

subsidy to these same tobacco companies to sell this deadly product overseas. Is there any doubt that it is deadly? Well, for decades, the tobacco companies said: You can't prove it; there is no science behind it. We can prove that tobacco may not be harmful.

Well, they finally gave up on that sad and disgraceful claim. This is what their web site started publishing 10 days ago. This is Philip Morris. I will read it into the RECORD:

Cigarette smoking and disease in smokers: We agree with the overwhelming medical and scientific consensus that cigarette smoke causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema, and other serious diseases in smokers. Smokers are far more likely to develop serious diseases like lung cancer than non-smokers. There is no safe cigarette. These are and have been the messages of public health authorities world-wide. Smokers and potential smokers should rely on these messages in making all smoking-related decisions.

Having said that, we have just awarded to the companies that make this deadly product, and want to sell it overseas, a \$100 million-a-year tax subsidy. Do you know what that means? It means that the United States of America, which for over a century has been a leader in public health causes around the world, is now going to be a leader in purveying this deadly cigarette and tobacco product in Third World countries.

Visit any country that you choose overseas and look at what you see. With the exception of countries such as Poland which, surprisingly, has enacted good legislation to stop tobacco advertising that appeals to children, in country after country, you find the most outrageous, disgraceful activity by American tobacco companies subsidized by American taxpayers selling their deadly product overseas.

In the Philippines, a very Catholic country, they give away these calendars showing religious images with American tobacco products. These are the things which American tobacco companies will now be doing with the help of this tax subsidy from Federal taxpayers.

Allow me to tell you what we face here. Since 1990, Philip Morris sales have grown by 80 percent overseas. Smoking currently causes more than 3½ million deaths each year throughout the world. Within 20 years, the number is expected to rise to 10 million, with 70 percent of all deaths from smoking in developing countries. Listen to this statistic. This ought to tell you how important this issue is to the world. Tobacco will soon be the leading cause of disease and premature death worldwide, surpassing AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis.

Do you take any pride as an American citizen that it is our tobacco companies selling these products to children and to unsuspecting people around the world, which will soon be the public health scourge of our globe? Do you take any comfort or satisfaction in the decision we have just made within a

few minutes to give a \$100 million subsidy each year to these tobacco companies so they can peddle this deadly product to kids and unsuspecting people in countries around the world? Can you hold your head up high as an American, proud that we are now subsidizing this deadly product? Can you visit these countries and see the Marlboro Man and all of the logos we have seen disappearing in America re-emerging in these Third World countries as more and more people are lured into tobacco addiction? Can you be proud as an American of that fact?

I am not. I am saddened by it. I am saddened that this leadership refused to allow this bill to even be considered on the floor for an amendment. But that has been the story of the Senate for month after month. We have been afraid to face the reality of debate, afraid to face the tough votes. And for some members from those States that produce tobacco or happen to be friendly to tobacco companies, it would have been a tough vote. But these Senators have been protected from even facing this issue. It is a tax subsidy to tobacco companies that will literally kill people around the world.

This country, of which I am so proud to be part, and the State I represent—I am so proud to be their Senator here—will become known to people around the world as the source of death and disease. People now are worried about death from malaria and tuberculosis and AIDS. Sit tight because in a few years you will see other deadly diseases coming across your land—emphysema, lung cancer, heart disease—from America's tobacco products. Marlboros, Camels, all of these products will be overseas.

After they put on these sweet little commercials about how much they just love these children and they love these elderly people—they put on these sweet little commercials and spend a lot of money to tell you how lovable Philip Morris is—go to the Philip Morris web site and see what this lovable company sells to make the profits to take Meals on Wheels to an elderly lady.

They sell a product which they now readily concede causes death and disease. After 40 years of denial, they finally admitted it. We have decided that we want to subsidize their efforts. It is a sad day in the Senate. I can certainly support this tax effort for the many corporations that will use it responsibly to sell good products overseas, but to think that this Senate will be party to this decision, it is a sad day.

