

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 interagency 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