

Maybe it will at least stimulate some discussion of a minimum job training program that might move us forward a little bit.

But we are grateful. God and the American political process work in mysterious ways. We are grateful for this high visibility that the problems have been given. Out of the mouths of racists and anti-Semites some common sense can be heard. This is a great secret that is not so secret among demagogues and demagoguery. Demagogues know that you have to make some sense to people. You have to show common sense. Mr. Buchanan shows common sense.

Demagogues know that you have to address some practical, real, concrete problem. You have to do that. Demagogues know that you have to pretend to care about people's suffering. You have to pretend, at least. Demagogues know this. So this demagogue is raising the high visibility, and for that reason we are grateful. We are not grateful enough to follow a person who has a whole history of anti-Semitic statements, a whole history of racist statements. We will not be carried away, but the issues have been raised. The Washington conventional wisdom has been shaken. We will go forward to try to be positive about filling the vacuum that we have refused to recognize up to date.

We should support workers. We should make certain that there are no losers that suffer unnecessarily. We should have a transition program that we solidly back in order to carry forward our economy and all the people in our economy.

CONDEMNATION OF THE COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS BY THE CUBAN DICTATORSHIP

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MENENDEZ] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor tonight to condemn a brutal, cold-blooded, premeditated murder of U.S. citizens by the Castro regime this past weekend. I would like to go through the facts, Mr. Speaker, of what happened.

Brothers to the Rescue is a Miami-based humanitarian organization engaged in search and rescue missions over the Florida Straits. It was on just such a mission this past weekend. The members of Brothers to the Rescue were flying unarmed, civilian, defenseless planes in a mission that is identical to hundreds of missions that they have flown since 1991. They posed no threat whatsoever to the Cuban Government, the Cuban military, or the Cuban people. And the Cuban dictatorship knows this. They know what they have done. They know of lives they have saved. They have saved nearly 6,000 lives, Mr. Speaker.

I know what their mission has always been, because approximately 1 year ago I flew with Brothers to the Rescue. I was in a plane like those that were gunned down, brutally, by the Castro regime. On that flight, what we did is transverse the Florida Straits in international air space in search of people whose only crime was to flee a totalitarian regime, fleeing from repression and seeking freedom.

□ 2045

And in that process, that day that we were flying over the Florida Straits and in international airspace, we in fact found 12 individuals who were on a small island who had been there for several days who had no food and no water. And it is because of that mission, Mr. Speaker, that they in fact were saved. We threw water to them. We threw food to them. We telegraphed their location to the Coast Guard, and the U.S. Coast Guard ended up rescuing them.

That is only one of the many, many flights that Brothers to the Rescue has had in saving thousands of lives.

When the Cuban Government makes statements to the contrary about what Brothers to the Rescue is all about, there is no basis in fact. Brothers to the Rescue's aircraft on this past Saturday notified Cuban air traffic controllers as to their flight plans, which would take them along the 24th parallel, close to the Cuban airspace but still in international airspace, and under international law. That law provides a nation with a 12-mile limit on airspace as extended from the coastline of the nation.

Now, the response of the Castro regime, which was ordered at the highest levels of the regime by Castro himself, because it is impossible, if you understand the command structure of the regime in Cuba, you understand that such an order to gun down civilian, innocent individuals would never be done but at the highest levels in their chain of command. And we know that partially to be true, Mr. Speaker, because just recently, recently some retired United States generals, retired Gen. Eugene Carroll, who was in Cuba a few weeks ago, was asked what the United States reaction to such an act would be. Now, why would you ask that question if you were not preparing for that possibility?

It is now interesting to note that yesterday the Cuban Government openly bragged about a pilot who they sent to infiltrate Brothers to the Rescue and returned to Cuba the day before the incident. It is now apparent that that individual, Juan Pablo Roque, transmitted information to the Castro regime about the Brothers to the Rescue's flight plans for Saturday, and so we have here the facts developing of why I say that this act was premeditated murder and it is in fact an act of state terrorism.

You have an infiltrator pilot who tells the regime, Brothers to the Res-

cue are flying, they are flying one of their search-and-rescue missions, they will be in international airspace but near Cuban airspace, and therefore sets them up as clay pigeons. And you have a situation in which Castro's regime itself was thinking about the possibility of shooting down innocent civilians, asking a former retired general who was in Cuba about the United States reaction to such an event. Hence, the premeditation.

