

Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

Mr. D'AMATO addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might proceed for up to 5 minutes as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will please come to order. The unanimous-consent request has been made.

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. I simply ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to follow for up to 5 minutes.

Mr. SHELBY. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I thought there was some kind of order here. Am I misinformed?

How much time does the Senator from Massachusetts want?

Mr. KERRY. Five minutes.

Mr. SHELBY. I have no objection to that because I am looking for about 20 or 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the Senator from New York is recognized for up to 5 minutes, followed by the Senator from Massachusetts for 5 minutes.

The Senator from New York is recognized.

HONG KONG STOCK MARKET DECLINE

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, last night, the Hong Kong stock market lost 10 percent of its value. In the past week it has dropped 25 percent of its value. Panic stock selling has taken over the Hong Kong market. All stock markets around the world are declining very heavily. And as of 2:30 this afternoon the Dow Jones industrial average was down 215 points.

This is no coincidence. This is not just the normal fluctuation of the stock market. This is a warning sign of what could be yet to come in Hong Kong now that the Communist Chinese have taken over.

I have spoken out before on this floor about the dangers of the Communist takeover in Hong Kong and, regretably, my fears appear to be coming true. There is a simple but profound lesson here for Americans and for all freedom-loving people around the world. Until recently, Hong Kong was an oasis of economic vibrance and freedom surrounded by the Communist dictatorship on the Chinese mainland. Hong Kong was economically strong because Hong Kong was free.

Freedom knows no boundaries. Whether it is in America or Europe or

Africa or Latin America or Asia, freedom is what creates the opportunity for people and ideas to prosper, but wherever the Communists have ruled freedom dies.

Mr. President, the collapse of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe is one of the epic stories of our time, a true triumph of the human spirit against the forces of oppression. Unfortunately, the brave people of Hong Kong are suffering a reversal. It is tragic to see a free people come under the yoke of Communist rule.

There is still freedom of Hong Kong today, but the warning signs are ominous. We Americans, as the world's foremost champions of freedom, must remain vigilant in our efforts to prevent the Chinese Communists from imposing the full force of their dictatorship on the people of Hong Kong. I pledge to do that, and I encourage all of my colleagues to join me in this noble effort to be vigilant and not to permit the compromise of freedom on the altar of greed and profits.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for up to 5 minutes.

THE CLIMATE CHANGE TREATY

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, the United States is currently engaged in negotiating a climate change treaty. This is a negotiation that we have literally only just really engaged in, in the sense that we have only now made clear to the world what our negotiating position will be, the critical elements from which we will proceed. I was somewhat troubled this morning to hear a number of our colleagues come to the floor of the Senate and, frankly, either considerably misstate or considerably misrepresent the very straightforward words of the President yesterday with respect to this subject. The following is the position that the President articulated yesterday.

No. 1, it is the goal of the United States to find a binding treaty which includes not just developed nations but developing nations as well.

No. 2, the U.S. goal is a binding treaty that seeks to bring greenhouse gases to 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012, so as to minimize economic costs to the United States.

And, finally, No. 3, the United States now will undertake policies to fully leverage market mechanisms, innovation, technology, and American ingenuity to make achieving emissions reductions less costly.

I remind my colleagues that all of these positions are completely within the framework of the resolution that the Senate passed, the Byrd-Hagel resolution. That resolution specifically said it must "mandate new commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for the annex I parties, unless the protocol or other agreement"—and I want to emphasize here, "other agreement." The President in

his proposal has made allowance for the very "other agreement" potential that was contemplated in the resolution we passed. It specifically requires that other agreement, or the principal agreement, mandate new, and specific scheduled reductions for the developing countries within the same compliance period.

The second requirement that the Senate passed was that whatever agreement we reached would not result in serious harm to the economy of the United States. Let me emphasize, the term is "serious harm to the economy of the United States." Any fair reading of the President's remarks outlining our position would find that the President is completely within the framework of the Senate resolution. And yet, today, we really heard Senators completely misrepresenting that position and asserting that it is somehow outside of the Byrd-Hagel resolution.

I ask unanimous consent the full text of the President's comments be printed in the RECORD so people can judge for themselves the degree with which we are in compliance.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE BEFORE THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

The PRESIDENT. Thank you very much. Mr. Murphy, Mr. Vice President, to all of you who are here. I thank especially the members of Congress who are here, the leaders of labor and business who are here, all the members of the administration, and especially the White House staff members that the Vice President mentioned and the Secretary of Energy, the Administrator of the EPA, and the others who have helped us to come to this moment.

