

In addition, there are provisions to deal with illegal drugs. That is a matter that is now included in the legislation. Not only are we dealing with tobacco, tobacco products, but also illegal drugs. There are very strong provisions which have now been included in this legislation that relate to that. There is also the question of FDA authority. FDA has been given the authority to regulate this drug as they regulate other drugs in our society.

We still have several matters left to resolve. One is the whole question of agriculture, how tobacco farmers will be treated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time allotted to the Senator has expired.

Mr. CONRAD. How much time is left on our side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota, Mr. DORGAN, has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Chair.

We have important matters left to resolve. How are tobacco farmers going to be treated? What are we going to do about the question of attorneys' fees. Obviously, none of us wants to see attorneys unjustly enriched by these tobacco settlements. In the underlying bill, the McCain bill, which came out of the Commerce Committee on a 19-1 vote, they provided for arbitration. Many of us think that is the best way to resolve this matter—to have parties get together and resolve, on an arbitration basis, differences over attorneys' fees so attorneys are not unjustly enriched by these settlements.

Mr. President, most important is that I think we ought to stay on this bill until it is finished. We have spent 3 weeks of the Senate's time so far on this legislation. Let's finish the course. Let's get this bill resolved. I think that makes sense. I think it would be an enormous leadership failure if this Senate didn't take final action on this legislation. Some are saying the House isn't going to have a bill. Well, none of us can tell that until we act. We have taken a lead on this question in the U.S. Senate; we ought to complete our action and then let the House decide what it does. Let them be accountable for their action—or their failure to act.

Mr. President, I hope we will stay on this bill until we finish this bill. That ought to be our message. The reason is very important. We have delay, and this delay is costing people's lives. As I indicated, we are in a circumstance in which, since the industry entered into a settlement with the attorneys general nearly 1 year ago, 1 million kids have taken up the habit. Fully a third of them are going to die prematurely—over 300,000 young people.

Let me just close by saying the tobacco companies tell you in their paid advertising—they describe this bill in

unfavorable terms. Let's remember their background. They have misrepresented this issue repeatedly.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). The Senator from North Dakota, Mr. DORGAN, is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me take another minute or so of my time. I know the Senator from Kansas wishes to seek the floor.

Virtually everything we do represents a series of choices. We have a choice now here in the Senate; we can choose to succeed, or we can choose to fail on this tobacco legislation. As Senator CONRAD has indicated, we have come a long way, and we have had people all along the way who are detractors. I can remember how controversial it was just to put a warning label on the side of a pack of cigarettes. Do you remember how controversial that was? It was the right thing to do, obviously. Would someone vote now to take the warning label off? I don't think so.

The legislation before the Senate is very important. We as Senators and as a body can choose to succeed or fail. To those who want to choose to fail and say this bill cannot become law, we are going to pull the bill and go to something else, we simply want to say that some of us will resist that with great effort. We will resist every decision to move to other legislation before we complete work on this legislation. We hope the bipartisan leadership of the Senate will decide that this bill is important enough to finish, and it can be finished, in my judgment, this week or next week. We have traveled too far a distance on this to fail in the final week on a piece of legislation this important to our country.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ROBERTS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from the State of Kansas.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, in his remarks in this body last Friday, our colleague from Nebraska, the distinguished Senator, Mr. HAGEL, issued what I considered to be a most important wake-up call to this body.

Senator HAGEL said:

I am very concerned that this Congress is not paying enough attention to what is going on around the world. I am concerned that we are not linking it, we are not interconnecting the dots. I find it remarkable that on the floor of the U.S. Senate, over the last few weeks, we have been consumed with billions of dollars of new taxes and building a larger government when essentially half of the world is burning.

And Senator HAGEL went on to say:

"I hope that our colleagues take a serious look at what is going on around the world," and he cited the ever worsening Asian economic crisis—it now also threatens China; a serious recession in Japan; the immense and grow-

ing economic problems in regard to Russia; the resulting loss of investor confidence in world markets; and a very direct signal to all of us that "something is wrong." That certainly has been reflected in the recent decline in the stock market.

Mr. President, one thing that certainly is wrong is the inordinate amount of time that we are spending on tobacco legislation. I think the majority leader was certainly right when he said yesterday—and to a certain extent I agree with my colleagues who have just spoken before me on the floor—that we need to either end debate, or pass the bill, or actually defeat the bill, or set the bill aside.