It is no surprise. A few years ago when we wanted to hold the tobacco companies accountable for their solicitation of children, it was stopped by the Republican leadership in the Senate. When the Clinton-Gore administration said these tobacco companies owe Federal taxpayers for what they have done to them over the years as they settled, and pay the States for what they had done to their citizens as

well, the Republican leadership said, no, stop the lawsuit; don't sue the tobacco companies; leave them alone. These poor tobacco companies, leave them alone. They only have \$7.2 billion annually in profits.

Well, I believe the Clinton-Gore administration is right. I believe the American people deserve this lawsuit. They deserve the tobacco companies being held accountable and they deserve that these companies finally stop soliciting our children, addicting our children, aggressively stop selling their products to our children. I have been in Congress for 18 years. For the last 12 years, I guess I have fought on this issue more than any other. I can assure my friends in the Senate it is not the end of the debate. To those who want to give this gift to the tobacco companies, they can expect this fight to continue.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

CONGRATULATING SENATOR MOYNIHAN

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I congratulate our dear colleague from New York. I thank him for his leadership in defense of trade. We had these running debates, most of them related to the Presidential campaign. Most have nothing to do with the business of the Senate in these waning hours of the session. Instead they are about who deserves or what deserves credit for the golden economic era in which we live. I think the plain answer is, more than anything else, the creation of a wealth-generating machine through world trade is responsible for this economic golden age in which we live.

Our colleague is what I think of as an "old-timey" Democrat. There used to be a lot more of them here than there are now. Unfortunately, there is going to be one fewer. Some might think the number would be zero after Senator MOYNIHAN. But there was a time when there was a bipartisan consensus in favor of world trade. Unfortunately, now it is so easy to demagog against trade because you can identify a potential loser. If a company shuts down, whether it was inefficient or "moved off to Mexico," the claim is, "They moved off to Mexico." Everybody who loses a job there knows it. But the 10 or 100 jobs we create for every 1 we lose, people do not know why they were created. So it is hard, politically, to stand up for economic freedom. But what is a more basic economic freedom than the right to produce things and sell them all around the world?

I would also like to say, in an era where a lot of people are running away and hiding on the issue of Social Security or pretending the problem is somehow going to go away, I again congratulate our colleague from New York for being willing to stand up on that issue. He has made it clear that unless we do something about Social Security, unless we create a wealth source

to pay benefits, we are perpetuating a cruel hoax where we are going to end up, in 12 or 15 years, having to make excruciatingly painful choices. These are not just choices about spending cuts versus taxes, but really they are choices we will have to make between our parents and our children, between the security of our parents and the economic opportunity of our children. We will have to make those choices because of failed leadership right now to deal with this issue.

I did not want to pass up this chance to say to my colleague from New York I am glad he came our way. I am proud to call him my friend and colleague.

I remember the first dealing I ever had with the Senator from New York. It was on a TV talk show. I don't know if he remembers it. We sort of had a sharp exchange. I would like to say I am not as ignorant as I used to be. I thank our colleague from New York for being an instructor for me and for America. I am proud of his academic background. I am proud to share it with him.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I thank my learned and ever accommodating—almost always accommodating friend. I have learned so much from him. If he knew how little economics I brought to this body, he would appreciate how much he has added to it. I am grateful, as a scholar ought to be. Across the aisle, I admire him so much and only wish he were on this side. But he has helped both sides on the issues that matter. That is what is important. I thank my friend.

DECISIONS FOR THE NEW CONGRESS

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I want to comment on where we are. I am sure the American people are confused. They hear the President saying one thing, they hear Congress saying another. They see chaos, they see gridlock, they see politics as usual. I am sure they are wondering what is this all about. Let me try, in the remaining moments I have, to explain.

We are at the end of an 8-year Presidency. Americans are going to the polls next Tuesday to make a fundamental decision. But we have a President in the White House now who would like to make the decision for the future while he is still President, by forcing Congress to spend far beyond the budget we wrote and far beyond the budget he wrote. The President has, in essence, said that if we will spend 30 percent more on social programs in Health and Human Services than we spent last year, if we will then make some permanent changes in law in addition to that spending, such as giving amnesty to people who have broken the Nation's laws and come to the country illegally, he will sign this bill and let us go home.

