

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 98, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 491 Leg.]

YEAS—98

Abraham	Feingold	Lott
Akaka	Feinstein	Lugar
Ashcroft	Ford	Mack
Baucus	Frist	McCain
Bennett	Glenn	McConnell
Biden	Gorton	Mikulski
Bingaman	Graham	Moynihan
Bond	Gramm	Murkowski
Boxer	Grams	Murray
Bradley	Grassley	Nickles
Breaux	Gregg	Nunn
Brown	Harkin	Pell
Bryan	Hatch	Pressler
Bumpers	Hatfield	Pryor
Burns	Heflin	Reid
Byrd	Helms	Robb
Campbell	Hollings	Rockefeller
Chafee	Hutchison	Roth
Coats	Inhofe	Santorum
Cochran	Inouye	Sarbanes
Cohen	Jeffords	Shelby
Conrad	Johnston	Simon
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Simpson
Craig	Kempthorne	Smith
D'Amato	Kennedy	Snowe
Daschle	Kerrey	Specter
DeWine	Kerry	Stevens
Dodd	Kohl	Thomas
Dole	Kyl	Thompson
Domenici	Lautenberg	Thurmond
Dorgan	Leahy	Warner
Exon	Levin	Wellstone
Faircloth	Lieberman	

NOT VOTING—1

Moseley-Braun

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 98, the nays are zero. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in the affirmative, the motion is agreed to.

The Chair announces that amendment 2915 is nongermane and therefore falls.

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

AMENDMENT NO. 2936 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2898

(Purpose: To strengthen international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to develop a plan to support a transitional government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes)

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I lay before the Senate amendment No. 2936 which includes title I and title II of the Libertad Act only. I ask it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] proposes an amendment numbered 2936 to amendment No. 2898.

Mr. HELMS. I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, title I of the Libertad Act strengthens sanctions against the Castro government. Some of the principal provisions of that title include: urging the President to seek an international embargo against the

Castro dictatorship; authorizing the President to support democracy-building efforts in Cuba and to help the victims of Castro's repression; prohibiting financing to any person to finance transactions involving U.S. property confiscated by the Cuban Government; and ensuring that U.S. foreign aid to former Soviet states is not being used to subsidize Castro's regime.

Title II of the Libertad Act lays out a proactive strategy to support Cuba's transition to a democratically elected government. The provisions of title II include instructing the President to develop a plan for providing support to the Cuban people during a transition to a democratically elected government. This title also authorizes assistance to meet the emergency and basic humanitarian needs of the Cuban people during the transition period; and it gives the President flexibility to suspend the economic embargo during a transition and to terminate the embargo once a democratically elected government is in office in Cuba.

Mr. President, the Libertad bill sends a clear message to the Cuban people, and to other nations, that the United States will not do business with Castro's dictatorship.

Mr. President, I strongly urge Senators to support this legislation. I believe that enactment of the Libertad Act will help bring about Castro's departure from power, making Cuba free and democratic. The people of Cuba deserve freedom, and we must not desert them now.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. GRAMM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I rise in strong support of this legislation. Like many of our colleagues, I am profoundly disappointed that title III of this bill will be dropped today. I am disappointed that we could not get the 60 votes we need to break a filibuster by those who are not willing to tighten the noose tighter around Fidel Castro's neck.

It would be one of the great tragedies of history if the tidal wave of freedom that has covered the planet in the last 5 years were allowed to subside before it drowned Fidel Castro.

My basic objective here today, Mr. President, is to pass the Helms bill and go to conference, and then in conference bring back the title III provisions, the provisions which will deny Castro the ability to entice foreign private investment to prolong his life as dictator in Cuba which would prolong the misery of the Cuban people.

I believe that the bill that is now before us is an improvement over our current situation. It does strengthen the

embargo. It does set up a procedure whereby we make it more difficult for Castro's Cuba to get funding through the United Nations or the world financial organizations. The bill gives us the ability to link our aid to Russia's actions as they relate to Cuba, both in Russia's trade relationship and in their intelligence gathering. So I think the Helms bill, as it now is before the Senate, is an improvement on current law. What remains of that bill does not do the job the original bill did. We are all disappointed that we could not break the filibuster on that bill.

Yet, I am supportive of the remaining Helms provisions. I want to see them adopted. I want to see us go to conference. I want to put title III back in the bill and bring it back to the Senate and fight for its passage. I think it would be a great tragedy for our country, it would be a great tragedy for everything we stand for in the world, it would be a great tragedy for the Cuban people, if we do not do everything in our power to get rid of Fidel Castro.

