

other colleagues. This legislation is intended to expedite the transition to full NATO membership of emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. This bill builds on earlier bipartisan legislation, such as the NATO Participation Act of 1994, which reflects the strong bipartisan support for the policy of enlarging the NATO alliance. NATO has expanded its membership on three occasions, each time enhancing security and stability in Europe. Bringing eligible Central and Eastern European nations into NATO will serve that same critical purpose. For nearly 4 years, the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe have sought to protect their freedom and independence by becoming members—full members—of Western institutions, especially NATO. They have repeatedly petitioned for membership. Moreover, they have seized every opportunity for such association, proving their flexibility and seriousness. They have become partners for peace, but they desire to become real members of a real alliance. The need for a more inclusive, more effective atlantic alliance that would respond to present security needs has been clear at least since violent aggression began in the former Yugoslavia—where the world witnessed the ineffective response of the United Nations, the European Community, the Western European Union, NATO, and the United States.

Since that time, it became clear that the elaborate architecture of European security developed during the cold war era was, and is, not up to the challenges of the post-cold-war world.

Meanwhile, the window of opportunity for consolidation of new freedoms, independence, and security is closing. Forging new relationships and new institutions is increasingly difficult and controversial. In my view, further delays will undermine the governments and confidence of people recently freed from the expansionist ambitions of aggressive neighbors. Yet, the Clinton administration has acted as if time were not a factor—as if there were no threats to the independence of the newly self-governing democracies.

Secretary Christopher in a recent speech stated that the administration's policy was "slow, but deliberate." I believe the administration's policy is deliberately slow. The Clinton administration has consistently avoided concrete steps toward NATO enlargement—studying and discussing, but not acting. Mr. President, this legislation is designed to facilitate NATO enlargement by providing targeted security assistance for those countries most likely to become eligible to join NATO. The NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act creates a \$60 million assistance program composed of Foreign Military Financing [FMF] loan and grant programs and the International Military Education and Training [IMET] program. This legislation declares Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic eligible for this assistance and authorizes

the President to designate others as they meet the criteria in current law.

This legislation, however, does not name countries to be NATO members. That is a decision for the alliance to take. This legislation seeks to make up for time lost due to a lack of U.S. leadership. It is also important to note that this bill is a beginning, not an endpoint. Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary will likely be the first countries in Central and Eastern Europe to join NATO—not the last. Finally, this legislation should not be interpreted as a lessening of U.S. interests in close ties with other countries in the region. The freedom and security of all of Europe's new democracies are a big concern to us.

I believe that the United States and NATO must act decisively—before the window of opportunity closes. When the Bush administration was confronted with the challenge of German reunification, Western leaders swiftly reached agreement on policy and acted resolutely to achieve it.

As with German reunification, the act of including Central and Eastern European democracies in NATO is not and cannot reasonably be seen as an affront—much less a threat—to any other country, least of all Russia. All actual and potential members of the NATO alliance share an interest in a peaceable, democratic Russia. Furthermore, the United States has a distinct national interest in a firm security relationship with Russia. Any United States Government should, and we expect, will work cooperatively with a democratic Russia for the consolidation of security in Europe—but not by denying NATO membership to Europe's new democracies.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement has enjoyed bipartisan support since the end of the cold war. I hope that all of my colleagues will support this legislation in that same bipartisan spirit.

Let me say that we also, of course, addressed in our press conference earlier today, when we were honored to have former President Lech Węsela of Poland with us, that no countries are named. It is very likely that the first three countries invited will be Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Though we have not forgotten the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and other Central and Eastern European countries when they have complied and when they have been selected by NATO.

So my view is that we have had the good beginning. The former President of Poland was very impressed, and he feels that we may now be on the way to achieving something that has been eluding these freedom loving people for a number of years.

TRIBUTE TO HOWELL HEFLIN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, it has been my practice as Senator Republican leader to pay tribute to colleagues who are retiring from the Senate.

