making progress when we are not in session working on something.

The other alternative is to come in at an early hour; and approximately an hour after that time, the vote occurs then, which means that the vote could be at 1 o'clock, 2 o'clock, Monday afternoon, which, for Senators coming from California and Utah and Washington State, that presents a real problem because their planes do not get here until about 4:30.

So I was hoping we could take that time Monday to make some progress on some other issue or have debate on this issue and have the vote that everybody will be here for at 9:30. But it would be fine with me that we have it earlier in the afternoon. But I just assume that both sides will have problems with that. We will talk about it further, and we will hotline the Members on exactly what time they can expect that cloture vote to occur.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Would the majority leader yield?

Mr. LOTT. I would be glad to.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I would ask the majority leader if he intends to bring up the highway corrections bill, because if he does, I have an amendment I would like to offer. It is a very simple amendment, very direct amendment. And I cannot do that unless it is brought up.

Mr. LOTT. We would not bring it up without Members being on notice who have an interest in it. That technical corrections bill does need to be done. I believe it is supported on both sides of the aisle and by the administration. We need to get that done, and we would need to do it by unanimous consent. But if the Senator has reservations, he will be notified about it. But we will get it done, and we would want to do it without a modification.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. May I say to the majority leader, I also am very anxious to get it done, but in the spirit of being able to offer amendments. And unless I am able to offer an amendment, I would have to object to—

Mr. LOTT. I say to the Senator, it is important we get these technical corrections done, because some legitimate, honest mistakes were made and several important projects could be affected. And we need to do it as soon as we can. But unless we can get unanimous consent, it will not be done. It has already passed the House. So we will have to find a way—I am working with Senators on our side, too, as I know Senators are working over there, to clear up concerns.

There are other ways to address those concerns. And we are trying to get that worked out. We need to get it done. We need to do it by unanimous consent. And I, in fact, have met with one Senator this afternoon and discussed how to address a legitimate concern he has. So we will work with the chairman.

Did the chairman want to respond to this at all?

Mr. CHAFEE. No. What I have been trying to do is narrow down the problems that have come up. And I had down on the list to see the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. As you said, we want to get this thing done. I think we can get it done and take care of problems by explaining them or getting to them in some fashion. So I look forward to meeting with the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I now yield the floor so the manager of the bill can speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, just briefly, I would like to congratulate the Senator from Illinois on the significant vote. In fact, a number of Senators experienced an epiphany late in the vote because of his persuasive powers. So I congratulate the Senator on his vote.

I just want to make it clear, Mr. President, we intend to move forward. We will have a vote on the Gramm amendment. We may have a Daschle amendment. I happen to think it is fair that we go back to what we originally started doing—one amendment on either side. I think that is the fair way that most legislation has been conducted on the floor since I have been here.

We intend to move forward. We intend to reach a conclusion. I hope that

both the majority leader and Democratic leader will consider trying to bring this to closure next week. We have had now 2 weeks of extensive debate and amending on the issues.

It seems to me outstanding are the tax issues that Senator GRAMM and Senator DASCHLE may have; the issue of attorneys' fees is going to come back up, I believe; and, of course, then there is the agricultural issue outstanding. But aside from that, Mr. President, I do not think there is a lot of new ground to be plowed. I think we need to move forward. I believe we will move forward. And I am still confident—I am still confident—that we will bring this issue to conclusion sooner rather than later, to coin a phrase.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the amendment before us, the amendment that has been offered by myself, Senator CRAIG from Idaho, and Senator ABRAHAM from Michigan.

I will take just a few minutes to frame in general terms the purpose of this amendment. And then my colleague from Idaho will address the amendment and outline its details.

My good friend from Idaho will not be here tomorrow so he will be making a major presentation this evening, and then tomorrow I will return to elaborate further on the amendment.

Let me first try to put it in focus. We are talking about teenage addiction, and have been for the last several months, specifically on the floor, over 2 weeks. I have been struck by the fact that a major piece of legislation would be brought to the floor of the Senate, proposed by the administration, to deal with teenage problems, and addiction specifically, and be totally silent on the issue of drug addiction.

The majority of drug abuse among teenagers—the majority—is by smoking, smoking marijuana, which is a more lethal and damaging drug than tobacco. Yet, this legislation was silent on the issue.

The amendment is designed to end the silence. Teenage drug abuse is the No. 1 teenage problem—No. 1 by any measurement, teenagers, their parents, or empirical evidence. For us to have dealt with this issue and to have remained silent would have been unconscionable.

If I can for a second outline the scope of the problem. In 1979, 14.1 percent, or 3.3 million teenagers age 12 to 17 were involved with consistent drug abuse.

Mr. DURBIN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. COVERDELL. I yield.

Mr. DURBIN. I ask the Senator for a clarification on his amendment, which I had a chance to read.

The Senator was kind enough to support my amendment to vote against the motion to table and yet there is language in his amendment which sug-

gests that my amendment is made null and void by your new amendment.

Is that the Senator's intention?

Mr. COVERDELL. No, it is not.

Mr. DURBIN. I am happy to clarify that. So the Senator still supports my amendment.

Mr. COVERDELL. That is not my intention, to obviate.

Mr. DURBIN. It is not your intention.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. COVERDELL. Let me continue, for the Nation to step forward with the powerful will to drive down teenage drug abuse by two-thirds—two-thirds—for those people who think this is a problem for which nothing can be done, I remind everyone listening that when the Nation decides to commit itself to resolving this drug epidemic, it can make headway. For example, in 1979, 14.1 percent were using it. By 1992, it had been driven down to 5.3 percent—2 million less youngsters were using drugs. But then something went wrong, something has gone badly wrong.

Since 1992, drug abuse by this same class of teenagers has increased 135 percent. I repeat, 135 percent. What does that mean? That means that drug abuse has more than doubled since 1992. Drug abuse is now affecting 2 million teenagers. It has increased by over a million. This is a devastating indictment on contemporary drug policy in the United States.

The Nation's will must be rejuvenated. This amendment will do that. When this administration took office, we quit talking and hearing about drugs. The drug czar's office was collapsed. Gratefully, it has now been reopened. It was collapsed. The Coast Guard was diminished. Interdiction was cut in half. The country was flooded by drugs. The price of these illicit drugs dropped by 50 to 80 percent, so they became accessible at every corner and to any school in the Nation. If you don't believe that, just go to the school and ask the students. They can tell you the designer names of the drugs. They can tell you exactly how long it takes, and it is usually no longer than 30 minutes.