Let me tell you why we are not going to do that and why we are going to resist. First, I do not believe the Amer-

ican people want Bill Clinton, or this Congress for that matter, making decisions for the new President and the new Congress. It is time to have an election. It is time to move on. What we have is a President who almost is unhappy because the focus of attention is on the two men who are now running for President. And so, he believes that by vetoing bills he has agreed to sign and by demanding more and more spending, he gets his name back in the paper and gets on television.

Let me tell you why we should say no. We should say no because the American people ought to decide. If we did what Bill Clinton is calling on us to do, before the new President ever took his hand off the Bible we would have spent between a third and a half of the budget surplus.

I think the American people think they are deciding in this election. If people want to spend this money, they can vote for AL GORE. If they want to use the money to let working people have a tax cut and to invest it in rebuilding Social Security and Medicare, they can vote for George Bush. But however they are going to vote, Bill Clinton should not be making the decision to spend it before the American people can vote.

Let me convert it down to a simple number. For every day that we simply fund at this year's level the remaining parts of Government that are not yet appropriated for, we save between \$88 and \$133 million a year. By just continuing to fund at this year's level and waiting for the next President to arrive, over a 12-month period we would spend \$32 billion less by not creating all these new programs, by not hiring all these new Government employees, by not making the President the president of every school board in America.

Nobody knows what \$132 billion is so let me convert it into something you know. As you know, you can buy a very nice pickup truck for \$20,000. You can buy basically a loaded Chevrolet or Ford pickup, full-size pickup, for \$20,000. By simply saying no to Bill Clinton for 6 more days and simply leaving spending at its current level, we could buy 1.6 million pickup trucks. I think the American people understand what 1.6 million pickup trucks are.

I know there are some people who hope, even at this last minute, to cut a deal with Bill Clinton and bring to the floor of the Senate a bill that will spend \$32 billion more on social programs. Let me tell you, today is Wednesday. We are going to have an election on Tuesday. They have never put an election off in American history. I just want to say to people, a deal is not going to happen. If a deal is cut today, spending \$32 billion, basically taking 1.6 million pickup trucks right off people's driveways and out of their garages, I am going to object. We are not going to vote to spend that money before the people of America can vote in this election.

They are going to decide, depending on how they vote. They may tell us to spend it and a lot more, or they may say give some of it back. We may create a wealth base for Social Security but that is going to be decided by voters. But what is not going to be decided by this President and what is not going to be decided by this Congress before the election is that we are going to go on a massive spending spree. That is not going to happen.

How do I know it is not going to happen? Because today is Wednesday. Under the rules of the Senate, if a few people say no, it can't be done, it will not be done.

I think what we ought to do on a bipartisan basis is to pass a resolution funding the Government through the election, let the American people speak, and let them say what they want to happen with this money. Not Bill Clinton because he is on the way out. Let them say through this election and whom they elect what they want done.

It is not the time to be listening to the voices of the past. It is time to be looking to the future. Let's pass this CR through the election, keep spending where it is right now, and let the American people speak on Tuesday. Then we can come back here, we will have heard the message from back home, and we can respond to it.

I think that is the rational thing to do, and that is what I am going to support. I also believe that is what is going to happen.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

TRIBUTE TO TEXAS SAILORS LOST ABOARD THE U.S.S. "COLE"

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I rise today to talk about a very sad time. It has been a sad time for America. I want to focus on the sadness in Texas.

Mr. President, last week Texas laid to rest three of her sons, killed in the terrorist attack on the U.S.S. *Cole*. Seaman Timothy Gauna of Rice, Petty Officer Ronchester Santiago of Kingsville, and Fireman Gary Swenchonis of Rockport, were killed in the October 12 disaster.

Since then, I have visited with the families of these three sailors. I met with some of them at the *Cole* memorial service in Norfolk, VA. Fine, loving individuals, they are trying, as we all are, to make sense of the senseless.

These young men had their lives ahead of them. They wanted to go to college, to travel, to raise their own families. They volunteered for the Navy because they loved their country and wanted to give something back, and now they are gone.

It may not be possible for us to understand the magnitude of this loss to the families involved.

Can we know the anguish of Mr. Swenchonis, whose son Gary was laid