It is not my intent to discuss the merits of what has evolved out of the tobacco briar-patch debate. I want to say that I personally support—strongly support—the efforts to address the problem of teenage smoking and addiction. I do not question the intent of supporters of what has been produced so far. But I do believe the bill has serious flaws and we have gone far afield from the original goal, more especially in regard to the problem of teenage smoking and addiction. And I would say that as we each individually shine the light of truth into the darkness in debating the tobacco bill, let us remember that our flashlights are somewhat dimmed by partisan overtones and personal finger pointing.

If Nero fiddled while Rome burned, the Senate has certainly huffed and puffed for weeks on a tobacco bill—I am not trying to perjure it—while issues of national and economic security are not being addressed.

As we debated yet another tobacco amendment yesterday, warplanes from the United States and Europe roared over the mountains of Albania and Macedonia, a direct threat to Serbian leaders to end the growing and expanding violence around Kosovo.

Twenty-seven U.S. warplanes took part in the 6-hour exercise that was called Determined Falcon. I don't know how determined that Falcon is. Three hundred and fifty U.S. soldiers are already stationed in Macedonia. NATO commanders have been asked to propose additional contingency operations.

The only response that I am aware of that has come from the Senate in regard to the growing possibility that we become directly involved in yet another ethnic civil war—an expansion of Bosnia—is the warning delivered by the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator STEVENS, to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in a recent briefing just last week.

The chairman pointed out that our military is already stretched, it is stressed, it is overcommitted, and we simply do not have the men and women and material to do that job. We have an urgent need to increase our commitment to national security.

We have an urgent need to act on the defense authorization bill so we can do

that, and so we may discuss and debate and act on our involvement in Bosnia, in the Gulf, and in Kosovo. Every single day that this stalemate on tobacco legislation continues, a pay raise is held up for America's fighting men and women around the world who continue to suffer from low morale and a lack of interest in reenlistment.

Mr. President, I have heard there could be some 90 amendments to the defense authorization bill raising matters the Senate should address. We have the potential nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan, the administration's nonproliferation policy, and the impact of ill-advised sanctions. Sanctions? Sanctions? My word, as the Senator from Nebraska pointed out in his remarks on Friday, we have sanctions on over 70 nations around the world involving two-thirds of the world's population. Our exports have declined. We have a growing crisis in agriculture, as referred to by the Senator from North Dakota, the "stealth crisis." It is no stealth. It is real. We must address that problem.

As a result of sanctions, agriculture is going through a necessary hardship. And we have all sorts of problems in farm country—not only in the northern plains. We have disease, we have overproduction in other parts of the world, we have declining exports, we have unfair trading practices, and we have a trade policy that is yet to be determined. We have a real problem in farm country.

We can address the sanctions bill in the agriculture appropriations bill, which is waiting in the tobacco wings. In that bill we have the sanctions reform legislation of Senator LUGAR, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, more especially in regards to Pakistan and India, and key agricultural exports programs. We need to act. We need to act, Mr. President.

From that standpoint, I would be happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska for any comments he would make. I thank him for issuing a wake-up call to the Senate as of last Friday.

I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HAGEL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HAGEL. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank my friend and colleague from Kansas.

Mr. President, Senator ROBERTS has touched upon some of the most important core issues in the debate that we have had over the last 4 weeks on the tobacco bill.

I would find it interesting again to recite what has really happened in the world since we began consideration of the tobacco bill on Monday, May 18th. This is our fourth week now on the debate on this bill.

What has happened in the course of the last 4 weeks is we have seen India and Pakistan test for nuclear explosions, we have seen a new wave of an

Asian market crisis begin, we have seen Asian stocks plummet, we have seen the Japanese yen drop precipitously, and leading now to China's warnings that it may devalue its currency. We have also found Japan officially entering a severe recession, the first since the early 1970s.

As my distinguished colleague from Kansas referred to a few minutes ago, Kosovo has erupted into flames with NATO exercises now fully engaged on the borders of Albania and Kosovo. There is a very real possibility of a war spreading further south into the Balkans, engaging Macedonia, Greece, and other nations.

Russia has entered a severe economic problem.

Our U.S. agricultural foreign markets are shrinking due to economic problems.

Abroad U.S. exports are down.

And, as my friend from Kansas pointed out, we have a military that for the 15th year in a row finds its budget dropping, all at the same time that we are asking our military to do more with less—more deployments, longer deployments.

Something, Mr. President, is going to have to give here.