So we should not be shocked that drug abuse is skyrocketing and is a new epidemic among teenagers. It is even made more sad by the fact that in the 1960s and the 1970s, the last drug epidemic we suffered, higher-aged teenagers, 15 to 20, were involved in the drug crisis. Now the target is age 8 to 14.

We have been asking the President repeatedly to set forth the goals of his administration during his administration to arrest this epidemic. The response is that they will lower drug use among teenagers back to the level at which they took office, 10 years from now, in the year 2007, 2½ Presidencies away. Our goal is to get it back to where it was when they took office. This is unacceptable. We cannot wait 10 years.

So this amendment is a bold interdiction. It focuses on interdiction. It im-

proves the antinarcotic struggle by Customs, by DOD, Department of Defense, by DEA, by the FBI, by the Coast Guard. It dramatically increases the funding of the interdiction budget. It stiffens penalties and it creates a communication program to communicate to parents and students about the dangers of the drug epidemic in which they live today.

It is our intention, myself and my co-authors, that whatever passes the Senate, will have an antidrug component. It will not be silent on the Nation's No. 1 problem for teenagers. That is unacceptable. It will be an expression to reignite the Nation around the will to confront this epidemic and these narcotic mafia who are the most serious and dangerous the Nation has ever—I repeat, ever—confronted.

I applaud the efforts of my colleagues who have joined me in this effort. We are going to have a vigorous debate about it.

I yield the floor at this time in deference to others who wish to speak.

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I will be brief tonight. I will speak at greater length about this amendment tomorrow. I want to thank my colleagues. I am pleased to join Senators COVERDELL and CRAIG on this amendment.

Tomorrow I will be citing some statistics, Mr. President, that reveal the extent to which the young people of this country confront an ever increasing and alarming rate of drug usage.

We obviously are attempting, in the context of this tobacco bill, to address one of the problems and challenges facing young people, but I think as I talk to at least the families in my State, as high as any challenge or problem that they see confronting their kids, particularly children starting as early as seventh and eighth grade, is the illicit use of drugs, and, unfortunately, the growing number of individuals who are making those drugs available to our young people.

Our amendment is designed to begin the process of addressing that in a far more aggressive fashion than has been the case during the recent 4, 5, 6 years. We have seen, as I think most of the Members of this Chamber know, that during the last 5 years, the use of drugs among young people has gone up after a lengthy period of decline. And it is important, I think, as we confront the issue of tobacco, that we likewise confront the issue of drugs.

I join both of my colleagues in saying that I fervently believe no legislation should leave this Chamber absent provisions that are strong and tough antidrug provisions. So I thank my colleagues and I will speak more about it tomorrow. I am glad it is now before the Senate so that we can proceed on this amendment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CRAIG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I am pleased that the time has come for the

Senate to begin debate on a portion of the legislation before us that I think, if accepted by this body, will be the most significant thing that we can possibly do.

Mr. President, even before the bill before us was brought to the floor of the Senate, the question of tobacco has been, for many months, one of the major issues of public debate, if not the major issue in some quarters.

The Clinton administration, in particular, has crusaded for legislation supposedly aimed at preventing America's teens from taking up a deadly habit, arguing that the need for this legislation is so strong that questions of cost and constitutionality, or the ordering of social priorities, are left by the wayside. Even raising such questions is to invite the accusation of being a tool of the big tobacco companies. How dare you stand in the way of this legislation.

Not long ago, Mr. President, I was in Idaho speaking to a group of high school students. This was just as the tobacco issue was starting to break out at the top of most news stories. I asked these kids what the biggest problem facing them and their peers was and what that problem was doing to their lives. When I mentioned tobacco, I'll be honest with you, I was a bit surprised. I was surprised that a lot of hands didn't go up because that is what the media had been talking about, what the front pages were telling us. In fact, Mr. President, only a few hands went up. But when I asked about illegal drugs, almost every hand went up. There was hardly a young person in any one of those high school groups that I spoke to that didn't see drugs as a major problem.

Mr. President, you come from a relatively rural State, as do I, and, remember, teenage drug abuse is supposed to be a problem of the big inner-city schools. But the school I was talking to was a school of 250 in rural Idaho. Yet, nearly every hand went up because every one of those students knew someone in their age group who was misusing or was involved in illegal drugs, and they were concerned about that young person's future. They were concerned about the effect it would have on their friends' lives. Well, someone might say that these are kids, what do they know? We are the adults; we are the United States Senators, and we are supposed to have a more mature view of the problems that face the citizens of our country. Yes, I would hope that we as adults would be able to make mature and considered judgments on these questions. But in sensing that drugs present a bigger threat to them now than does tobacco, I think these kids are right. Yes, we should do everything reasonable that we can possibly do to discourage young people from taking up smoking.

I was once a smoker myself, and I know that it is not easy to quit. I fought it hard and I fought it for a long time. And I haven't smoked in 8 years.

I am proud of that and so is my family. But if these kids do start smoking, the real danger they will face will be 10 and 20 and 25 years out, before which let us hope they mature, that they have a reason to think about their life and their health, and they quit like I did, and they become parents who discourage their children from smoking.

Smoking may kill teens later in life, but illegal drugs are killing them today. Whether we are talking about overdoses, car accidents, or the violence associated with the drug trade, illegal drugs present a clear and immediate danger to every young person who tries them, to their families, and to their communities. Talk to the parents of a child they have just lost to an overdose of drugs, and they didn't realize until it was too late that their child was on drugs. No family, no socioeconomic family in every strata, or at any level, is immune. Not one kid will likely die this year because he or she lit their first cigarette. But thousands of Americans will die because they started using drugs this year. Kids who started using drugs today may not get a chance to mature out of that habit, as I did and as thousands do.

