

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

as all of us find the Government there reprehensible, I think most of us believe that access and contact between peoples, particularly free people with the people who are living under a dictatorship, has a tremendous impact, or can have a tremendous impact, to say that no one in this country to the one place throughout the entire globe could travel makes no sense at all.

Again, this is not as if we are talking about any other country. Imagine if we offered an amendment here that included the People's Republic of China, just add that one Communist country that engages in human rights violations—I would argue probably far more egregious than what occurs in Cuba, as bad as that may be—if I would offer that amendment to this, it would be resoundingly defeated if we stopped people going to the People's Republic of China today. And people would argue not just in terms of our own financial interests, but I think most realize there is probably a greater likelihood of achieving change there because there are those contacts. Others will argue with that. But here we are singling out one country 90 miles off our shore where an influx of Americans down there might have a very positive impact on encouraging people to engage in the legitimate, political kind of activity that would create the kind of change we would like to see there.

What my colleague is offering here makes eminently good sense. It is the direction we ought to be going in. It is the most effective way to change the Government there. I commend him for this amendment, and I ask him whether or not he would agree with me, if he knows of any other case anywhere else in the world where we apply this.

Mr. SIMON. Absolutely not. It is interesting that it is the same debate that we went through when we had the Soviet Union. Should we let Americans travel there? We finally made the decision that it might open up the Soviet Union if we would let people travel. And that was the right decision, and that is what we are asking for here. Let us make the right decision on Cuba.

Mr. DODD. I point out as well that it is not just that. But Cuban-Americans themselves—first of all, I have said this before, Mr. President. This notion that we are dealing with a monolithic community here is insulting to many Cuban-Americans. They do not like having people stand up here and suggest that every American of Cuban descent or heritage is of totally like mind on these issues. Many feel that they would like to be able to go back and start meeting with their families, working with their families. To go through the charade of traveling to Canada, going to Mexico, engaging in all kinds of subterfuge in order to make contact with their families and support them is not healthy.

I would suggest that if we could make it possible for Cuban-Americans to go back and be with their old neighbors, friends, and family members, that

kind of involvement, that kind of contact, that kind of interchange is probably something Fidel Castro worries more about than the adoption of this kind of language. I suspect he may support the language in this bill because it is that kind of contact which he would most worry about jeopardizing the foundations of his dictatorship.

So, again, I applaud my colleague from Illinois for his proposal. I suspect we may not win in these amendments, regretfully, because this is about domestic policy. It is not about foreign policy.

Mr. SIMON. I will simply add that we should make policy based on the national interest, not national passion. With what we are doing, our present policy is the opposite.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I suggest that the time be charged equally.

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.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess at 12 noon today until 4 p.m. and that at 4 p.m. the Senate proceed to the votes under the previous order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I again suggest the absence of a quorum on the same basis as the first request was made.

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, would the Chair state the time situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina has 8 minutes, and the Senator from Illinois has 2 minutes.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, what I am about to say may indicate the widest legislative wing span in history, but the State Department and JESSE HELMS agree on something. Both the State Department and JESSE HELMS oppose the Simon amendment. I do so respectfully—and PAUL SIMON is my friend. We do not agree on everything, but that does not matter. He operates in good faith, and I try to.

Let me say very briefly that during the tenure or parts thereof of eight American Presidents, the United States has pursued a bipartisan policy

of isolating Fidel Castro, including restrictions on travel to Cuba. Obviously, the Simon amendment would enthusiastically do away with that restriction.

I mentioned yesterday, and I guess I shall reiterate today, that there are good intentions behind anything that PAUL SIMON does. He is a gentleman. I regret the fact on a personal basis that he has announced that he will not seek reelection next year. But having said that, I just cannot support his amendment. And I cannot fail to urge Senators to vote against it because the result of the Simon amendment will not be the free exchange of ideas that they talk about. The result will be to give Fidel Castro access to new and desperately needed hard currency. On this, the State Department and I absolutely agree.

What Castro has to offer is Cuban beaches. That is it. And allowing Americans to sit on Cuban beach does not do anything for the Cuban people who are oppressed and from whom we hear daily pleas to enact the Libertad bill. The Cuban people inside of Cuba—and also the Cuban people in exile in the United States and elsewhere—unanimously, as far as I know, favor the pending bill. Tourism, of course, is one of Fidel Castro's most important sources of hard currency, and for years and years Castro has lured foreigners to Cuba. This has not resulted in any liberalizing of his regime. It has instead resulted in less freedom and worse living circumstances for the Cuban people. Old Fidel, he is ugly, and he is blunt, and he is rough, and he is cruel, but he is not dumb. He knows the value of tourism for his regime. As a matter of fact, if he does not get hard cash from tourism and other aspects of operations, down he goes. And that is the point. We want him to go down. We want to be rid of him. We want the Cuban people to be rid of him so that they can establish a democratic government there that they have not had in a long, long time.

Now, back in June, Castro began imposing a 100 percent tariff on all new articles brought into Cuba with a value between \$100 and \$1,000. And that means, Mr. President, if Castro officials, his cronies, determine that an item being brought into Cuba by a tourist is new, or if it is something that will be left behind when the tourist departs, then Cuba can charge 100 percent of the cost of that item. The tax on tourists benefits nobody but Fidel Castro and his cronies.

Critics of the travel restrictions argue that we should remove them since they are not fully enforced. I recognize that the Treasury Department has encountered some problems in enforcing travel regulations. They probably encounter some problems in enforcing a lot of regulations. The reason for any problem they have in this regard is that currently only criminal penalties can be imposed for violations.

