provision and the crop insurance in it. There is an amendment pending over there that would strip out the food stamps.

The reason I want to take this time on the floor is because I heard some comments made on the House floor that they could pass that by the conference report, strip out the food stamps, send it over to the Senate, and we would pass it today and they could send it down to the President.

I want Members to know right now we had a vote here, 92–8, on that bill to keep the food stamps for immigrants, to keep the crop insurance and the agriculture research altogether. In fact, there was a 77–23 vote on a Gramm of Texas motion to recommit—77–23.

Let me make another statement, Mr. President. If that action takes place in the House, I can see no way that ISTEA could ever be passed here this afternoon before we go home on break.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. SNOWE. Thank you, Mr. President.

UNIVERSAL TOBACCO SETTLEMENT ACT

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I want to address the Senate this morning with respect to the national tobacco policy legislation that has been on the floor this week. I hope in the final analysis we will be able to come to a common agreement and find common ground on this critical issue and legislation. Clearly, the significance of this issue and the promise of related legislation cannot be overstated with respect to the fact that it certainly could improve the health of our Nation's children.

As a Member of the Senate Commerce Committee, I had the opportunity to work on the original legislation that was reported out of the committee by a 19–1 vote. The committee voted overwhelmingly for the bill because we thought it was important and necessary to move the debate forward on this critical issue. There is no question that the bill which is now on the floor of the Senate is very different from the legislation that was considered in the Commerce Committee, where we began the process of defining and refining the issue, and knew full well that amendments would be offered on the floor to improve it and to reflect the interests and the desires of the Members of this body.

Unfortunately, what ultimately occurred is that we had a total rewrite of the bill through the White House.

It is not unusual to have the White House involved and be an integral part of the discussion in terms of shaping legislation. But, ultimately, the bill was significantly rewritten in most pieces. I can't say it wasn't improved in some places, but other areas raise significant questions. It is one thing to amend a bill and change it on the floor; it is quite another to have this issue altered in a way that is outside of the scope and purview of the committee, and which has now resulted in some of the problems that have contributed to the delay of this legislation and its passage.

But be that as it may, I hope in the final analysis we don't overlook the reason why this legislation is on the floor of the U.S. Senate, what brought us to this point, why this legislation was crafted, and what we hope to accomplish from the passage, ultimately, of this legislation.

First and foremost, we have to remember this legislation was the result of a settlement reached by the tobacco industry and 40 states attorneys general across the country more than 11 months ago. And the bottom line is that the proposed settlement would not have been reached if it weren't for one simple truth: tobacco products have been killing and continue to kill 420,000 Americans each and every year—and every day, 3,000 children become addicted to tobacco and one-third will eventually die as a result of tobacco-related disease.

If it weren't for this simple truth, the tobacco industry would not have been subjected to years and years of lawsuits and litigation, and this comprehensive settlement would not have been reached. And the fact is, if not for this simple truth, the industry would not have settled with States such as Minnesota recently to the tune of $6 billion, and three other States across this country. And that is why they were interested in reaching this agreement, because they knew what the truth was. And the most insidious aspect of this whole tobacco debate is the fact that this dangerous and addictive product was marketed to children.

In listening to the debate this past week and hearing the many arguments that have been put forward from divergent points of view, I believe that we cannot afford to forget, nor can we overlook the fact, that this product was deliberately, in a calculated fashion, targeted to young people and teens—even to children as young as 11-year-olds. This product was marketed to individuals who were not old enough to vote, not old enough to drink, not old enough to enlist in the military, not old enough to make any of the life-altering decisions that should be made by adults, and not old enough, ironically, to even purchase this product legally. By the way, these facts aren't just based on hypothetical views or assumptions or conjecture; these are based on more than 40,000 documents that have been unveiled during the course of recent litigation and in crafting the proposed settlement.

When you look at the documents, it provides a disturbing glimpse into the mindset and tactics of the tobacco industry. From this paper trail, we have learned of repeated efforts by the industry to manipulate scientific research, racially stereotype minorities in marketing plans, contrive the nicotine levels in cigarettes, and play down the risks of smoking. They even demonstrated the manner in which they studied the smoking habits of teenagers, to the extent that they would exploit the teen market so they would have the lifelong support of a group of Americans. They even considered ways to make cigarettes taste better for teens. So this was a very deliberate, calculated effort to hook kids on tobacco. The thousands and thousands of documents outline this effort.

That is the crux of this issue. This is not to say that Americans didn't know that smoking cigarettes was harmful; of course, they did. The question is, ''Did the industry deliberately contrive the nicotine levels to make it addictive and then to attract young people so they would smoke throughout their lifetime?''

For the answer, listen to some of the industry's own documents. ''The basis of our business is the high school students,'' said one memo. Another one said, ''It is a well-known fact that teenagers like sweet products. Honey might be considered.'' Another one said, ''If our company is to survive and prosper in the long run, we must get our share of the youth market.'' Another memo said, ''. . . to ensure increased and longer-term growth . . . the brand must increase its share penetration among the 14–24 age group . . . which represents tomorrow's cigarette business.'' Another one said, ''Today's teenager is tomorrow's potential regular customer.''

So these are glaring demonstrations of unscrupulous and unethical conduct on the part of companies.

And that is what brings us to the floor of the Senate. The industry discovered and knew the truth, and they could not escape their past practices. And that is why they entered into a settlement with 40 attorneys general.

While last June's proposed settlement may have been the catalyst for comprehensive tobacco legislation, it did not mean that Congress could not change that settlement. We were not a party to those negotiations, but we have a right to make changes, and it had to come to Congress.

