

dropped. There are some 40 States that are working on this. There are some States that are doing a very good job, but as a Senator, I am not about to let the Senate turn the clock back. I am not about to let us, all of a sudden, say that we no longer are interested in calling upon States to deal with this problem of disproportionate minority confinement. I do not think we should do so. We cannot pass quotas. We never should. We cannot tell States how many kids should be incarcerated, for what crimes and all the rest.

What we can say is when you have disproportionate minority confinement, when you have a situation where all too many times kids of color are given much stiffer sentences for having committed the same offenses as white kids, we want to know what is going on.

What this legislation does—and it purports to be juvenile justice legislation—is take the justice out. It takes the justice out. The justice would be to make sure there is no discrimination. The justice would be to make sure there is fairness. The justice would be to make sure there is justice.

The reason I mention this is that not only do the kids of color all too often find themselves way out of proportion to their numbers in the State to be incarcerated but also to wind up in adult facilities. Moreover, these corrections facilities, if you want to call them corrections facilities, all too often become the gateway to kids then being imprisoned in adult life.

It is astounding, but in 1999, going into a new century, one-third of all African American men, I think ages 20 to 26, are either in prison or on parole or they are waiting to be sentenced.

I did not make an argument here on the floor of the Senate that we should not hold all citizens, regardless of color of skin, accountable for crimes committed. That is not my argument. But my argument is, when we have some concern about possible discrimination, then let's at least be willing to study the problem.

I see my colleague coming in. I want to, when the Senator from Utah gets settled in, try to explain the situation. I will give my colleague time to catch his breath.

I say to Senator HATCH, I did not want to ask unanimous consent to offer an amendment because I did not see anybody on the other side. I was saying to the Chair that I am ready to go forward with an amendment, this one dealing with disproportionate minority confinement, because I know you want to move the bill forward.

I have been in contact with Senator KENNEDY, and if you are ready, I am certainly ready to debate it, and we will try to do it within a reasonable time limit.

Mr. HATCH. If the Senator will yield, I believe the majority leader is going to propound a unanimous consent request. I am hopeful the minority will agree to this request so we can move

this forward. If I could suggest the absence of a quorum so we can get this done, and as soon as that is granted, if that is granted, then we will move on to his unanimous consent and then try to work out the time for the Senator.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Let me say to my colleague that I think I will continue to, rather than go into a quorum call, speak about the subject matter.

Mr. HATCH. Sure.

Mr. WELLSTONE. That might help. I want to make it crystal clear that I am ready to go forward with this amendment. I am not asking unanimous consent that I be able to send this amendment to the desk because I guess until we have this agreement, then it most likely would be rejected. But I am ready for debate on this amendment.

Let me just say that when we get into the thick of this debate, I want to just bring to the attention of Senators, Democrats and Republicans alike, the strong support, the strong passionate support for this amendment on the part of the civil rights community in this country, broadly defined, on the part of children's organizations, broadly defined, and on the part of lawyers and people who have been down in the trenches working with kids for years.

This is an extremely important amendment that speaks to a fundamental flaw in this legislation. So, for the record, I am ready to offer this amendment. I will wait for the majority leader to come out.

I ask my colleague from Utah, who is leaving, could I ask unanimous consent that when we go to amendments on the juvenile justice bill, that this be the first amendment up?

Mr. HATCH. If the Senator would withhold, right now we are trying to work out a unanimous consent agreement. We are trying to work out some other matters, but I am certainly going to try to work with the Senator on this. It is an important amendment, and we have to face it. So, if the Senator will just work with me, I will try to get this so that it works.

#### KOSOVO

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, while we are waiting, let me just repeat a little bit of what I said yesterday. I have been speaking with some other Senators about this as well. While I understand that we have a very crowded schedule, I do believe that the Senate should take some time this week to discuss or to debate our military action in Kosovo.