On the way in here we were met by the leaders of the National Geographic, and I complimented them on their recent two-part series on the Roman Empire. It's a fascinating story of how the Empire rose, how it sustained itself for hundreds of years, why it fell, and speculations on what, if any, relevance it might have to the United States and, indeed, the West.

And one of the gentlemen said, well, you know, we got a lot of interesting comments on that, including a letter referencing a statue we had of the bust of Emperor Vespasian. And one of our readers said, why in the world did you put a statue of Gene Hackman in a piece on the Roman Empire? (Laughter.) And I say that basically to say, in some senses, the more things change, the more they remain the same. (Laughter.)

For what sustains any civilization, and now what will sustain all of our civilizations, is the constant effort at renewal, the ability to avoid denial and to proceed into the future in a way that is realistic and humane, but resolute. Six years ago tomorrow, not long after I started running for President, I went back to my alma mater at Georgetown and began a series of three speeches outlining my vision for America in the 21st century—how we could keep the American Dream alive for all of our people, how we could maintain America's leadership for peace and freedom and prosperity, and how we could come together across the lines that divide us as one America.

And together, we've made a lot of progress in the last nearly five years now that the

Vice President and I have been privileged to work at this task. At the threshold of a new century, our economy is thriving, our social fabric is mending, we've helped to lead the world toward greater peace and cooperation.

I think this has happened, in so small measure, in part because we had a different philosophy about the role of government. Today, it is smaller and more focused and more oriented toward giving people the tools and the conditions they need to solve their own problems and toward working in partnership with our citizens. More important, I believe it's happened because we made tough choices but not false choices.

On the economy, we made the choice to balance the budget and to invest in our people and our future. On crime, we made the choice to be tough and smart about prevention and changing the conditions in which crime occurs. On welfare, we made the choice to require work, but also to support the children of people who have been on welfare. On families, we made the choice to help parents find more and better jobs and to have the necessary time and resources for their children. And on the environment, we made the choice to clean our air, water, and land, to improve our food supply, and to grow the economy.

This kind of commonsense approach, rooted in our most basic values and our enduring optimism about the capacity of free people to meet the challenges of every age must be brought to bear on the work that remains to pave the way for our people and for the world toward a new century and a new millennium.

Today we have a clear responsibility and a golden opportunity to conquer one of the most important challenges of the 21st century—the challenge of climate change—with an environmentally sound and economically strong strategy, to achieve meaningful reductions in greenhouse gases in the United States and throughout the industrialized and the developing world. It is a strategy that, if properly implemented, will create a wealth of new opportunities for entrepreneurs at home, uphold our leadership abroad, and harness the power of free markets to free our planet from an unacceptable risk; a strategy as consistent with our commitment to reject false choices.

America can stand up for our national interest and stand up for the common interest of the international community. America can build on prosperity today and ensure a healthy planet for our children tomorrow.

In so many ways the problem of climate change reflects the new realities of the new century. Many previous threats could be met within our own borders, but global warming requires an international solution. Many previous threats came from single enemies, but global warming derives from millions of sources. Many previous threats posed clear and present danger; global warming is far more subtle, warning us not with roaring tanks or burning rivers but with invisible gases, slow changes in our surroundings, increasingly severe climatic disruptions that, thank God, have not yet hit home for most Americans. But make no mistake, the problem is real. And if we do not change our course now, the consequences sooner or later will be destructive for America and for the world.

The vast majority of the world's climate scientists have concluded that if the countries of the world do not work together to cut the emission of greenhouse gases, then temperatures will rise and will disrupt the climate. In fact, most scientists say the process has already begun. Disruptive weather events are increasing. Disease-bearing insects are moving to areas that used to be too cold for them. Average temperatures are rising. Glacial formations are receding.

Scientists don't yet know what the precise consequences will be. But we do know enough now to know that the Industrial Age has dramatically increased greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, where they take a century or more to dissipate; and that the process must be slowed, then stopped, then reduced if we want to continue our economic progress and preserve the quality of life in the United States and throughout our planet. We know what we have to do.

