

change and advance the cause of democracy just as greater exchange with the West helped hasten the fall of communism in Eastern Europe.

I think it is naive to think that the measure before us today is going to succeed in forcing Castro to step aside, where all other pressures have not. However, the measures proposed in this bill do have the serious potential of further worsening the living conditions of the Cuban people and once again making a mass exodus for Miami an attractive option. Taken to its most extreme, this bill could even provoke serious violence on the island.

This legislation is even more problematic than earlier efforts to tighten the screws on Castro. I say this because its implications go well beyond United States-Cuban relations. It alienates our allies and tie the administration's foreign policy hands.

Contact and dialog between Havana and Washington will bring about democracy on the island of Cuba, not isolation and impoverishment. Perhaps if we took that approach, our allies would be more likely to support our policy with respect to Cuba. Today we are virtually alone.

The Helms-Burton bill has gone through a number of changes since it was first introduced. In fact, Senator HELMS' substitute amendment differs in a number of areas from the House-passed bill. However, no version to date resolves the fundamental problem I have with the direction it takes U.S. policy. For these reasons I will vote against this bill and urge my colleagues to do so as well.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll. The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, in order to save a little time, my distinguished colleague from North Carolina desires to address the Senate, and he understands that Senator SIMON is on his way to discuss his pending amendment.

I ask that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] be recognized for the purpose of addressing the Senate.

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

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] is recognized.

Mr. FAIRCLOTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business for 15 minutes.

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

PROMISES TO VOTERS

Mr. FAIRCLOTH. Mr. President, in the closing months of the first session of this 104th Congress, I rise to remind

my colleagues of some promises which were made to voters last November.

You may ask why I should be addressing this issue when we have so much work that remains to be done on the budget, but I do so because I am surprised that we have forgotten some fundamental principles about economic growth which we so clearly articulated last year.

Those who embrace these basic truths are now in the majority. The consequence of abandoning that message of hope and opportunity could be profound for the American people.

Many of our colleagues are hard at work trying to balance the Federal budget. This is a necessary and a difficult job. The American people rightly expect us to balance the budget and we must not disappoint them.

In our zeal to put our financial house in order we must not forget why we are doing this in the first place.

I offer this reminder: We are balancing the budget because deficits are a tax on the American people. Today's debt is a tax levied not only on taxpayers, but it is levied on future generations.

We do not usually speak of budget deficits as taxes, but they are. That is very simply what they are. Deficits are taxes.

Who among us would support imposing taxes on our children and grandchildren? Yet every time we vote for deficit spending, we do very simply that.

If the deficit is a tax, then the solution is not an additional tax. The problem is that we are spending money that we do not have on programs we do not need.

The answer is simple. That is, to stop the spending.

Who among us is really convinced that we need to raise taxes to balance a budget? None of us. President Clinton supported the largest tax increase in American history and he now admits that it was wrong.

Yet our national debt continues to grow out of control. While President Clinton has been focused on new ways to take hard-earned money away from the American taxpayers, I believe that we in Congress should focus on ways to drastically decrease spending and allow taxpayers to keep more of their money. The answer is to cut spending.

I regret that I have begun to hear some of my colleagues in both bodies and on both sides of the aisle talk about raising taxes. I regret even more the manner in which they talk about raising them. Just as the deficit is a tax which we do not dare call a tax, a new term, a new euphemism has been invented to hide a new tax increase. The new tax is hiding behind the call to end corporate welfare, a term whose meaning has been distorted.

When the Government levies a tax and then uses that revenue to subsidize certain industries or such activities, it is accurately described as corporate welfare.

Unfortunately, we are now using the term "corporate welfare" to describe instances where we have simply chosen not to levy a tax. In other words, a tax we have not voted on. The corporations of this country are now being called corporate welfare simply because we have not levied the tax.

Have we been here in Washington so long that we have forgotten the difference between a subsidy and a tax? It is not a subsidy to allow a corporation to keep more of the money it has earned so that it can reinvest that money, which creates jobs, pays dividends to all shareholders, including large institutional investors responsible for protecting the pension funds of America.

The Federal Government does not own the American people's money. It does not own their land, their homes or their income. Failure to tax is not corporate welfare.

For us to say we are doing the American people some sort of favor by not taxing some aspect of their livelihood is the very height of political and governmental arrogance. We should not hide behind Washington doublespeak and call it corporate welfare.

If we decide to raise the tax, let us call it what it is—a plain and simple tax increase. Let us not say that we are ending corporate welfare when we are, in fact, raising the taxes on the corporations of America.

I find nothing noble in raising taxes. It misses the point of what we are trying to do in the first place.

I campaigned on spending cuts and tax cuts. Closing certain corporate tax breaks certainly increases taxes. The time to address these tax breaks is when we are engaged in comprehensive tax reform such as a flat tax. Now is not the time to rewrite the corporate Tax Code. Now is not the time to impose an arbitrary retroactive tax increase on companies and, more importantly, on their employees who participate in a corporate-owned life insurance policy purchased after 1987.

The only reason some are discussing tax increases now is because we failed to make serious cuts in Government spending and in corporate subsidies. We failed to downsize, eliminate, or privatize boondoggles such as the Export-Import Bank, the International Trade Administration, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

The CATO Institute has identified more than 125 corporate welfare subsidy programs which cost taxpayers over \$85 billion in subsidies this year alone. This is true corporate welfare. These are subsidies which we should be attacking. We need to make clear and distinct the difference between a subsidy and a tax increase. We should not be talking about tax increases until we have eliminated indefensible corporate cash subsidies.

