

savings account, which will last a lifetime. And they will, and so will uncles and aunts, even neighbors.

Every time I talk about these savings accounts, corporations, you can see the wheels start to turn, because they are saying to themselves, "I could watch my employees, and we can both contribute to those savings accounts. This would be a good thing for our company to do." Or labor unions or churches, benevolent associations—it is limitless, the imagination of the American people. We have read about these philanthropists using scholarships to help elementary schools: "We will give them a new school." These philanthropists will be able to open these savings accounts early on and assure a quality college education. The ideas that will come around these savings accounts, in that they allow sponsors, have yet to be fully thought of, because Americans are so ingenious.

And none of the value of those sponsors is in any of the financial estimates. It will be billions, billions in dollars, creating one of the largest new—all of this is new money, not redirected; this is volunteered money, coming forward from a family's own checking accounts—no property taxes having to be raised, no taxes having to be raised at the Federal level. These are folks coming forward on their own, so it is all new. And it is smart money. It is smart money because it is directed right at the child's need. Public dollars have a hard time doing that.

Public dollars have a hard time finding that tutor for the math-deficient student, but the parents know what the problem is, or should, and hopefully this will help them think about it. They can put the money right on target. The child has dyslexia. Then we have a special education tutor. The child can't get to the after-school programs. We can arrange for that to happen through these accounts. Eighty-five percent of inner-city children in America today do not have a home computer. As my good colleague Senator TORRICELLI often says, how could anyone even envision coming to the new century without a home computer? Forty percent of the students in general don't have home computers, but it is 85 percent in inner-city schools.

It has been interesting to me to watch leaders in inner-city communities say, "We want these savings accounts." The sacrifices they are having to make and the problems they are having to face, all of these things help them, in particular. I might add, because every now and then I hear from the other side, "This just goes to the wealthy," 75 percent of all these resources go to families earning \$75,000 or less—or less. I might also add that the criteria for who can use the account are identical to the little college savings account that the President signed last year.

Again, Mr. President, the hour draws near. It is duplicitous and cynical,

when you are orchestrating a filibuster that denies millions of American families an advantage in education, to go out on the stage and point the finger at our side of the aisle and say we are not doing anything for education. No wonder this town reeks with cynicism. No wonder. I am trying, I say to the chaplain, to be conscious of the prayer, which was beautiful. But that is cynical.

I cannot think of a single loser in this legislation, not one; everybody is a winner. That doesn't happen around here very often. Usually on tax policy and the like, somebody is a winner at the expense of somebody else. Any child in America, no matter where they go to school, no matter the family circumstances, they have a chance to create a new tool to help deal with the educational needs of their children.

And it helps confront the high costs of college in two ways. Savings accounts could be kept until college. We protect the tax relief tuition plans in 21 States, with 17 States coming behind it, 1 million workers getting back into education, 250,000 graduate students, \$3 billion in new school construction—\$3 billion. And there is not a single loser. We would throw it all away, throw it all out, because some few families would use their savings account, which is their money, to pay tuition in another school. That is incredible and disappointing and cynical and denying of real benefits to the people of our Nation suffering a massive, massive problem.

Let me conclude by saying this: This has been a very strong bipartisan effort. My cosponsor is Senator ROBERT TORRICELLI from New Jersey, from the other side of the aisle. He had been tireless in his effort to make the same case, many times much more adroitly than I. Senator LIEBERMAN of Connecticut, Senator BREAUX of Louisiana, Senator GRAHAM of Florida who designed many of these provisions, Senator MOYNIHAN who designed some of the provisions of this proposal. As a matter of fact, almost 80 percent of the costs associated with the bill are on provisions associated with the other side of the aisle. I thank those Members very much for their assistance. I hope they will continue to be attentive to the dynamics of what is happening here.

The suggestion being made by the other side of the aisle that there has not been a fair balance on debate does not hold water. We are trying to keep the debate focused on education and not extraneous matters. I think that is appropriate. We are not trying to turn this into a Christmas tree. We are trying to talk about education, an education proposal. I hope we will be successful in cutting off this fourth debate later this afternoon.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REED. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

CHILDREN'S HEALTH PRESERVATION AND TOBACCO ADVERTISING COMPLIANCE ACT

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss my legislation S. 1755, legislation that would amend the Internal Revenue Code to deny tobacco companies any tax deduction for their advertising and promotional expenses when those expenses are directed at the most impressionable group in our society, children.

