

Government at wrestling the budget deficit to the ground, and we have made great progress in doing that. But the trade deficit is at a record high and is continuing to set records, like a merchandise trade deficit of \$199 billion last year. Now it is estimated to go to \$224 billion this year. It is estimated by Standard & Poor's and by many others, incidentally, who gauge these things, that we will continue to have record trade deficits—record trade deficits.

President Clinton was in South America recently, in Chile. The South American countries were concerned because the Congress did not pass what is called fast-track trade authority. It is interesting, when you talk about this hemisphere's trading, this country is not just the biggest kid on the block; it is the better part of the block.

Eighty-two percent of this country's trading of \$10 trillion is the United States of America. And to have some other country suggest to us that "Gee, we've got a problem because you didn't pass fast track trade authority"—what on Earth are they thinking about? The fact is, we have constant, abiding and difficult trade problems. I would say to President Clinton—who I think has done a remarkable job with this country's economy and has policies that I support in many areas—we must begin to deal with this trade deficit. We cannot ignore it.

The Asian financial crisis will make that deficit worse. We cannot continue to ignore the deficit. Our trade deficit is ratcheting up with China. It continues to increase with China and Japan. We also have a significant trade deficit with Mexico, and a significant trade deficit with Canada. The issue is: Why?

Let me show you a statement, just last Thursday, talking about our trade with China. We have a nearly \$50 billion trade deficit with China. We are a cash currency cow for China for their hard currency needs. It makes no sense for this country to say to China, "Yeah, that's all right; you can ratchet up a \$50 billion trade deficit with the United States." It hurts this country.

Here is what is happening in China. According to a Washington Post article, "Chinese sweatshops labor for U.S. retailers. In fact, the National Labor Committee, a private New York-based whistle-blowing group, conducted an investigation into 21 garment factories, and found workers paid pennies an hour, working excessive overtime, confined to crowded dormitories, fed a thin rice gruel and denied any benefits.

Let me just add a few details. In China's southern coastal provinces, wages and benefits are being slashed to as low as 13 cents an hour, which is added to excessive overtime hours of up to 96 hours a week. Shifts of 14 hours, 7 days a week, are being imposed. They live crammed, 10 to a room, in guarded dormitories on the factory's premises, under constant surveillance.

Is this fair trade? Is this, when you talk about trade competition, what we

ought to be competing with? Is this the race to the bottom that we are talking about: Produce the shoes and handbags, and pay somebody 13 cents an hour? Get a 15-year-old and put them in a plant, and work them 90 hours a week, and ship their handbag to a store in Dayton, Los Angeles or Tulsa and sell it to the consumer? Does that mean lower prices for the consumer or fatter profits for the corporation? And is it fair trade? The answer is no. Absolutely not.

This ought not to be what we compete against. So we compete against 13 cents an hour, and our trade deficit goes up—way up. That is fair trade? I do not think so. I would ask the President and others to understand that this Congress is not going to provide fast track trade authority for a President.

I know that the President went to South America and said, "Well, fast track trade authority will happen." It will not happen. Fast track trade authority is dead, and will remain dead until this country decides it is going to begin to solve the nettlesome, vexing trade problems we have, country by country and free trade agreement by free trade agreement.

We have had NAFTA, we have had GATT, we have had a number of trade agreements, all of which have turned out to be sour. I can, but I will not, cite chapter and verse this morning about the avalanche of Canadian grain that is leaking across that border down into this country, undercutting our farmers' income right now, in violation, in my judgment, of all fair trade standards. But nothing is done about it. I talk about 13 cents-an-hour wages which we are expected to compete against, but nothing is done about it either.

My point is, fast track is dead, and it will remain dead until and unless the U.S. Government decides these trade problems demand a solution on behalf of our country. It ought not be embarrassing for our country to say we do have a national interest and we are going to insist on that interest in our trade relationships with other countries.

There are plenty of issues that will consume our time in this Congress between now and the middle of October when we likely will adjourn. I do hope between now and then, at some point someone will decide that this trade issue is of consequence to this country's long-term economic future.

