

work of lobbying. One of his clients was the Tobacco Institute, the propaganda arm of the tobacco industry. The Tobacco Institute paid him \$200 an hour to help kill whatever tobacco restrictions came before the Maryland General Assembly.

Six years later, in 1992, he was diagnosed with throat cancer. His doctors told him he had three months to live. But, with the help of new and experimental treatments, he managed to hang on for three years.

Victor Crawford used those last three years of his life to prevent other young people from making the same mistake he had made when he picked up that first cigarette at 13.

A first reluctantly, then passionately, he spoke about the pain of his illness, and his remorse over having contributed, through his work, to the suffering of others.

He described his former employers, the tobacco industry, as "hard-nosed, brilliant and ruthless. I can also state without question," he said, "that the profit motive is supreme, and that there is no avenue they will not explore and no means they will not use to that end."

He told his story to state legislatures, on "60 Minutes," in Ann Landers' column—wherever he thought it would get through.

A year and a half before he died, he returned to the Maryland Statehouse—to the place where he had worked as a legislator and lobbyist. Only this time he as a witness, testifying in support of a law regulating public smoking. He wore a wig to hid the baldness caused by chemotherapy, and he was terribly gaunt. But everyone who heard him was deeply moved.

Said on of his former colleagues after his testimony, "Yours was the voice of truth."

Mr. President, Victor Crawford's voice—and the voice of America's children—are calling to us today.

They are asking us to protect them from addiction.

They are asking us to protect them from painful and premature death.

Are we listening?

It is time for Congress to pass a national bill to reduce teen smoking and to tell the cigarette manufacturers, "Our children are not 'replacement smokers,' and you cannot prey on them anymore."

I yield the floor.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 10 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I understand we are in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

TROUBLING NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH ASIA

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I wanted to take just a little bit of time this morning to again alert Senators and others about troubling new developments in South Asia after India thumbed its nose at the world community and exploded five underground nuclear weapons. Conditions seem to be spiraling out of control in the nation of India. We now see that a key Indian official, according to the news this morning, a key Indian official is warning Pakistan and making very threatening, provocative statements, about the area that we know as Jammu-Kashmir. Indian Home Minister Advani—there is a picture of him here clenching his fist, saying they were, basically, not going to have a peaceful resolution at all of the situation in Kashmir. I am quoting from the article:

While India's previous government had a policy of not making hostile statements about Pakistan, the BJP [that is the party that is now in power in India] as recently as two years ago advocated "reclaiming" Pakistan's portion of Kashmir.

It is interesting that:

In the course [it says here] of broadening its platforms for this year's parliamentary elections—and cobbling together a coalition government of 14 disparate parties—such references to Kashmir were dropped. But Advani [the Home Minister] was pointed in his reference today to the disputed state, although he couched it more in terms of Pakistan's stance toward Kashmir than India's.

But now Advani said, and I quote from the article:

[Nuclear weapons tests] has brought about a qualitatively new stage in Indo-Pakistan relations and signifies—even while adhering to the principle of no first strike—[that] India is resolved to deal firmly with Pakistan's hostile activities in Kashmir.

Wait a minute, Mr. President. He is talking about Pakistan's hostile activities in Kashmir? It is India that has around 300,000 troops in Kashmir. It is India that is spending about a large portion of its military budget every year in Kashmir. It is by Indian troops that human rights groups have said that in the last several years, perhaps in the last 10 years, upwards of 13,000 people have been killed in Kashmir—not by Pakistani troops, but by Indian troops.

What this Home Minister Advani is doing is trying to cover what India has done in Kashmir by blaming it on Pakistan.

Quite frankly, Kashmir is the East Timor of South Asia, to those of us who have followed the problems of East Timor, a tiny little island nation on the eastern tip of Indonesia. It was a Portuguese colony for several hundred years. When the Portuguese left, the Indonesians came in to claim East Timor, but they have no rightful claim to it; it is a separate island nation.

Since that time, East Timorese have been put to death by the Indonesians, slaughtered, people driven out of their homes, driven out of their jobs. What has happened in East Timor is a blight

on Indonesia, and the world community has spoken out forcefully against what Indonesia has done in East Timor. But the world community is standing silently by while the same kind of slaughter and repression is occurring in the tiny state of Kashmir.

If you go back to when India and Pakistan were partitioned off, this tiny area up in northwest India on the border of Pakistan and India, the United Nations recognized in the late 1940s that this issue needed to be resolved, and urged for it to be resolved through a plebiscite, to have a vote of the people in this area: Did they want to stay with Pakistan, or did they want to go with India?