In a recent editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Doctors C. Everett Koop, David Kessler, and George Lundberg wrote, "For years the tobacco industry has marketed products that it knew caused serious disease and death. Yet, it intentionally hid this truth from the public, carried out a deceitful campaign designed to undermine the public's appreciation of these risks, and marketed its addictive products to children."

Numerous studies have implicated the tobacco industry, their advertising and promotional activities, as a major cause in the continued increase in youth smoking throughout the United States in recent years. Research on smoking demonstrates that increases in youth smoking directly coincide with effective tobacco promotional activities.

My legislation, S. 1755, addresses this key element in an ongoing public debate about controlling youth smoking in the United States. My legislation could stand on its own, or it can easily be incorporated into comprehensive legislation, which is beginning to be considered here in the Senate. With or without congressional action on the Attorney General's proposal and suggested settlement which took place last summer, it is time for Congress to act now to stop the tobacco industry's practice of luring children into untimely disease and death.

I am pleased to have join me as cosponsors Senator BOXER, Senator CHAFEE, and Senator CONRAD. I also want to recognize the leadership over many years of my colleagues, Senator TOM HARKIN, along with former Senator Bill Bradley, who have in the past called for the total elimination of tax deductions for tobacco advertisers. While I concur with Senator HARKIN that the deduction is a questionable use of our tax dollars, I would also like to emphasize that my legislation does not go that far.

My legislation is designed to eliminate this deduction if it is used deliberately, explicitly, and consciously to attract young people, children, to smoking. Limiting the access of children to smoking is a critical part of

any comprehensive tobacco settlement. My approach is a constitutionally sound way to do this. We have had discussions about the first amendment and the fact that the industry and others claim that only voluntary controls would be permissible under the first amendment. But it is quite clear under the first amendment that Congress has the authority and ability to limit tax deductions. So my legislation not only gets at one of the major issues involved in the debate over tobacco, it does so in a way which is completely consistent with the Constitution.

Now, the advertising restrictions I am talking about are generally those that were agreed to by the industry in their discussions with the Attorneys General. These restrictions have been incorporated in legislation which Senator CONRAD introduced, and I joined as a cosponsor, along with 29 other Senators. S. 1638, provides for and codifies those restrictions that will go a long, long way in preventing youth access to smoking.

Now, under my legislation, if the manufacturers do not comply with these restrictions, if they choose to conduct the kind of reckless advertising campaigns they have in the past, then they would forfeit the deductibility of these expenses. Now, these restrictions are appropriately tailored to prevent the advertising and marketing of tobacco directed at young people in our society. These restrictions are very similar to those proposed by the Food and Drug Administration. Indeed, they are very close to those agreed to by the industry in the June 20 proposed settlement.

Key components of these restrictions are, first, a prohibition on point-of-sale advertising, except in adult-only stores and tobacco outlets; second, a ban on outdoor advertising; third, a prohibition on brand-name sponsorship of sporting or entertainment events; fourth, a prohibition on the use of human images, cartoon characters and cartoon-type characters in their advertising; fifth, no payments for "glamorizing" tobacco use in performances or in media that appeals to minors; sixth, requiring black and white text advertising and labeling so as not to heighten the appeal of cigarette products on the shelf; seventh, a prohibition on tobacco product identification on entries and teams in sporting events; finally, a prohibition on Internet advertising. These are very sensible, very thoughtful restrictions and, I must emphasize, should be essentially agreed to by the industry as their way of meeting the challenge of limiting access to cigarettes by young people in this society.

On numerous occasions, the industry has said: Well, unless we get full immunity, we will not voluntarily give up our right to advertise to children. Well, today I am offering an alternative that I think would persuade them that they should stop this advertising to children. This enforcement mechanism does not rely on their voluntary com-

pliance. It simply recognizes the bottom line of these companies and says: If you want to persist in advertising to minors, then you will forfeit the ability to deduct these expenses from your tax bill.