I expect there are very few parents who would not care whether their kids decided to start smoking. Most of them care a great deal. However, if they were asked whether they would be more concerned about their teens starting to smoke or becoming a user of marijuana, crack, or heroin, how many parents would say they would take the dope over tobacco? Well, we know what they say. We have seen it in the polling. Let me tell you, Mr. President, the polling is dramatic. The polling is very clear. The parents of today in the highest of percentages say, Get the drugs away from our kids. It is the No. 2 issue. And way down at the bottom of all of those issues that parents are concerned about, as it relates to their kids, is smoking. Yet for the last 2 weeks, this Senate has been focused on that issue. Why? Because it is politically popular. We are going to bash those big tobacco companies because they lied to the American people, and we are going to save teenagers from smoking, and we are going to raise taxes to an all-time high to do it. We are going to spend hundreds of billions of dollars. Yet, No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, in any poll you take, on the average parent's mind today is the kids associated with drugs, the kids associated with gangs, the kids being killed in car accidents; and way down at the bottom, but on the list of 10 or 12 items, is smoking.

That is one reason I question the administration's priorities tonight. In the abstract, I suppose that if drug use continued at the steady decline of the "just say no" Reagan and Bush era, if we could honestly say we had the drug dealers on the run, we might start to ask, Well, what is the next thing on the list of national priorities that this Congress ought to become involved in? But

that is not what we see. The drug policy of the Clinton administration has been by every measure except theirs a miserable failure. From an early slashing of the funding for the White House antidrug office, to the administration's effort to have it both ways on clean needles for addicts, to their effort to lower penalties for crack cocaine to equal those of powder, to the President's grossly irresponsible "I wish I had inhaled" comment on MTV, this administration has sent all the wrong signals. And guess what? Those signals have been picked up by the young people of this country, and the predictable results have occurred.

Two national annual surveys show that drug abuse by our Nation's youth has increased steadily since the Clinton administration came into office.

The University of Michigan December 1997 Monitoring the Future Study, and the 1997 Parents Resource Institute for Drug Education, and the so-called PRIDE Survey each offer cause for alarm.

The Monitoring the Future Study reveals that illicit drug use among America's schoolchildren has constantly increased throughout the Clinton administration.

Mr. President, here comes the figures of alarming proportion.

For eighth graders the portion using any illegal drug in the prior 12 months has increased 71 percent since the year President Clinton was first elected. And since 1992, it has increased 89 percent amongst 10th graders, and 57 percent amongst 12th graders. That is any illicit drug. The numbers go straight through the roof since President Clinton came to office. Reagan, Bush—numbers declining. Everybody laughed at Nancy Reagan when she said "Just say no." But she stood on a moral pedestal along with George Bush and Ronald Reagan, and they stood as powerful leaders and examples. We have a President who chuckled, and said, "Well, I wish I had inhaled." Sorry, Mr. President. You sent all the wrong signals.

Marijuana use accounted for much of the overall increase in illicit drug use continuing its strong resurgence amongst eighth graders. Use in the prior 12 months has increased 146 percent since 1992.

The year President Clinton was first elected to office, amongst 10th graders, the annual prevalence has increased 129 percent amongst 12th graders it has increased 76 percent since 1992.

Those ought to be figures that are spread in banner headlines in every major newspaper in this country. And they go unnoticed except in our schools, except with school administrators and counselors, and most importantly with parents, who say it is the No. 1 issue facing their children and them as parents.

Of particular concern, according to the survey, is the continuing rise in daily marijuana use amongst 10th and 12th graders. More than one in every 25 of today's high school seniors is a current daily marijuana user, with an 18.4-

percent increase since only last year, while only 1.1 percent of eighth graders used marijuana daily in 1997. That still represents a 50-percent increase since 1992.

Since President Clinton was first elected, annual LSD use has increased over 52 percent, 68 percent, and 50 percent amongst 8th graders and 10th graders and 12th graders, respectively. More than one in 20 seniors in the class of 1997 used cocaine this year, a 12.2-percent increase over just last year. That is cocaine. That is the drug that kills. Crack cocaine also continued a gradual upward climb amongst 10th and 12th graders. In short, since 1992, annual cocaine use is up 87 percent, 147 percent, and 77 percent amongst 8th, 10th and 12th graders, respectively.

The longer term gradual rise in the use of amphetamine stimulants also continued within the class of 1997, increasing over 7 percent since last year. Since 1992, annual heroin usage—heroin is on the resurgence—has increased by 83 percent, 141 percent, and 92 percent for 8th, 10th, and 12th graders.

America, these are our kids, and they are using heroin. This administration doesn't talk about it.

The most recent PRIDE Survey shows a continuing and alarming increase in drug abuse amongst young kids. Illegal drug use amongst 11- and 14-year-olds has continued on a dangerous upward spiral.

According to the president of PRIDE, senior high drug use may have stalled, but it is stalled at the highest levels that PRIDE has measured in 10 years.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator will yield for 30 seconds to a minute so that I might clarify the issue that arose about obviating.

Mr. CRAIG. I would be happy to yield, but I would not lose any floor right.

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

MODIFICATION TO AMENDMENT NO. 2451

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment numbered 2451.

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

Mr. COVERDELL. I send the modification to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

The modification is as follows:

At the end of the Durbin amendment, insert the following:

TITLE —DRUG-FREE NEIGHBORHOODS

SEC. 01. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "Drug-Free Neighborhoods Act".

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I yield the floor back to the Senator from Idaho.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I thank my colleague for that modification. It does clarify an important point.

Mr. President, according to PRIDE—those are the folks out there on the

front line trying to stop kids from using drugs—senior high school use may have stalled, but it has stalled at the highest level PRIDE has measured in 10 years.

Until we see sharp declines in the use at all grade levels there will be no reason to rejoice.

With respect to young students, the survey found a full 11 percent of junior high students—that is grades 6 through 8—are monthly users of illegal drugs. Junior high students reported significant increases in monthly use of marijuana, cocaine, uppers, downers, hallucinogens, and heroin especially.

Can you imagine that, Mr. President? We are talking about junior high kids. Heroin, drug of choice?

Annual marijuana use has increased 153 percent since Mr. Clinton first took office. Cocaine use is up 88 percent.

Why aren't we spending weeks on the floor of the Senate debating this, because it is the No. 1 issue amongst parents. The kids know it. They know their friends are being killed by it. They are laughing at the fact that they think we are going to legislate them away from tobacco.

Hallucinogen use has increased 67 percent since Mr. Clinton took office.