Usually, these remarks are delivered shortly before the Senate adjourns for the year.

However, my announcement of 2 weeks ago that I will also be leaving the Senate has moved up my time schedule.

In the coming days, then, I will be devoting some of my leader time to share a few memories of those of our colleagues who will not return to this Chamber when the 105th Congress convenes next January.

Let me start with a friend of all of us, Senator HOWELL HEFLIN of Alabama.

For 18 years, HOWELL HEFLIN has represented Alabama with distinction here in the U.S. Senate. But to many here in this Chamber, and to countless Alabamans, it is not "Senator" HEFLIN, it is "judge" HEFLIN.

Prior to his arrival in the Senate, judge HEFLIN served for 6 years as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, earning a reputation for fairness and common sense. It's a reputation that has continued through his service here in the Senate.

As a member of the Judiciary Committee, Senator HEFLIN has become known, in the words of the almanac of American politics, as "a careful lawyer who picks at the rules of law with the delicate touch of a watch repairman."

It took someone with that touch to successfully revise America's bankruptcy laws, as Senator HEFLIN did in 1994.

Alabama, like Kansas, is a State with a strong agriculture heritage, and I have enjoyed serving with Senator Heflin on the Agriculture Committee, and learning a great deal from him about issues ranging from peanuts to the boll weevil.

But as I reflect back on our 18-year friendship, the one incident that remains most clearly in my mind was Senator HEFLIN's vote authorizing President Bush to use force to remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. Senator HEFLIN was 1 of 11 Senate Democrats who has the courage to break with their leadership and stand with the President. History will always reflect that this was the right decision and that had the 52 to 47 vote gone differently, it would have been a tremendous blow to America's prestige.

Elizabeth and I are proud to call HOWELL and "MIKE" HEFLIN our friends, and we wish them many more years of health and happiness as they return to the state they love so much and have served so well.

TRIBUTE TO CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, "I am less dynamic than many," Senator CLAIBORNE PELL once said in his typical quiet manner, "But I have my own course, which I set and try to follow."

For six terms, CLAIBORNE PELL has followed that course in representing America's smallest State in terms of geography with a commitment and dedication that is anything but small.

Foreign policy and the environment are just two of the many issues on which the contributions of Senator PELL will be long remembered.

But, as countless college students over a quarter century can tell you, the one cause which will be forever linked with the gentleman from Rhode Island is education.

His basic education opportunity grant—justifiably renamed the Pell grant in 1980—has provided many financially challenged young Americans with the resources necessary to receive a college degree.

The great educator Henry Adams once said, "a teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops." Senator PELL will leave this Chamber with the knowledge that he will never be able to tell where his influence stops—because it would be impossible to know or quantify the difference that Pell grants made in the life of countless Americans.

I am proud to be called a conservative Republican and Senator PELL is proud to be known as a liberal Democrat. Despite the fact we were on the opposite side of many issues, however, I never doubted the fact that Senator PELL's word was his bond, and I knew that, no matter what, I could always count on Senator PELL's friendship.

I look forward to counting on that friendship for many years to come.

HANK BROWN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have learned over the years that Kansans and Coloradans share more than a common border. We also share a deep belief in the values of hard work, honesty, and personal responsibility.

And, as westerners, we share a healthy skepticism of those who think they are better qualified to tell us how to run our affairs because they happen to work in the Nation's Capital.

For 6 years, the Colorado point-of-view has been represented in this Chamber with great energy and eloquence by HANK BROWN.

Senator BROWN hit the ground running when he arrived in the Senate, and he has not stopped since, making a difference on nearly every major issue we have debated.

HANK BROWN understands the dangers of deficit spending, and the benefits that would come with a balanced budget. And, as a member of the Senate Budget Committee, he worked closely with Senator DOMENICI in writing the historic Republican plan to balance the budget.

Senator BROWN also has exhibited tremendous political courage in his willingness to speak forthrightly about the absolute necessity to reform entitlement programs if our children are to live in a financially solvent Nation.