Now, Mr. President, the importance of this issue is enormous. The facts speak for themselves. Today, some 50 million Americans are addicted to tobacco. One out of every three of these individuals will die prematurely because of their tobacco addiction. Three-fourths of present smokers today want to quit, but they can't because it is an addiction. Less than a quarter are able successfully to quit.

Tobacco is costly in terms of lives lost and in terms of the amount of resources consumed every year in this society, which literally goes up in smoke. It is estimated that in the United States alone over \$100 billion a year is expended in health care costs and lost productivity.

Each pack of cigarettes sold generates about \$3.90 in smoking-related costs to society. Tobacco accounts to more than \$10 billion in costs a year to the Medicare system and \$5 billion each year in terms of costs to the Medicaid system. In my home State of Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Union, health expenses related to smoking were estimated at about \$186 million in 1996. These are staggering totals. The cost of smoking and lives lost and resources consumed is a serious, serious issue in this country. This problem clearly starts with children.

Ninety percent of adult smokers began to smoke before they were 18 years old. The average youth smoker begins at the age of 13 and becomes a daily smoker by the age 14½. You have young people as early as 13 beginning to smoke and within a year and a half many of them are hooked for the rest of their lives.

Each year, 1 million American children become smokers, and one-third of them will die from lung cancer, emphysema, and similar tobacco-related illnesses. Unless current trends are reversed, 5 million kids who are 18 and younger today will die prematurely because of smoking. You know, there has been a lot of attention has been paid to smoking, and we are finally seeing some positive results. There are many signs that adults are beginning to realize the dangers of smoking.

In my home State of Rhode Island, the adult rate of smoking is stabilizing. But, shockingly, smoking among high school students has increased by 25 percent. This is not an accident—the tobacco industry has targeted its advertising to lure children to smoke. It is a dilemma that companies face, when every year your customers die—and many die because of your products—you have to find replacements. For generations, the industry has targeted efficiently the children of this country.

Mr. President, this is a real nationwide public health crisis. I have a chart

that depicts "students who reported smoking," prepared by the University of Michigan. They found that daily smoking among seniors in high school increased from 17.2 percent in 1992 to 22.2 percent in 1996. It continued to climb to 24.6 percent in 1997, representing a 43 percent increase in daily smoking among our Nation's high school seniors over the past 5 years. At a time when we are all appalled at the health consequences of smoking, we are seeing an increase in smoking among high school seniors.

It is far too easy for children to buy these products. It is against the law in every State in this country to sell tobacco products to minors. Yet, it has been estimated that children buy \$1.26 billion worth of cigarettes and other tobacco products each year.

More and more, we are learning that these children are beginning to smoke because of industry advertising and promotional efforts. A recent study by John Pierce and some of his colleagues in a *Journal of the American Medical Association* article found clear evidence that tobacco industry advertising and promotional activities can decisively influence children who have never smoked before, to begin smoking.

Among the findings, they found that tobacco industry promotional activities in the mid-1990s will influence almost 20 percent of those who turn 17 years of age each year to try smoking. At least 34 percent of youth experimentation with cigarettes is attributed to the advertising and promotion efforts of the tobacco industry.

They surveyed nonsmokers who were in high school, and they found that among nonsmokers, 56 percent had a favorite cigarette advertisement. They have been programmed—preprogrammed, if you will—to begin to smoke. Eighty-three percent of those nominated either Camel or Marlboro as their favorite ad. In fact, Camel was the favorite among children ages 12 and 13. Again, it is no wonder, because, as we all know, companies rely on cartoon characters like Joe Camel, giveaways of hats, T-shirts, and key chains, and promote recreational activities and sporting activities, targeting much of their efforts toward young people.

Industry advertising is consistent with the history of the tobacco industry, in terms of trying to deceptively promote their products, to make of their products appear to be something they never were and never will be. They are spending huge amounts of money to do so, and they have been doing it consistently. This is an industry whose record is one of irresponsibility toward children in our society. They have said in the settlement with the Attorneys General that they want to change their culture. They recognize the bad old days and they want to do something different. I think we have to seriously question whether or not this will take place, whether or not they

will do this, unless we impose significant restrictions on their ability to influence the young people of this country.