Now, in the face of this clear and present danger to our Nation's youth, how can this administration justify their obsession with tobacco? That is because there are 100 groups lined up to help them. It is a popular political issue. I agree with them on the premise. But I think they missed the point. They missed the point that the young people of America are talking about. They might answer. "Well, teen rates of smoking are also going up." That is true. But if we look at the facts on teen tobacco use, also found in the Monitoring of the Future Report that I have been quoting, we see the same pattern as on drug use—a steady decline in the Reagan-Bush years with a steady climb since 1992. In other words, what our President says to America and America's youth counts. When he makes light of his flirtation with marijuana, they make light of it, too. That is a great tragedy.

Let us ask the question: Instead of hiking increases in teen smoking to justify massive, intrusive, expensive legislation that will mostly target adult smokers, shouldn't the administration admit that teen smoking increase is yet another symptom of their failed drug policy? Shouldn't they admit that having given kids a wink and a nod on drugs, other bad habits would also appear more acceptable? Anybody who has raised teenagers knows that.

Let's take a concrete example. Recently, an article appeared in the New York Times. "Young Blacks Link Tobacco Use to Marijuana." Strange relationship. I am quoting the New York Times relating to a dramatic increase in tobacco use amongst minority teenagers. According to this article, experts believe that part of the expla-

nation for increased tobacco use amongst these teens is because they are already using marijuana. And that tobacco prolongs the effect of marijuana smoking. If so—and I recognize that there are certain complex factors here—this is a case where tobacco use may be directly linked to our failing drug policy.

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

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

[From the New York Times, Apr. 22, 1998]

YOUNG BLACKS LINK TOBACCO USE TO MARIJUANA

(By Jane Gross)

YONKERS, April 21.—In the search to explain the spike in smoking among black teen-agers, a range of theories has evolved, from the proliferation of tobacco advertising in minority communities to the stress of adolescence to the identification with entertainment idols who appear with cigarettes dangling from their lips.

Teen-agers themselves, and some experts who have studied adolescent smoking, add another, less predictable explanation to the mix of factors: the decision to take up smoking because of a belief that cigarettes prolong the heady rush of marijuana.

"It makes the high go higher," said Marquette, a 16-year-old student at Saunders Trades and Technical High School here who, like other students, spoke about her marijuana use on the condition that only her first name be used.

At Washington Preparatory High School in South-Central Los Angeles, Tifanni, also 16, said she took up cigarettes two months ago because, "If the marijuana goes down and you get a cigarette, it will go up again."

Black teen-agers like Marquette and Tifanni are not unusual, according to interviews with dozens of adolescents around the country and various national surveys. These surveys show that blacks begin smoking cigarettes later than white teen-agers, but start using marijuana earlier, a difference experts say they cannot explain.

The surveys also show a sharp rise in both cigarette and marijuana use among teen-agers in recent years, evident among all races but most pronounced among blacks. White teen-agers still smoke cigarettes at twice the rate of blacks, but the gap is narrowing, signaling the end of low smoking rates among black youths that had been considered a public health success story.

It is not clear how much of the increase in smoking among black teen-agers is due to the use of cigarettes with marijuana, and experts say advertising has been the main factor. But the marijuana-tobacco combination is notable because it is the reverse of the more common progression from cigarette and alcohol use to illegal drugs.

Many black teen-agers said in interviews that they were drawn to cigarettes by friends who told them that nicotine would enhance their high from marijuana, which has been lore and practice among drug users of all races for decades. And this is apparently no mere myth. Many scientists who study brain chemistry say the link between cigarettes and marijuana is unproven but likely true.

"African-American youth talk very explicitly about using smoking to maintain a high," said Robin Mermelstein, a professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago and the principal investigator in an ongoing study of why teen-agers smoke for the Federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "It's a commonly stated motivator."

Dr. Mermelstein said that in focus groups with 1,200 teen-agers around the country, about half the blacks mentioned taking up cigarettes to enhance a marijuana high, but no white teen-agers volunteered that as an explanation for smoking. "Cigarettes have a totally different functional value for black and white kids," she said.

Even so, Dr. Mermelstein and others say that does not diminish the greater impact of advertising and other media messages in minority neighborhoods. "Kids are extraordinarily aware of the entertainment media," Dr. Mermelstein said. "They are very reluctant to see the link between any of these and their behavior. But the influence is undoubtedly there."

Tiffany Faulkner, a 15-year-old at Ida B. Wells High School in Jamaica, Queens, said, "Tupac smoked and he's my man," referring to the slain rap star Tupac Shakur. "But I didn't smoke because of him," she said. "I have my own head."

Brand loyalty, however, suggests youths are more moved by the advertising than they realize, or are willing to admit. In general, Marlboro and Camel have white characters on billboards and are the brands of choice among white teen-agers, while Kool and Newport use minority images and are favored by African-American teen-agers, as they are by their parents. Outside Brighton High School in Boston, for instance, every black student in a group of smokers chose Newports. "They're the cool cigarette," said Joey Simone, 18, a smoker since she was 11.

A 16-year-old Chicago girl who tried cigarettes briefly said she is certain advertising is the key. "When I was little I would see pictures of people standing around with a cigarette and it looked like fun," said Coleco Davis at DuSable High School. "They were all having a good time and it didn't look like it could hurt you."

This wave of new black smokers, drawn to a habit that kills more people each year than all illegal drugs combined, has researchers worried, because once teen-agers have experienced the booster rocket effect of cigarettes prolonging a marijuana high they often find themselves addicted to tobacco.

"Because I was getting high, I needed it," said Mary, 16, a student at Norman Thomas High School in Manhattan. "The cigarettes made me more high. Now it's become a habit. I feel bad because there's nothing I can do to stop."

The crescendo of concern about teen-age smoking is behind pending Federal legislation that would raise the price of cigarettes, control advertising to young people and penalize manufacturers if there is not a gradual reduction in adolescent smoking. That legislation took center stage in Washington just as a new study earlier this month showed a steep rise in the smoking rate among black youths.

The nationwide Federal study showed overall smoking rates had increased by one third among high school students between 1991 and 1997. Most alarming to experts was the sharp rise among black youths: 22.7 percent in 1997, up from 12.6 percent six years earlier.