We are blessed, truly blessed, as a country to have a strong, growing economy. I have talked before on the floor of the Senate about the fact that things are going well. There is no question about that. Much of that relates to decisions that this President has made and this Congress has made—some very tough decisions, some by a one-vote margin. The result is we have a growing economy while some other countries are not so fortunate.

We have a Federal budget deficit that has largely been wrestled to the

ground. The unemployment numbers in this country are down, way down. The crime rate is down. The welfare rolls are down. A lot of good things are happening in this country. But it is not an excuse to ignore the other challenges we have. One of those challenges represents this abiding trade deficit that is getting worse, not better. We must, it seems to me, find a way to respond it to and deal with it.

I again say that we must take a look at the Asian currency collapse, at the failure of the Japanese to deal with the devaluation of its currency, with the forced-labor problems in China, and the intellectual piracy that goes on. One of the reasons for what is happening with respect to that piracy is, when we try to send a video game or a compact disc from this country into China, guess what the tariff is: 50 percent.

Here is a country that has a \$50 billion trade surplus with the U.S.—in other words, they are selling us far more than they are buying from us—and when we want to ship some intellectual property over there, they impose a 50 percent tariff on us.

I was in China. I talked with the President of China. I said, "You can't do this. You can't shut off China to the U.S. pork market and stop pork shipments. You can't shut off China to wheat shipments from our country. You can't continue to produce, on a pirated basis, the kind of production that we see coming from China in compact discs and in other areas." It is not something that ever ought to be countenanced, and yet we have agreements to try to shut it down, and it does not get shut down.

My only point is this: This problem is getting worse. This shows the hemorrhage of red ink on international trade with this country. It is getting worse, not better, and I ask not just this administration but this Congress to decide that this challenge is something we have a responsibility to meet.

Mr. President, this afternoon we turn to an education issue, and I intend to come back and visit a bit this afternoon on the Coverdell amendment and a range of amendments that will be offered to it dealing with the subject of education. In the meantime, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

GLOBAL CLIMATE TREATY

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I would like to say a few words this afternoon about the U.N. global climate treaty that the Clinton administration agreed to in Kyoto, Japan, this past December, and which you, as the Presiding Officer, have taken a real lead in helping your

colleagues here in the Senate to understand. In fact, I know that you helped to lead a delegation to those proceedings in Kyoto. This treaty will require the United States to drastically reduce its greenhouse-gas emissions, presumably by rationing our energy consumption and assessing taxes on energy use and production.

The reduction of pollutants, of course, is a laudable goal. I wholeheartedly support efforts that will produce a cleaner environment. But what the administration fails to adequately appreciate is that protecting the environment is a global issue, one all nations must actively take part in if global environmental protection is truly to be attained. The administration would like the American people to believe that this debate is about who is for or against the environment; but, that is not the case. This debate is about whether or not this particular treaty is in the best interests of the American people and the global environment.

The underlying hypothesis used by proponents of the treaty is that greenhouse gases, which trap the sun's infrared rays and heat the earth's atmosphere, have become so abundant in the atmosphere that a "global warming" effect has commenced, and that the cause of this phenomenon is manmade. On the basis of this as-yet unproven connection between human activity and the climate, delegates at the climate change conference in Kyoto reached an agreement to curb greenhouse-gas emissions. The treaty, if ratified, would legally bind the U.S. to cut its overall emissions of six gases by seven percent below 1990 levels by 2012. However, 130 developing countries, such as Mexico, China, Korea, and India, would not be held liable to these same standards.

The evidence of global warming is inconclusive, at best. For the past 20 years, precisely the same 20 years during which carbon dioxide levels have increased the most, the earth has actually cooled. This cooling flies in the face of the theory that man-made emissions are causing a global warming effect. Models cannot accurately predict what the weather will be like next week, let alone what temperatures will prevail on Earth in the next century. The only consensus that has been reached within the scientific community—that future effects of fossil-fuel use are most likely to be gradual over many decades to come—gives good reason for the U.S. government not to rush to judgement.