Now, the story of the tobacco industry is, in many cases, a story of advertising in the United States. If you approach someone my age and ask them, "What does LSMFT mean?—and I see Senator TORRICELLI here, who probably would say of course he knows—younger people might think that it is gibberish. We all know that it means "Lucky Strike Means Fine Tobacco." Now, to pull that out of your subconscious, if you are 40 years or older, just like that, is because it was drummed into us persistently through tobacco advertising. It was a little jingle or acronym that kids would recognize. Then, of course, we all remember, going back years, the slogan "sold American." All of these are part of our culture. All of them program young people in particular to be receptive and welcoming to the suggestion that they should smoke.

(Mr. SMITH of Oregon assumed the chair.)

If you go back to the 1950s, the industry at that time was trying to suggest that tobacco was a healthy product. They advertised, for example, "More doctors smoke Camels than any other cigarette." Of course, they have someone that looks like a doctor with a cigarette. And the suggestion is pretty clear: These are good for you. If doctors smoke them, they must be great for you. We all know that is absolute nonsense.

We know, and the industry knew then, that smoking could cause serious health problems and not would benefit your health.

In 1953, another tobacco company had a slogan: "This is it. L&M filters are just what the doctor ordered." This line of suggestion led consumers to the misleading conclusion that smoking was good for you.

Again, we today know as they knew then that this is precisely what a doctor would tell you not to do. But their deception and their advertisements live on. I do not know if they have really changed their culture. Today, we have Winston ads which are attempting to sound like tobacco is a health food, with promotional claims saying "no additives." Of course, tobacco contains formaldehyde and chemicals that would kill you, and will kill you, if you smoke cigarettes long enough.

We also have the Camel advertisements. They have abandoned Joe Camel, the cartoon character, but now have "Live Out Loud"—a very attractive ad, designed to appeal not to any rational decision about smoking. It is designed to be suggestive, particularly to young people, that this is a sexy thing to do, that it is an adult thing to do, it is something that has style and panache, the things young people want to have in their lives, to be grown up.

So we have an industry now that is still catering to the young people of our country.

Recently released documents from the tobacco industry trial shed much more light on what has been taking place for years. And the conclusion is inescapable. These companies have been targeting the young people of America. News reports recently disclosed that an RJR researcher named Claude Teague wrote in a 1973 memo, "if our company is to survive and prosper, over the long-term we must get our share of the youth market."

Documents obtained through the Mangini litigation further document these efforts. A presentation from a C.A. Tucker, vice president of marketing, to the board of directors of RJR Industries in 1974 concluded: "This young adult market"—let me stop for a moment. "This young adult market"—if you ask me who is the young adult—I would say a young adult is 24, 25, 26. What does the industry think a young adult is?

This young adult market, the 14-24 age group . . . represent(s) tomorrow's cigarette business.

That same presentation said:

For Salem, significant improvements have been made in the advertising, designed for more youth adult appeal under its greenery/refreshment theme. These include: More true-to-life young adult situations. More dominant visuals. A greater spirit of fun . . . for Camel filter, we . . . will have pinpointed efforts against young adults through its sponsorship of sports car racing and motorcycling.

That is a 1974 memo. Contemporary advertisements for another brand, Kool, has the same strategy, same approach; exciting young themes; auto racing; green, cool, clear colors; excitement; vitality; robust—all of the things that ultimately are the exact opposite of long-term cigarette smoking; again, very attractive; deliberately targeted to attract a wide audience, but certainly to attract young people to smoke.

The Mangini documents also indicate that RJR had been secretly conducting extensive surveys on the smoking habits of young people for years and years.

A 1990 document on "Camel Brand Promotion Opportunities" states that, "(t)arget smokers are approaching adulthood . . . their key interests include girls, cars, music, sports, and dancing"—again, heightening the appeal to the youth market. You can see it reflected in advertisements. What could be more exciting and dramatic than a race car driver?

In 1982, the chairman and chief executive officer of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Edward Horrigan, testified before the House Commerce Committee that, "(p)eer pressure and not our advertising provides the impetus for smoking among young people."

And this is a consistent argument that the industry makes: It is not advertising, it is just peer pressure among young people wanting to be like their buddy. That was 1982.

