

was discussed last month by the Weapons and Space Systems Intelligence Committee. The committee is an interagency panel of intelligence experts who evaluate missile developments worldwide. The report was based on sensitive CIA data.

A separate "statement of fact" also was drafted last month declaring that China and Pakistan took part in a "conspiracy to transfer M-11s," according to an intelligence document obtained by The Times.

U.S. officials said the statement is the first step in an intelligence M-11 components were spotted in Pakistan three years ago.

China's delivery of the weapons violates the 31-nation Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), as well as a 1994 U.S.-China agreement not to deploy M-11s in Pakistan.

CIA and State Department spokesmen would not comment on the intelligence findings. A Chinese Embassy spokesman also declined to comment.

A Pakistani Embassy spokesman denied that any M-11s are operational in his country or that any were bought from China.

The M-11 finding highlights China's active role in arms-proliferation activities and comes after the recent administration decision not to impose economic sanctions on China for selling nuclear-weapons technology to Pakistan.

The administration announced last month it would not impose sanctions because it claimed senior Chinese officials were unaware of the sale last year of ring magnets—components used to produce nuclear-weapons fuel—to Pakistan.

William C. Triplett, a specialist on China, said the M-11 deployment, when coupled with the sale of nuclear-arms technology, is a major boost in Pakistan's drive for a strategic nuclear capability and will increase tensions in the volatile region.

"This is a major change in the geostrategic balance between Pakistan and India, and a devastating blow to Clinton administration efforts to reduce tensions on the subcontinent," said Mr. Triplett, a former counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Triplett, a former U.S. intelligence official, also said he is not surprised by efforts of the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research to block the M-11 deployment judgment. The bureau is notorious for politicizing analyses and should be excluded from taking part in future inter-agency estimates, he said.

Limited sanctions were imposed on China in 1993 for selling M-11 components to Pakistan.

The sanctions, affecting an estimated \$500 million in American sales, were lifted in October 1994 after Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Secretary of State Warren Christopher signed an agreement halting sales of the M-11 and similar missiles.

Under a 1990 U.S. law, Pakistan's possession of operational M-11s requires the president to impose two years' sanctions on both countries that limit U.S. sales of high-technology products.

The sanctions also would bar imports of any products made by the government-owned China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corp., which makes M-11s, and Pakistan's Defense Ministry. Both companies were sanctioned in the 1993 M-11 component transfer.

Sanctions would have their greatest impact on sales of high-technology goods to China. Those goods were a major portion of the \$12 billion in U.S. trade with China last year.

A State Department official said in 1994 when MTCR-related sanctions were lifted that if complete missiles were deployed in Pakistan "we would have no choice but to impose MTCR sanctions."

Mr. Deutch said in Senate testimony Feb. 22 that China has continued to sell inappro-

priate weapons and military technology in recent months, including "nuclear technology to Pakistan, M-11 missiles to Pakistan, cruise missiles to Iran."

"If this is true, there is no longer any excuse for not imposing sanctions on both China and Pakistan," said Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control.

China's disregard for the arms-control agreements despite U.S. appeals has exposed the weakness of U.S. policy toward Beijing, he said.

The MTCR, which limits sales of missiles with ranges greater than 186 miles or with warheads weighing more than 1,100 pounds, has no enforcement mechanism. But an amendment to the 1990 Defense Authorization Act requires the government to impose sanctions against foreign firms for MTCR violations.

U.S. officials have said the M-11 is a nuclear-capable missile whose export is barred under the MTCR because its warhead capacity exceeds MTCR limits.

U.S. intelligence agencies reported last year that the M-11 deal moved ahead after Pakistan paid \$15 million to China for missiles, launchers and support equipment. The M-11s were shipped to Pakistan in 1993, but their assembly was not confirmed.

Spy-satellite photographs taken in April 1995 showed missile canisters at a facility in Sargodha, Pakistan. Two teams of Chinese missile technicians were sent to Pakistan later to provide training and to unpack and assemble the M-11s, intelligence sources said.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Senator Robert J. Dole of Russell, KS for his 35 years of service in the U.S. Congress. Tuesday was a sad day for the U.S. Senate, for we lost one of our great leaders. It was also a sad day for me personally, for I lost a trusted colleague and a valued friend in the Senate. As the Republican leader in the Senate for 11 years, Senator Dole has left his fingerprints on every piece of legislation that has passed the Congress. His legacy will be remembered forever as one of vast legislative achievement.

I got my first glimpse of Senator Dole's legislative abilities when I came to Congress in 1975. In the wake of Watergate, and the massive congressional turnover that ensued, I was secured the position of ranking member of the House Agriculture Subcommittee with jurisdiction over the dairy industry. As a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator Dole and I worked closely together on many issues. I remember well the bonds we formed as conferees together on farm bills and working together to pass legislation for food stamps and child nutrition.

Later, as I gained seniority on the House Education and Labor Committee, we worked together again on disability policy. Senator Dole's commitment and determination to the passage of legislation ensuring that all Americans, regardless of physical disability, had equal opportunity was inspirational.

