

brought to our Nation. The reforms we enact must crack down on illegal immigrants, but they must also protect U.S. workers and the right of American citizens to reunite with their families.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING  
BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 11 a.m. having passed, morning business is closed.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC  
SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF  
1995

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 927, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 927) to seek international sanctions against the Castro Government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition Government leading to a democratically elected Government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Dole amendment No. 2898, in the nature of a substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I am about 6 minutes late in reaching the Senate floor because of my responsibility of presiding this morning over the Foreign Relations Committee, at which our former Senator Sasser from Tennessee appeared as President Clinton's nominee to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Communist China.

It was good to see so many people from Tennessee, including Senator Sasser's attractive family. I listened with great interest to his testimony.

Mr. President, we now resume consideration of the Libertad bill involving the question of whether the United States will continue to tolerate a Communist tyrant 90 miles off our shore, the tyrant being, of course, Fidel Castro.

We have a lot of friendly activity around this place from time to time, bipartisan some of it, but much of it intensely partisan. But after all is said and done, most of the times those who participate in partisan exchanges leave the Senate Chamber with friendships intact. That is what I so often do with the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

Senator DODD is an interesting gentleman. He is the son of a distinguished

U.S. Senator whom I knew. And I think it is fair to say—and I know that CHRIS DODD, the present Senator, would acknowledge the fact—that he and his father differed very sharply in their philosophical views, their views about foreign policy, and so forth. That is certainly the case with respect to the pending legislation, the so-called Helms-Burton bill.

This Libertad bill has already been passed by the House. Yesterday, the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DOLE, made the judgment that it was time for the Senate to act on the Senate version of the bill. They are almost identical. But Senator DOLE realized that the Senate would have to confront another filibuster by our Democrat friends.

Now, our friends across the aisle here have filibustered just about everything that has come up this year. A filibuster is not unusual because it is done by both sides. As a matter of fact, I must confess once or twice at least in my years in the Senate I have raised questions at some length about various pieces of legislation.

But as I listened to Senator CHRIS DODD yesterday while he spoke at some length about the pending Cuban Libertad bill, I frankly could not tell which bill he was talking about. He certainly was not talking about the bill pending at that time, which in fact is pending now, the Libertad Act. He was talking about some imaginary bill that was totally unrecognizable to me. I decided it was mostly tongue-in-cheek on his part. But it is hard to tell.

Anyway, Mr. President, I thought about it last night as I was driving home, and again this morning. I wish that Senator DODD were here now. He may presently be, because he, like me, is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and he attended the Sasser hearing this morning.

But, as I listened to Senator DODD's oratory talking about a nonexistent bill, I made the judgment that I would like to join him in opposing the bill that he was condemning—a fictional bill that does not exist, a bill that has nothing to do with the pending legislation which the clerk has just reported.

That said, let us talk about what is before the Senate, the pending Cuban Libertad bill. It goes by various names. The Senate version is known as the Dole-Helms Libertad Act.

When I first introduced my version early this year—with Congressman BURTON offering very similar legislation in the House, it became the Helms-Burton bill.

I don't care whose name is attached to it or who gets the credit for it; I believe that the U.S. Government and the American people had better make clear that we are not going to kowtow to Fidel Castro, a Communist who has murdered literally thousands of his own people, a tyrant who has imprisoned his political enemies for as long as 30 years.

And yet there are some voices in this country, and in this Senate, who say,

well, we need to get along with Fidel Castro and we need to trade with Castro. Well, that reminds me of the distinguished Prime Minister of England, Neville Chamberlain, who went over to Munich to meet with Adolph Hitler. Chamberlain returned to London exuberant. Boasting, in effect: "We can do business with this fellow Hitler. We can have peace in our time." And the press in England, the London Times and all the rest, put Lord Chamberlain all over their front pages, praising Chamberlain to the skies.

But there was one patriot who dared to stand up to be counted, who said: "Wait a minute. I will not be a party to this." That voice was Winston Churchill, and as Paul Harvey says, now you know the rest of the story.

Neither the British nor anybody else had peace in their time. Adolph Hitler was a bloody tyrant. World War II put an end to Hitler and Winston Churchill led the free world to victory over tyranny. Winston Churchill has gone down in history as a hero. Neville Chamberlain is all but forgotten.

But what is before this body, Mr. President—let us call it the Dole-Helms Libertad Act—is simply a proposal to perfect and improve a bill that passed the House of Representatives by a margin of 294 to 130 earlier this year.

So what is now before the Senate is a bill that has been improved to reflect the legitimate concerns of the Clinton administration and others who support the pending Libertad Act.

Now, let me try to focus in on some of the details of the pending bill. Title I of the Dole-Helms Libertad Act is designed to be the next logical step in building on the Cuban Democracy Act.

The Cuban Democracy Act was passed by Congress and signed into law in 1992. It was intended to strengthen the U.S. embargo against Castro. It was intended to seek, aggressively, international sanctions against Fidel Castro's repressive regime, and it was intended to support directly the Cuban people who were being brutalized by Fidel Castro and his henchmen.

Mr. President, some of the provisions of the Dole-Helms substitute:

First, to authorize the President, whoever he may be, to furnish assistance to support democracy-building efforts and to assist victims of political repression and to facilitate visits of international human rights monitors;

Second, to prohibit loans, credits or other financing for transactions involving U.S. property that has been confiscated by the Castro thugs;

Third, condition any U.S. aid that may be contemplated to any republics that belonged to the former Soviet Union. Such conditions will be based on whether these former republics are now subsidizing the Castro economy or are benefiting from Cuban intelligence facilities directed against the United States. The Dole-Helms bill authorizes the President to implement a fully reciprocal exchange of news bureaus between the United States and Cuba.