Greenhouse gas emissions are caused mostly by the inefficient burning of coal or oil for energy. Roughly a third of these emissions come from industry, a third from transportation, a third from residential and commercial buildings. In each case, the conversion of fuel to energy use is extremely inefficient and could be made much cleaner with existing technologies or those already on the horizon, in ways that will not weaken the economy but in fact will add to our strength in new businesses and new jobs. If we do this properly, we will not jeopardize our prosperity—we will increase it.

With that principle in mind, I'm announcing the instruction I'm giving to our negotiators as they pursue a realistic and effective international climate change treaty. And I'm announcing a far-reaching proposal that provides flexible market-based and cost-effective ways to achieve meaningful reductions here in America. I want to emphasize that we cannot wait until the treaty is negotiated and ratified to act. The United States has less than 5 percent of the world's people, enjoys 22 percent of the world's wealth, but emits more than 25 percent of the world's greenhouse gases. We must begin now to take out our insurance policy on the future.

In the international climate negotiations, the United States will pursue a comprehensive framework that includes three elements, which, taken together, will enable us to build a strong and robust global agreement. First, the United States proposes at Kyoto that we commit to the binding and realistic target of returning to emissions of 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012. And we should not stop there. We should commit to reduce emissions below 1990 levels in the five-year period thereafter, and we must work toward further reductions in the years ahead.

The industrialized nations tried to reduce emissions to 1990 levels once before with a voluntary approach, but regrettably, most of us—including especially the United States—fell short. We must find new resolve to achieve these reductions, and to do that we simply must commit to binding limits.

Second, we will embrace flexible mechanisms for meeting these limits. We propose an innovative, joint implementation system that allows a firm in one country to invest in a project that reduces emissions in another country and receive credit for those reductions at home. And we propose an international system of emissions trading. These innovations will cut worldwide pollution, keep costs low, and help developing countries protect their environment, too, without sacrificing their economic growth.

Third, both industrialized and developing countries must participate in meeting the challenge of climate change. The industrialized world must lead, but developing countries also must be engaged. The United States will not assume binding obligations unless key developing nations meaningfully participate in this effort.

As President Carlos Menem stated forcefully last week when I visited him in Argentina, a global problem such as climate change requires a global answer. If the entire industrialized world reduces emissions over the next several decades, but emissions from the developing world continue to grow at

their current pace, concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will continue to climb. Developing countries have an opportunity to chart a different energy future consistent with their growth potential and their legitimate economic aspirations.

What Argentina, with dramatic projected economic growth, recognizes is true for other countries as well: We can and we must work together on this problem in a way that benefits us all. Here at home, we must move forward by unleashing the full power of free markets and technological innovations to meet the challenge of climate change. I propose a sweeping plan to provide incentives and lift road blocks to help our companies and our citizens find new and creative ways of reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

First, we must enact tax cuts and make research and development investments worth up to \$5 billion over the next five years—targeted incentives to encourage energy efficiency and the use of cleaner energy sources.

Second, we must urge companies to take early actions to reduce emissions by ensuring that they receive appropriate credit for showing the way.

Third, we must create a market system for reducing emissions wherever they can be achieved most inexpensively, here or abroad; a system that will draw on our successful experience with acid rain permit trading.

Fourth, we must reinvent how the federal government, the nation's largest energy consumer, buys and uses energy. Through new technology, renewable energy resources, innovative partnerships with private firms and assessments of greenhouse gas emissions from major federal projects, the federal government will play an important role in helping our nation to meet its goal. Today, as a down payment on our mission solar roof initiative, I commit the federal government to have 20,000 systems on federal buildings by 2010.

Fifth, we must unleash competition in the electricity industry, to remove outdated regulations and save Americans billions of dollars. We must do it in a way that leads to even greater progress in cleaning our air and delivers a significant down payment in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Today, two-thirds of the energy used to provide electricity is squandered in waste heat. We can do much, much better.

Sixth, we must continue to encourage key industry sectors to prepare their own greenhouse gas reduction plans, and we must, along with state and local government, remove the barriers to the most energy efficient usage possible. There are ways the federal government can help industry to achieve meaningful reductions voluntarily, and we will redouble our efforts to do so.

This plan is sensible and sound. Since it's a long-term problem requiring a long-term solution, it will be phased in over time. But we want to get moving now. We will start with our package of strong market incentives, tax cuts, and cooperative efforts with industry. We want to stimulate early action and encourage leadership. And as we reduce our emissions over the next decade with these efforts, we will perform regular reviews to see what works best for the environment, the economy, and our national security.