But India refuses outside mediation, even from the UN. I had always hoped, as many have hoped, that we would have some kind of a peaceful resolution of Kashmir. But now India is shaking its fist at Pakistan and speaking provocatively of reclaiming certain areas of Kashmir that have already been recognized as being at least an adjunct to, adhering to Pakistan, an area called Azad Kashmir.

Mr. President, I don't think we can idly stand by and let India continue these kinds of provocative measures. The world community must speak with one voice in condemning the actions by India with strong sanctions. I will have a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, which I hope we can bring up sometime this week in conjunction with others, dealing with the Indian explosion of nuclear weapons and dealing with the Pressler amendment that Senator BROWNBACK and I will be offering sometime this week, I hope.

I have a sense-of-the-Senate resolution calling upon the United States to take the lead in getting other nations together to act as an intermediary in the dispute on Kashmir. Better that we act now, better that we try to seek peaceful resolutions of Kashmir before this whole thing blows up, before the BJP of India is able to take it to a higher level, a more provocative level that would involve the use of arms.

I hope we can get the support of other Senators in asking the United States to act as a mediator to this very dangerous situation that now exists in Kashmir and South Asia.

I thank the President. I yield the floor.

Mr. GRAMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I am on the floor this morning to introduce a bill called the Emergency Medical Services Efficiency Act. My statement is going to take about 10 or 15 minutes. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to have up to 15 minutes, even though I know it is going to run into the time of 10 o'clock.

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

Mr. GRAMS. Thank you very much.

(The remarks of Mr. GRAMS pertaining to the introduction of S. 2091 are

located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. GRAMS. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for the time. I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

NATIONAL TOBACCO POLICY AND YOUTH SMOKING REDUCTION ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1415, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1415) to reform and restructure the processes by which tobacco products are manufactured, marketed, and distributed, to prevent the use of tobacco products by minors, to redress the adverse health effects of tobacco use, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

MODIFIED COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE

(The text of the committee substitute, as modified to incorporate the text of amendment No. 2420, submitted on May 18, 1998, reads as follows:)

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "National Tobacco Policy and Youth Smoking Reduction Act".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Findings.
- Sec. 3. Purpose.
- Sec. 4. Scope and effect.
- Sec. 5. Relationship to other, related Federal, State, local, and Tribal laws.
- Sec. 6. Definitions.
- Sec. 7. Notification if youthful cigarette smoking restrictions increase youthful pipe and cigar smoking.
- Sec. 8. FTC jurisdiction not affected.
- Sec. 9. Congressional review provisions.

TITLE I—REGULATION OF THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY

- Sec. 101. Amendment of Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938.
- Sec. 102. Conforming and other amendments to general provisions.
- Sec. 103. Construction of current regulations.

TITLE II—REDUCTIONS IN UNDERAGE TOBACCO USE

Subtitle A—Underage Use

- Sec. 201. Findings.
- Sec. 202. Purpose.
- Sec. 203. Goals for reducing underage tobacco use.
- Sec. 204. Look-back assessment.
- Sec. 205. Definitions.

Subtitle B—State Retail Licensing and Enforcement Incentives

- Sec. 231. State retail licensing and enforcement block grants.
- Sec. 232. Block grants for compliance bonuses.
- Sec. 233. Conforming change.

Subtitle C—Tobacco Use Prevention and Cessation Initiatives

- Sec. 261. Tobacco use prevention and cessation initiatives.

TITLE III—TOBACCO PRODUCT WARNINGS AND SMOKE CONSTITUENT DISCLOSURE

Subtitle A—Product Warnings, Labeling and Packaging

- Sec. 301. Cigarette label and advertising warnings.
- Sec. 302. Authority to revise cigarette warning label statements.
- Sec. 303. Smokeless tobacco labels and advertising warnings.
- Sec. 304. Authority to revise smokeless tobacco product warning label statements.
- Sec. 305. Tar, nicotine, and other smoke constituent disclosure to the public.

Subtitle B—Testing and Reporting of Tobacco Product Smoke Constituents

- Sec. 311. Regulation requirement.

TITLE IV—NATIONAL TOBACCO TRUST FUND

- Sec. 401. Establishment of trust fund.
- Sec. 402. Payments by industry.
- Sec. 403. Adjustments.
- Sec. 404. Payments to be passed through to consumers.
- Sec. 405. Tax treatment of payments.
- Sec. 406. Enforcement for nonpayment.