The original Helms-Burton bill was an important step in the right direction. I am for that bill. I intend to continue to fight for it. I urge my colleagues to support this measure today so that we can go to conference and get back the original bill.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LIEBERMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I ask unanimous consent that I may be allowed to proceed as in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair.

TRIBUTE TO THOMAS J. DODD

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I want to speak with my colleagues today about a remarkable and really historic event that occurred in my State of Connecticut this past Sunday, October 15, when the University of Connecticut dedicated the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center, associated with the University of Connecticut library. It is a center named, obviously, for the great former Senator from the State of Connecticut, father of my colleague and dear friend, the current Senator CHRIS DODD.

It was a spectacular day, a beautiful fall day in Connecticut, but obviously it was more than the weather that distinguished the day.

What happened really was a fitting tribute, that will go on through the years and decades ahead, to Senator Tom Dodd and the remarkable record of achievement that he built here in the U.S. Senate where he served from 1958 to 1970 and in the years before then. The events began with a dedication at the library site itself and then proceeded to the Gampel Pavilion

where it looked to me like 8,000 or 9,000 people packed in to hear the President of the United States, President Clinton, deliver the first in a lecture series that will emanate from the Thomas Dodd Research Center, in this case specifically focused on the Nuremberg trials, 50 years after, because Senator Tom Dodd was a prosecutor there.

Mr. President, Tom Dodd, as President Clinton said, spent his life in the service of his country. He trained as a lawyer, served as an FBI agent, then as a lawyer for the U.S. Government. He was, throughout his career, a great fighter for freedom, for human rights. And it is to the study of human rights that this research center will be committed.

Senator Dodd fought the tyranny of racism as an attorney prosecuting civil rights cases in the 1930's, which was a long time before most other Americans thought about the idea of civil rights.

And throughout his time here in the Senate, and before in the House, he was a great fighter against the tyranny of communism, one of the great, principal, fervent anti-Communists of the cold war period who put us as a nation on a course to understand that the cold war was not, as some historical revisionists would have us believe, just a kind of tug of war between two great powers—the United States and Russia—but a conflict of ideas, a continuation of the struggle between good and evil, between freedom and tyranny. That is, in its way, the history of our species on this Earth.

Senator Tom Dodd understood that the battle against communism, the cold war, was part of that struggle of good against evil.

His passion for justice, his hatred of oppression, his understanding that human rights began with the vision that every individual is sacred because God created that individual, his understanding that we had to strive to establish the rule of law to protect human rights and to promote justice was expressed magnificently, brilliantly in his work as an executive trial counsel at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal after the war.

A film was shown of some of Tom Dodd's appearances at the Nuremberg trial. It was riveting. He was brilliant and compelling, and in that extraordinary human historic experience, coming out of the devastation and lawlessness of the Holocaust, established the principle of justice through law.

Senator CHRIS DODD, who spoke that day, reminded us that one of the remarkable achievements of the Nuremberg trial was not just those who were guilty, who were convicted and severely punished, but that three people were actually acquitted at Nuremberg and that, in its way, is a testament to the rule of law and justice as well.

A beautiful building, 50,000 square feet, a repository of historic papers, Senator DODD's and others—a living legacy that will go on from generation to generation bringing scholars there

to study, to write and to be reminded of the centerpiece of the career of Senator Tom Dodd, which was the struggle for human rights and justice through law and the need to continue to fight that battle.

Mr. President, the day on Sunday was a day in which we dedicated a building, but it was also a day in which I think Connecticut was struck and riveted by what was happening to bring the building about. It was truly an expression of devotion of a son to his father, an expression of the love of CHRIS DODD and his brothers and sisters for their father and their commitment to honor his memory. As I had the opportunity to say on Sunday in Connecticut, as beautiful a fulfillment as I have ever seen of the Biblical commandment, honor one's father and mother, and the Dodd family did it with dignity and with purpose befitting their father, Tom Dodd, on Sunday in Connecticut.

But, of course, the truly significant way and the ongoing way in which my colleague from Connecticut and dear friend, CHRIS DODD, honors the memory of his father is by the extraordinary quality of his service in this body by his personal fight for human rights throughout the world and at home, and particularly at home for the rights of children, understanding and reminding each of us, as Senator CHRIS DODD has so often on this floor, that a child who is without adequate food, without adequate shelter, without adequate parentage, without decent health care, without safety and protection from crime and abuse, suffers in that child's way, as much as people who are forced to live under tyranny, and in that sense, is deprived of human rights as well.