In 1989 when I became a member of the U.S. Senate, I had the privilege of

seeing Senator Dole's leadership abilities first-hand everyday. I have watched with amazement his ability to pull legislative initiatives out of the fire, and prevail on issues from civil rights to Social Security reform. In Vermont there's a saying, "You can't get there from here." Well, Senator Dole proved that adage wrong time and time again as he has moved legislation through the Senate.

In an institution where you are only as good as your word, Senator Dole prospered. His ability to build coalitions and form consensus on some of this Nation's most pressing issues is a testament to his integrity and character. In a world that has become ever more crude and impertinent, Senator Dole has defined "the word" civility.

Tuesday was a bittersweet day, for although I'm sad Senator Dole has left us in the Senate, I know he'll be close by as he seeks higher aspirations. I only hope that he knows that this is one Senator who feels that the U.S. Senate will never be the same without him.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

REPORT CONCERNING THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1995—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 153

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 Labor and Human Resources:

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my pleasure to transmit herewith the Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts for the fiscal year 1995.

On September 29, 1995, at the close of the fiscal year, the Arts Endowment celebrated its 30th anniversary. A young man or woman born at the same time as this Federal agency's establishment has enjoyed access to the arts and culture unparalleled in the history of the country. The National Endowment for the Arts has helped bring tens of thousands of artists into schools, teaching tens of millions of students about the power of the creative imagination. This small Federal agency has helped launch a national cultural network that has grown in size and quality these past 30 years.

This Annual Report is another chapter in a great success story. In these pages, you will find projects that bring

the arts to people in every State and in thousands of communities from Putney, Vermont, to Mammoth Lakes, California. The difference art makes in our lives is profound; we see more clearly, listen more intently, and respond to our fellow man with deeper understanding and empathy.

In these challenging times, when some question the value of public support for the arts, we should reflect upon our obligation to the common good. The arts are not a luxury, but a vital part of our national character and our individual human spirit. The poet Langston Hughes said, "Bring me all of your dreams, you dreamers. Bring me all of your heart melodies . . ." For 30 years, the Arts Endowment has helped keep those dreams alive for our artists and our audiences. May it long continue to do so.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 12, 1996.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 4:02 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 3540. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1997, and for other purposes.

MEASURE REFERRED

The following bill was read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 3540. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1997, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-2991. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Counterdrug Detail Program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2992. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Defense Nuclear Agency Long-Term Radiation Tolerant Microelectronics Program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2993. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to off-the-shelf systems; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2994. A communication from the Director of the Office of Surface Mining, Reclamation and Enforcement, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "The Texas Regulatory Program," received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-2995. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Public Use Regulations for the Alaska Peninsula," (RIN1018-AD30) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-2996. A communication from the Managing Director of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to FM broadcast stations, received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2997. A communication from the Managing Director of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of six rules relative to FM broadcast stations, received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2998. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of twelve rules including a rule entitled "Airworthiness Directives," (RIN2120-AA64, 2120-AA64, 2120-AA66) received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-2999. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Policies Relating to Rulemaking Proceedings," (RIN2105-AC55) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3000. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of twenty rules including a rule entitled "Revision of Class E Airspace" (RIN2120-AA66, 2120-AB18, 2120-AA64, 2120-AA65, 2120-A64) on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3001. A communication from the Program Management Officer, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Atlantic Swordfish Fishery," (RIN0648-AI23) received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3002. A communication from the Program Management Officer, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "The Gulf of Mexico Fisheries Disaster Program," (RIN0648-ZA19) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3003. A communication from the Program Management Officer, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Whaling Provisions," (RIN0648-AI81) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3004. A communication from the Program Management Officer, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone Off Alaska," (RIN0648-AI18) received on June 10, 1996; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-3005. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of two rules including a rule entitled "List of Regulated Substances and Thresh-

olds for Accidental Release Prevention," (FRL5516-6, 5517-4) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3006. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of six rules including a rule entitled "Protection of Stratospheric Ozone," (FRL5509-5, 5518-1, 5506-5, 5514-2 5464-4, 5514-6) received on June 7, 1996; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3007. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of six rules including a rule entitled "Description of Areas for Air Quality Planning Purposes," (FRL5515-7, 5516-4, 5513-3, 5511-2, 5368-4, 5515-1) received on June 5, 1996; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3008. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of three rules including a rule entitled "Accidental Release Prevention Requirements," (FRL5516-6, 5516-6, 5517-4) received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3009. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Army (Civil Works), transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation entitled "The Water Resources Development Act of 1996"; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3010. A communication from the Board of Trustees of the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report for 1996; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3011. A communication from the Board of Trustees of the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report for 1996; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3012. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Branch of the U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the rule entitled "Determining the Country of Origin of a Good," (RIN1515-AB34) received on May 31, 1996; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3013. A communication from the Chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on trade between the U.S. and China, and the Successor States to the former Soviet Union for the period October 1, 1995 through December 31, 1995; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-3014. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a final rule relative to passport information, received on June 6, 1996; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-3015. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel, U.S. Information Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "The Exchange Visitor Program," received on June 12, 1996; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-3016. A communication from the Under Secretary of Defense (Acquisition and Technology), transmitting, pursuant to law, the report entitled "Quality of Research Under the DOD Small Business Innovation Research Program"; to the Committee on Small Business.

EC-3017. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation entitled "The Developmental Disabilities Assistance Amendments of 1996"; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.