Even if these civilian aircraft were not in international airspace, which they were, our own Government tells us that they were, under every sense of international law, which was recognized by the European Union in their condemnation of the Castro regime, where they say that they strongly condemn the shooting down of two civilian aircraft on Saturday by the Cuban Air Force and where they go on to say irrespective of the circumstances of the incident, there can be no excuse for not respecting international law and human rights norms, under any sense of international law, it would not be appropriate to gun down civilians who were simply flying search-and-rescue missions.

The response of Castro's regime to these flights was to scramble two fighter jets from a Havana airfield. At approximately 3:24 p.m., on Saturday, the pilot of one of the Cuban MIG's received permission, asked for permission specifically, and proceeded to shoot down the first Brothers to the Rescue airplane, and then 7 minutes later the pilot of the Cuban fighter jet received permission and proceeded to shoot down the second Brothers to the Rescue airplane.

Now, this is a barbaric act. It is an act of state terrorism sponsored by, in fact, a government, a regime, I cannot find myself to call it a government because it rules by brute force; this is the barbaric act that we face.

And who died here Mr. Speaker? People who died here were U.S. citizens. Two of them were born in the United States. One of them is a former Vietnam veteran. I do not know why the press continues to refer to them as exiles. I do not understand what that categorization is supposed to be. I am not quite sure that there are different standards of American citizenship. But certainly, certainly when someone is born in this country, when someone serves this country, is there any higher standard of being an American citizen?

Yet for Armando Alejandro, Jr. and Pablo Morales and Carlos Costa and Mario de la Pena, who left Miami's Opa-Locka Airport on Saturday, the 24th, on a routine humanitarian mission to search for rafters in the straits of Florida, and for their families, whom we grieve with today, I wonder when they are questioning about when they hear constantly the references simply to exiles and they are forgotten as U.S. citizens. One of them, in fact, was a former constituent of mine, Mario de la Pena, who was born in Weehawken, NJ.

He was raised in West New York, NJ, both communities that I am privileged to represent in the U.S. Congress.

He volunteered his time and services to serve his community, to rescue lives, and on Saturday he became a martyr in the eyes of the Cuban people and also in the eyes of Americans of Cuban descent as well as the others. But they were U.S. citizens flying in a defenseless posture, a civilian plane in a humanitarian mission.

Now, what has been our response? Our response certainly, we commend the President for having us lead a condemnation resolution in the United Nations, for taking some actions in the context of stopping charter flights to Cuba, of going ahead and insuring that Radio Marti, which is the only way that the Cuban people have information that can be presented to them from outside because Cuba is a closed society; only with the government's, the regime's own press, only told what they, the government, the regime, wants to tell them; Radio Marti does give information to the people of Cuba, and now it will increase its ability to penetrate.

And the President also said that he wants to move along in Helms-Burton, but while we respect those actions, it is simply not enough. It is simply not enough. If we are to send a strong message that in fact we will not tolerate our citizens being gunned down in international airspace, then we need to do more. Our response simply is not enough, and I expect the President to make other responses in the days ahead, and I believe that among the responses the President should take is the expulsion of the Cuban diplomatic mission from the interest section here in Washington; I believe that there should be a suspension or a reduction of money transfers from the United States to Cuba; I think there should be a serious curtailment of certain travel to Cuba and the licenses that the office of foreign nationals controls provide for certain types of travel; there should be a cessation of all migration talks with Cuba; the expansion of access to Television Marti should also be part of our information services beyond Radio Marti, and we have the technology to do so. We should use it.

We should be pursuing the possibility of economic sanctions at the United Nations, and we understand that the international community is not always there with us. But clearly now in the United Nations, if, in fact, you have a country that cannot observe the rule of international law, it should not receive moneys from an organization which promotes the rule of international law.

The United Nations should move immediately to freeze any moneys going to Cuba because they have shown themselves incapable of living under international law. We should be the leaders in that movement.

We should be talking to our European allies, who have condemned this atrocity, but now must go a step fur-

ther. You cannot on one hand condemn the brutal murder of four innocent Americans and then give the Castro regime a prize by giving them an economic package.

And there have been discussions going on between the EU and Cuba in terms of an economic package, and the message that I believe our allies who say that they wish to promote democracy and human rights in Cuba must be that if you cannot live under international standards, if you cannot respect the universal declaration of human rights for which you are a signatory, then we cannot give you assistance. The only way in which you can get assistance is if you enter the family of civilized nations who obey international law.

