

But the President gets there by cooking the books. He gets there by abandoning his commitment of 1993 and doing exactly what he criticized others for doing and getting more than 50 percent of the way to a balanced budget simply by saying, "I do not think we are going to spend as much as the Congressional Budget Office says. I think interest rates are going to be lower, and I believe that the tax system will take in more money." It amounts to a tremendous amount of dollars, Mr. President.

President Clinton simply estimates \$55 billion more in Medicare spending savings, without changing Medicare at all; he estimates that Medicare will cost \$68 billion less; he estimates that farm programs, pension programs, and other welfare programs, will cost \$85 billion less; he estimates that we will save \$70 billion more in interest costs because interest rates will be lower; and he estimates that we will take in \$175 billion more because the economy will grow more rapidly, for a net of \$475 billion between now and the year 2002—a trillion dollars over the next 10 years, Mr. President.

Well, he could just as easily have made these estimates a little bit more optimistic and we would not have any deficit problem at all. It would go away without doing anything.

That is the great difference in the debate which we are about to begin. Are you willing to look realistically at the future of our economy and the growth in our spending programs and do something about them as a matter of substance? Or, on the other hand, Mr. President, do you just say times are going to be good, the problem will go away by itself? That is the difference.

Well, if the experience of the last 15 years holds true, the problem will not go away by itself. We need to begin from a common basis. The President is simply wrong in overestimating the strength of the economy and telling the American people that no sacrifices are needed, no changes in policies are needed. All we need to do is reestimate the economy and everything comes up smelling like roses.

Now, Mr. President, I started speaking about 10 kilometer versus 8 kilometer races. I must admit that there is one difference, one with respect to that analogy, that does not work. Neither of us, those of us who depend conservatively on the Congressional Budget Office nor the President, can be precisely certain that that side is correct. Economic projections are notoriously difficult to make even a year in advance, much less 7 years in advance. And we must admit that it is clearly possible that the President might be right in spite of the experience of the last 15 years, just as he, I suspect, if he were forced to answer the question, might be willing to admit that perhaps he is wrong and that the Congressional Budget Office projections are better.

But what are the contrasting consequences of being wrong in this case,

Mr. President? Well, if President Clinton is wrong and we are correct, the budget deficit will never be less than \$200 billion a year. In the next decade, another \$2 trillion will be added to the burden of debt imposed on the people of the United States, money which we spend, the bills which we send to our children and to our grandchildren. That would be the consequence, Mr. President, of President Clinton being in error. The problem of the budget will never have been addressed if we accept his policies.

By contrast, Mr. President, what would the consequences be if we are wrong, if we are too conservative, too cautious, and if in fact the economy does grow as rapidly as the President predicts in his easy-does-it budget? Well, Mr. President, the budget might be balanced in the year 1999 or 2000 rather than in 2002. Is that a horrendous consequence? No, Mr. President, that is exactly the goal we seek with our conservative projections and with the very real policy changes we propose. We only claim we will get to balance by the year 2002. But even that claim carried out by changes in policies will, from the perspective of almost every economist, itself build a stronger and better economy, provide more opportunities for generations looking for those opportunities in the future, lower interest rates, lessen the burdens of Government on not only this generation but the next generation and the generation after that. And if we do better than we thought, that burden will be even lighter and we will get rid of the deficit even earlier.

So if we are wrong and too cautious, we reach the goal all of us share more quickly. If President Clinton is wrong, we never reach that goal at all, and we continue to add to the burden of debt on our children and on our grandchildren.

Mr. President, both from a policy standpoint and from the point of view of having an intelligent debate, the rights and wrongs of which the American people can understand, and from the moral point of view of bringing to an end this huge addition to the burden of debt on future generations, we must and we should agree on the starting point, on the projections we are going to use. What better way in which to start that part of the debate, Mr. President, can there be than to have President Clinton keep the commitment that he made 2½ short years ago.

We are not going to debate the projections. We will take the projections of the neutral objective Congressional Budget Office and work our debate. We will work our debate off of them.

If we do that, we will see clearly how necessary the budget is that we have already passed, the reconciliation bill which we will debate in the next 2 or 3 weeks in order to enforce it.

Mr. President, we should start from a common ground and make that common ground the ground the President of the United States himself stood on

2½ short years ago. We should not try to shorten the race and pretend we are running faster.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I may proceed for up to 10 minutes as in morning business.