After we have accumulated a decade of experience, a decade of data, a decade of technological innovation, we will launch a broad emissions trading initiative to ensure that we hit our binding targets. At that time, if there are dislocations caused by the changing patterns of energy use in America, we have a moral obligation to respond to those to help the workers and the enterprises affected—no less than we do today by any change in our economy which affects people through no fault of their own.

This plan plays to our strengths—innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship. Our companies already are showing the way by developing tremendous environmental technologies and implementing commonsense conservation solutions.

Just yesterday, Secretary Pena announced a dramatic breakthrough in fuel cell technology, funded by the Department of Energy research—a breakthrough that will clear the way toward developing cars that are twice as efficient as today's models and reduce pollution by 90 percent. The breakthrough was made possible by our path-breaking partnership with the auto industry to create a new generation of vehicles. A different design, producing similar results, has been developed by a project funded by the Defense Advanced Research Products Agency and the Commerce Department's National Institute of Science and Technology.

The Energy Department discovery is amazing in what it does. Today, gasoline is used very inefficiently in internal combustion engines—about 80 percent of its energy capacity is lost. The DOE project announced yesterday by A.D. Little and Company uses 84 percent of the gasoline directly going into the fuel cell. That's increased efficiency of more than four times traditional engine usage.

And I might add, from the point of view of all the people that are involved in the present system, continuing to use gasoline means that you don't have to change any of the distribution systems that are out there. It's a very important, but by no means the only, discovery that's been made that points the way toward the future we have to embrace.

I also want to emphasize, however, that most of the technologies available for meeting this goal through market mechanisms are already out there—we simply have to take advantage of them. For example, in the town of West Branch, Iowa, a science teacher named Hector Ibarra challenged his 6th graders to apply their classroom experiments to making their school more energy efficient. The class got a \$14,000 loan from a local bank and put in place easily available solutions. The students cut the energy use in their school by 70 percent. Their savings were so impressive that the bank decided to upgrade its own energy efficiency. (Laughter.)

Following the lead of these 6th graders—(laughter)—other major companies in America have shown similar results. You have only to look at the proven results achieved by companies like Southwire, Dow Chemical, Dupont, Kraft, Interface Carpetmakers, and any number of others in every sector of our economy to see what can be done.

Our industries have produced a large group of efficient new refrigerators, computers, washer/dryers, and other appliances that use far less energy, save money, and cut pollution. The revolution in lighting alone is truly amazing. One compact fluorescent lamp, used by one person over its lifetime, can save nearly a ton of carbon dioxide emissions from the atmosphere, and save the consumer money.

If over the next 15 years everyone were to buy only those energy-efficient products marked in stores with EPA's distinctive "Energy Star" label, we could shrink our energy bills by a total of about \$100 billion, over the next 15 years and dramatically cut greenhouse gas emissions.

Despite these win-win innovations and commitments that are emerging literally every day, I know full well that some will criticize our targets and timetables as too ambitious. And, of course, others will say we haven't gone far enough. But before the debate begins in earnest, let's remember that over the past generation, we've produced tremendous environmental progress, including in the area of energy efficiency, at far less expense than anyone could have imagined. And in the process, whole new industries have been built.

In the past three decades, while our economy has grown, we have raised, not lowered, the standards for the water our children drink. While our factories have been expanding, we have required them to clean up their toxic waste. While we've had record numbers of new homes, our refrigerators save more energy and more money for our consumers.

In 1970, when smog was choking our cities, the federal government proposed new standards for tailpipe emissions. Many environmental leaders claim the standards would do little to head off catastrophe. Industry experts predicted the cost of compliance would devastate the industry. It turned out both sides were wrong. Both underestimated the ingenuity of the American people. Auto makers comply with today's much stricter emissions standards for far less than half the cost predicted, and new cars emit on average only 5 percent of the pollutants of the cars built in 1970.

We've seen this pattern over and over and over again. We saw it when we joined together in the '70s to restrict the use of the carcinogen, vinyl chloride. Some in the plastics industry predicted massive bankruptcies, but chemists discovered more cost-effective substitutes and the industries thrived. We saw this when we phased out lead and gasoline. And we see it in our acid rain trading program—now 40 percent ahead of schedule—at costs less than 50 percent of even the most optimistic cost projections. We see it as the chlorofluorocarbons are being taken out of the atmosphere at virtually no cost in ways that apparently are beginning finally to show some thickening of the ozone layer again.

