today, we would like to have the Members come and bring those amendments up, and those amendments will be accepted.

I and other managers of this legislation, throughout the course of the day, will be happy to handle those amendments if the Members are not able to do so or do not want to do so this morning, so that we can use this time before the votes at 5 o'clock this afternoon to expedite as many amendments as we can from our list of over 200.

Mr. President, I am going to take this opportunity to speak as in morning business. When somebody comes and wants the floor for work on welfare reform, I will yield it.

I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

DECLINES IN FUNDING FOR INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS PROGRAMS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, in the past several months, the international drug program has not fared very well in Congress. Funding for interdiction, law enforcement, and international efforts have declined steadily. In part this is the result of a failure by the administration to either present a serious strategy or to fight for it in any meaningful way. The President has been all but invisible and his drug czar, left without support, has been ineffective. The obvious consequence of this dereliction in tough budget times is an erosion of funding and support to other projects that have more defenders.

Unfortunately, the administration's indifference has reinforced the attitudes of some in Congress that the program is not worth fighting for, that nothing we do to combat drug use works, and so we should surrender. The result has been devastating for our international effort and for the morale and capabilities of our frontline forces.

It is a myth to believe that nothing we do to combat illegal drugs works. In fact, whenever we have consistently and seriously attacked the problem—and we have a history going back to the beginnings of this century—we have had considerable success in reducing drug use and reversing epidemics. The trouble comes in believing that we should only have to combat illegal drug use once.

The belief in some quarters seems to be that, unlike any other major social problem, we should have some magic formula that banishes the issue forever. This attitude seems peculiarly endemic to our counter drug efforts. Despite a long history, we have yet to solve the problem of murder, spouse abuse, incest, rape, or theft. One rarely hears the call, however, that because these problems persist we should give up trying to stop them or legalize them as a way out of solving our problem. Everyone recognizes that to seek such a solution would be irresponsible. Yet, when it comes to drugs, we seem to take a vacation from common sense.

We must also remind ourselves that our measure for success cannot be some simplistic formula. Too often, the standard that critics apply to the counter drug effort, to prove that nothing works, is to create an impossible standard of perfection by which to judge it. For some, if there is one gram of cocaine on the streets of America somewhere, or one trafficker left in Colombia, then our efforts are a bust. Such counsels of perfection are enemies of realistic approaches. It is a lot like arguing that because we beat the other team 28 to 17 we really lost because they managed to score. Like a football team, our effort must be continually renewed. You do not win the championship once and for all, you have to train for the next season. The struggle to control illegal drug production and trafficking does not simply end when the whistle blows. Nor can our efforts simply stop.

But let us look more closely at whether all our drug efforts are failures. In the mid-1980s, The American public made it quite clear to this body that stopping the flow of illegal drugs to the United States and ending the poisoning of millions of America's young people was a top priority. We got the message. In a series of legislative initiatives, we forced the administration to take the drug issue seriously. We created a drug czar to coordinate efforts. And we voted to increase funding across the board for counterdrug programs, from law enforcement to education and treatment.

Remember that those efforts came after almost two decades of tolerance of drug use and a major cocaine and crack epidemic. When we decided to act, we faced a massive addiction problem and a widespread acceptance of drugs as an alternate life style. Yet, look at what happened. In the space of a few years, less than a third of the time it took us to get into the mess we created, we reversed attitudes toward drug use, and cut causal use of drugs by 50 percent and cocaine use by over 70 percent. Working with our Latin America allies, we wrapped up the Medellin cartel—which critics said would never happen—and made significant inroads in stopping the flow of drugs to this country.

Now, we clearly did not eliminate either drug use or trafficking, but elimination was hardly the criteria for our programs nor the measure of success for evaluating them. It is also clear that we have more to do. But serious reflection on the issue shows that this is one of those problems for which continual effort is our only possible response. And our efforts pay dividends. While there is no ultimate victory parade, surrender is not an option—unless we are prepared to live with the consequences. Our past responses to public concern indicates that we are not.

But can we afford the price? The notion that we are spending an inordinate amount of money on fighting drug use is one of the arguments used to justify cuts in the program. Such criticism, however, only works in isolation. Looking at the context shows a different picture.

The total Federal budget is $1.5 trillion. Of that, the entire drug budget of the United States—for all drug-related law enforcement, treatment, education, and international programs—is less than 1 percent of the total. Of the money we allocate to the drug program—before present proposed cuts—we spend less than 4 percent of the total on international efforts. Even adding in all DOD detection, monitoring, and law enforcement support the total is only 8 percent of the Federal drug budget. Hardly significant sums.