Charyn Sutton, whose Philadelphia marketing company conducts focus groups for Federal research agencies, said she first heard about the current progression from marijuana to cigarettes—what she calls the "reverse gateway effect"—during focus groups in 1995 involving black middle school students. Ms. Sutton already knew about blunts, cigars hollowed of tobacco and filled with marijuana. But now the teen-agers told her that a practice familiar to the drug cognoscenti as early as the 1960's and 1970's was popular in the schoolyard of the late 1990's—enhancing the high of a joint with a cigarette.

She tested what the teen-agers told her by talking to addicts in recovery, who concurred. And to be sure that the pattern she was seeing in Philadelphia was not a local anomaly, she interviewed young African-Americans across the nation. And, she said, she discovered that they were doing the same thing.

The enhancing effect that teen-agers describe is consistent with what is already known about the working of nicotine and THC, the active ingredient in marijuana. Both spur production of dopamine, a brain chemical that produces pleasurable sensations, said George Koob, a professor of neuropharmacology at the Scripps Research Institute in La Jolla, Calif. "It makes a lot of sense," Dr. Koob said.

At the National Institute on Drug Abuse, which funds most of the world's research on addiction, Alan I. Leshner, the director, went a step further, saying the anecdotal findings cried out for rigorous investigation. "This is a reasonable scientific question," he said. "And if enough people report experiencing it, it merits consideration."

Researchers elsewhere have also taken note of strange glitches in substance abuse data comparing blacks and whites. For instance, Denise Kandel, a professor of public health and psychology at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, found that while most substance abusers progressed logically from legal to illegal substances, "the pattern of progression is less regular among blacks and nobody really knows why."

In 1991, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 14.7 percent of students said they had used marijuana in the last 30 days; by 1995, the latest year for which data is available, that rate had jumped to 25.3 percent. Among white youths, the rate increased to 24.6 percent from 15.2. Among Hispanics, it shot up to 27.8 from 14.4 and among blacks to 28.8 from 13.5, vaulting them from last place to first in marijuana use by racial group.

The C.D.C. cigarette study, which tracks use through 1997, shows a parallel pattern. Among white students, 39.7 percent said they smoked cigarettes, up from 30.9 percent six years ago. Among Hispanic students, more than one third now say they smoke, up from roughly a quarter. Among black youths, 22.7 percent list themselves as smokers, compared with the 12.6 who said they smoked in 1991. Worst of all were the smoking rates for black males, which doubled in the course of the study, to 28.2 from 14.1.

The progression from marijuana to cigarettes among black youths was the most provocative finding in interviews in recent days with high school students in New York City, its suburbs, Los Angeles, Chicago and Boston, who consistently raised the issue without being asked. But their comments raised several other troubling issues, as well.

The students were perfectly aware of the health hazards of cigarette smoking. A 17-year-old at Norman Thomas High School in Manhattan said she was quitting because she might be pregnant. A 15-year-old at Saunders said she did not smoke during basketball and softball season but resumed in between.

But most paid no mind to the danger. And despite laws prohibiting sales to anyone under 18, virtually all the teen-agers said they purchased cigarettes with no trouble at delis and bodegas.

The Federal legislation to curb teen-age smoking depends in large measure on steep price increases as a deterrent. Sponsors of the bill say that raising the price by \$1.10 per pack would reduce youth smoking by as much as 40 percent. But talking to high school students suggests this prediction is optimistic.

The adolescents said overwhelmingly that they would pay \$3.60 a pack—the current \$2.50 charged in New York plus the additional \$1.10 envisioned in the legislation. A few said that \$5 a pack might inspire them to quit, or at least to try.

But faced with that high a tariff, 17-year-old Robert Reid, a student in Yonkers, had another idea. "At that price," he said, "you might as well buy weed."

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the Chair.

Let me read two paragraphs from the article:

It is not clear how much of the increase in smoking amongst black teen-agers is due to the use of cigarettes with marijuana, and experts say advertising has been the major factor. But the marijuana-tobacco combination is notable because it is the reverse of the more common progression from cigarette and alcohol use to illegal drugs.

Many black teen-agers said in interviews that they were drawn to cigarettes by friends who told them that nicotine would enhance their high from marijuana, which has been lore and practice among drug users of all races for decades. And this is apparently no mere myth. Many scientists who study brain chemistry say the link between cigarettes and marijuana is unproven but likely true.

One other paragraph:

The students were perfectly aware of the health hazards of cigarette smoking. A 17-year-old at Norman THOMAS High School in Manhattan said she was quitting because she might be pregnant.

But that is the only reason she was quitting.

A 15-year-old at Saunders [High School] said she did not smoke during basketball and softball season but resumed in between.

The article also talks about the effects of the kind of antitobacco measures that are being discussed on the floor including pushing the price of cigarettes to \$3.50 to \$4 to \$5 a pack. Adolescents overwhelmingly said they would pay \$3.60 a pack. The current charge in New York is \$2.50. An additional \$1.10 would move that to \$3.60, and the teenagers did not see that as a problem. Now we are talking about the legislation that is being debated on the floor right now. According to the article:

A few said that \$5 a pack might inspire them to quit, or at least to try.

But faced with that high a tariff, 17-year-old . . . a student in Yonkers, had another idea. "At that price," he said, "you might as well buy weed."

In other words, he was saying you might as well smoke marijuana because they are going to end up being about the same price. I don't think anybody on the floor of this Senate has thought about that. But the kids are thinking about it. Let us think about those words, Mr. President: "At that price, you might as well smoke weed."

It is always easy for the partisans of big government to come up with big spending, big bureaucracy plans, that whether or not it actually impacts the intended target, in this case teenage smoking, it is sure to have all sorts of unintended but predictable side effects. For example, how big of a tax increase are we looking at? Well, we don't know for sure. Why shouldn't we be looking

at this as a big regressive tax, and I think I can say, in all fairness, the biggest regressive tax in American history? How effective will it be in actually curbing teenage smoking or, for that matter, adult smoking? How much more attractive will it make others? By that, I am talking about illegal drugs such as marijuana, especially to young people.

Well, that teenager from Yonkers said it: If you are going to raise tobacco to that price, you just might as well smoke weed. Have we learned anything at all from the black market of other nations? That has been discussed by some of my colleagues on the floor in the last several weeks, and they have used it as an example and it bears repeating because it shows a reaction to the marketplace.