The lesson here is simple: Environmental initiatives, if sensibly designed, flexibly implemented, cost less than expected and provide unforeseen economic opportunities. So while we recognize that the challenge we take on today is larger than any environmental mission we have accepted in the past, climate change can bring us together around what America does best—we innovate, we compete, we find solutions to problems, and we do it in a way that promotes entrepreneurship and strengthens the American economy.

If we do it right, protecting the climate will yield not costs, but profits, not burdens, but benefits; not sacrifice, but a higher standard of living. There is a huge body of business evidence now showing that energy savings give better service at lower cost with higher profit. We have to tear down barriers to successful markets and we have to create incentives to enter them. I call on American business to lead the way, but I call upon government at every level—federal, state, and local—to give business the tools they need to get the job done, and also to set an example in all our operations.

And let us remember that the challenge we face today is not simply about targets and timetables. It's about our most fundamental values and our deepest obligations.

Later today, I'm going to have the honor of meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, the spiritual leader of 300,000,000 Orthodox Christians—a man who has always stressed the deep obligations inherent in God's gift to the natural world. He reminds us that the first part of the word "ecology" derives from the Greek word for house. In his words, in order to change the behavior toward the house we all share, we must rediscover spiritual linkages that may have been lost and reassert human values. Of course, he is right. It is our solemn obligation

to move forward with courage and foresight to pass our home on to our children and future generations.

I hope you believe with me that his is just another challenge in America's long history, one that we can meet in the way we have met all past challenges. I hope that you believe with me that the evidence is clear that we can do it in a way that grows the economy, not with denial, but with a firm and glad embrace of yet another challenge of renewal. We should be glad that we are alive today to embrace this challenge, and we should do it secure in the knowledge that our children and grandchildren will thank us for the endeavor.

Thank you very much.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I also point out it is true that yesterday the group of 77 and China proposed a 15 percent reduction in greenhouse gases by the year 2010 under a framework that would exempt developing nations. That is a proposal that would do serious harm to the U.S. economy. It does completely ignore the growing contributions of developing nations to the problem. It anticipates a command-and-control model that would undermine all of the opportunities for cost savings inherent in the market-based solutions that the President has proposed. I believe that is a proposal that U.S. Senators ought to oppose, and I am confident we would. But that is not what the President will agree to. That is not what the President has proposed. That is not, clearly, the negotiating framework within which the United States will attempt to approach this treaty.

I urge my colleagues to read the remarks of the President so they will understand how fully it is within the framework of the resolution that the Senate passed. I hope my colleagues will stand back and really make judgments based on a fair appraisal of our negotiating position and ultimately what we hope to achieve in Kyoto.

Mr. President, before I yield, I would just say it is my hope, obviously, we are about to be able to talk about the framework in which we are going to proceed on campaign finance reform. I would like to thank all of those parties who have worked together to try to come to what I think is a reasonable agreement on that.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed as in morning business for 20 minutes.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—of course, I will not object—I wonder if I could get consent to be recognized after the majority leader and the minority leader, who are going to be recognized a little later? Following their recognition, I would like to be recognized.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I would object to that. I only can assume that the Senator wants to speak first. The business before us will be the ISTEA legislation.

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. CHAFEE. As manager, normally I would be the first, the one who would be recognized first, under that. I don't want to waive that.

Mr. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent that after Mr. CHAFEE is recognized, in that order, after the two leaders, then Mr. CHAFEE, if I could be recognized?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request by the Senator from Alabama? Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for up to 20 minutes.

Is there objection to the unanimous consent request by the Senator from West Virginia, that he would follow the Senator from Rhode Island? If not, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the distinguished Senator from Alabama for his characteristic courtesy.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, at this point I yield 2 minutes of my time to the distinguished Senator from Idaho.

NUCLEAR WASTE

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, today Richard Wilson, who is the Assistant Administrator for the Environmental Protection Agency's Office of Air and Radiation, has announced that they have given preliminary certification to the waste isolation pilot plant in Carlsbad, NM. To Idaho and to the Nation, this is good news, because for the first time in decades we are on the threshold of beginning to move radioactive waste to a permanent repository, and the waste isolation pilot plant in Carlsbad will handle the transuranic waste, a majority of which is stored in my State of Idaho. This is consistent with an agreement that DOE struck with the State of Idaho over a year ago. EPA's action today is also consistent with a request by Congress that EPA review the facility in Carlsbad, NM, to make sure that it met the standards that we had asked for human safety, environmental protection, and of course dealing with any potential radiation. They believe it does not. Now they must go to the public process.