Compared to what Americans spend on other activities, these sums are insignificant. We spend annually five times as much on beauty parlors and personal-care products than we spend on the total drug budget. At current wholesale prices, a mere 8 percent of the cocaine imported into the United States would more than cover the costs of our entire international counterdrug effort; and 20 percent would cover the costs of adding in DOD efforts.

Moreover, we cannot afford the annual the costs of not acting. At present levels, the annual costs of drug use—some $60 billion to industry, some $50 billion spent on drugs, and untold billions in the costs of crime, violence, and medical costs—dwarf our expenditures on counterdrug programs and create major social problems. Yet, critics argue than we spend too much. We could double our drug budget and still be spending only half of what we spend on legal services. It is simply not the case that we are spending too much.

The issue, however, is not just a question of throwing money, however small, at a problem, but of what we are getting for our investment. As I indicated, the returns are significant and if they had been achieved in other areas of public problems we would regard them as successes. Yet, we act as if a 50-percent overall reduction in drug use is a failure. We become frustrated because this is one of those problems that requires ongoing efforts not one-time quick fixes. If we forget this simple fact, we will find ourselves repeating history—of once again having to dig ourselves out of a major addiction problem. The signs that we are drifting in that direction are already there, we ignore them at the peril of our young people. We need to sustain the efforts that have proven themselves in the past. Success, however, is not a one-time thing. It requires both the moral leadership and the consistent message to our young people that illegal drug use is risky business.

In this regard, I intend to work with my Senate and House colleagues to restore realistic funding to our counterdrug efforts and to raise the priority. We cannot afford to return to disastrous policies of the 1970's that did so much harm. We cannot afford to ignore the continuing public concern over this issue. We cannot afford to spend less on our counterdrug programs, or expect less for our investment.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might proceed as in morning business to comment on the very able remarks of my friend and collaborator at this point from Iowa.

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

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I Would like to share his concern about the state of the White House operation in this matter—the matter of drug interdiction and drug abuse—which was established by legislation in 1988. The then majority leader, ROBERT C. BYRD, created a task force which consisted of the Senator from Georgia, Mr. NUNN, and myself, and I think we had more than a little influence in the legislation that finally passed. I will take a moment of the Senate's time to speak about that legislation. We saw the problem as being twofold.

One was the reduction in the supply of drugs—most of which began as legal pharmaceutical products. They arrived from the onset of organic chemistry in German universities in the early 19th century.

You take this gradual escalation from opium to morphine to heroin. Heroin, Mr. President, is a trade name. You can find advertisements in the Yale Alumni News, if you wish, for heroin in 1910 or thereabouts. It was developed by the Bayer Co., that produced Bayer aspirin. Aspirin is a trade name. Heroin was tried out and tested on its employees and it made them feel heroisch in German, heroic.

Cocaine emerged from the same process, from the coca leaf to the synthesized product. Sigmund Freud's first publication ''Uber Coca'' described his use of cocaine as a means of treating morphine addiction, which did not succeed, and he became very much opposed to it.

These drugs were outlawed in 1915, if memory serves, by the Federal Government, and remain so. It is the last of the prohibition decrees of that era.

We thought in terms of supply and demand. If I can tell my friend a little story, I think it may be said that in the late 1960's we had a heroin epidemic in this country, very much so in this city. You could tell it by the incidence of robbery of small grocery stores and food outlets—small amounts of money needed by persons who are getting withdrawal symptoms from the lack of heroin.

It was so serious that—at this point I was Assistant to President Nixon for Urban Affairs—I was called to a meeting across the street, cater-cornered from the White House, by some of the most respected and responsible citizens in the city of Washington, who asked me if I would ask the President to garrison the Capitol. Such was the problem.

This particular flow of heroin originated in the opium fields in Turkey, made its way to Marseilles, where, in small simple laboratories, it was converted into heroin, thence smuggled into New York, more or less directly, and then around the country.

It seemed to me a curious thing. In 1969, as Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, I thought the most important thing we had to deal with was welfare, which we are doing today, and next the heroin epidemic.

President Nixon, in August of that year, sent to the Congress a very wide-ranging proposal, the Family Assistance Plan, which would establish a guaranteed income and replace the welfare program altogether. It passed the House twice and never get out of the Finance Committee in the Senate.

That done, I left immediately for Turkey by way of India, which is still the largest source of illicit opium. I would not want to live in a world without morphine, not with my teeth. But it is still widely used properly as a medicine for medicinal purposes.