From a personal point of view, I am grateful that Senator BROWN has provided me with the same candor with which he has addressed the issues of our day. I always knew that when I

asked HANK a question, I would receive in return the plainspoken truth.

From the skies above Vietnam to the floor of Congress, HANK BROWN has devoted his life to forthrightly serving his country. Though he is leaving the Senate after just one term, I have no doubt that he will keep on doing precisely that.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting one nomination which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT CONCERNING THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO THE LAPSE OF THE EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 1979—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 151

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)) and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), I transmit herewith a 6-month periodic report on the national emergency declared by Executive Order No. 12924 of August 19, 1994, to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 4, 1996.

PRESIDENT'S PERIODIC REPORT ON THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY CAUSED BY THE LAPSE OF THE EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 1979

1. On August 19, 1994, in Executive Order No. 12924, I declared a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*) and the system of controls maintained under that Act. In that order, I continued in effect, to the extent permitted by law, the provisions of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (EAA), as amended, the Export Administration Regulations (15 CFR 768 *et seq.*), and the delegations of authority set forth in Executive Order No. 12002 of July 7, 1977 (as amended by Executive Order No. 12755 of March 12, 1991), Executive Order No. 12214 of May 2, 1980, Executive

Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990 (subsequently revoked by Executive Order No. 12938 of November 14, 1994), and Executive Order No. 12851 of June 11, 1993. As required by the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I issued a notice on August 15, 1995, continuing the emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12924.

2. I issued Executive Order No. 12924 pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including, but not limited to, the IEEPA. At that time, I also submitted a report to the Congress pursuant to section 204(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)). Section 204 of IEEPA requires follow-up reports, with respect to actions or changes, to be submitted every 6 months. Additionally, section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)) requires that the President, within 90 days after the end of each 6-month period following a declaration of a national emergency, report to the Congress on the total expenditures directly attributable to that declaration. To comply with these requirements, I have submitted combined activities and expenditures reports for the 6-month periods from August 19, 1994, to February 19, 1995, and from February 19, 1995, to August 19, 1995. The following report covers the 6-month period from August 19, 1995, to February 19, 1996.

3. Since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12924, the Department of Commerce has continued to administer and enforce the system of export controls, including anti-boycott provisions, contained in the Export Administration Regulations (EAR). In administering these controls, the Department has acted under a policy of conforming actions under Executive Order No. 12924 to those required under the Export Administration Act, insofar as appropriate.

4. Since my last report to the Congress, there have been several significant developments in the area of export controls:

A. MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENTS

Wassenaar Arrangement for Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies. The Bureau of Export Administration (BXA) of the Department of Commerce participated in several rounds of negotiations to establish a successor regime to COCOM. On December 19, 1995, 28 countries (former COCOM partners, cooperating countries, Russia, and the Visegrad states) agreed to establish a new regime, called the Wassenaar Arrangement, to control conventional arms and munitions and related dual-use equipment. The Wassenaar Arrangement will be headquartered in Austria. The first plenary meeting of the new regime was held in Vienna in April 1996.

Australia Group. The Australia Group (AG) is an informal multilateral body formed in 1984 to address concerns about proliferation of chemical and biological warfare capabilities. Currently, 29 governments, representing supplier or producer countries, are members. The AG operates by consensus.

At the October 1995 plenary meeting, the Biological Weapons Experts conducted a technical review of the AG biological control list, which has been in force for 3 years. There was agreement on tightening the controls on certain microorganisms and equipment (e.g., fermenters) that can be used in the production of biological weapons. Regulations are being drafted to reflect these changes in biological weapons export controls.

The AG also agreed at the October 1995 plenary to tighten controls on license-free sample shipments. Accordingly, BXA will monitor its recently revised sample shipments rule to determine if it should be modified.

The United States shared its experiences at the October 1995 meeting in implementing