We hope they will move as quickly as possible in that, because Idaho and the rest of the country deserves to know that by 1998 we will begin to see nuclear waste moving to a safe, permanent repository that this Government and this Senate has asked for well over a decade ago.

I thank my colleague from Alabama for yielding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

LET LIVAN BE SEEN

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, tonight millions of Americans will settle into

their easy chairs to watch game 5 of the World Series. They will see 22-year-old Cuban-born pitching sensation Liván Hernández take the mound in his second World Series start for the Florida Marlins.

And for the first time in this Series, the people of Cuba may have the opportunity to join the millions around the world to cheer Liván. Thanks to the graciousness of Major League Baseball and interim Commissioner Bud Selig—Radio and TV Martí will broadcast tonight's game to the people of Cuba.

Now it is up to Fidel Castro to allow his people to watch their hero pitch. Cuba has consistently jammed Martí's broadcast signal. But tonight should be different. Tonight should be special because it is Liván's night.

Mr. Castro, I have a message for you from the American people and baseball fans everywhere: Stop the jamming. Let Liván be seen in Cuba.

For the good of your people and for the good of the game we all love so dearly, please, let Liván be seen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

UNITED STATES-CHINA SUMMIT

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, this weekend, Chinese President Jiang Zemin arrives in the United States for the first state visit by a Chinese official since 1985. As you know, China has been described by many experts as the No. 1 foreign policy challenge that the United States will face in the 21st century. Next week's summit will help set our course as we respond to that challenge.

I have traveled to China six times since I first visited in 1983. Most recently, I traveled to Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong during the August recess where I met with numerous senior Chinese leaders, including the Chinese Foreign Minister.

In my many visits and contacts, I have witnessed the enormous, and overall positive, changes that have taken place in China since the death of Mao. Yet, while China today is clearly not the China of the cultural revolution, neither is it a "former Communist country," as President Clinton has suggested.

As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, I am especially interested in Chinese foreign and military policies and Chinese intelligence activities, particularly those that pose potential threats to vital American interests. Last month, I convened in the Intelligence Committee exhaustive hearings into Chinese threats to United States national security, including the reported Chinese plan to influence United States elections.

I am well aware that there is no country that poses such risks, such opportunities, and such dilemmas for United States foreign and security policy. It is clear that China today, as an emerging economic and military power

in the post-cold war, has the option, and increasingly the will, to challenge vital United States interests around the globe.

It is equally clear that despite the demise of communism virtually everywhere around the globe, and despite China's extensive and impressive economic liberalization, the Chinese regime remains determined to maintain its repressive domestic political system.

I will shortly address these issues in greater detail, but, first, I would like to make just a few general points.

When President Clinton meets with President Jiang, he will have the opportunity to define the United States-China relationship in a way that defends vital United States interests and promotes the values upon which our country was founded, while recognizing at the same time legitimate Chinese interests and aspirations.

But President Clinton, I believe, must make it clear that if China wishes to be accepted as a responsible world power, it must act as a responsible world power. If China wishes to work together to promote peace and stability in the region and the world at large, as President Jiang suggested in a press interview last weekend, it must not undermine peace and stability in Asia and around the world by reckless and aggressive actions. And President Jiang, I believe, is wrong when he invokes, for example, Einstein and the theory of relativity to justify China's refusal to comply with norms and ideals which, while not yet universal, are on the march worldwide.

Relativity, as most of you know, is an immutable law of physics. Relativism is something altogether different, and it is not a concept to which we as Americans subscribe.

President Clinton, I believe, must respectfully make it clear that the President of China is wrong when he says that "democracy and human rights are relative concepts and not absolute and general."

Our Founding Fathers did not speak in relative terms when they wrote:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The courageous demonstrators in Tiananmen Square echoed these ideals when they tried to peacefully exercise their right of consent. They adopted our Statue of Liberty as their symbol, and we saw it brutally destroyed by Chinese tanks on TV.

In one final general point, we sometimes hear the refrain from the Chinese that they do not wish to be bound by sets of rules and norms that they had no say in creating.

There are certain truths that are not limited by time and geography, and the "inalienable Rights" spoken of by the