In Canada, by 1992, a pack of cigarettes cost about \$4.50 in U.S. dollars, probably about \$6.75 in Canadian dollars, while the price in the United States was \$2. The result: the loss of billions of dollars in tax revenue and up to 40 percent of the Canadian market supplied by smuggling, black market, illegal, under the table, vended in the alley, out of the backs of cars, vended by the black market of drug dealing. Canada rolled back its tobacco taxes in 1994, and Sweden recently dropped its tobacco tax over 25 percent. Do we really want to repeat their mistakes? We are about to start. When cigarettes in Mexico cost about \$1 a pack, where do you think the border will be? Or, more importantly, how can we protect the border? The movement will be significant.

Does anyone think this would not be a tremendous windfall for organized crime or for cross-border drug trade in Mexico, which is already at epidemic proportions? How many funding streams is that? Well, taxes, we know that. And if those funding streams that we are asking for to fund all of this dry up, then how do we pay for the programs? Because they will surely dry up. Other nations have found that to be the case. And they have had to back off, to up their moneys, to up their cash flow again to fund the programs that they were going to feed off of the taxes they raised from tobacco.

As a Republican, I think this big government approach is just the wrong way to go, especially when we have no real assurance that these programs will do any good.

We need to take a hard look at drug use. And, yes, the teen tobacco use situation in this country that we find is critical. We need to look at it in a practical and a principled way. The bottom line should be this: If the Clinton administration won't lead on drugs—and at this point I would say their credibility on drugs has been fatally compromised—then it is the Congress that should lead. We should lead. That is our job—to create public policy that makes sense for the American people. That is why my colleague, PAUL COVERDELL of Georgia, and I are

offering this amendment which would ensure that the drug crisis is not ignored as we attempt to address the tobacco problem.

This amendment collects a number of initiatives that would make a serious impact on illegal drugs. It takes a three-pronged approach: attacking the supply of drugs by strengthening our ability to stop them at the border, providing additional resources to fight drugs that reach our neighborhoods, and by creating disincentives for teens to use illegal drugs.

Let me talk about some of those provisions that are embodied in our amendment. Let me first talk about the one on supply, the supply side of the drug problem, because we all know it is a supply-demand equation. We cannot rely just on treatment programs for those who have already started to abuse drugs. And you know there is a bit of that attitude—well, yeah, if they get hooked on them, we will treat them. The problem is sometimes they get hooked on them, and they get killed or they die before they can get to treatment. We must stop drugs from getting to our kids in the first place, or make every effort to try to stop it.

One key step in fighting the drug supply is increased resources for the interdiction of those drugs; in other words, law enforcement. Fund them, put them on alert, make it a No. 1 priority. This is the area where the administration has been most irresponsible. Slashing the Coast Guard's anti-drug budget, with the result—and you know what the result was—a major disruption in the rate of decline. The number of seizures for drug shipments turned back before they reached the United States—listen to these figures; it happened on the President's watch after he slashed the interdiction money—declined by 53 percent. We are talking interdiction, at the border or out in the water; a 53-percent decline in interdiction from 1992 to 1995.

So, what does our amendment do? We give the Coast Guard, the Defense Department, the U.S. Customs Service, the resources they need to target that interdiction before drugs reach the American streets. Our amendment does exactly that, and that is our intent. Our amendment also includes the Drug-Free Borders Act, which attacks the 70 percent of illegal drugs that enter our country across the Mexican border. Mr. President, 70 percent of the problem is right there on that very identifiable border. These provisions would increase the penalties for crimes of violence and other crimes committed at our borders and enable the INS to hire thousands—yes, thousands—of new Border Patrol agents.

But our amendment does not just stop at the border; it also strengthens the hand of law enforcement in fighting drug dealers at home and abroad. For example, our amendment increases the resources available to DEA and the FBI. We also think parents deserve to

know if convicted drug dealers have moved into their neighborhoods. Our amendment requires released Federal convicts, convicted of major drug crimes, to register with local law enforcement personnel, who can then put their communities on notice. Why not? Those are the folks who have been killing our kids by selling drugs. Why not let the communities know if they are back in those communities? These are only some of the provisions in our amendment that attack the supply of drugs.

We also focus on the demand side of the problem by supporting local efforts to protect our neighborhoods, businesses, and schools from drugs and provide incentives for young people to stay straight. Our amendment includes a provision addressing needle exchange programs. At a time when drug use, particularly heroin use, is increasing, this program clearly undermines our effort to fight illegal drugs. What program? The current program. The Clinton program. The green light to subsidizing needle exchange programs. That is the green light for drug use. The House has already passed legislation to stop this, H.R. 3717, by a strong 287 to 140 vote. The Senate should do the same. Our amendment includes just exactly this. I hope the Senate can support it.

Another section of our amendment is the Drug-Free Student Loan Act. It restricts loan eligibility for students who use drugs. This would target substance abuse without creating Federal mandates or authorizing new spending. It puts the kids on notice: "We ain't going to tolerate it anymore. Be straight, you will get your education. You can have a loan for it. But, use drugs and you are falling out of favor with the public."

The Drug-Free Teen Driving Act in our amendment would encourage States to be at least as tough on driving privileges for those who use drugs and drive as those who are drunk drivers. Stop and think about the inconsistency today. You get caught a drunk driver, you get your license pulled. Drug abuse? No. No. We are not addressing that. This amendment does. Same treatment.

Our amendment includes the Drug-Free Workplace Act. This section provides incentives for employers to implement antidrug programs in the workplace, such as clear antidrug policies, drug testing, and employees' assistance programs. We also assist schools in the fight against drugs by allowing them to use Federal funds for drug testing programs and victims' assistance. Our amendment also provides incentives for States to create an annual report card to parents and teachers, listing incidents of school violence and drug activities.

Another critically important part of our amendment would back up communities in their fight against drugs. We would authorize matching grants funds

to support communities' efforts to establish comprehensive, sustainable, and accountable antidrug coalitions.

Senator COVERDELL and I recognize you cannot do all of this from the top down, that you have to work with the grassroots and help it grow from the bottom up. These and other provisions in our amendment are commonsense measures to protect our young people from the growing menace of drugs. They would counter the wrongheaded policies of this administration and start sending the right signals to America's youth.