And lastly, I hope the President is ready and prepared to respond to Castro if he once again uses the people of Cuba as he has in the past, as human bullets, in large refugee waves to the United States, this time having suffered this twice, this time and the people of Cuba having suffered this, this time the President should proactively and, hopefully, in a preemptive fashion say very clearly that if the Castro regime seeks to use Cubans as human bullets, that it is the United States' intention to quarantine the waters around Cuba so that the people who are used as human pawns and sent onto the high seas in which thousands have died can be rescued but also brought back to Cuba, and that during this period of quarantine any other vessels that may seek to enter the quarantine area would, in fact, not be permitted to pass, and, hopefully, by making this preemptive statement, we will send a strong message that we have to be ready to follow up so that in fact we do not go through another Mariel, we do not go through another 1994 incident as we have had.

Tomorrow, the House and the Senate go into a conference committee on the Helms-Burton legislation on the Libertad legislation. I would hope, and I expect, that the administration will work with the Congress in supporting a bill that sends a clear message to the world and to the regime that, in fact, unless you follow the road to democracy which has swept this continent in every country except for Cuba, and unless you move to respect the human rights of your own people as you have signed on to not by our standards but as you have signed on to by the universal declaration of human rights of the United Nations, then we will move to create democracy in Cuba by standing up for United States interests.

□ 2100

What are those interests that we purport in this legislation? Simply to give American citizens and American companies whose properties were illegally confiscated in Cuba the right of a cause of action in the civil courts of the United States, so they can pursue those companies who would traffic in

the illegally confiscated properties that are rightfully American properties, and, in doing so, not only stand up for American businesses and stand up for American citizens, but, at the same time, deny Castro the profits from the illegally seized properties.

It is right for the United States to protect its citizens and to protect its companies from the illegal confiscation of its properties being used by others who have business contacts here in the United States, who profit here in the United States, and who would in fact profit from illegally confiscated properties. It is also important as we prepare in the Helms-Burton legislation to prepare for a post-Castro Cuba, to be ready for a traditional government pledged to democracy, to be ready for a democratic government, and telling those governments and the people of Cuba now, sending them a beacon of light that we in fact are in solidarity with those who seek democracy in Cuba, that we want to work with you, that we are not in fact your enemies, that in fact we want to help bring democracy and respect for human rights to the 10 million people who live on the island.

We do that in the Libertad legislation, in the Helms-Burton bill, through title II, which I have written and authored, by preparing a transitional plan and ultimately a democratically elected plan for a post-Castro Cuba. We also provide other provisions of the Helms-Burton law that send a very strong and unequivocal statement that in fact we are serious about protecting U.S. interests, we are serious about democracy, we are serious about promoting human rights.

To accept a weak version, a stripped-out version of Helms-Burton, especially after a week of repression in Cuba, which I would like to speak about shortly, of unprecedented repression in Cuba, after the senseless slaughter of American citizens, in fact to accept anything less than that is to send a wrong message about what the United States reaction will be to defend its interests, to promote its interests, and to defend its citizens.

Let me talk about the wave of repression that precipitated the event that we are talking about today, that came before that event, and that in fact finds us equally appalled.

Many of our allies, and some Members of Congress, say "Well, we want to see peaceful democratic change come to Cuba." I agree with them. None of us want to see change come to Cuba by violence. But we have also said time and time again that the only person who can make change in Cuba be violent is Castro himself. He has the Army, he has the security forces, he has the weapons, and he has shown us his willingness to use it, against his own people, as he did nearly 2 years ago this July when he took a tugboat of over 70 people, who were simply fleeing from his regime, seeking liberty, followed them with Cuban destroyers,

and rammed the boat after having fired water cannons at innocent women and children. And, after ramming that boat and having it broken into half and it started to sink with the 70 people who were on board, using the naval vessels that he had in creating a whirlpool effect so that they would be sucked down and drowned, and in fact 40 persons died. Twenty children died, 20 adults died. So he has shown us his repressive nature.

You can come here to the United States, you can wear a nice Armani suit, you can sip Chablis with Madame Mitterrand, who heads a human rights group in France. You can court American businesses and tell them how, oh, you are losing a great opportunity to make money. You can toy with the American press. But that does not make you a civilized member of society. Actions speak much louder than words.

We saw it when he killed those 40 men, women and children. We saw it this past week with Concilio Cubano. For many of our allies who say we want peaceful change, which we agree with, we say where are you, raising your voices on behalf of a group within Cuba who has advocated peaceful but democratic change? A 120 member organization, an umbrella group, all forming different parts of Cuban society, independent journalists, independent economists, human rights activists, dissidents, who have joined together, and all they asked for was to simply have one of the basic fundamental rights we enjoy in this country and which people enjoy throughout the world, which is the right of assemblage. All they wanted to do was to meet in Havana, in their country, and talk about how they could move their country peacefully to democratic change and with a respect for human rights.