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

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, HILDA SPECTER MORGENSTERN

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, permit me a personal moment or two on the floor of the U.S. Senate and in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to comment on my own family values on the occasion of the 74th birthday of my sister, Hilda Specter Morgenstern. It is a major occasion for our family because Hilda is the first member of the Specter family to reach a 74th birthday. My father died at 72, my mother and brother, Morton, at 73.

An excellent indicator of family values is longevity of marriage, and I speak with great pride about the Specter family on that subject.

My parents, Harry and Lillie Specter, were married 45 years before my father's death in 1964. My brother, Morton, and his wife, Joyce, were married 51 years before his death in 1993. My sister, Hilda, and her husband, Arthur, have been married 52 years. My sister, Shirley, and her husband, Dr. Edwin Kety, were married 46 years before his death last August. Joan and I celebrated our 42d anniversary last June 14. That is a total of 236 years without a divorce.

On Sunday last, October 15, 1995, Hilda Specter Morgenstern celebrated her 74th birthday with her husband, her four children, and most of her 9 grandchildren in Teaneck, NJ, on a visit from her home in Jerusalem.

A beautiful redhead, Hilda married Arthur Morgenstern after they met in the synagogue at Rosh Hashanah services in Wichita, KS, in 1942, while Arthur was in the cavalry at Fort Riley, KS. She was a straight "A" student and a real academic inspiration for me. When she saw my report card in the seventh grade, my first testing with A's and B's, she scoffed at my one A and seven B's and offered a dollar for every "A" I got thereafter. When I graduated from college, she and Arthur handed me a check for \$266.

Hilda Specter was an honor student and an excellent debater at the University of Wichita where she was a member of the prestigious Association of American University Women. She was studying for her masters degree at Syracuse University in the spring of 1942 when Arthur received his orders to embark to the South Pacific as an Army artillery officer. After a coast-to-coast train ride to San Francisco, they married. Their wartime romance gave them only a weekend together before he sailed for a 31-month tour of duty in the South Pacific.

After the war, Hilda, Arthur, and their family of four children lived in

Russell, KS, without the benefit of a Jewish education, so they moved to Wichita where Hilda became super-intendent to the Hebrew school. When they found the Jewish education there insufficient, they moved to Denver. When that proved insufficient, they moved to New York City. When that was not enough, they moved to Jerusalem where Hilda and Arthur now reside—except for periodic visits to the United States to help in my many campaigns.

Hilda Specter Morgenstern is a model wife, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother. She is a real matriarch of the family. She tackles with equal ease an analysis of the ABM Treaty to help me in my Senate duties, or the change of diapers for her new, great-grandson.

I have urged her to follow the model of Golda Meir, the Milwaukee-born American, who later became Prime Minister of Israel. Hilda responded by telling me to become President of the United States first.

Happy 74th birthday, Hilda.

IN HONOR OF MORTON SPECTER

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, 2 days from today, on October 19, 1993, the second anniversary will be marked of the passing of my brother, Morton Specter, an honest, hard-working American who paid more than enough taxes to be memorialized in a brief statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the eulogy which I delivered at his funeral in October 1993.

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

Ours is a very close family, so Morton's passing came as a real shock—not that it was totally unexpected because he had many medical problems—but perhaps a family is never really prepared for the finality of it all.

The words "family value" were never used in the Specter household. It wasn't necessary because we had them without talking about them. They evolved naturally from the example of our parents who struggled to achieve for their children what they never had—education and opportunity. As the oldest of four children, Morton set the example for Hilda, Shirley, and me. None of us would even consider doing less than our best or doing anything to embarrass our parents, considering their sacrifices.

The 1920's Depression left its mark on Morton at the tender age of ten. From his earliest days, he was a tireless worker—the hardest worker I've ever seen. At 11 or 12, he rode his bicycle on the streets of Wichita delivering bills of lading to railroad offices for Beyer Grain Co. As a teenager, he would go after dark to the golf courses, and wade the lakes to find golf balls which he would make sparkling white with peroxide bleach and sell in downtown office buildings.

When he wanted to get a job to earn money right after high school, my father talked him into going to Wichita U. for one year which turned into four and a college degree. In college he boxed, careful to protect his strik-

ingly handsome face, and acted in the school plays. He made a short trip to Hollywood when he was 19 or 20—hoping, I think to meet—or maybe even to become another Robert Taylor.