It struck me, and I know my colleagues on the floor, knowing and loving Senator CHRIS DODD as I do, will share the thought that I had on Sunday, which was, as we thought about Nuremberg and we thought about the Second World War and the films were there of the Holocaust and the genocide, that our colleague and friend, Senator CHRIS DODD, in his service, in his life, is the diametric opposite of the evils that were portrayed and lived and suffered through in the Second World War; really a person without bias, a person of great warmth and compassion, a person of openness to all and a person who really in his life carries on the legacy that his father left.

It was a spectacular day which had great meaning for the Dodd family, which truly honored the memory of Senator Thomas Dodd, which the President graced with a magnificent speech, talking as the President did about the record of Senator Tom Dodd, but also bringing it to bear on the acts of genocide that have occurred in the former Yugoslavia, on the importance of the war crimes tribunal that is now going on in The Hague directed to the war crimes that have been committed in the former Yugoslavia. And, finally, the President expressed support for the

idea of a permanent court of international justice, a permanent court operating perhaps through the United Nations, emanating out of the United Nations, which could stand as witness and deterrent, as Senator Dodd did at Nuremberg, to prosecute those who violate accepted rules of international justice and fairness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of President Clinton's remarks at the University of Connecticut dedication of the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center on Sunday, as well as several articles from the Connecticut press, the Hartford Courant in particular, about the life and service of Senator Tom Dodd and what it means to each of us today.

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

TRANSCRIPT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S REMARKS AT DEDICATION OF THOMAS J. DODD RESEARCH CENTER, OCTOBER 15, 1995

Thank you very much, President Hartley. Governor Rowland, Senator Lieberman, members of Congress, and distinguished United States senators and former senators who have come today; Chairman Rome, members of the Diplomatic Corps; to all of you who have done anything to make this great day come to pass; to my friend and former colleague, Governor O'Neill, and most of all, to Senator Dodd, Ambassador Dodd, and the Dodd family: I am delighted to be here.

I have so many thoughts now. I can't mention one—since President Hartley mentioned the day we had your magnificent women's basketball team there, we also had the UCLA men's team there. You may not remember who UCLA defeated for the national championship—(laughter)—but I do remember that UCONN defeated the University of Tennessee. And that made my life with Al Gore much more bearable. (Laughter.) So I was doubly pleased when UCONN won the national championship. (Applause.)

I also did not know until it was stated here at the outset of this ceremony that no sitting President had the privilege of coming to the University of Connecticut before, but they don't know what they missed. I'm glad to be the first, and I know I won't be the last. (Applause.)

I also want to pay a special public tribute to the Dodd family for their work on this enterprise, and for their devotion to each other and the memory of Senator Thomas Dodd. If, as so many of us believe, this country rests in the end upon its devotion to freedom and liberty and democracy, and upon the strength of its families, you could hardly find a better example than the Dodd family, not only for their devotion to liberty and democracy, but also for their devotion to family and to the memory of Senator Tom Dodd. It has deeply moved all of us, and we thank you for your example. (Applause.)

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[From the Hartford (CT) Courant, Oct. 12, 1995]

FROM FATHER TO SON, DODD NAME PASSED ALONG IN SENATE
(By David Lightman)

WASHINGTON.—It was not that Chris Dodd didn't love running the Stamford campaign for his father's 1970 U.S. Senate bid.

In fact, the task fit him. He was 26 and full of energy and ideas for his first formal brush

with elective politics. He loved people, loved the political arena, loved everything about it.

But the campaign was sputtering, and even a rookie could understand why. Three years earlier, Sen. Thomas Dodd, D-Conn., had become only the seventh person in history to be censured by the U.S. Senate. And now the censure—for improper use of campaign funds—hung like an anvil around the neck of the candidate.

Of course, what everyone, including young Dodd, could see coming, happened. And when the Election Day mauling was over, he drove back to the family's Old Lyme home, crushed. He thought he had let down the father he respected and loved so much.

But Daddy, as Chris Dodd called his father, was not scowling. "He poured a glass of Dewar's scotch," recalled Chris Dodd, "and thanked me for putting in the time."

His father's grace in defeat—rather than his triumphs at the top—helped convince Chris Dodd that politics was an honorable profession. And the son, now Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., has dedicated at least part of his own career to ensuring that his father is remembered as an honorable politician.