I have spoken now for the last several weeks about this. I will not repeat all that I have said. Next time I come to the floor with specific proposals and ideas, I hope to be able to do that with other Senators. And I see my colleague from Washington is on the floor, so I am going to yield in about 30 seconds, if I can. But quite apart from what specific proposals I want to make as a Senator about where we are and where I believe we must go as a nation, I

want to make a larger point right now, which is I believe the Senate ought to be debating this question. I believe we should have full discussion and full debate.

One thing I am certain of—and I mentioned this yesterday—when we voted on authorizing airstrikes, I asked my colleague, Senator BIDEN, what is the purpose? I read yesterday from the RECORD; and in the RECORD it was stated hopefully to be able to stop the slaughter, hopefully to be able to get Milosevic to the bargaining table, and to degrade the military force.

I think in light of the last 8 weeks and what has happened, in many ways the objectives have changed. The objectives have changed. The bombing is more than just degrading the military force. It has a different set of goals.

I am not even right now going to argue about the pluses and the minuses of all that. I think it is irresponsible for the Senate not to take up this question and not to have positive—not hateful, not demagogic—really thoughtful, substantive discussion and debate.

I know we have other business right now, but I am going to come back very soon and try to push this question much harder.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. MURRAY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 10 minutes.

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

Mrs. MURRAY. Thank you, Mr. President.

#### BOMBING OF THE CHINESE EMBASSY

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, the Senate is focused on many important issues this week, including youth violence, the important Y2K issue, emergency appropriations for our Nation's farmers, victims of Hurricane Mitch, and funding NATO's efforts in the Balkans. These are all very timely and important debates, and I look forward to joining my colleagues in discussing these important issues.

For a moment, though, I would really like to focus the Senate on the recent accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade and on the U.S.-China relationship.

The bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade cannot be trivialized. As President Clinton has repeatedly expressed, the U.S. and NATO accepts full responsibility for this terrible mistake. We all extend our apologies to the Chinese people and the families of those who were killed and injured.

I am prepared to accept that this unfortunate accident caused a lot of anger among the Chinese Government and the Chinese people. That is to be expected. Certainly our country would be outraged and saddened if our embassy had been bombed under such circumstances.

But our regret and apologies to the Chinese people do not diminish the fact that we cannot accept the deliberate harassment of U.S. citizens and destruction of U.S. property in China. The reports from China—the television images of our embassy targeted by orchestrated mobs—troubled me a great deal.

Americans are dismayed at the growing animosity of the Chinese people towards the United States. For the U.S.-China relationship to succeed, both countries must take strides to ensure that the presentation of the relationship is balanced and fair. Clearly, this did not happen in the days before or after the tragic embassy bombing.

I am heartened that things do seem to have calmed down throughout China. It is encouraging that President Clinton and President Jiang have spoken and resumed high-level discussions over the bombing and other important U.S.-China issues.

Some of my colleagues have mentioned the phenomenal work of our Ambassador in China, Jim Sasser, who is our former Senate colleague and a close friend. He has served our country with great honor. I commend him and all of our embassy and consulate officers who are serving in China.

Ambassador Sasser has given us great insight as he addressed the tragic bombing of the Chinese Embassy and the demonstrations and violence that followed in Beijing and other Chinese cities.

Let me share a few of Ambassador Sasser's comments with my colleagues as I do believe they serve as a reminder that the U.S.-China relationship is, in my opinion, one of our most difficult and most important relationships.

Ambassador Sasser said,

When all the emotion has drained out of this terrible tragedy, then wiser heads in both China and the United States are going to realize it's in both countries' interest to try and resume constructive ties. . . . When we are all through grieving over this very tragic event that occurred, the United States will still be the economic superpower in the world and China will still be the most populous nation in the world and an emerging power in this region.

Once again, our former colleague has offered wise counsel to the Senate that will be very important to future China debates.

The unfortunate Embassy bombing should not be used by those in China as a justification for severing or postponing ties with the U.S. Nor should China think that this incident will lessen America's resolve as we address the issues of human rights, weapons proliferation, or the issues related to espionage targeted at U.S. nuclear facilities.