The administration supports the enactment of civil penalties as the best means of enforcing existing restrictions, and that is exactly what we do in the Libertad bill. So there goes that wide wingspread again from left to right.

Mr. President, I am going to reserve the remainder of my time because I have one or two other points that I may want to make, but I want there to be enough time for Senator SIMON to make whatever rebuttal he wishes to make.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I think if we can, before we vote—I understand we are going to vote at 4 o'clock.

Mr. HELMS. Yes.

Mr. SIMON. If each of us can have 2 minutes, if that is satisfactory to the Senator from North Carolina, that is satisfactory to me.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, that is certainly a fair and reasonable request. I ask unanimous consent that 4 minutes equally divided be provided at 4 o'clock on the Simon amendment.

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

Mr. SIMON. I would yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HELMS. And I yield back the remainder of my time. I see the distinguished majority leader. I am glad to yield to the majority leader.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. I understand the chairman has gotten the consent that we stand in recess at noon until 4 p.m.

I might explain to my colleagues, the purpose of this is so that the Finance Committee can complete action on the tax cut package. They agreed yesterday to have 7 hours and then they would vote. They started at 9 o'clock this morning. We cannot get consent for the Finance Committee to meet while the Senate is in session, so we have no recourse but to let the Finance Committee meet all afternoon. But right now they are moving along at a pretty rapid pace, and they would like to complete action. Hopefully, at 4 o'clock, they could finish and the Senate could come in and, as I understand, there will be three votes and then final passage.

Then after that we will hopefully take up the Labor, HHS appropriations bill or, if there has been any progress, State Department reorganization. I understand there is another meeting, the chairman has another meeting this afternoon at 2 o'clock. So hopefully we can finish action this afternoon on the tax cut package. Chairman ROTH and the ranking member, Senator MOYNIHAN, are trying to get that done by 4 o'clock. That would go to the Budget Committee. It is our hope that next Wednesday we will take up the reconciliation package on the Senate floor, Wednesday and Thursday. In the meantime, we have a number of items on which we hope to complete action.

I would also indicate that we will have, hopefully, next week a Transpor-

tation conference report; legislative branch appropriations, a new bill, but it is identical to the one vetoed by the President. That will be available early to midweek; energy and water conference report. That conference is going to convene next Tuesday at 9 o'clock. We hope to finish that day and then take that up. We are trying to get more and more of the appropriations bills to the President. We hope that he would indicate he will sign the bills.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, before we recess, I would like to take a moment to discuss President Clinton's appearance before reporters at the White House this morning.

Republicans have been willing to work with the President in our efforts to finally balance the budget. Regrettably, the President's veto threat today makes us wonder whether he is serious about working with the congressional majority to fulfill the mandate the American people gave us. If anyone needs to think again, in my view it is President Clinton. Rather than continuing his cynical reelection campaign designed to scare the American people, particularly senior citizens, he should show some leadership and work with us to balance the budget, cut taxes for American families, protect Medicare from bankruptcy, and overhaul welfare.

If any plan puts America's elderly at risk, it is the President's plan, which fails to offer any long-term reforms, any choices for seniors, and any real solutions, just sort of a Band-Aid to get us beyond the next election in 1996.

I think it is interesting that the President confessed this week he raised taxes too much in 1993. I think a \$265 billion tax increase is a bit too much. It affected senior citizens, people who drive automobiles, subchapter S corporations, a lot of Americans who did not consider themselves rich until the President announced that only the rich pay taxes. But he has learned since 1993 that other people pay these increased taxes, too, who are not rich, when he increased taxes on Social Security, when he increased taxes on gasoline, when he increased taxes on subchapter S corporations, and a number of other people who were not rich.

So I think now that he has confessed he made a mistake on raising taxes, he ought to confess he has made a mistake on not wanting to adopt a balanced budget. He fought us in an effort to pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. He convinced six Democrats who voted for a balanced budget last year to vote no this year. We lost by one vote. We had 66. We needed 67.

So it seems to me the President is now saying, well, I raised taxes too much but it was not my fault; Republicans are responsible. Not a single Republican in the House or the Senate voted for the tax increase. I do not un-

derstand how he can blame us for that. It was the biggest tax increase in American history. In fact, I think the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN] said, no, it was the biggest tax increase in world history, and it probably was.

So I would ask the President today, now that he is feeling in a mood to say he has made mistakes—and we all make mistakes from time to time—we would be happy to have him join us in this budget debate in balancing the budget by the year 2002 and protecting, preserving, strengthening Medicare and overhauling welfare and providing tax cuts for families with children, the very thing that the President proposed, I might add.

About 70 percent of our total tax credit goes to families. They are not rich. On the Senate side we have capped what your total income could be if you are going to be eligible for the tax credit for your children.

So, Mr. President, we agree you raised taxes too much. We agree it hurt the economy. We agree it probably cost a lot of jobs in America. We agree it cost a lot of dislocation, a lot of pain, a lot of suffering. But now that you have confessed to making that mistake, let us not make another mistake. Let us work together. Let us try to balance the budget, Mr. President. Let us try to save Medicare, Mr. President, and try to have a good tax cut for families with children and stimulate the economy with the capital gains rate reduction, and then reform welfare, which the President indicates he supports.

We are prepared. I know the Speaker is prepared. I hope that we might have some cooperation.

I yield the floor. And I think it is 12 o'clock.

RECESS UNTIL 4 P.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 12 o'clock having arrived, the Senate stands in recess until 4 p.m.

Thereupon, at 12 noon, the Senate recessed until 4 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. THOMPSON).

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 2934

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is the Simon amendment numbered 2934. There are 4 minutes of debate equally divided.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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