

amendment I will bring to the floor if this compact is brought to the floor. I think this will happen and we will have this debate, and I think it will not be an acrimonious debate, but it will be one of the first debates we have ever had in the Senate on environmental justice or environmental injustice.

I would like to make one point crystal clear. I am not rising in opposition to compacts. My amendment does not pass judgment on the compact this bill attempts to create. Rather, it is designed to give the citizens of Sierra Blanca, a poor Hispanic community, another tool to have their voices heard above a political process that would just as soon ignore them. I hope my colleagues will recognize our obligation to the people of Sierra Blanca and to all our citizens in taking a stand for environmental justice.

Mr. President, I look forward to this debate. I will bring to the floor documents and other information for discussion. I will raise important questions as a Senator. It will be a civil debate, but I feel very strongly about this. What has happened to the people of Sierra Blanca, or what might happen to them, is all too indicative of what happens all too often to those communities that are the poorest communities, communities of color that over and over and over again are asked to carry the disproportionate burden of environmental degradation. It is not fair to these citizens. It is not fair to their children. It is not fair to their families. It is not fair to their communities. I believe this is a fundamentally important question that we have to address as an institution, as the Senate.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. For the moment, I note the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks be considered a part of morning business.

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

#### A GLOBAL WARMING CHALLENGE

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I would like to comment on what is a challenge unique in human history that we face as a nation, and I am talking about global warming. It is unique because we have to make important decisions without a visible crisis staring us in the face.

In the 1970's, we had the long gas lines, we had two oil price shocks, the taking of hostages by a revolutionary mob in Iran, and that spurred our Nation to reduce its reliance on oil. And

in the 1960's and the 1970's we had the dark clouds of particulates and the smog that smothered urban areas which moved us to clean up the air. Today, we are faced with a potentially greater threat, but it is not a visible threat. We are talking about something that is going to happen, something that is going to affect our children and their children, and the question is what are we going to do? It is a challenge for my State of Minnesota. It is a challenge for our country. It is a challenge for the whole human race. It is also a challenge about leadership. I am talking about the problem of global warming, the problem of climate change.

In 1992, for the Earth summit, President Bush made a commitment to return greenhouse gases to 1990 levels by the year 2000, and we have not lived up to that commitment. We have not honored that commitment. I believe the President, in 1993, made a similar commitment that we would reduce our greenhouse gases to the 1990 level by the year 2000.

I believe that the President's announcement today will fall far short of meeting this challenge—but I certainly want to say to the President and to the White House that I appreciate their efforts to try to move this process forward as we move toward a very important international gathering in Kyoto.

For more than a decade, the scientific community has investigated the issue. Initially, its reports called for more research, better modeling techniques, more data. But in December 1995, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, composed of more than 2,000 scientists from more than 100 countries, concluded that there was a discernible human impact on global climate. In June, more than 2,000 U.S. scientists, including Nobel laureates, signed the Scientists' Statement on Global Disruption, which reads in part that the accumulation of greenhouse gases commits the Earth irreversibly to further global climate change and consequent ecological, economic and social disruption.

Mr. President, I believe as a Senator from Minnesota that we have reached a point where unduly delaying action on reducing greenhouse gas emissions is foolhardy and it is tantamount to betrayal of our future generations. We know what this is going to do. The consequences can be catastrophic for our country and for the world, and I believe that the President and the United States of America have to do better in addressing this challenge.

What has saddened me about this debate is that I believe we should be below 1990 levels certainly before the year 2010. I believe our country should make a commitment to meeting these kind of targets. I think the evidence shows that as opposed to being on the defensive, we should be proactive, and the very bridge the President talks about building to the next century is going to be a bridge that combines a

sustainable environment with sustainable energy with a sustainable economy. I think the country that is the most clean country is going to be the country with an economy powered by clean technologies, industries and businesses. It is going to be a country run with an emphasis on energy efficiency and with a renewable energy policy. It is going to be a country which will generate far more jobs in the renewable energy and clean technology sectors, which are labor intensive, small business intensive and community building sectors.

We have an opportunity as we move into the next millennium to really create a new marriage between our environment and our economy. We are all but strangers and guests on this land, as the Catholic bishops have said. We have to take action now. What the President is calling for is not likely to be enough to address this challenge and the task before us. We can do better as a nation. We can be more respectful of our environment while still growing our economy.

In the Red River Valley, the people of North Dakota and people of Minnesota went through a living hell this past winter and spring. We don't want the floods in the Red River Valley to be 5-year occurrences. And there will be other catastrophic consequences from global warming. For my State it could be agricultural devastation; for my State it could be deforestation and lower lake levels in the Boundary Waters, an area that we love, a crown jewel wilderness area in northern Minnesota.

The more important point, however, is that not only for ourselves but for our children and grandchildren we need to take much stronger action. We have to stand up to some of the powerful forces that are saying no to a meaningful treaty. We have to lay out a proactive, positive agenda which makes it crystal clear that energy efficiency and renewable energy and clean technologies will create many more small businesses and many more jobs for our country. This marriage between our economy and our environment would respect the environment, respect the economy, and would give us an energy policy that is much more productive and positive, while helping us to build and sustain our communities and our country.

I am disappointed in the position the President seems to have taken on targets and timetables for climate change action. I hope as we move forward toward an international treaty, our country will take a stronger negotiating position. We need to be the leaders of the world in meeting what I think is perhaps the most profound environmental challenge which we have ever faced.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I ask consent to speak as in morning business.

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

#### APPROACHING THE CLINTON-JIANG SUMMIT

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, next week Chinese President Jiang Zemin will arrive for his first State visit, the first State visit by a Chinese leader in 12 years. As this visit approaches, I rise to discuss our China policy and the things we might hope to see from this event.