One of my hometown papers offered the following in an editorial last week, the editorial reads, "China is furious and rightly so. The test, however, is whether China plays the incident like the country it wants to be, a world leader that sees events and relationships in a larger context." I completely

agree and I believe that many in Congress will judge China's ability to play a larger role on the international scene by her handling of this temporary crisis in the relationship with the U.S.

The United States, and particularly the Congress, must also demonstrate our commitment to responsible global leadership. We should be cautious as last week's unfortunate events enter the contentious political debates over U.S.-China relations. I continue to believe a mature and stable relationship with China is in our national interest. It is not a goal we should be prepared to abandon. A mature and stable relationship is certainly in the best interest of the American and Chinese people. Though progress toward this goal has been hampered by the events of this last week, it is still a goal we should strive for. We must continue our dialogue with China.

China should expect continued U.S. interest and in fact, vigilance, on the variety of issues important to the U.S. government and the American people. There will not be widespread concessions granted by the United States. The Embassy bombing was a tragic mistake, not a propaganda tool to be deployed at the bargaining table.

Consistent with admitting the mistake and accepting responsibility, the United States and NATO should be prepared to enter into talks with China about appropriate compensation for individual and government losses. This is not unprecedented. In the late 1980's, Iraq paid compensation to the families of U.S. sailors killed in the accidental bombing of the U.S.S. *Stark* during the Iran-Iraq war. Following the downing of an Iranian passenger plane, the United States offered to compensate the victims' families. And the U.S. is now in the midst of paying compensation for property damage and to the victims' families for last year's cable car accident in Italy.

The U.S. and China both stand to gain by closer relations. China has become one of our largest trading partners, creating high-wage jobs for thousands of American families and opening markets for American businesses that depend on overseas trade. While trade is the foundation of the U.S.-China relationship, my home state of Washington's relationship with China clearly illustrates the promise of broader ties between Americans and the Chinese people. Washington's many cultural, educational and commercial ties are fostering dramatic change in China; change led by and on behalf of the Chinese people.

With the recent visit to the United States by Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji and the ongoing negotiations between our two governments, the U.S. and China are poised to reach a truly historic agreement, paving the way for China's entry into the World Trade Organization this year. I support China's entry into the WTO on commercially viable terms and I encourage the United States Trade Representative

and her Chinese counterparts to resume negotiations at the earliest opportunity.

Because of the importance of the U.S.-China relationship, I believe a high-level U.S. delegation to China, headed by Secretary of Defense William Cohen, is warranted as soon as possible. I realize the difficulties of sending the Secretary of Defense half way around the world while the U.S. is prosecuting military action in the Balkans. But the U.S.-China relationship is so important, and we have been struggling with so many difficult issues within the context of that relationship, that I believe the maximum effort must be made to provide the Chinese leadership with a full and complete understanding of the accidental bombing of their embassy. I know that Secretary Cohen is well respected by the Chinese, and a trip by the Secretary to China would have the dual purpose of stressing to the Chinese the great importance we place on having a mature and stable relationship and underscoring the accidental nature of the Embassy bombing.

Much progress has been made on the U.S.-China relationship in recent years. The Zhu Rongji visit was important. This followed two Presidential Summits in Washington and Beijing. It is my hope that the recent tragic events do not derail the progress made toward building a strong and comprehensive U.S.-China relationship, based on trust and mutual understanding. The relationship can only exist if both governments and both peoples can deal with each other honestly and forthrightly. Now is the time to address the issues standing in the way of accomplishing this. Now is the time to move forward.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### EXPLANATION OF VOTE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following brief statements be printed at the appropriate places in the permanent RECORD of May 14 immediately following Votes 118 and 119, respectively:

Mr. President, I was absent from the Senate today in order to be a pall-bearer at a funeral in Tahlequah, Okla. Had I been present, I would have voted "no" on the Hatch-Craig amendment. This position is consistent with my vote to table the same amendment on May 13. The tabling motion failed 3-97, thus leading to the today. I believe my presence would not have changed the outcome since determined efforts were