This amendment does not set up new bureaucracies nor impose new mandates. It supports law enforcement's attack on the suppliers of drugs. It also supports local efforts to control drugs in neighborhoods, schools, and businesses. Nothing can be more important than supporting these local efforts, because they are the front line in the war on drugs. And right now, with the efforts in communities to be drug free, they are the only line, the only real line that is working. We do not need the hammer of the Federal Government to force communities to take action. As I have mentioned, they are already at it. All they need is a few resources and our help.

Let me give an example of something that is happening in my State that I am so proud of. It is called the Enough Is Enough campaign. It is a community-based drug prevention campaign driven by the private sector. No government dollars or controls are involved. Why? The problem became so bad in the Clinton years, the communities had to take it on. They said, "If we cannot get help from the Federal Government, we will do it ourselves," because they saw the numbers going up and they saw the deaths occurring.

Most people in Idaho agree that this program is the most effective antidrug, drug awareness campaign they have ever seen. It builds on the systems within every community that influence and involve specific groups of individuals. It recognizes that each system has a special, specific role to play in the prevention that is necessary and that it involves all of the community. It unites these systems. It includes the media and the public and private sectors behind a common goal—to equip our children to walk drug free through a drug-filled world. It focuses on community teamwork to fight the drug culture and regain the quality of life for our children. Enough Is Enough is the largest community-wide drug prevention effort in Idaho's history. Antidrug advocate Milton Creagh has delivered his challenge to communities all over the State. More than 100,000 people have already participated in the program, and additional community coalitions are being formed every day.

This program is proof that the Federal Government does not have all the answers. In fact, the Federal Government can do a lot of harm by forcing wrong programs and wrong incentives

on local communities and citizens. Instead, we should provide encouragement, support local antidrug initiatives, and that is the philosophy behind our amendment: Get our law enforcement involved, stop the stuff at the border.

In offering the amendment to the antitobacco bill, I have been arguing that the danger posed by illegal drugs is greater and more immediate and more deadly than any immediate problem that tobacco poses on teenage America.

It is my strong belief that the bill before us tonight must not ignore the drug crisis that threatens our youth, America's future.

Having said all that, however, I do not mean to suggest that we should ignore teenage smoking. Let me repeat that for the Record, because I am quite sure there are some who will say, "Well, COVERDELL and CRAIG are trying to switch the focus." No; we are trying to refocus. We are trying to do fine focus. We are trying to get this Government pointed in the right direction. In fact, as I have already pointed out, there is a connection between youth smoking and drug use.

There are a number of commonsense antismoking measures we should seriously consider, but I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to the one thing in particular we know to be effective in combating not just teenage smoking, but drug use, violence, suicide, sexual behavior, and emotional disturbances.

In an area that is fairly underrated and where the Clinton administration definitely has been a part of the problem, the one thing is parental involvement in their children's lives. A recent Washington Post article entitled "Love Conquers What Ails Teens, Studies Find" summarized the results of a Federal study known as the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health based on a survey of 90,000 students grade 7 through 12 and published in the Journal of the American Medical Association:

Teenagers who have a strong emotional attachment to their parents and teachers are much less likely to use drugs and alcohol, attempt suicide, engage in violence, become sexually active at an early age.

That is what the Post reported.

Though less important than the emotional connection, the presence of parents at home at key times in the morning, after school, at dinner, at bedtime make teenagers less likely to use alcohol, tobacco and marijuana.

Mr. President, the Federal Government cannot mandate family cohesion, but I cannot think of a better argument for passing S. 4, the Family Friendly Workplace Act. That would encourage a host of comptime-flextime options for America's parents. Why am I talking about this when we are trying to stop teenagers from smoking, when we have an amendment on the floor about teenage drug abuse that we are trying to curb? Because it ought to be

a part of the package. We ought to understand and not be so naive as to say that it is the total environment in which the child lives.

I mention it only tonight for our Senate to understand that we cannot do it; we are blocked on the floor; it is not the right thing politically; somehow the unions oppose it. Why don't we wake up? Why don't we understand that Government can, in fact, by its inaction, be an impediment?

Those are the conclusions I have drawn, and that is why I am a cosponsor with Senator COVERDELL of this, what I believe to be the most important part of this total legislation.

Mr. President, in the coming days, the Senate will be faced with a stark choice: We can be panicked down the road of least resistance to passing a big Government antitobacco bill that won't do the job but will become a permanent tax and regulatory nightmare, or we can pass some commonsense legislation that will help States, localities, communities, and, most of all, parents take charge of their children's future. We can mount a strong antismoking campaign, and we can assist States to do so.

Really, when it comes to controlling our borders, when it comes to stopping the massive new flow of drugs into this country, stimulated by an administration that just doesn't want to face the issue, then it is time the Congress speak, and we can speak clearly and decisively if we vote, pass, and add as a major component to this tobacco legislation the Coverdell-Craig teenage antidrug amendment.

It sets us in the right direction. It is a quantum step toward dealing with teenage drug use that, by everyone's measurement, is moving at an astronomical rate, taking lives in unbelievable numbers. We hear the statistic, 3,000 kids start smoking every day, and that is true, but thousands try drugs and get hooked and thousands die within a very short time.

Thank goodness that in your adult years, if you are a smoker, sometimes common sense hits you like it hit me, that it was the wrong thing to do, that it wasn't healthy, that it was socially unacceptable, and that it was not going to cause me to be a good influence over my children, and I quit. But I doubt seriously that in my youth, if I had been hooked on drugs, I might not have had the opportunity to quit.

I hope this Congress awakens to the real issue, and I think my colleague from Georgia and I are bringing the real issue to the floor of the U.S. Senate. We will debate it tomorrow, and we will debate it Monday. I hope that we have a resounding vote in favor of the Coverdell-Craig amendment, that it become a part of this total package, and that we deal with it in a fair and responsible way, then find and bring about the funding necessary to ensure that we can put our Coast Guard back to interdiction, that we can stop the flow at the borders, that we can go

after the pusher on the street, and that we can show our young people that starting or experimenting with drugs is not only unacceptable as a part of the American culture, but that we will insist they quit for their safety and for their future.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Ms. COLLINS. 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.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

IN MEMORY OF BARRY GOLDWATER

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the eulogy I delivered at the funeral for the former U.S. Senator from Arizona, Barry Goldwater, in Tempe, Arizona on June 3, 1998, be printed in the RECORD.