As you know, I strongly support dramatic reform in our Social Security social welfare programs. The worst of these programs simply uses tax dollars

to subsidize and promote self-destructive behavior.

In the same way, I oppose corporate welfare which uses tax dollars to subsidize companies in a manner inconsistent with free market principles. Taking money away from individual taxpayers and giving it to businesses is simply wrong, and I support my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who call for an end to that practice.

As we continue our effort to balance the budget, I would hope that we not forget the following:

The deficit is a tax on the American people and on future generations.

To end this tax, we must balance the budget.

Our problem is that we have been spending money that we do not have on programs we do not need.

We need not and should not raise taxes to balance the budget. Raising taxes will not balance the budget. It never has. It only leads to increased spending.

I will not vote for a tax increase, no matter what it is ultimately called.

In ending deficit spending, we are doing the right thing—the honest thing. Let us not stray back into hidden taxes and double-talk about Medicare before we reach our goal of a balanced budget. Let us not give in to the defenders of the status quo whose political bankruptcy has led them to frighten our youth and senior citizens with false and negative rhetoric. I implore my colleagues to abandon the rhetoric of tax increases and embrace spending cuts and tax cuts—to embrace smaller Government and greater individual freedom. As this Congress changes the size and cost of the Federal Government, it is only right that taxpayers share in the dividends. That is why spending cuts, deficit reduction and tax cuts must go hand in hand.

I am a proud cosponsor of legislation to provide tax relief to America's families in the form of a \$500 per child credit. I am also a sponsor of a bipartisan bill to provide a capital gains tax cut which we all know is essential and necessary for economic growth and new job creation.

Tax cuts and spending cuts are two ways of putting more money into the hands of America's taxpayers who will invest that money in our children and in our economy and in our country as a whole. Both investments contribute to long-term fiscal responsibility. This is the path to real and sustained deficit reduction. It is what the voters expect and deserve. And, it is what we in Congress owe them.

I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] is recognized.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 2934

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I see my distinguished colleague and friend, Senator HELMS, on the floor. I think we each have 10 minutes to speak for our sides, in terms of the travel to Cuba debate. If the Parliamentarian gives us his OK, I will be pleased to move ahead and take part of my 10 minutes at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] proposes an amendment numbered 2934 to amendment No. 2936.

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

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in the RECORD of October 18, 1995.)

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

Mr. HELMS. Will the distinguished Senator yield about 30 seconds for a little housekeeping item?

Mr. SIMON. I will always yield to my colleague from North Carolina.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate resumes consideration of the Simon amendment, which it has just done, No. 2934, under the previous 20-minute time limitation, that following the expiration of that debate, the Senate then proceeded to a vote on or in relation to the Simon amendment, No. 2934; and, further, immediately following that vote, there be 4 minutes of debate, equally divided in the usual form, on the Dodd amendments 2906 and 2908, en bloc; and following that debate, the Senate vote on or in relation to the Dodd amendments, 2906 and 2908, en bloc; and, further, that following that vote, there be 10 minutes of debate equally divided in the usual form, to be immediately followed by a vote on the substitute amendment, to be followed by a vote on passage of H.R. 927, as amended, all without any other intervening debate or action.

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

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 10 minutes.

AMENDMENT NO. 2934

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, this amendment says simply that Americans can use what I think is a constitutional right to travel. We should not restrict travel to any country unless security is threatened, so that American citizens are not subject to simply propaganda from one side or from our Government.

It is interesting that every other country in the world, so far as I know, permits its citizens to travel to Cuba. Only the United States of America does not.

Listen to what President Eisenhower said: "Any limitation on the right to travel can only be tolerated in terms of overriding requirements of our national security."

President Eisenhower was right. The reality is Americans can travel to Cuba, but you have to go to Canada or Mexico or some other country to do it. We do not have the freedom the citizens of every other country in the world have, to travel to Cuba. It just does not make sense.

I will add, the American Association for the Advancement of Science testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on this question and pointed out that there have been scientific meetings, international scientific meetings held in Cuba, where our scientists have not been able to attend. It just does not make sense.

In one case they were able to attend, but listen to this. In order to attend a meeting of the World Federation of Engineering Organizations, in Havana, beginning on October 17, 1993, they were first denied licenses, and then, "Finally, members were granted licenses but not without long delays and the necessity of submitting themselves to a detailed screening process by Treasury Department officials." All kinds of needless paperwork. And not an American citizen who has gone to Canada or Mexico and traveled to Cuba has been prosecuted, sentenced to prison, or fined. It is just ridiculous, and we look ridiculous in the eyes of the rest of the world.

This limitation on Americans to travel to Cuba does not do one thing in terms of pulling down the Castro regime. There is not a Member of the United States Senate who believes that Castro is doing what he should be doing for the people of Cuba. We do not like his human rights record. But I do not want to impose human rights restrictions on American citizens because he does it in Cuba. So my amendment simply would give American citizens the clear right to travel to Cuba.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, will my colleague yield?

Mr. SIMON. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator.

Mr. DODD. Just to engage my colleague, I want to commend him for his amendment. What is underlying in this amendment is the notion here that we have to start to get back to the conduct of foreign policy. We are dealing with Cuba as if this were a domestic issue and not a foreign policy issue. If someone can explain to me why it is that we allow unlimited travel to the People's Republic of China, and we allow unlimited travel to Vietnam—even in the case of North Korea, the North Koreans impose restrictions, but we do not impose restrictions. Yet here for the island nation of Cuba, as much