"Sometimes, I think almost everything Chris Dodd does down here is meant to vindicate his father," said Sen. Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, who served in the Senate with both Dodds.

He has taken up some of the issues his father held dear, such as foreign policy and children's welfare.

He has kept his father's memory alive in the Senate chambers. Chris Dodd sits behind his father's desk and keeps his father's barrel-back, wood-and-leather chair in his office. A huge illuminated portrait of Thomas Dodd looks down on visitors to the office's conference room.

And he has worked quietly to rehabilitate the Dodd name. The very presence of Chris Dodd in the U.S. Senate is daily testimony to the success of that effort. And Sunday's dedication of the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center at the University of Connecticut is his monument.

The Dodd family helped raise over \$1 million for programs at the center, which will house the senior Dodd's political papers, along with other archival material.

The four-day conference that coincides with the center's dedication will focus on the legacy of the Nuremberg trials. Thomas Dodd's year as a Nuremberg prosecutor was "the seminal event in my father's professional life," Chris Dodd said.

"I had given thought over the years to what would be a fitting memorial," the younger Dodd said. "We'd thought of a road or a bridge or a park, but I didn't like the idea of people driving over his name."

"This is a research center at the flagship university in our state, just a few short miles from where he was raised. There's a lot of symbolism to it. My father would have loved this," he said.

SHIELDED FROM CENSURE

Chris Dodd said he has been able to maintain his love of politics, while many in his family have not, because he was not a witness to his father's humiliation. After graduating from Providence College in 1966, the younger Dodd joined the Peace Corps and went to the Dominican Republic.

He was there when his father became the first caught by an ethical system that was undergoing profound changes in the 1960s. Stung by charges that Secretary of the Senate Bobby Baker used his office to help his business, the Senate set up an Ethics Committee in 1964.

The Dodd case would be its first mission. In February 1966, a month after columnists

Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson began writing articles accusing Dodd of using campaign money for personal expenses, Dodd asked the new committee to look into the complaints.

The committee held hearings in the summer of 1966 and continued them the next year. Dodd testified that money raised at testimonial dinners were "to be spent at the discretion of the recipient." In response to a complaint that he helped a Chicago public relations representative gain favor with the West German government, Dodd said he was simply an errand boy for the executive.

The committee recommended he be censured on two counts—using campaign money for personal expenses and billing trips to both the Senate and to private organizations.

The Senate would not censure him on the second charge; it agreed to strike it, 51-45. But it did vote 92-5 to censure him on the first charge, with only Sens. Abraham A. Ribicoff, D-Conn.; John Tower, R-Texas; Russell Long, D-La.; Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.; and Dodd himself opposing the resolution.

It was a stunning setback for a politician who just three years earlier was being seriously considered by President Johnson for the vice presidency.

Chris Dodd received newspaper clippings, sent by family and friends, about his father's ordeal, but he did not live through it directly. He did not have to endure the daily batterings from Pearson and Anderson, or read about the march of Connecticut figures to the Ethics Committee in 1967 to testify about his father, or hear his father's May 15, 1967, radio speech to the people of Connecticut in which he called his pending censure "a strange coming together of hateful and vengeful interests."

"They may have been trying to shield me," Chris Dodd said of his family. "I was living in a vacuum."

By the time he returned to the United States on Christmas Eve 1968, U.S. politics involved other topics.

Despite the Senate's resounding verdict, Thomas Dodd continued to serve, maintaining his seniority and chairmanship of the juvenile delinquency subcommittee and vice chairmanship of the internal security subcommittee. In 1968, he saw Congress pass the gun control legislation he had championed for years, albeit a watered-down version of what he had sought.

He lost his seat in 1970, largely because of the censure. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., then a U.S. representative from southwestern Connecticut, won with 41 percent of the vote. Democrat Joseph Duffey got 34 percent, and Dodd was third with 24.5 percent.

When Thomas Dodd died in May 1971, four months after leaving the Senate, the rehabilitation of the Dodd name began in earnest.

Senators offered tributes on the floor. Sen. James Allen, D-Ala., recalled how, "He fought unceasingly against crime, juvenile delinquency and drug addiction." Sen. James Buckley, Conservative-N.Y., called him "an eminent analyst of Cold War strategy."

In February 1972, Ribicoff asked the Senate to give its unanimous consent to printing colleagues' eulogies in a special book, a memorial to Thomas Dodd. That book is available today in the U.S. Senate library.