What was the response of the regime? It was brutal. Now over 100 people have been arrested. An incredible amount of the Concilio's national leadership has been arrested. One of them, whom I spoke to by phone in Cuba who was advising me of the arrests that had been going on and the harassment by state security forces, who, after I spoke to him, got arrested, his phone was obviously tapped, and after his arrest he has quickly been sentenced to a year and a half in jail. For what crime? For what crime? Simply because he sought to peacefully meet in his own country and try to create democratic change.

So for those of our allies and for those Members of the House who constantly talk about let us have peaceful democratic change, where are you? Where are you in raising your voices? For the whole week that the international press carried the arrests, I did not hear the voices of those Members of the House who traveled to Cuba. We have Members of the House who travel to Cuba. They go and they visit Castro, and he gives them a cigar and they talk, and when it is all over, when they leave, people get arrested.

Where are those voices? Where are the voices of the international community, our allies in this hemisphere and beyond, who say in fact that they want to see groups like Concilio Cubano move for democratic change. Well, where are their voices? Why are they not seeking greater sanctions? What is truly their position on human rights?

So we need to be responding as a leader in the world, and certainly in our own hemisphere, and certainly in this House, which is a beacon of hope and of democracy throughout the world. We need to be responding forcefully.

Concilio Cubano, which is just an organization that seeks peaceful democratic change, needs to be recognized, and it needs to be in fact supported by the international community. We may not agree with everything that they say, but that is part of a democracy. If there had been no Sakharov, if there had been so Lech Walesa in what is now in Poland with Solidarity, if we did not have Vaclav Havel in what is now the Czech Republic, would we have seen the movements to Democrats and a respect for human rights in those countries? No.

Now, we supported and gave hope and gave assistance and tried to work with the international community in Solidarity in Poland. We worked with Vaclav Havel. We raised our voice on behalf of Sakharov. We need to hear the same voices now. We need to hear them for the dissidents in Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, I have a list, and hopefully by making this list public, we in fact create the circumstances under which there is some sense of international protection for these individuals. I would like to at this point include the list of all of the leadership of Concilio Cubano into the RECORD.

1-Acosta Moya, Agustin Jesus: Comision Humanitaria de Ayuda a Prisioneros Politicos, 2-Aldana Ruiz, Miguel Angel: Liga Civica Martiana, 3-Alfaro Garcia, Reinaldo: Asociacion de Lucha Frente a la Injusticia Nacional, 4-Alfonso Aguiar, Jorge H.: Comite de Ayuda Humanitaria a Presos Politicos de Santiago de Cuba, 5-Almira Ramfrez, Irene: Movimiento Agenda Nacionalista, 6-Alvarez, Pedro Pablo: Consejo Unitario de Trabajadores Cubanos, 7-Arcos Bergnes, Gustavo: Comite Cubano Pro Derechos Humanos, 8-Ayala Corzo, Joge Adrian: Partido Renovacion Democratica, 9-Azoy, Tony: Movimiento Pacifista por la Liberacion, 10-Bacallao Perez, Jorge: Instituto de la Opinion Publica, 11-Bonne Carcases, Feliz A.: Corriente Civica Cubana, 12-Brito Hernandez, Pedro: Alianza Liberal Democratica Cubana, 13-Cabrera La Rosa, Alfonso: Asociacion Martiana Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad, 14-Campaneria Pena, Francis: Coordinadora Camagueyana, 15-Carcases Battle, Deysi: Foro Feminista, 16-Carrillo Fernandez, Ibrahim: Union de Sindicatos de Trabajadores Cubanos, 17-Cosano Alen, Reinaldo E.: Coalicion Democratica Cubana, 18-Costa Valdes, Secundino: Movimiento Opositor Pacifico Panchito Gomez Toro, 19-Collazo Valdes, Odilia: Partido Pro Derechos Humanos de Cuba, 20-Cruz Gonzalez, Ricardo: Partido Cubano Pro Derechos Humanos, Florida, 21-Chan Aguile, Cancio: Movimiento Nacionalista Democratico Maximo Gomez, 22-Chente Herrera, Jose Angel: Frente pro

Derechos Humanos Miximo Gomez, 23-Escobedo Yaser, Maria A.: Frente Democratico Oriental, 24-Fabio Hurtado, Rogelio: Movimiento Armonia, 25-Fernandez, Juan Rafael: Movimiento Democratico Cientifico.