A 1986 memo on the new Joe Camel advertising campaign—Joe Camel, a product of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company—said:

Camel advertising will be directed toward using peer acceptance/influence to provide the motivation for target smokers to select Camel. Specifically, advertising will be developed with the objective of convincing target smokers that by selecting Camel as their usual brand they will project an image that will enhance their acceptance among their peers.

What could be more cynical? What could be more hypocritical than standing before the House Commerce Committee, and saying, "It is not our advertising, it is peer pressure," and then conducting campaigns that are deliberately designed to create that peer pressure?

As I said before, if you look at these documents, they persistently refer to the "young adult smoker." So the industry will say, "Well, of course we are trying to get customers, but they are young adults." But their vision of the young adult is much different than my vision, and I think any reasonable person, because it became a code word for teen smokers.

For example, a 1987 document discussing "Project LF" Camel Wides, states, "Project LF is a wider circumference non-menthol cigarette targeted at younger adult male smokers, primarily 13-24 year old male Marlboro smokers."

Another document suggested, as a way of operating within advertising restrictions, "transfer(ing) Old Joe (Camel's) irreverent, fun loving personality to other creative properties which do not rely on models or cartoon depictions."

Again, the beat goes on. The excuses change. The rationalizations change. The characters change. Old Joe Camel takes a seat on the bench. But another fun-filled, irreverent theme designed similarly to attract young people takes its place.

Given this record, I am deeply skeptical that this industry will truly reform. Unless we have strong provisions which make it in their economic best interests to change, they will not change. That is, once again, why I think this legislation is very, very important.

This industry spends a huge amount of money each year to try to hook kids on tobacco. We know from the documents and from the research, that this is one of the major motivating factors. We know that advertising plays a pivotal role in the decision of young people to smoke. We know they try to use peer pressure. We know that for years they have tried to attract generation after generation of young people to smoking.

We know the advertising pays off. Eighty-six percent of underage smokers prefer one of the most heavily advertised brands—Marlboro, Newport, or Camel. The barrage of advertising has a devastating and deadly effect on our children.

One of the advertising campaigns that has been most subject to scrutiny in the last few years has been the Joe Camel campaign by R.J. Reynolds.

When they began this campaign Camel's market share among underaged smokers was 3 percent. Within 3 years of Joe Camel, the cartoon character, the giveaways, the promotional items, underage market share jumped to 13 percent—13 percent who would likely become long-term smokers.

Although Congress banned television advertising in 1970, the companies routinely get around it through the sponsorship of televised sporting events.

Marlboro did an analysis of an automobile race they sponsored. Again, it is against the law to advertise on TV. It was found that the Marlboro logo was seen 5,093 times during this televised broadcast race, accounting for a total of 46 minutes of exposure during a 93-minute program. That is probably better than if they were buying 30-second spots to sponsor the show directly.

Data from the Federal Trade Commission shows how much the industry spends, which has increased dramatically over the last twenty years.

In 1975, the industry spent \$491 million. In 1995 alone, tobacco manufacturers spent \$4.9 billion—\$491 million in 1975; by 1995, \$4.9 billion. On Tuesday, the Federal Trade Commission released their most recent numbers from 1996 showing that advertising expenditures increased 4 percent over 1995. The industry spent in 1996 over \$5 billion.

We are helping, however, because the industry is able to deduct these expenses. Generally, they can deduct 35 percent of these expenses through their business operations. In 1995, this subsidy—our contribution to hooking kids—amounted to \$1.6 billion in lost revenue to the Federal Treasury.

This is not an insignificant amount of money. In fact, year by year, the amount of tax expenditures on advertising that the industry has won through this provision of the Internal Revenue Code has increased. In effect, we are subsidizing them to conduct Joe Camel campaigns. We are subsidizing them to build peer acceptance and peer pressure for young people to smoke. In 1995, the cost of the cigarette advertising deduction covered the total amount the industry spent on coupons, multipack promotions, and retail value-added items, like key chains and giveaways, in addition to point of sale. In fact, many of these items are the things that kids like the most—the jackets, the T-shirts, and the hats. The things that are trendy among young people are effectively paid for by the tax deduction.