Subtitle B—General Spending Provisions

- Sec. 451. Allocation accounts.
- Sec. 452. Grants to States.
- Sec. 453. Indian health service.
- Sec. 454. Research at the National Science Foundation.
- Sec. 455. Medicare cancer patient demonstration project; evaluation and report to Congress.

TITLE V—STANDARDS TO REDUCE INVOLUNTARY EXPOSURE TO TOBACCO SMOKE

- Sec. 501. Definitions.
- Sec. 502. Smoke-free environment policy.
- Sec. 503. Citizen actions.
- Sec. 504. Preemption.
- Sec. 505. Regulations.
- Sec. 506. Effective date.
- Sec. 507. State choice.

TITLE VI—APPLICATION TO INDIAN TRIBES

- Sec. 601. Short title.
- Sec. 602. Findings and purposes.
- Sec. 603. Application of title to Indian lands and to Native Americans.

TITLE VII—TOBACCO CLAIMS

- Sec. 701. Definitions.
- Sec. 702. Application; preemption.
- Sec. 703. Rules governing tobacco claims.

TITLE VIII—TOBACCO INDUSTRY ACCOUNTABILITY REQUIREMENTS AND EMPLOYEE PROTECTION FROM RETRIALS

- Sec. 801. Accountability requirements and oversight of the tobacco industry.
- Sec. 802. Tobacco product manufacturer employee protection.

TITLE IX—PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF TOBACCO INDUSTRY DOCUMENTS

- Sec. 901. Findings.
- Sec. 902. Applicability.
- Sec. 903. Document disclosure.
- Sec. 904. Document review.
- Sec. 905. Resolution of disputed privilege and trade secret claims.
- Sec. 906. Appeal of panel decision.
- Sec. 907. Miscellaneous.
- Sec. 908. Penalties.
- Sec. 909. Definitions.

TITLE X—LONG-TERM ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR FARMERS

- Sec. 1001. Short title.
- Sec. 1002. Definitions.
- Subtitle A—Tobacco Community Revitalization
- Sec. 1011. Authorization of appropriations.
- Sec. 1012. Expenditures.
- Sec. 1013. Budgetary treatment.

Subtitle B—Tobacco Market Transition Assistance

- Sec. 1021. Payments for lost tobacco quota.
- Sec. 1022. Industry payments for all department costs associated with tobacco production.
- Sec. 1023. Tobacco community economic development grants.
- Sec. 1024. Flue-cured tobacco production permits.
- Sec. 1025. Modifications in Federal tobacco programs.

Subtitle C—Farmer and Worker Transition Assistance

- Sec. 1031. Tobacco worker transition program.
- Sec. 1032. Farmer opportunity grants.

Subtitle D—Immunity

- Sec. 1041. General immunity for tobacco producers and tobacco warehouse owners.

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Subtitle A—International Provisions

- Sec. 1101. Policy.
- Sec. 1102. Tobacco control negotiations.
- Sec. 1103. Report to Congress.
- Sec. 1104. Funding.
- Sec. 1105. Prohibition of funds to facilitate the exportation or promotion of tobacco.
- Sec. 1106. Health labeling of tobacco products for export.
- Sec. 1107. International tobacco control awareness.

Subtitle B—Anti-smuggling Provisions

- Sec. 1131. Definitions.
- Sec. 1132. Tobacco product labeling requirements.
- Sec. 1133. Tobacco product licenses.
- Sec. 1134. Prohibitions.
- Sec. 1135. Labeling of products sold by Native Americans.
- Sec. 1136. Limitation on activities involving tobacco products in foreign trade zones.
- Sec. 1137. Jurisdiction; penalties; compromise of liability.
- Sec. 1138. Amendments to the Contraband Cigarette Trafficking Act.
- Sec. 1139. Funding.
- Sec. 1140. Rules and regulations.

Subtitle C—Other Provisions

- Sec. 1161. Improving child care and early childhood development.
- Sec. 1162. Ban of sale of tobacco products through the use of vending machines.
- Sec. 1163. Amendments to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974.

TITLE XII—ASBESTOS-RELATED TOBACCO CLAIMS

- Sec. 1201. National tobacco trust funds available under future legislation.

TITLE XIII—VETERANS' BENEFITS

- Sec. 1301. Recovery by Secretary of Veterans' Affairs.

TITLE XIV—EXCHANGE OF BENEFITS FOR AGREEMENT

- Sec. 1401. Conferral of benefits on participating tobacco product manufacturers in return for their assumption of specific obligations.