And what has been the result of these industry documents and their intent to market an addictive product to young people in America? This has been the result: More than 5 million children under the age of 18, alive today, will eventually die from smoking-related diseases unless current rates are reversed. Approximately 4.1 million kids age 12 to 17 are current smokers. Almost 90 percent of adult smokers began at or before age 18. Among high school seniors who have ever used smokeless tobacco, almost three-fourths began by the ninth grade. And 3,000 of our children will become addicted to this deadly product every day.

That is what this is all about. That is the debate. That is the heart of this issue, Mr. President.

In my State of Maine, we have one of the highest rates of teen smoking in

America and we have the highest rate of smoking for individuals between the ages of 18 and 30. In fact, a full 38 percent of high school students in Maine currently smoke cigarettes, and 16 percent of high school boys use smokeless tobacco. That is what has happened. Smoking is habit-forming and 35 percent of males between the ages of 18 to 34 reported smoking cigarettes in 1996. That is the result of what we are talking about. That is why we are here in the U.S. Senate debating this comprehensive framework.

If this habit was harmless, we would not be here today. But tobacco is not harmless, and we know it. Furthermore, this harm has been spread by an industry that has marketed to young people, which has resulted in a senseless loss of life. Now, we have the responsibility to take action.

For those who oppose doing anything, regardless of what the content of this legislation is, I say to them: What is the alternative? What else will we do here in the U.S. Senate? The bottom line is that this is our only chance. We only have one opportunity and it is before the U.S. Senate. It is a historic opportunity to bring to an end these past practices and, more importantly, to help young people in America so they don't become addicted to this deadly tobacco product for the rest of their lives. That is what this debate is all about. I hope the essence of this issue doesn't get lost as we look at it from a variety of dimensions, because there is no possibility of ever dealing with this kind of framework ever again. This is our chance once and forever.

So I hope that once we get to the point of having gone through all of the amendments, the debate and discussion, it doesn't defeat the ultimate passage of comprehensive tobacco legislation. Those objections cannot override this one important national interest, which is to change the tobacco culture in America, and to hopefully stop young people from smoking, or help them never to start in the first place.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

Mr. KYL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the pendency of H.R. 2709, and actually beginning now, David Stephens and John Rood of my staff be permitted to be on the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The Senator from Hawaii is recognized.

Mr. AKAKA. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. AKAKA pertaining to the submission of S. Res. 235 are located in today's RECORD under ''Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.'')

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

IRAN MISSILE PROLIFERATION SANCTIONS ACT OF 1997

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, pursuant to the consent agreement of April 3, I now call up H.R. 2709, the Iran sanctions legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2709) to impose certain sanctions on foreign persons who transfer items contributing to Iran's efforts to acquire, develop or produce ballistic missiles, and to implement the obligations of the United States under the Chemical Weapons Convention.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 90 minutes equally divided under the previous order.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I just want to clarify the procedural situation. As the Chair just said, it is 90 minutes on the underlying measure, and then 90 minutes on the Levin amendment, if need be to use that time. It is the intent that we go forward to completion of this act and that we have a recorded vote at the end of that time.

I am really pleased the Senate is finally completing action on this very important piece of legislation. Senator LIEBERMAN and I introduced the Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act on October 23, 1997. It has 84 cosponsors in the U.S. Senate. This is not really a complicated piece of legislation. It is designed to address one of the most pressing security issues we face in the world, Iran's determined drive to acquire ballistic missile production capability.

This legislation requires specific targeted sanctions against any foreign entities providing direct support to Iran's missile development efforts. The House passed companion legislation on November 12, 1997, without a single dissenting vote. House action modified certain provisions of the legislation to meet concerns of the administration, most notably—and I have made this point to the President in my discussions with him about this legislation—that he is granted a waiver, and that was requested by the administration, and that was included in the bill when the House passed it.

The House also passed legislation adding the Chemical Weapons Convention to the package. Our legislation addresses a clear and present danger. Iran is a terrorist state under U.S. law. Last year, a German court found Iranian intelligence directly responsible for murder committed on German soil. Earlier this very week, the Government of Argentina found Iran responsible for a terrorist bombing of a Jewish synagogue. The same Iranian Government responsible for terrorist murder around the world is engaged in efforts to acquire nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. They already have chemical weapons. They are working on biological weapons. This is a very serious matter.

Much of the knowledge that Senators and administration officials have on this issue cannot be talked about here in the Senate because of their very sensitive intelligence issues. But every time I receive a briefing, I become more alarmed about what Iran has and what additional capability they are trying to acquire.

Their missile program has been advanced tremendously by the assistance from a wide range of Russian entities. The details, as I said, are classified, but it is comprehensive and it is ongoing. I urge every Senator to review the intelligence information. A summary is available right now in S–407 for Members' review. The intelligence community will brief any Senator on the extent and impact of Russian cooperation. I have had that briefing and continue to review intelligence information. Let me assure the Senate, Russian cooperation is deeply disturbing. It is widespread. It has made the day Iran is able to target American forces and American allies closer by years. If I went into the details of the capability they have acquired and how soon they could have the ability to use that, everybody in the Senate and the United States would be alarmed.

The basic facts are not in dispute. Iran wants ballistic missile production capability. Russian assistance has materially advanced Iranian efforts. American diplomatic efforts to halt assistance have not succeeded. That assistance continues today. That is why we have H.R. 2709 before us today in the Senate.

We have not rushed to judgment on this issue. Last November, we did not act after the House sent us the legislation, and I received specific calls from the President's National Security Adviser asking that we not act. In the last week we were in session, this legislation could have been passed, probably on a voice vote, immediately. But, in response to the administration's efforts and assurances that they were going to get some cooperation, we said all right, we will see if we get some results by waiting.

In January, the administration asked for a 3-week delay to compare assessments with Israel, our ally most directly threatened by Iranian weapons of mass destruction. In February, the administration asked for delay until