

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 pallbearer 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

being made to switch just enough votes to assure the amendment's passage.

Mr. President, I was absent from the Senate today in order to be a pallbearer at a funeral in Tahlequah, Okla. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on the vote to table the Shumer amendment.

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

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Y2K

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I regret that, earlier today, I was compelled to vote against the Majority Leader's cloture motion with respect to S. 96, the Y2K litigation reform bill. I did so, however, for the simple reason that I believe it is vitally important that the Senate first complete its business on the juvenile justice bill before moving on to other business. We are on the verge of finishing our work on this much-needed legislation, and it would have been, in my opinion, a grotesque waste of time and effort to simply throw that away in some artificial rush to proceed to the Y2K bill. Despite my vote, I look forward to having the opportunity to turn our attention to the Y2K litigation problem as soon as we have finished our work on the issue of youth crime and violence.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

#### WILLIAM SAFIRE'S ARTICLE ON CHINA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, yesterday, in the New York Times, William Safire had an essay called "Cut the Apologies." I am shortly going to ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD. It perhaps says some things beyond what I might, but I am concerned. I have watched what has happened and the reactions of China to the accidental bombing of their Embassy in Belgrade. I hold no brief for the totally negligent—I might even say stupid—mistake made in the bombing of that Embassy. It is as inexcusable and unexplainable as the maps that brought about the death of the people in the cable car in northern Italy.

Having said that, however, for the Chinese, who will not allow any kind of demonstrations—and haven't since Tiananmen Square—criticizing their own government, to whip people into a frenzy and let them go and destroy much of our Embassy and the British Embassy in Beijing, and to say how shocked they are that this is going on, and that we have done that, demanding all kinds of apologies, frankly, is irresponsible and unimaginable. I can't accept it. I don't know how many people would.

If the Chinese think that by doing this somehow we are now going to jump in and let them join the WTO and everything else, that is a sad mistake.

Their conduct is incomprehensible. We have apologized for bombing the Embassy, which we would expect somebody to do with a similar mistake damaging ours. This is a war going on, and things happen, as General Schwarzkopf said, in the fog of war.

China is not the one to lecture the world on free and open demonstrations. China is not the one to lecture us on how we should conduct our economy. China has a great deal to explain on everything from their attempt to steal our secrets, spying on our country, and human rights violations in their own country and their own repression.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Safire's column be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 17, 1999]

#### CUT THE APOLOGIES

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON.—After a week of whipping hatred of Americans by accusing us of deliberately murdering Chinese journalists in Belgrade, President Jiang Zemin Deigned to accept a call from The Great Apologizer.

For the fifth time, President Clinton apologized, expressed regrets, sent condolences, kowtowed and groveled, begging to be believed that we did not bomb China's embassy on purpose.

But it is America that is owed an apology. After an accident of war, we have been falsely accused of killing Chinese with malice aforethought. That is a great insult, compounded by the calculated trashing of our embassy by a bused-in mob encouraged by police.

The truth is that Beijing's leaders, worried about demonstrations on the 10th anniversary next month of the Tiananmen massacre, are milking this mistake for all it is worth.

By lying about our intent and suppressing coverage of our prompt admission of error, the nervous rulers are diverting their people's anger toward us and away from themselves.

By demanding we investigate the accident, they seek to water down the current Congressional investigations of their nuclear spying—a series of penetrations of our laboratories and political campaigns that was no accident.

By making Clinton beg forgiveness, they are able to cancel human rights talks while extracting new trade concessions. The deal: they will accept Clinton's apologies when he caves in on their application to the World Trade Organizations.

No wonder that no reputable diplomat would accept the President's pleas to replace our fed-up ambassador in Beijing. Clinton is now trying to appoint an admiral whose amiable association with the Chinese military and U.S. arms contractors will be closely examined by the Senate.

Though Clinton is softer than ever on China, he's taken a hard line in resisting Congress's investigations into Beijing's penetration of our nuclear labs and our political process. His latest trick: the improper use of documents submitted for intelligence declassification to prepare advance refutations of evidence of security lapses.

The White House has delayed for four months the three-volume report on security laxity by the House select committee headed by Representative Chris Cox. Clinton spinners are already distributing a packet of reprints of derogations by offended scientists, China-defenders and favorite journalists.

Cox has used the "clearance" delay to rewrite the turgid prose and to enliven the report with photographs and diagrams showing what missiles and satellites were stolen; that might even awaken television interest.

The Senate Intelligence Committee, headed by Richard Shelby and Robert Kerrey, is not about to hold still for the abuse of clearance. After it submitted one of its reports on nuclear lab laxity for review to protect intelligence sources, it learned of a refutation of that bipartisan report in work by the National security Council response machine.

The White House was told that the submission of documents was for security clearance only. It was not to be used for (a) advance policy review so that "rapid response" would occur in the same news cycle as the reports' release, or for (b) leakage of portions to the press for "inoculation" to later reduce its impact as "old news."

The intelligence business is not the publicity business. National security reports are not to be equated with the Starr report about hanky-panky. The Shelby committee made plain to the Berger Rapid-Apology Center that if this undermining of inter-branch comity did not stop forthwith, "we're going to zero out the N.S.C. staff budget." (By withholding some \$15 million, Congress could force the spinners onto the Department of Defense payroll or cause agonizing layoffs in the White House basement).

In both House and Senate, bipartisan committees are discovering serious intelligence weaknesses: too little analysis of too much collection. "If there's a flare-up in Iraq, North Korea or the Andes," worries an investigator, "we could not handle it and Kosovo, too."

The most troubling breakdown is in counterespionage. The F.B.I. and C.I.A., which are not blameless, are telling Congress the weakest link is the Department of Justice. What began as corrupt political protection became dangerous national security laxity. Who will apologize for that?

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

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

#### VIOLENT AND REPEAT JUVENILE OFFENDER ACCOUNTABILITY AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1999

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Lott (for Allard) amendment No. 351, to allow the erecting of an appropriate and constitutional permanent memorial on the campus of any public school to honor students and teachers who have been murdered at the school and to allow students, faculty, and administrative staff of a public school to hold an appropriate and constitutional memorial service on their campus to honor students and teachers who have been murdered at their school.

Kohl/Hatch/Chafee amendment No. 352, to amend chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to require the provision of a secure gun storage or safety device in connection with the transfer of a handgun.

Hatch/Feinstein amendment No. 353, authorizing funds for programs to combat gang violence.