26-Fieitas Posada, Felix: Asociacion Pro Democracla Constitucional, 27-Fornaris Ramos, Jose Antonio: Frente de Unidad Nacional, 28-Garcia Gonzalez, Dianelis: Asociacion de Trabajadores Independientes de La Solud, 29-Garcia Reyes, Jose: Movimiento Ignacio Agramonte, Camaguey, 30-Garcia Quesada, Orfilio: Asociacion Cubana de Ingenieros, 31-Gomez Manzano, Rene: Corriente Agramontista, 32-Gonzalez Noy, Gladys: Asociacion Pro Arte Libre y Concertacion Democratica Cubana, 33-Gonzalez Valdes, Lazaro: Partido Pro Derechos Humanos Independiente, 34-Gutierrez Perez, Nancy: Movimiento Pacifista por la Democracla, 35-Hecheverria Alarcon, Pedro: Frente Democratico Calixto Garcia, 36-Hechevarria, A. Yonasky: Movimiento Democratico Jose Marti, 37-Hernandez Blanco, Amador: Comision de Derechos Humanos Jose Marit.

38-Hernandez-Morales, Roberto: Atencion a Presos Politicos, 39-Herrera Castillo, Isidro: Movimiento Maceista por la Dignidad, 40-Hidalgo Hernandez, Belkis R.: El Derecho Cubano, 41-Ibar Alonso, Ernesto: Asociacion de Jovenes Democratistas, 42-Jalil Jabib Jabib: Movimiento de Derechos Humanos de Camaguey, 43-Jimenez Rodriguez, Aida Rosa: Asociacion Civica Democratica, 44-Ledesma Cordero, Celso: Organizacion Opositora 20 de Mayo, 45-Linares Blanco, Gladys: Frente Femenino Humanitario, 46-Linares Garcia, Librado: Movimiento Reflexion, 47-Lopez Diaz, Juan Jose: Corriente Liberal Cubana, 48-Lorens Nodal, Luis Felipe: Organizacion Juvenil Martiana, 49-Lorenzo Pimienta, Jorge Omar: Consejo Nacional de Derechos Civiles, 50-Lugo Gutierrez, Osmel: Partido Democratico 30 de Noviembre Frank Pais, 51-Maceda Gutierrez, Hector Fernando: Movimiento Liberal Democratico.

52-Marante Pozo, Jesus Ramon: Consejo Medico Cubano Independiente, 53-Martinez Guillen, Juan: Confederacion de Trabajadores Democraticos de Cuba, 54-Molina Morejon Hilda: Colegio Medico Independiente, 55-Monzon Oviedo, Juan Francisco: Partido Democracla Martiano, 56-Morejon Almagro, Leonel: Movimiento Ecologista y Pacifista Naturpaz, 57-Morejon Brito, Orlando: Moveimeinto Pacifista 5 de Agosto, 58-Morel Castillo, Raul: Frente Sindicalista Oriental Independiente, 59-Ortiz Gonzaez, Clara: Comite Martiano Por los Derechos del Hombre, 60-Paez Nunez, Lorenzo: Centro No Gubernamental Jose de la Luz y Caballero Para los Derechos Humanos y la Cultura de Paz, 61-Palacio Ruiz, Hector: Partido Solidaridad Democratica, 62-Palencue Loveiro, Miguel A.: Movimiento Pacifista Solidaridad y Paz, 63-Palma Rosell, Ramon: Movimiento Patra, Independencia y Libertad.

64-Paradas Antunez, Mercedes: Alianza Democratica Popular (ADEPO), 65-Paya Sardin Osvaldo: Movimiento Cristiano Liberacion, 66-Perera Gonzalez, Felix: Movimiento Amor Cristiano, 67-Perera Martinez, Alberto: Comite Paz, Progreso y Livertad, 68-Perez Pineda, Orlando: Fundacion Civica Cubana, 69-Perez Rodriguez, Evaristo: Union Patriotica Cristiana Independiente, 70-Perez-Fuente, Merida: Frente Civico de Mujeres Martianas, Villaclara, 71-Pimentel, Raul: Grupo Ecologico Alerta Verde, 72-Pino Sotolongo, Isabel del: Association Humanitaria Seguidores de Cristo Rey, 73-Pozo Marrero, Omar del: Union Civica Nacional (por estar en prison firma Perez Castillo, Esteban), 74-Prades, Carlos, Union Nacional Cubana, 75-Ramirez

Munoz, Reiler, Union de Ex Presos Politicos Ignacio Agramonte, 76-Ramos Guerra, Jose Antonio: Sociedad Ecologista Cuba Verde.