I went to Turkey, to Istanbul, and met with the Foreign Minister, representing the President of the United States. I said, we have an epidemic in our country and we have to stop it. That means we have to stop the production of opium in the province of Afyon. Opium is made from poppy seeds. Poppy seeds are part of the Turkish cuisine. They put poppy seeds on their bread.

This was not an easy thing to do. It is like someone arriving in Washington and telling our Secretary of State they had to stop growing corn in Iowa—sorry about that, you just have to stop. The Secretary of State will say, I see, of course.

Actually, they did not close them down; they just harvested them in a different way, called straw poppy. You could still extract the ingredients needed for pharmaceutical purposes, but without the paste which is derived by simply putting an incision on the stamen of the poppy plant, collecting the moisture which oozes out by fingers and wrapping it up in a leaf until it gradually became raw opium.

I then went to Paris where I found the American Embassy was not aware that anything was going on in Marseilles, much less going on in Washington. But they took my word for it and I met with the director of the Surete, their internal police, which has been there since the Napoleonic age.

These conversations went back and forth a number of times. Finally the French agreed, all right, they would close down the Marseilles operations, and the Turks agreed they would move to this new mode of harvest.

I was in a helicopter—I wonder if my friend from Iowa might hear this because it would help him—I was in a helicopter on my way up to Camp David and just back from Paris. The only other person present was the then Director of the Office of Management and Budget, George P. Shultz. I said to him, ''George, I have good news, I think we are going to close down the French connection.'' This is what it became known as. He looked up from his papers and said, ''Good,'' and then I said, a little deflated, ''No, no, really. This is important. They are going to close it down. I have it from the head of the Surete in Paris.'' And he looked up and said ''Good.'' Then, quite crestfallen, I said ''I suppose''—he being an economist—''I suppose you think that so long as there is a demand there will be a supply?'' He looked up at me and said, ''You know, there is hope for you yet.''

Of course in 3 to 4 years' time the Mexicans were providing heroin. Now it comes in from anywhere in the world, and will continue to do so.

That is why in our 1988 legislation, we said there will be two deputies in the newly created White House office—the Office of National Drug Control Policy. One would be the Deputy Director for Demand Reduction, who would seek a clinical device, a pharmaceutical block, an equivalent in one way or another in that general field of methadone treatment for heroin, who would learn the chemistry of this subject enough to have some treatment beyond the sort of psychiatric, psychological treatment available. The numbers would overwhelm us. We cannot cope.

President Bush made extraordinary, fine appointments. He appointed Dr. William Bennett as the head of the office. As the Deputy Director for Demand Reduction he appointed Dr. Herbert Kleber, a physician at the Yale Medical School, a research scientist, and exactly the man you would want for this.

Then after a while Bennett left, and Kleber also left. Kleber has gone to Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons and is working at the New York Psychiatric Institute in this field.

Nobody succeeded him in a scientific role. There have been a number of persons in the job. I am sure they are good persons, but they are nothing like what we had in mind in the legislation.

Just 2 weeks ago, I tried to learn what had been the professional qualifications of the persons who had succeeded Dr. Kleber, and I found that in this office in the White House, they could not tell me. They did not know. This was not a long time back. It was 1988—well, 1990. They did not know their history 5 years back. They had no idea what the statute intended. They were not doing anything the statute contemplated.

So I actually thought I would put in legislation abolishing the position, on the grounds that if it was not going to do what it was intended to do by statute, why not just eliminate it?

I would like to think someone there is listening to what the Senator from Iowa said, and what I said. I doubt it very much. I will introduce that measure, or insist on it. But I may try to offer it as an amendment somewhere along the line.

The main point is, we enacted a good statute which has been trivialized, a fact which I regret, but about which I can do very little.

Mr. President, I see no other Senators seeking recognition. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations is on the floor. He may be seeking the floor.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAIG). The Senator from North Carolina.

THE FAMILY SELF-SUFFICIENCY ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the last thing I want to do is shorten any remarks that the distinguished Senator from New York wished to make. He is a fine orator and a good Senator and a good friend.

Let me ask a parliamentary inquiry, if I may. Is there a time limitation on each amendment this day?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no time limitation on each amendment, but the Dodd amendment does have a 4-hour time limitation with a vote scheduled for 5 this evening, so debate on that particular amendment could begin no later than 1 o'clock.

Mr. HELMS. I see. So I will not be burdening the Senate if I take a few minutes longer than 5 or 10 minutes with my remarks, if no Senator is here to offer an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I think the Senator may proceed.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

AMENDMENT NO. 2523

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I call up amendment, No. 2523, and ask it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] proposes an amendment numbered 2523.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

[The text of the amendment is printed in the Friday, September 8, 1995 edition of the RECORD.]