Over the last few decades, the industry has changed some of their tactics, but their goal remains the same. With the demise of television advertisements—I must point out at this time that there are some commentators who suggest that the reason the industry was so cooperative in ending television advertising at that time, the late 1960s, was because there were good antismoking commercials on TV that began to have an effect—that people, when confronted with a good

countercampaign, begin to think twice. But, nevertheless, the industry is off the air. But what they have done is shift their approach.

You can see from this chart, which depicts various categories of advertising, that biggest jump—from 1985 to 1995—was in the area of specialty items. These include shirts, caps, sunglasses, key chains, calendars. In 1985, the industry spent \$211 million. By 1995, they were spending \$665 million.

Again, these are the types of promotional items that are most appealing to young people. The industry has increased their expenditures on public entertainment. Public entertainment includes the sporting events and other public events, which mean exposure to a wide audience, but is significantly comprised of children.

Spending has declined in newspaper and magazine advertising. Once again, this is a changing strategy, but a very consistent goal; to fill the ranks of dying smokers each year with a new generation of Americans.

Now, let us put this in perspective. The industry is spending \$4.9 billion on advertising. That is double the Federal Government appropriations for the National Cancer Institute and four times the appropriation for the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute. In 1995, the tobacco industry spent, as I said, \$4.9 billion on advertising, 40 times the amount we are spending on lung cancer research.

There are issues before us with respect to the Constitution, the first amendment. Indeed, I think my legislation is within our province. Clearly, it does not run afoul of the first amendment, which none of us in this Chamber would like to do. I believe the restrictions in Senator CONRAD's bill would stand constitutional muster. It is clear these provisions, removing the deduction, stand strongly in support of the first amendment.

Mr. President, we have to act, and we have to act promptly. There are literally thousands of children each day who are becoming addicted to tobacco. They will die prematurely. We can save many of them if we act. The industry has demonstrated through many, many years that they are dedicated to the bottom line and are indifferent to the health of the American children. It is our responsibility to protect the children of this country. We should have no illusion. They will only stop targeting children when it costs them money. We should ensure, at a minimum, that we do not subsidize their appeal to children, we do not support their efforts to target children, and that we will disallow their deduction if they do not change their practices and begin to advertise responsibly to the adults of this country and not the children of this country.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to use up to 15 minutes of the time Senator HAGEL was allotted this morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. SMITH of Oregon). Without objection, it is so ordered.

RELIGIOUS PRISONERS CONGRESSIONAL TASK FORCE

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to introduce to the Senate and to the United States the formation of the Religious Prisoners Congressional Task Force, which will advocate for religious prisoners suffering persecution from foreign governments.

This bicameral, bipartisan task force was founded by Representative JOE PITTS, from Pennsylvania, who has been the leading force on this, and myself. We are also joined by Senator JOE LIEBERMAN, from Connecticut, and Representative TONY HALL, from Ohio, on this joint task force. I would also note at the very outset that many Members are active in this work and have been for a number of years, such Members as FRANK WOLF, from Virginia, who for years has advocated for those who have no voice, who are prisoners of conscience in dirty cells and jails around the world; people like Senator LUGAR in this body, who has done so quietly and effectively with many leaders of Government as have other leaders as well. And there are many ongoing efforts along with this task force we are announcing here today.

As leaders in a nation which ardently values religious freedom—indeed, our Nation was founded upon the principle of religious freedom—we take this opportunity to intervene at the highest levels for those whose greatest crime is to express a belief in the divine, in God. It is my personal conviction that what one does with one's own soul is the most fundamental of human rights. I believe this is a fundamental liberty with which people throughout the world are endowed, the inherent right to do this, to freely express their faith. Yet national governments routinely breach this right and wrongfully silence peaceful minority faith communities and jail their leaders.

The statistics are striking. Fully one-half of the world's religious believers are restrained by oppressive governments from freely expressing their religious convictions. One-third to one-half of the world's believers are forced to meet clandestinely in underground cell groups or home churches, such as occurs frequently in China and Iran and many other places around the world.

Religious persecution is waged internationally from the highest levels of government, particularly Communist and ultranationalist countries. One successful strategy is to intimidate and control believing communities by incarcerating respected religious leaders, bringing the full weight of a national government against key individuals. These prisoners suffer abuses including beatings, torture, extended incarceration and even death unless intervention is made. Such violations strike at