During World War II he answered the call of his country and went to Officers Candidate School and became an Ensign. We talked about reading the text books at that school after lights were out with a flashlight under his blanket.

After the war, he sold magazines door to door. His crew chief Walter Lewis said he covered twice as many houses as anyone else. I joined him in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in June 1945 and at the first house we visited, where he was showing me the sales speech, the lady complimented him on being a super salesman. When he approached one house, a young girl ran excitedly to the house shouting: "Mommie, Mommie, here comes Dennis Morgan"—then a famous movie actor.

After the war he joined our father and Hilda's husband, Arthur Morgenstern, at the Russell Iron & Metal Co.—at first a junkyard, then an oil field equipment company and ultimately modest oil production.

He worked long hours Monday through Saturday, making telephone calls in the evenings, and on Sundays he would drive to the surrounding counties to look at oil rigs to salvage.

Morton did find time to meet and marry a beautiful young woman, Joyce Hacker. She stood by his side sharing his strenuous work schedules and the Kansas hot summers and windy cold winters. Last November 19th, they celebrated their 50th anniversary—a very rare quality in modern America. Joyce's steadfast devotion to Morton—especially during the last difficult years—was extraordinary.

Hilda, Shirley, and I returned to Kansas often to visit Morton and Joyce just as they traveled to our homes—as long as he was able. Our family was always on the telephone. Morton would also often call his nephews and nieces and their children and his aunts and uncles and cousins. He was a generous man, making certain his contribution to Allied Jewish Appeal was completed before the end of each year.

Morton made many trips to and through Pennsylvania to help on our many campaigns. There's nothing like a brother or a sister traveling upstate to local newspaper and radio stations to talk about their candidate brother.

When I saw him last Monday at the Wesley Hospital in Wichita, he wanted to know what was going on in the Senate and how Bob Dole was doing.

Bob's father and our father were friends in Russell more than 50 years ago. In the 1940's Harry Specter weighed truckloads of junk at the Russell Grainery operated by Doran Dole.

Our parents were very proud of him. How often I heard our mother Lillie Shanin Specter call him her "Motala." He will rest beside her as he expressed his wish during his lifetime in Montefiore Cemetery. For my sisters and me, he was a role model of integrity and hard work. He was a man of total honesty who valued his good name and impeccable reputation.

We have not waited until his funeral to tell him how we feel. We have expressed our feelings over the years—by words, but more importantly by deeds—visits and calls and caring.

For Joyce and our entire family and his many friends—I say: We all loved him very much and we all will miss him very much.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I support the cloture motion which will be voted on this afternoon at 5 o'clock, because I believe that it is very important that this legislation be considered by the Senate and acted upon by the Senate.

While I ordinarily support an active international role for the United States and active involvement with other nations around the world, I believe that the current situation in Cuba presents a situation where we ought not to do anything to strengthen the hand of Fidel Castro. I believe that the legislation will increase the pressure on the Castro regime and lay the groundwork for future U.S. support for a democratic transition.

The State Department's 1994 human rights report to Congress paints a grotesque picture of repression by the Castro regime. It shows Government-organized mob attacks on dissidents. It shows nationwide political surveillance. It shows extrajudicial killings of Cubans attempting to flee; for example, the sinking of boats loaded with refugees by Government forces last year. It shows, by every significant human rights standard, the Castro regime has an appalling record on freedom of speech, of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

Castro has been largely immune to the democratic changes that have swept the hemisphere during the past 10 years and what that regime has in common with totalitarian states such as the ones created by Erich Honecker in East Germany and Kim Il-song in North Korea.

Mr. President, the legislation will be a significant step forward in isolating Fidel Castro and in hastening the day when democracy can return to Cuba so that that community, that nation, may be liberated from Castro's totalitarian regime and may take its place in the family of nations as a productive nation and a productive society.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, at the outset, I want to make it clear that I strongly endorse the central objective of H.R. 927, namely, the peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba. The Cuban people have too long been deprived the freedoms of speech, association, and self-expression. Like almost every American, I want to see that the repression of the Cuban people by the Cuban Government is ended. And, like almost every American, I want to see that long overdue economic reforms in Cuba are implemented, so that ordinary Cuban people can improve their standard of living.

These are not, however, the questions before the Senate. What is before the Senate is H.R. 927, and what we have to decide is whether the provisions of this bill will help move Cuba toward freedom, democracy, and greater economic