Let me begin with the broad goals of our Asia policy. I think they are clear. First, a peaceful Pacific. Second, open trade. Third, joint work on problems of mutual concern like environmental problems and international crime. And fourth, progress toward respect for internationally recognized human rights.

Generally speaking, our Asian policy has helped move us toward these goals. We have a permanent military force in the Pacific which, coupled with strong alliances with Japan and South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, and Australia, has helped to keep the peace for 20 years. While we have a lot of work ahead on Asian trade, our work has produced over \$100 billion in export growth, an increase of 70 percent. That is since 1991. We are beginning to adopt a more systematic approach to the region's growing environmental problems, and can cite the democratization of the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, and South Korea as human rights success stories.

Where does China fit in? China is the largest country in Asia, the fastest growing economy, the largest military power, and the Asian nation with which our relationship has been most volatile during this decade. If we can establish a stable, workable relationship with China, all of our goals will come closer to realization. If we cannot, both Americans and Chinese, and other Pacific nations, will suffer a great deal.

Next week's summit offers us a chance to make a start. Following it must be a work program focusing on a very practical agenda. And as we approach the summit, I think we can help ourselves by putting the issues we must address in three broad categories. They are: mutual interests, areas of dispute, and issues we will face in the future.

First are the areas where we have mutual interests.

Regional security is one case. We must work with China to maintain peace in Korea. Both countries want to avoid a conflict over Taiwan. We need to ensure that Japan does not feel pres-

sured to become a military power. On weapons proliferation, if India and Pakistan develop nuclear missiles, China will suffer from it a lot more than we would.

Environmental issues are another matter. We both need to ensure sustainable management of fisheries and to address air pollution and acid rain problems caused by the boom in Chinese power production. We also must work much closer together to do our best to protect biodiversity and prevent large-scale climate change. One concrete proposal that will help in this area, if the public reports that China has agreed to our proposals on nuclear proliferation are accurate, is opening up civil nuclear technology sales.

A number of domestic Chinese issues also fall into this area. Helping China establish a broad rule of law will contribute to our human rights goals.

Labor safety is a second case where we could contribute to China's own efforts to improve factory safety and improve the lives of many ordinary Chinese; and helping Chinese farmers take advantage of cleaner pesticides, modern agricultural technologies, and an up-to-date infrastructure is a third.

We also clearly have some disputes with China. We should not make them the whole focus of our relationship, but neither should we try to duck them.

At times we will need simply to understand one another's positions and agree to put off disagreements into the future.

Taiwan policy has been handled reasonably well in this manner for the past few decades. Perhaps with some adjustments in detail, we should continue that policy.

Likewise, China has recently expressed some unhappiness with our stationing of troops in Asia. They need to understand that the issue is between us on the one hand and Japan and Korea and our allies on the other. It is not on the table for discussion.

In other areas we should expect to do better. We seem to be doing well in nuclear proliferation. It is my hope that the President will seal that achievement by certifying China as in compliance in the nuclear area, and open up civil nuclear power trade with China. On missiles and chemical weapons, we see less thus far. And while I do not regard sanctions as a tool appropriate for every issue on the table with China—and I do not believe Congress should be passing broad new sanction laws—these are areas where we should use targeted sanctions if necessary. We did this last spring in the case of the sale of chemical weapons precursors involving a Nanjing company. If it happens again, we should use tougher penalties.

Trade is another example. Despite the optimism of United States business, since 1980 our exports to China have grown more slowly than our exports to any other major market, whether it be Canada, Japan, Europe, Mexico, or ASEAN. Meanwhile, we have been tremendously generous to

China, keeping our market to Chinese goods more open than any other in the world.

This is not acceptable. It is wrong when Chinese shoe companies can sell to Montana but Montana wheat farmers cannot sell to China. We should expect China to be as fair and open to us as we are to them. And we should offer an incentive to do that. Specifically, we should make MFN status permanent when China comes up with a good WTO package. But we should also be clear that we cannot wait forever.

Our 5-year bilateral trade agreement negotiated in 1992 is about to be completed. And if the pace of the WTO talks does not pick up soon, we should use our retaliatory trade law, section 301, to win a broad successor to it.

On human rights, while we should seek common ground and recognize where China is doing better, we should also not shrink from bringing up the tough issues. The time is past when these questions could be considered strictly domestic concerns. We should bring up individual cases of political prisoners, ask for talks with the Dalai Lama and Red Cross access to Chinese prisons. If the Chinese want us to stop sponsoring resolutions at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, they need to show some understanding of our concerns and the world's concerns on these issues.

#### THE ISSUES: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

A third set of issues may be the most important of all, especially as we approach a state visit and a summit. These are the issues we will face in the years ahead, and where mutual understanding beforehand is crucially important.

The most important of all will be Korean unification. I recently visited North Korea. Hunger is widespread and chronic. Economic life in Pyongyang is at a standstill, with broken down streetcars in the middle of the road, empty streets and darkened buildings. And officials there offered no proposals for change other than planting more trees to prevent erosion.

This cannot continue forever. Whether it results from a violent collapse, peaceful if belated reform, or even a desperate attack on the south, change is sure to come on the Korean Peninsula. There will be no belligerent, autarkic regime on the Korean Peninsula.

And as Koreans sort out their own future, we will have to make some very serious security and economic decisions in a very short period of time. They will involve American troop movements and a crisis on the Chinese border. And we need to ensure beforehand, through intensive discussions with China, Russia, Japan, and South Korea, that our policies do not bring us into unnecessary disputes or conflicts with China or any of Korea's neighbors.

We can all think of other issues. They include the effects of very rapid financial flows on fast-growing regions,