WINNING AS A DODD

But restoration of the Dodd name has come more from his son's political success than his colleagues' flowery words.

Thomas Dodd did not urge his children to become involved in politics—"We were never asked to pose for pictures," recalled Chris Dodd—but the son could not help notice all

the excitement his father's work was generating.

Chris Dodd was a teenager when his father was elected to the Senate in 1958. "He was working all the time, and at night he'd most likely be at some function or another." Chris Dodd said, "But when he'd come to the house, you'd be aware of his arrival. Dogs would bark, people would get excited. He may not have been home for dinner at 5:30, but bonds were forged in different ways."

The younger Dodd liked the idea of going into politics, but it was not a burning ambition. "I knew enough to know that was not the kind of ambition you should have, that becoming a member of Congress is something you don't always control," he said.

Chris Dodd did not make the classic young man's political moves. He moved to North Stonington, hardly a hotbed of Democratic activity. He joined a law firm that did not encourage people to run for office. And he lived in a congressional district represented by Robert H. Steele Jr., a Republican who at the time looked like he could hold the seat until the 21st century.

Still, Chris Dodd ran for the House of Representatives in 1974, an election held three months after President Nixon resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal. Even though it was a good time for Democrats, "A lot of people told me I could never get elected with the Dodd name," Chris Dodd recalled. He did, of course, "and then people told me it was because of the Dodd name," he said.

Inouye viewed the son as a man on a mission.

Chris Dodd's style, his choice of issues, his way of dealing with people is all meant to convey the idea that his father was a person of honor and Chris is here to remind you of that, said Inouye and others.

Though he was only 36 when he joined the Senate in 1981, he quickly befriended some of his father's colleagues, including Inouye and Sens. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.; Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va.; and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

And he didn't forget one of his father's few supporters during the censure vote. Chris Dodd was one of only three Democratic senators to back John Tower's controversial and unsuccessful nomination as secretary of defense in 1989.

"Their presence on the Senate floor is very similar," said Inouye. "When I look at Chris Dodd and close my eyes, I can imagine Tom Dodd speaking."

Kennedy also notices a similarity in how the two men put together legislation. Chris Dodd makes a habit of visiting Connecticut high schools to talk to youngsters, particularly about the problems of weapons in schools. Then he returns to Washington and uses anecdotes to help him push for a bill.

Thomas Dodd would do the same kind of thing. "He'd get in his car and, go around Maryland and Virginia and go to gun shops," Kennedy recalled. "He would find out what was happening and then translate that into legislation."

"When Tom Dodd or Chris Dodd wanted something, they were bulldogs," Kennedy said.

There are, however, important differences between the two. One of them is their relationship with the Kennedys.

Chris Dodd is viewed as Kennedy's best friend in the Senate. Thomas Dodd, on the other hand, was one of the few prominent New England officeholders to endorse then-Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson over then-Sen. John F. Kennedy in the 1960 battle for the Democratic presidential nomination.

There are personality differences as well. "Tom Dodd was more reserved; Chris is more of a glad-hander," said Thurmond, who was a

Democrat when Tom Dodd arrived in the Senate.

Hollings put it more bluntly. "Christopher has a much more engaging personality," he said.

And Chris Dodd is much more of an insider than Thomas Dodd ever was. In 1963, the elder Dodd blasted Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., on the Senate floor.

Chris Dodd, on the other hand, competed for the job of Senate Democratic leader last year and lost, even after a late start, by only one vote. A month later, he became President Clinton's hand-picked choice as Democratic National Committee general chairman.

LIKING THE LINKAGE

The father and son have taken up some of the same issues. Chris Dodd likes to draw a line between his father's work in the 1930s with the National Youth Administration, a Depression-era agency that helped children from poor families get education and employment training, and his own work today.

Chris Dodd chaired the Senate's subcommittee on children, families, drugs and alcoholism until Republicans won the Senate in 1994. He remains the Senate's leading voice on children's issues, most recently brokering a compromise to the welfare reform bill that will mean \$8 billion in extra money for child-care programs during the next five years.

"I can see him moving bills like that," said Chris Dodd. "I'd like to think he'd be more supportive than not of what I do, very proud."

In foreign policy, Chris Dodd was able to see finished something his father had helped start.

In 1950, Thomas Dodd, then a member of a special American Bar Association committee, had urged members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to approve a treaty establishing penalties for genocide.