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I had the clerk read what I considered to be the most relevant part of the amendment. It has to do with people sitting around on their posteriors and doing no work at all—not wanting to do any work at all—yet drawing food stamps regularly and purchasing anything they want to purchase with them, regardless of the statute. I say this as a Senator who has been here for almost 23 years, as a Senator who has served as chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, during which time I did my best to crack down on the abuse of the Food Stamp Program.

I recall getting the inspectors general to conduct a pilot program in a number of States, and I specified that my State be first, the State of North Carolina. The inspectors went to cities like Fayetteville and Wilmington, Laurel Hill and Durham, Charlotte and High Point, Winston-Salem, Greensboro and Asheville. Everywhere they went, they found terrific fraud in the Food Stamp Program. That is the reason I am offering this amendment today.

Now, there are going to be Senators who will speak in opposition to it—including at least one who is a very close personal friend of mine, Mr. COCHRAN—as I understand it.

I intend to hold the floor until Senator COCHRAN can get here so that he can speak against my amendment, which I wish he would not do. But he does what he does in good conscience and I respect him for it.

Mr. President, I have seen the good intentions of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and others who have sponsored and advocated the Food Stamp Program. Instead, this program has moved rapidly into a multibillion dollar boondoggle with the American taxpayers footing the bill. I doubt there are very many citizens who, themselves, have not seen examples of exactly what I am talking about.

The Federal Food Stamp Program, over the past 3 decades, has clearly been a major contributor to the Federal debt which, I might add, Mr. President, will surpass the $5 trillion mark before the end of this year.

Mr. President, as an aside, I went into the Cloakroom not long ago and posed a little question to several Senators. I asked, ''How many million in a trillion?'' I received five different answers from Senators who participate in the fiscal policy of this country. If the Chair wants to know how many million in a trillion, I will tell him. There are a million million in a trillion. That gives you a perspective of what we are doing to the young people in allowing this debt to increase and increase and increase while efforts to enact a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution are filibustered.

I say that as a preface to my having offered an amendment to the Dole substitute amendment to H.R. 4, the Work Opportunities Act. If Congress truly expects to achieve meaningful welfare reform, Congress absolutely, in my judgment, must insist upon responsibility and common sense in the operation of the Federal Food Stamp Program. On many, many occasions, I urged the Agriculture Committee and the various witnesses and nominees who have come before the committee to reexamine their spending priorities when it comes to Federal nutrition programs.

I have pleaded, time and time again, that the Agriculture Committee decide, and decide now, whether the U.S. Department of Agriculture will be restored, as an entity, to its original purpose—that is to say, a department dedicated to America's farmers and agriculture—instead of the social services instrumentality that it has become during the past 30 years.

For the record, the USDA's 1995 feeding assistance and nutrition programs cost the American taxpayers an estimated $39 billion with more than 40 million Americans participating in the free food and free services program. That is for 1 year. The Food Stamp Program alone costs $27 billion of which $3 billion is squandered due to waste, abuse, and fraud—as I described earlier when inspectors went into my own State of North Carolina. And what is true in North Carolina is true in every State in the Union.

Mr. President, to put these figures into perspective, 62 percent of the entire USDA budget goes for food and consumer services with the Food Stamp Program comprising 42 percent of the entire budget. I wonder how many Americans realize that. It is easy to understand why the farmers I hear from are sick and tired of being shoved around by the Federal agency created to serve them.

I recall my years as chairman of the Ag Committee in the 1980's. I focused attention time and time again, on specific, precise identification of the waste and fraud found in the Food Stamp Program. I found a program in desperate need of repair—that was 10 years ago—because of the countless numbers of people willing to take advantage of a Federal Government handout—and they still are. The only difference is there are more of them today than there were then. I discovered then what Reader's Digest reported in its February, 1994 issue:

> . . . food stamps have become a second currency used to pay for drugs, prostitution, weapons, cars—even a house.''

People have even bought homes. They have gone to houses of assignation, and the proprietors of such enterprises accept food stamps.

Unfortunately, the political climate today is the same as it has always been. Attempts to restructure Federal programs to meet the needs of the poor while trying to use wisely the money of the American taxpayers brings the same old cadre of people saying this is heartless and this is cruel. It is not. It is an attempt to straighten this Government out—one small facet of it, but one expensive facet nonetheless.

Those who support the status quo of maintaining unlimited resources for social programs without regard to the cost of these programs to the taxpayers of today, and tomorrow, have simply ignored two significant facts crucial to