But what has the Senate done? The Senate continues to talk about higher taxes and more government and more regulation. We let all of these other important issues that affect every American, our future, and the course of the world hang suspended like it is not there. We ignore these issues. We ignore these issues at our peril and at the world's peril.

This U.S. Senator is ready to say let's move the tobacco bill caucus off the track, and let's get to what is real in this country. Let's get to the real issues facing our Nation—not just the farmers and the ranchers in Nebraska, and exporters all over the world, but our national defense issues, our trade policy, the sanctions issues, and all of the other issues that we have talked about. That is what is real.

That is what the greatest deliberative body in the world should be dealing with and talking about—not increasing taxes by hundreds of billions of dollars and bringing to the American people more government and more regulation.

I again appreciate very much the thoughts and comments of my distinguished colleague from Kansas, Senator ROBERTS, and his remarks.

I yield the floor.

Mr. ROBERTS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 5 minutes 45 seconds remaining.

Mr. ROBERTS. I shall not take all of the time.

I want to thank my distinguished friend and colleague for his contribution. I want to pay particular credit to

Senator HAGEL for his work in enabling the Senate to move on IMF legislation. The Senator worked extremely hard with leadership of the Congress on both sides to implement serious reforms in the IMF bill, and to move ahead with the IMF bill. I hope the House of Representatives will simply address that legislation.

The Senator mentioned the most-favored-nation status for China, which is simply regular trading status that is exceedingly important. I have already indicated my concern about sanctions reform.

I think we ought to move on fast-track legislation. I was talking to the majority leader yesterday and he agrees with that. There are going to be 12 major farm organizations and commodity groups coming to the Hill to visit with us on Thursday. We would like to change the whole attitude and the whole situation in regard to trade.

It seems to me if we could really commit to that, it would be most helpful—especially in agriculture. Our whole economy relies on exports. I have never seen this Congress more insular, more protectionist, and more consumed with legislation that tends to be either ideological or attempts to legislate morality. It is just as important to prevent bad legislation from passing as it is to enact good legislation. And I am not trying to point any fingers at any Member who has strong feelings about tobacco legislation. I do. I have youngsters who are teenagers, and I am concerned about this just as much as every Member of the Senate, but this has gone far afield from a bill to really direct itself at real answers to teenage smoking and addiction. And, in the meantime, we have these problems that are extremely serious.

And so I would simply quote again the majority leader who is not trying to perjure the bill. He was right when he said, "We must end debate. Either pass, defeat, or set the bill aside." And let's move and get on with the business that directly affects the livelihood and the pocketbook of virtually every American when things such as world peace are hanging in the balance.

Mr. HAGEL. If my colleague will yield for a moment.

Mr. ROBERTS. I would be happy to yield.

Mr. HAGEL. I would like to report on a comment made this morning by a senior World Bank official warning of a looming global recession. He says, "We are probably at the end of the first cycle of a crisis and we are entering into a deep recession. And you could even use the term 'depression'."

The point here is IMF funding and MFN status and fast track, all of these combine together to be essential components of a trade policy, of a foreign policy, of a national defense policy that directs this Nation and directs the world. We can't just pick and choose—maybe this, maybe not this. But it has to be debated and viewed and acted on in total. So I appreciate again my colleague's comments on this, and I yield.

Mr. ROBERTS. In closing, I am reminded of an old Mills Brothers' tune—that really dates me—and it was, "I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire." I want to make it clear, I don't want to set the tobacco bill on fire; I just want to light a flame in the heart of our national security and our economic well-being. And with that rather dubious reference as to what we are about, Mr. President—we need to act on other matters—I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, may I inquire how much time is remaining in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 7 minutes remaining in morning business.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, then I will use some of that time. I thank the Chair.

#### THE TOBACCO BILL

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I certainly want to echo the statements of my colleagues from Kansas and Nebraska about the importance of dealing with our agricultural situation in this country. Last week, in my State of Idaho, wheat hit \$1.90 as a result of the impact of the sanctions that are being imposed by this administration in reaction to laws that were passed by Congress a good number of years ago.

I say this this morning to refocus us to understand that much of what we need to do is not getting done. Now, my colleagues on the other side, I have a feeling, would like to spend a lot more time on the tobacco issue. Somehow they think they are gaining points in the political arena that is warming up out there for many of our colleagues in the coming days through to November. I would like to suggest they look at the polling data of recent, that they talk with the American people just a little bit, that they ask teenagers in this country where the real problems are, and maybe they would agree with us that it is time we deal in some degree of finality with S. 1415, the tobacco bill.