Yet the Senate for years refused to ratify the treaty, some senators fearing the U.S. sovereignty would be compromised.

The son battled hard for his father's cause. In 1984, Chris Dodd, who like his father served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, quoted on the Senate floor his father's words from two decades earlier: "For me, the genocide convention has a special personal meaning because as executive trial counsel at Nuremberg I had spread before me, in nightmarish detail, the whole incredible story of Nazi barbarism."

Two years later, as the Senate debated the treaty again, Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., recalled the senior Dodd's commitment. "Tom Dodd, the father of Sen. Chris Dodd, contributed a special zeal to this effort," he said. "It was his opinion that had it [the treaty] been in existence when Hitler first came to power the tragic events of his regime might have been prevented."

Finally, in 1986, as the Cold War wound down, the Senate approved the treaty.

Father and son, however, were not always in sync, particularly on foreign policy.

Thomas Dodd was a relentless anti-Communist from his Nuremberg days. Though representatives from the Soviet Union were part of the tribunal, his dealings with them made him think they were capable of the same kinds of horrors as the Nazis.

They are "probably doing this same sort of thing behind the Iron Curtain now," he said in his 1950 testimony, "Russia in its plan, as I see it, wishes to influence people all over the world."

While many Democrats were urging the United States to pull troops out of Vietnam in the late 1960s, Thomas Dodd remained staunchly behind the war effort.

By contrast, his son, though no rabid anti-war activist, came to oppose the Vietnam War in 1968, and served in the U.S. Army Reserve to avoid being sent to Vietnam.

In the Senate, Chris Dodd opposed the Reagan administration's efforts to provide military aid to "freedom fighters" trying to unseat the democratically elected and socialist government of Nicaragua. He pushed hard for economic aid to address fundamental economic problems in the Caribbean and Central America.

But the son warned that the differences between father and son should not be overstated. They are of two different eras, but share the same values and thoughts, he said. "I have a lot of affection and admiration for my father," said Chris Dodd. "I like the tradition. I like the linkage."

[From the Hartford Courant, Oct. 8, 1995]

TOM DODD'S LETTERS OPEN NEW WINDOW INTO HISTORY

(By Mark Pazniokas)

A half-century ago, amid the rubble of a vanquished Germany, the victorious Allies put Nazi leaders on trial for crimes against peace and humanity.

The Reich's unspeakable atrocities were laid bare in a dozen trials and hundreds of convictions. But the Nuremberg trials had an even more noble aspiration: to make international law a force for peace.

Beginning today, The Courant will explore the meaning of the trials and their ambiguous legacy in a four-part series. Next week, the University of Connecticut will commemorate the 50th anniversary by dedicating the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center and holding a conference on human rights and the rule of law.

Horror fills the yellowed letter, written long ago in a bombed out hotel. It is dated Aug. 14, 1945, the day after a wide-eyed Thomas J. Dodd arrived in Nuremberg, Germany, to prosecute the Nazis.

Three months after V-E Day, the stench of death still hung heavy in the summer air. An estimated 20,000 dead lay entombed in the rubble of the old city, where legions had rallied for Hitler before the war.

Half the population of 400,000 fled before the Americans took the city in April. Many of those who stayed now slept in cellars, emerging each morning like mice to forage in the dusty ruins.

"Grace, my dearest one," Dodd wrote to his wife, safe at home in Connecticut with their five children, the youngest being the 14-month-old Christopher. "Here I am in the dead city of Nuremberg."

So began an unbroken stream of letters that Tom Dodd, then a 38-year-old government lawyer abroad for the first time, would write daily from Nuremberg until sailing home in October 1946.

The collection remained unseen outside the Dodd family until last month, when Sen. Christopher J. Dodd granted The Courant access for stories marking the 50th anniversary of the first Nuremberg war-crimes trial.

Nuremberg was the real "trial of the century," a yearlong dissection of how the Nazis murdered millions and pillaged a continent.

Twenty-one men stood trial before an unprecedented International Military Tribunal, which the four Allied powers created to mete out justice and compile an incontrovertible record of Nazi outrages. Architects of the tribunal also had a higher hope: to set an international standard for judging war crimes.

Tom Dodd returned home a hero from Nuremberg, poised for a political career that would make him a congressman, a senator and a national figure opposed to communism, which he viewed as the moral equivalent of Nazism.

But the letters to his wife show a man who was at a crossroads at Nuremberg, bedeviled by doubts about his career and even his continued participation in what he knew was a historic trial.