77-Ramon Dominguez, Ernesto Pablo: Union Democratica Martiana, 78-Restano Diaz, Yndamiro: Buro de Prensa Independiente de Cuba, 79-Rios, Carlos M.: Sociedad Politica de La Habana, 80-Rivero Milian, Reinaldo: Comite Julio Sanguily Frente Unido Democratico Camaguey-Ciego de Avila, 81-Rivero, Raul: Agencia de Prensa Cuba Press, 82-Roca Antunez, Vladimiro: Corriente Socialista Democratica, 83-Rodriguez Chaple, Eugenio: Bloque Democratico Jose Marti, 84-Rodriguez Gonzalez, Jorge L.: Movimiento Democracia y Paz, Oriente, 85-Rodriguez Lovaina, Nestor: Movimiento Cubano de Jovenes por la Democracia, 86-Rosario Rosabal, Nicolas M.: Centro de Derechos Humanos de Santiago de Cuba, 87-Roque, Marta Beatriz: Instituto Cubano de Economistas Independientes, 88-Ruis Labrit, Vicky: Comite Cubano de Opositores Pacificos Independientes.

89-Salazar Aguerro, Ismael: Asociacion de Trabajadores Por Cuenta Propia, 90-Sanchez Santacruz, Elizardo: Comision Cubana de Derechos Humanos y Reconciliacion Nacional, 91-Sanchez Salazar, Aurelio: Partido Social Cristiano, Camaguey, 92-Sanchez Valiente, Miguel Eumelio: Movimiento Libertad y Democracia (por estar en prision firma Lopez Rodriguez, Lazaro), 93-Santana Rodriguez, Felix: Grupo No. 5 Camaguey, 94-Socorro Salgado, Roberto: Movimiento Vicente Garcia, Las Tunas, 95-Soto Caballero, Marcelino: Union de Ex Presos Politicos, Camaguey, 96-Troncoso Aguiar, Javier: Union Sidical Caballeros del Trabajo, 97-Valdes Fundora, Juan Antonio: Proyecto Cristiano por los Derechos Humanos y Sindicales, Santa Clara, 98-Valdes Rosado, Maria: Partido Democrita Cristiano, 99-Valdes Santana, Aida: Oficina de Informacion de Derechos Humanos, 100-Valido Gutierrez, Manuel E.: Grupo Independiente Minas, Sierra de Cubitas.

Mr. Speaker, to America's corporate community, it is time for them to understand that your approaches to Castro are undermining dissidency movements within Cuba. It is undermining people who risk their lives to promote human rights. It is undermining people who want to see democracy flourish in Cuba. There are no greater economic opportunities in a country except a country that is democratic, one that respects the rule of law, one in which you can get your contracts enforced, one in which you will not worry about your properties being confiscated when it is no longer in the interests of the dictatorship, when you have produced enough money for him to stay afloat, when you have provided the resources and the wherewithal to be able for him to have his stranglehold on the people.

So to the American corporate community, do you want to do business with someone who in fact has the type of blood on his hands that Fidel Castro has? Is there no conscience? Is the bottom line the ultimate factor in your decisionmaking?

Cubans on the island cannot even be paid directly by a foreign company. These hotels that are opened up by foreign companies in other parts of the world, who open them up in Cuba, they cannot pay their workers. They pay the regime. The regime takes most of the

money and gives the worker a subsistence wage. So what do we have? We have slave labor.

What guarantees? Castro has said time and time again in many interviews that these economic reforms, which we have created, by the way, the limited economic reforms that exist in Cuba today, the acceptance of the American dollar, for which it was illegal to own until a few years ago, and the reducing of the third largest Army in all the Western Hemisphere, which when I mentioned this on the House floor many times there is a snicker. No, they are not going to come and invade the United States. That is not my point.

But does a small island like the people of Cuba who live on, 10 or 11 million people, why do they need the third largest army in all of the Western Hemisphere per capita? Why does not the regime reduce the size of that army and put more food on the plates of Cuban families who go hungry? Why spend all of that money on security forces, on a repressive army? Well, in fact, I just gave you two examples why, because Castro does not understand how to deal with pacifism. He does not understand how to deal with people who by peaceful means seek to either leave his regime or to promote democracy within the country. Because what did he do to Concilio Cubano? He went ahead and arrested many of its national leadership. Over 100 people are now in jail. He has others under house arrest. Women were strip-searched so they would be intimidated in participating with the organization. Some of its members are in hiding, seeking assistance from countries that have embassies there. They are looking for a place to go to. And yet we find doors that are closed and unwilling to accept them as a legitimate political refugee.