I know it is great politics, or at least many thought it was great politics, to be antitobacco, anti-teen smoking, and to raise a heck of a lot of money to do a lot of different things from the government level. It is important that this Congress be anti-teen smoking. It is important that we express our frustration and, if necessary, our anger with the tobacco companies on what they have done, and I think we can do that and should do that. But you do not do it by sucking the life out of lower-income Americans, raising taxes, shoving this commodity that we dislike into the black market and saying you have solved the problem by creating great new bureaucracies that we know will spend the money and get very little done.

For the moment, let's do a reality check. We have been debating this bill

now for upwards of 3 weeks. We have been adding a lot of amendments. Everybody has been pounding their chest on all of the good things we are going to do if we pass the bill. Here are the good things we have not done. Let me analyze for you the revenue flow over this multibillion-dollar bill.

S. 1415, major revenues: 5 years, \$55-billion; floor amendments costing \$35 billion; original 1415 spending, \$65 billion; total spending commitments, \$100 billion.

Whoops, Mr. President, whoops. We have already overspent \$35 billion in the first 5 years. What does that tell you about a Congress that is trying to be fiscally responsible and balance its budget? When it comes to feeding at the trough of American politics, we do not care, do we? Or at least somebody does not care, because S. 1415 is now badly out of line with the revenues it proposes and the moneys it plans to spend.

By this action, is this Senate proposing that we raise another \$35 billion or \$40 billion over the next 5 years in revenues to fund all of these great new government programs that are going to take all of our kids off smoking, or at least 35 or 45 or 55 or 60 percent over the next decade? Have we talked to our kids recently about that? Have we asked teenage America that if we raise the price of a pack of cigarettes another \$2 a pack or \$3, are they going to quit smoking?

Well, I will tell you they don't think so. Neither do their parents. Last week, I was in the Chamber with a poll by the American Viewpoint polling group, a reputable group. You have read the poll. It has been talked about in the national press. Fifty-nine percent of the parents recognize that peer pressure and friends of their teenage sons and daughters are those who are the greatest influence on them when it comes to smoking.

Guess what the biggest problem is out there. It is not smoking. It is drugs. It is the concern by our parents, the parents of America that their kids might somehow get associated with drugs. Why? Because drugs kill immediately. That is why. And that is the greatest concern. And yet we have stumbled down the road for 3 weeks and done one good thing: convinced the American people that we are slipping back into our old, bad habits of big government and great programs and lots of new money to spend. And in the meantime, they have become convinced that the bill before us ought to be defeated by a great number. That is the reality of what we are doing.

Let me close by saying one more time, S. 1415 over the 5-year period has a deficit in money now of \$35 billion. Is the other side proposing to raise that in new taxes in some form from the working men and women of this country to fund the panacea of big, new government? I hope they do not. I will not vote for that.

I yield the floor.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). Morning business is now closed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, with the indulgence of my colleagues, that I be allowed to speak for 5 minutes as in morning business.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I will not have any objection. The Senator from Minnesota was most generous with me last night. He did not have an opportunity to finish his remarks. I am happy to have him do so before we start.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senator from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Washington for his graciousness.

#### LOW-LEVEL RADIOACTIVE WASTE COMPACT

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, last night, I spoke about the Texas/Maine/Vermont Compact bill, H.R. 629, that is now going to conference committee. It has to do with low-level radioactive waste being dumped in the community of Sierra Blanca, TX. It is a compact between Maine and Vermont that affects the people of Sierra Blanca.

Last night, we sent instructions to conferees to insist on two amendments that had been agreed upon by the Senate. One amendment says that if the people of Sierra Blanca, disproportionately poor and Latino, are able to prove disparate impact—that they are disproportionately affected, that they have been targeted because of low income, because they are a poor community, because of the color of their skin—then they have every right to challenge the dump. I don't know why we don't at least give people that chance. That amendment has now been approved by the Senate. It is terribly important, because all too often when it comes to the location of these sites, we dump them—no pun intended—right on the heads of poor people and communities of color.

The second amendment—and I had a chance to speak about this last night—I call a protection clause. It is very similar to the amendment offered by Congressman DOGGETT which passed in the House. Basically, it says that if the compact waste is only supposed to come from Maine and Vermont, then let's affirm this with an amendment which makes it clear that the waste will only come from Maine and Vermont. Otherwise, there is a very good chance that the people of Hudspeth County and Sierra Blanca will become a national depository for nuclear waste from all over the country. That is the last thing I think the people in Texas