Hopes of entering politics seemed to be slipping away. He told his wife in one pessimistic letter that the future belonged to the men who spent the war in uniform. Dodd had been a federal prosecutor during the war.

Dodd's children long had viewed the letters as his private notes to their mother. She supported their father through his many triumphs and, in 1967, his censure by the Senate for misusing campaign funds. The Dodds died within 20 months of each other: Tom in May 1971, months after losing his Senate seat; Grace in January 1973.

"Many of them," Chris Dodd said recently of his father's Nuremberg letters, "are what I would consider to be love letters."

They are full of tender references to "that day in St. Paul." Tom Dodd and Grace Murphy married May 19, 1934, in St. Paul, Minn., where he was assigned as an FBI agent.

Most are written by hand in a flowing script, in ink when available, in pencil when necessary. They are conversations between the sometimes-crusty prosecutor and his "dearest Grace."

"I am not conscious of proper grammatical construction or of word choice or any formality," he told Grace. "I am on the sofa and I am talking to you and I'll be darned if I will pick my words like a parson preparing a sermon."

FROM NORWICH TO LONDON

Tom and Grace Dodd made their goodbyes before dawn at Union Station in Washington, D.C., on July 27, 1946. Dodd had been recruited from the U.S. attorney general's staff for the United Nations War Crimes Commission.

"You made a memorable picture for me as I gazed out the taxicab window until the dimness of the dawn light blotted your loveliness out," Dodd wrote her from London, his first stop in Europe.

He one day would become a foreign policy expert, relied upon by Lyndon B. Johnson, but in 1945 he was small-town Connecticut. He was born in Norwich and lived in Lebanon, a part of the state that had more cows than people.

His letter from London is enthusiastic travelogue, full of details about his flight aboard a military transport that hoppedscotched from Washington to Newfoundland to Prestwick, Scotland, where he caught another flight to London.

Trans-Atlantic air travel was still a novelty, and Dodd stayed up most of the night chatting with a crewman, who regaled him with tales of planes lost without a trace in the North Atlantic.

At first light, Dodd wrote gratefully, "The sun came up beautifully about 4:30 a.m. London time."

Dodd had graduated from Yale Law School in 1933, an Irish-Catholic at a blue-blooded institution. He was president of the Yale Democratic Club and organizer of "the Flying Wedge," a cadre that passionately defended Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

He spent a year as an FBI agent, chasing John Dillinger through the Midwest; served for a time as director of the National Youth Administration in Connecticut; then tried civil rights cases for the Justice Department. During the war, he prosecuted spies and profiteers.

He cut an impressive figure. His hair, prematurely going gray, was brushed straight back. He had piercing eyes and thick, dark eyebrows, a ringing speaking voice and the same sarcastic wit later shown by Christopher, the son who would follow him onto the national political stage.

In London, Dodd felt humbled by the war-weary populace.

"They stared at the cab from eyes that I could not meet, attired in clothing that made me wince," Dodd wrote. "I really feel ashamed when these people stare—for they recognize an American by the quality of his clothing."

Of course, he had seen nothing yet. In a few months, Dodd would be numb to the horror of war and complain about being bored by the confession of a man who murdered 1½ million people at Auschwitz.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have a consent agreement which has been cleared by both sides.

I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate resumes H.R. 927, the following amendments be the only amendments in order postcloture: Helms amendment No. 2936; Bradley amendment No. 2930 or 2931; Dodd amendment No. 2906; Dodd amendment No. 2908; Simon amendment No. 2934.

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all listed amendments be considered second-degree amendments to Helms amendment No. 2936.

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me indicate we believe we can have debate on the Simon amendment yet this afternoon. I understand the Senator from North Carolina will offer an amendment which will be accepted on behalf of Senator BRADLEY. That will leave the Helms amendment and the two Dodd amendments.

We are hoping to start at 10:30 tomorrow morning on the bill and recognize Senator DODD, with, if there is not a time agreement, a short period of debate. We are trying to accommodate Senator DODD's schedule, so I hope he will accommodate ours tomorrow.

I want to congratulate the Senator from North Carolina. I regret we were one vote short, 59 to 36. So it was necessary, as the chairman has indicated, to delete title III.

It is the hope of everyone when we get into conference we can work out some consensus so we can come back with a conference report and pick up that additional vote and maybe more.

It seems to me there are good points to this bill. The strength of this bill was title III, and we will revisit it. There will be some version of it in the conference report. Again, I think the

chairman is to be commended. We will go to conference and see what happens.