□ 2115

What did we see in the tugboat incident? Using that very armed forces to kill his own people, men, women, and children, and using his armed forces which he has gone way too far to shoot down U.S. citizens. Yet that army, as large as it is, has been reduced also because of the necessity that we have created against the regime. The acceptance of the dollar is because we have created that necessity. The international investment today that exists in Cuba is because we have created that necessity and that necessity has been the agent of change within Cuba.

Now, when the international community says that they want to promote democracy and human rights in Cuba, fine, let us see you do it. Why are you not giving refuge to those people who are peaceful dissidents and human rights activists? Why aren't you raising your voices? Isn't the bottom line the ultimate question for you, as well?

So to our international community and to our corporate community, there must be some sense of conscience in which one does not want to support a

dictator who ruthlessly uses his armed forces against innocent civilians, and I would hope that the business community doesn't want to be supporting someone who has in cold blood premeditatedly had American citizens on his command killed.

I would like to meet the CEO's of those companies that in fact believe that it makes sense to invest in Cuba, in this regime, in this island in which there is no freedom but among the worst tyranny that the world has known. I would like to meet those CEO's. I hope that they will call me, and I want them to justify for me how you make such an investment in Cuba at a time such as this, and I would like them to be with me when they explain that to the families of the four United States citizens who died because of their willingness to go ahead and seek to rescue other people fleeing from the regime. I would like to hear you tell them, because I would really like to hear your explanation. It is in the United States' interests, forgetting about the people of Cuba for the moment, it is in the United States interest to pass a strong Helms-Burton bill, not only on the questions of democracy and human rights that we have spoken about.

It is in our national interest because Castro seeks to finish building in Cuba a Chernobyl-type nuclear power plant 90 miles from our very shores, a nuclear power plant that in fact, through a GAO report, states has serious risk to it because of its design and construction with defective wells. A report that goes and tells us that an accident at that plant which could be very likely if it were to be finished would create a situation in which radioactive material would fly as far north as the Nation's Capital and as far west as Texas. Do we really need a regime to have a nuclear power plant, a Chernobyl-type nuclear power plant, 90 miles from the United States? I think not. Not when we have seen the ruthlessness of this regime.

It is in our national interest to stand up for U.S. citizens and companies when their properties are illegally confiscated. It is in our national interest to have democracy come to the people of Cuba so that we do not face within the context of the Caribbean and Latin America a source of instability. It is in our national interest because in fact the resources that are spent. Let us look at the resources that are spent within Cuba.

The fact of the matter is that many of our companies seeking to circumvent our embargo spend an enormous amount of money in Cuba. They do it through attempts through third-party agreements. They are willing to, in essence, violate the laws of the United States, and it will be interesting some hearings that we are going to have about that how that goes about. But it is in our interest to have a country that observes the rule of law for which there can be legitimate investment, mutually beneficial, for which

we do not have to worry about a regime that will confiscate that property. For which we do not have to worry about a regime that if it was economically viable, which it is not right now, but which seeks to be economically viable by the assistance, both of private sectors and the international community, would again create the unrest that they created in the Caribbean and in Latin America at the height of their assistance from the Soviet Union.

And yes, the cold war is over, but no one has told Fidel Castro that. He still wants to hang on at any cost. So the fact of the matter is that what we have is proven facts. Setting up U.S. citizens, having somebody infiltrate them, giving him the word, here is there flight plan, having already sensed, well, what is going to be the U.S. reaction? Ultimately, what will they do? Well, maybe a little condemnation. Maybe they will stop a little money, but that is about it. But what message does he send?

He sends a message I can take United States citizens and kill them in cold blood, and at the same time he sends a message to the people inside Cuba, if this is what I can do with the United States citizens, imagine what I can do to you, so you better stay in line.

What is our response? Steps in the right direction, but it is clearly not sufficient. What is the international community's response? A little condemnation, but we will continue to deal with Castro. We will continue to give him money. We will continue to give him aid. We will continue to do business with him. What is the message? It is the wrong message. It says you do not have to observe international law. You do not have to live by the rule of law. You do not have to live under the process of a democracy. And you can get away with it. And you can get away with it. There will be a little screaming and yelling, but when it is all over, at the end, it will return to business as usual.