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

IN MEMORY OF BARRY GOLDWATER

(Remarks of Jon Kyl, Tempe, Arizona, As Delivered June 3, 1998)

We honor Barry Goldwater today by reflecting on why he has made such a mark on our state, our nation, and the world.

All of us probably remember the first time we met Barry. In my case, it was in May 1961 when I was a student at the University of Arizona. After working with him in the political arena for most of the ensuing years, and after visiting with him often during his retirement, I think I know why he has had the influence he has had. I have come to believe it is because of his very unique perspective—about nature, including human nature.

It is why he could do without all of the political folderol that preoccupies so many in public life. It is why he could shrug off his defeat in the presidential election of 1964—not because he didn't care, but because he knew, in the end, the most important thing was to tell the truth as he saw it, and to build a foundation for the future.

It is why he cared about and understood people so well, and could shape a political philosophy which works precisely because it is predicated upon the true nature of man.

That sense of perspective, of what truly mattered, was rooted in his early experiences traveling this state, rafting down the Grand Canyon, photographing Arizona's landscapes and getting to know a lot of common people. He was very much a part of the land, the desert, the mountains, and the people and places of Arizona.

One reason I think he liked common people is because, like Abraham Lincoln, he saw

himself as a common man. My dad is the same way. They understood early on, that every person has a unique and individual worth, and that that is why freedom is indispensable to assure man's proper place in nature.

As a young man, Barry Goldwater helped run his family's trading post on the Navajo reservation. He knew the Hopi and the Navajo people and appreciated their way of life. He captured on film the character and dignity of Native Americans and other people. He saw their qualities as individuals, and learned from them and respected them.

Others wanted to remake human nature. Barry Goldwater appreciated it, as it is. In that respect, he grasped the truth of the Founding Fathers, that freedom is indispensable for the fulfillment of God's purposes for those He created in His image.

This homegrown insight is what led him to be so alarmed by the growth and power of government since the New Deal. "A government that is big enough to give you all you want is big enough to take it all away," he said, reaffirming the belief in limited government upon which America was established, and upon which he and Ronald Reagan and others constructed a conservatism for our time.

It was necessary to have someone of his courage and plain speaking to persuade others of this nature-driven view of liberty and smaller government, at a time when it was not considered a very respectable view.

But, as Matthew Arnold said, "The free-thinking of one age is the common sense of the next." There is no doubt that Barry Goldwater—as the pathbreaker for today's common-sense conservatism—is the most influential Arizonan in our lifetime, indeed, in the lifetime of Arizona as a state.

Summarizing his own life, in 1988 he wrote: "Freedom has been the watchword of my political life. I rose from a dusty little frontier town and preached freedom across the land all my days. It is democracy's ultimate power and assures its eventual triumph over communism. I believe in faith, hope, and charity. But none of these is possible without freedom."

It was a privilege to know someone who was as obvious in his virtues as he was in his opinions. When I visited with him in the last few years, he seemed reluctant to offer the specific political advice that I occasionally sought from him. He wanted instead to talk about the people he had known, about his early formative experiences in Arizona, and about history.

There are too few people who give you the feeling that they have the long view in mind. Barry Goldwater did. There are too few who show us what it is like for a man to guide his life by true principles. Barry Goldwater showed us. The Senator from Arizona was not only a great patriot, he was, as he wished to be remembered, an honest man who tried.

NICK MURNION OF GARFIELD COUNTY, MONTANA—PROFILE IN COURAGE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on May 29, during the Memorial Day recess last week, the Kennedy Library Foundation held its annual "Profile in Courage" Award Ceremony at the Kennedy Library in Boston. The 1998 Profile in Courage Award was presented to Nickolas C. Murnion, the County Attorney of Garfield County, Montana, for his courageous leadership in the confrontation earlier in this decade with the militia group called the Freemen.

The Profile in Courage award takes its name from President Kennedy's Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "Profiles in Courage," which my brother wrote in the 1950's, while he was still a Senator. The book told the stories of elected officials in American history who showed extraordinary political courage by doing what they thought was right, in spite of powerful resistance and opposition.

Nick Murnion clearly demonstrated that quality of political courage, and he did so at great physical risk to himself as well. His small rural community in Montana came under siege, beginning in 1993, from the Freemen, a belligerent anti-government militia that took root in the area. The members of the Freemen refused to abide by local laws or pay taxes. They harassed and threatened public officials, and threatened the life of Nick Murnion and anyone else who challenged them.

But Nick Murnion stood his ground, and armed with the rule of law and the strong support of other citizens in the community, he prevailed. Finally, in 1996, the FBI came to provide assistance, and after a dramatic 81-day siege, the militia members surrendered peacefully.

Today, as the nation struggles to deal with extremist groups, hate crimes, church bombings, schoolyard shootings, and other distressing acts of violence in our society, Nick Murnion's inspiring story reminds us of leadership at its best in our democracy.

In accepting the Profile in Courage Award, Nick Murnion delivered a truly eloquent address at the Kennedy Library in Boston, and I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF GARFIELD COUNTY ATTORNEY NICKOLAS S. MURNION, 1998 PROFILE IN COURAGE AWARD CEREMONY, MAY 29, 1998

Members of the President's family, Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, family and friends.

I was both shocked and delighted four weeks ago when Caroline Kennedy called me in a little town in Montana to give me the great news that I had been selected as this year's John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage recipient. I had a vague awareness of the award, but my first reaction was disbelief. I couldn't figure out how I could be selected for such a prestigious honor, when I had no idea I was even being considered. I will also admit that at the time, I was almost more in awe in talking with Caroline Kennedy than in getting the great news about the award.

My first recollection of any political race was in 1960, when at the age of 7 I asked to see pictures in the newspaper of who was running for President of the United States. My first impression was that there was no question I would have voted for John F. Kennedy. Later I remember a schoolteacher telling us to remember President Kennedy as having made some of the most eloquent speeches in our time. Looking back at those speeches now, I believe she was right. The Kennedy presidency was one that I remember very fondly for the ideals expressed and the vision of a future where everyone could