Also, it is my hope tomorrow—I discussed this briefly with Senator KERRY from Massachusetts—that we could move to the State Department reorganization bill. They indicate they will make an offer to Senator HELMS this afternoon.

Mr. HELMS. That is correct.

Mr. DOLE. If that is acceptable under a 4-hour time agreement, we can complete action on that, too.

After the debate on the Simon amendment, and anything else being done with reference to this, I think it is my intention to recess so the Senate Finance Committee can meet and complete its work, because they may be going late into the evening.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader, and I share his regret that we had to go through all of this. Sometimes it is absolutely essential that we do. I have no hard feelings toward anybody about it. I just wish we could have moved along a little more rapidly. I appreciate all the help the majority leader has given.

AMENDMENT NO. 2930 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2936

(Purpose: To make limited exceptions to restrictions on assistance for the independent states of the former Soviet Union imposed by the bill)

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator BRADLEY and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], for Mr. BRADLEY, proposes an amendment numbered 2930 to amendment No. 2936.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 14, strike line 1 and all that follows through line 14 on page 16 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(5) except for assistance under the secondary school exchange program administered by the United States Information Agency, for the government of any independent state effective 30 days after the President has determined and certified to the appropriate congressional committees (and Congress has not enacted legislation disapproving the determination within the 30-day period) that such government is providing assistance for, or engaging in nonmarket based trade (as defined in section 498(k)(3)) with, the Government of Cuba, or".

(2) Subsection (k) of section 498B of that Act (22 U.S.C. 2295b(k)), is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(3) NONMARKET BASED TRADE.—As used in section 498A(b)(5), the term 'nonmarket based trade' includes exports, imports, exchanges, or other arrangements that are provided for goods and services (including oil and other petroleum products) on terms more favorable than those generally available in applicable markets or for comparable commodities, including—

"(A) exports to the Government of Cuba on terms that involve a grant, concessional price, guarantee, insurance, or subsidy;

"(B) imports from the Government of Cuba at preferential tariff rates;

"(C) exchange arrangements that include advance delivery of commodities, arrangements in which the Government of Cuba is not held accountable for unfulfilled exchange contracts, and arrangements under which Cuba does not pay appropriate transportation, insurance, or finance costs; and

"(D) the exchange, reduction, or forgiveness of Cuban government debt in return for a grant by the Cuban government of an equity interest in a property, investment, or operation of the Government of Cuba or of a Cuban national."

"(4) CUBAN GOVERNMENT.—(A) The term Cuban government includes the government of any political subdivision of Cuba, and any agency or instrumentality of the Government of Cuba.

"(B) For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term 'agency or instrumentality' is used within the meaning of section 1603(b) of title 28, United States Code."

(d) FACILITIES AT LOURDES, CUBA.—(1) The Congress expresses its strong disapproval of the extension by Russia of credits equivalent to \$200,000,000 in support of the intelligence facility at Lourdes, Cuba, announced in November 1994.

(2) Section 498A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2295a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(d) REDUCTION IN ASSISTANCE FOR SUPPORT OF INTELLIGENCE FACILITIES IN CUBA.—(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President shall withhold from assistance provided, on or after the date of enactment of this subsection, for an independent state of the former Soviet Union under this Act an amount equal to the sum of assistance and credits, if any, provided on or after such date by such state in support of intelligence facilities in Cuba, including the intelligence facility at Lourdes, Cuba.

"(2)(A) The President may waive the requirement of paragraph (1) to withhold assistance if the President certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the provision of such assistance is important to the national security of the United States, and, in the case of such a certification made with respect to Russia, if the President certifies that the Russian Government has assured the United States Government that the Russian Government is not sharing intelligence data collected at the Lourdes facility with officials or agents of the Cuban Government.

"(B) At the time of a certification made with respect to Russia pursuant to subparagraph (A), the President shall also submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report describing the intelligence activities of Russia in Cuba, including the purposes for which the Lourdes facility is used by the Russian Government and the extent to which the Russian Government provides payment or government credits to the Cuban Government for the continued use of the Lourdes facility.

"(C) The report required by subparagraph (B) may be submitted in classified form.

"(D) For purposes of this paragraph, the term appropriate congressional committees, includes the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate.

"(3) The requirement of paragraph (1) to withhold assistance shall not apply with respect to—

"(A) assistance to meet urgent humanitarian needs, including disaster and refugee relief;