Now, we can change this course of events. We can say it is important to promote democracy and human rights. It is important to live by the rule of law. It is important because countries that are democracies are less likely to commit acts against other democracies. It is in our national interest, and we can send those messages by passing a strong Helms-Burton bill.

We can do that as we go to conference tomorrow. We can be leaders and we were leaders once before in this regard. The international community said, oh, we do not like the Torricelli bill, the Cuban Democracy Act. Well, in the end, this Congress acted with leadership. Congressman TORRICELLI promoted that bill as its sponsor. It was signed by President Bush with then-candidate Clinton then strongly supporting it. And we have the basis of our present-day policy toward Cuba.

And the international community also said they did not like that. But

that did not stop us. It did not deter us. And the agent of change in which much of the international communities today benefiting from is because of our very leadership, is because we have been promoting an economic embargo that in fact creates necessity for the regime and, therefore, creates the pressure for them to change and therefore permits international investment and the acceptance of the American dollar, and the reducing of an army that the Cuban people do not need, nor do we in the hemisphere need in terms of the size and potency of that army.

So we have shown through our leadership, despite what some others have said, that in fact we can be a beacon of light throughout the hemisphere and the world, that we can promote democracy, that we can promote human rights. And yes, sometimes we will take criticism, but that doesn't mean that we should be deterred.

Tomorrow, as the House goes into conference, we have that opportunity again. And I would hope that the President, based upon his comments, will in fact join the bipartisan efforts, both in the House and in the Senate, to send a strong message to the Castro regime, to send the message in fact that we will not tolerate the brutal gunning down of American citizens. That we will stand up for U.S. interests. That we will help the Cuban people realize their dream of democracy and of respect for human rights. And that yes, that is one of the pillars of our foreign diplomacy. And when we do that, then as a nation we lead, not only within the hemisphere, but in the world.

I know that right now the eyes of the world are upon us in how we react in this case. I certainly hope that my colleagues who have in the past said that they are for promoting democratic change within Cuba speak up and raise their voices on behalf of the peaceful dissidents within Cuba who have been arrested, lost their liberties. I hope that they will raise their voices against the barbaric acts taken by the Castro regime. And I hope that they will understand that the only way to send a strong message to this dictatorship, which has shown itself by every possible standard to be a brutal regime, that the only message to send now is by having a strong bipartisan vote on the upcoming Helms-Burton conference on the legislation that will be presented to us and then a signature by the President of the United States, the greatest country in the world, who would ultimately say to the people of Cuba, we are in solidarity with you.

We want to promote democracy, but we are unwilling to deal with a regime that brutalizes its people, that has no respect for international law. We say to that regime, it is time, your time is over. Get out of the way and let the people of Cuba realize their democracy. Let Cuba come into the family of nations that has promoted democracy. Let this hemisphere be the first hemisphere in the history of mankind to in fact have every nation be a democracy.

And, last, we send to the world community a message that we will not tolerate the safety of our citizens, the lives of our citizens being expendable by any dictator anywhere in the world.

USE OF PUBLIC LANDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MCINNIS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, as you know, my home State is the State of Colorado. My actual home is located high in the Colorado Rockies. I wanted to take a few minutes today to address my colleagues on an issue that is absolutely critical for the Western United States, and that is the issue of public lands. I think to understand the issue of public lands, you have to have some kind of historical perspective of how the West is unique, not only in its water, and I will talk about the water here in a few moments, but also in the public lands that are entrusted by the people of this country to the Federal Government.

In the early days when the settlement of the West was the crucial goal of this country, the bureaucrats in Washington, DC and the Government encouraged settlers to go West and go beyond the mountains. As they got to the mountains, because of the fierce winters we have, because of the mountainous terrain, because of the high altitudes, because of the difficulty in farming and ranching at those high altitudes, not too many people were encouraged to settle, say, for example, in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado.

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Instead they went around the Rocky Mountains and went on to the States of California and so on. And in many of these States in the Midwest, such as the State of Kansas, you are able to, on a very few number of acres, produce a great number of crops or run many, many more cattle than you can per acre in the high Rocky Mountains.

So what happened was as time went on they discovered that there were people interested in going into the Rocky Mountains, but they felt that they still needed to provide a governmental incentive to move into the mountains. They knew that they could not do the land grants that they had done in some of the other States because to give that, to give a large enough amount of land for a settler out in the Rocky Mountains to really make it would be many, many hundreds of acres. And they felt, the Government at that time felt that that would be too much acreage in order for that to work. It was not going to be politically sellable. So what they did instead was had what they called public lands or use of public lands, entrust the public lands to the people of that area for the concept of multiple use.