Committing the U.S. to these targets will have severe economic effects on American families and workers. According to the Heritage Foundation, holding emissions to 1990 levels will raise energy prices between 50 and 200 percent; average households would pay \$1,620 in additional taxes a year; and the economy would contract by a total of \$3.3 trillion, all by the year 2020. I note that these figures are based on re-

ducing greenhouse-gas emissions to 1990 levels only; going seven percent below these levels, as agreed to by the Clinton administration, will result in more serious hardships for the American people. Furthermore, the AFL-CIO estimates that reducing emissions to 1990 levels will result in the loss of 1.25 to 1.5 million American jobs. And these jobs will not simply disappear; rather, industry will move overseas and reestablish itself in those countries that are not legally bound to gas-emissions targets. These combined effects would place the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage, while failing to address the global problem of soaring amounts of pollution produced by the developing nations of the world.

Meanwhile, the developing countries are projected to continue accelerating their use of fossil fuels during the next century. By 2015, China will surpass the U.S. in total carbon emissions. Without the full participation of the developing countries in any treaty of this kind, unilateral attempts by the developed nations to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions will not significantly slow the steady increase of carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere.

In sum, the United States should not be party to a global climate treaty that is not supported by a scientific consensus, that puts an unfair burden on American workers and consumers, and that asks us to turn back the clock on economic growth and our standard of living. More importantly, this treaty fails to effectively address the issue because it ignores the developing countries of the world. It simply does not make sense, either environmentally or economically, to focus on the nations that are already spending billions on pollution control and making substantial progress, while ignoring developing nations—countries where emissions could be curbed by employing the same basic technologies the United States has used so successfully to reduce its levels of pollution. U.S. companies, using the best available technology, are able to eliminate the bulk of pollution from their emissions. To achieve an additional increment of pollution reduction, developed nations like the U.S. would be required to expend inordinate sums of money in pursuit of only marginal improvements. The costs associated with attempting to squeeze out the last increments of pollution will heavily outweigh any benefits in the developed nations. However, in countries where pollution-control technology is not as advanced or widespread as it is here, a dollar spent on equipment will provide far greater reductions in overall pollution. Thus, the cost/benefit ratio favors pressing developing nations to catch up with us. The Global Climate Treaty does not do this.

Faced with certain defeat on this issue, the administration has resorted to a level of fear mongering which I think has been unmatched since the 1970s, when some of the same scientists who are promoting global warming

warned at that time that we were about to enter upon the next ice age. I find it hard to believe that in a mere 20 years, our climate has moved from one extreme to the other. In a December Wall Street Journal article, Arthur Robinson and Zachary Robinson of the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine point out that "there is not a shred of persuasive evidence that humans are responsible for increasing global temperatures." But the administration, in an effort to rally support, issues apocalyptic warnings that, if global warming is not headed off, we will experience floods, droughts, rising sea levels, and the spread of infectious diseases. The global warming hypothesis should not be taken as fact; Americans should not be scared into accepting unsubstantiated scenarios as the truth.

The Senate fulfilled the first half of its "advise and consent" role this summer by passing the Byrd-Hagel resolution 95 to 0. That bipartisan advice instructed the administration not to sign a treaty that did not include the developing countries of the world in the same emission-control requirements, or a treaty that would cause great economic harm to America. The treaty to which the administration has agreed meets neither of these guidelines. Therefore, because the administration was unwilling to consider the Senate's advice, I do not believe the Senate will give its consent—nor should it.

THE HONORABLE TERRY SANFORD

AUGUST 20, 1917-APRIL 18, 1998

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I was regrettably late in learning about the inevitable death of former U.S. Senator Terry Sanford this past Saturday, April 18. I say inevitable because it was. All of us, especially Terry himself, knew what was coming when last December the fatal inoperable cancer was discovered.

Terry faced up to the reality of it all with his typical courage. He told reporters at the time that he would continue to be active as long as he could, and take every day as it came. Then he plunged into a whirlwind fund-raising schedule on behalf of a project near and dear to his heart.

It was impossible not to like and admire Terry Sanford. He was never one of my supporters, nor was I ever one of his. But we were friends and there was never a hint of discord during his six years in the Senate—or before, for that matter, or since.

As Senators who were here during Senator Sanford's six years will testify, Terry was a respected colleague. For my part, I always had the feeling that he had been vastly more comfortable being Governor. He could push a button then and things happened. Not so with the Senate. We sort of canceled each other's vote in the Senate much of the time he was here but there never was an instance when we didn't work together for the betterment of North