

of legislation is essential for millions of small business people, and it is very, very time sensitive. I believe that we ought to move it. I hope that a method is found by which we can do that this afternoon.

Let me say one more time that tax deductibility for health insurance for sole proprietors in this country is essential, and it is not just essential in this bill at 30 percent. We need to do more. The next step is to go to 100 percent.

Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Is it possible now to pass the conference report by a voice vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the conference report?

Mr. DOLE. I ask that the yeas and nays be vitiated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I understand the request is to vitiate the yeas and nays. Am I correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. The question is on the conference report?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the conference report.

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, as I have stated earlier, I for one welcome the opportunity to set a time definite for the passage of the conference report so that everyone in this country will know as of now, this afternoon, that this conference report is going through and will be achieved.

I mean, it is interesting in that we have been debating the rescissions. I was here last night. When the majority leader was talking about urging action on the rescissions, I did not hear that, well, we are going to take up the conference report, that there was such a compelling sense of urgency about it. But obviously there is a sense of urgency, and I am more than glad to enter into an agreement that we pass it at a time certain.

I also believe that we should have the opportunity to put the Senate on record, hopefully unanimously, Republicans and Democrats alike, to say with regard to the provision—which passed the Senate—the provision that provides for tax payment from those wealthy individuals who decide to renounce their citizenship—\$3.6 billion worth—that we are going on record to insist that this provision is going to become the law.

Now, I have great respect for my colleagues and their desire to make sure that this provision becomes the law, and I know that they can be very persuasive in those conferences. But the

fact is, we had the provision in this bill, the bill went to conference, and the Republicans in the House of Representatives had their way and the provision was dropped.

The best way to indicate to the House conferees in the future that we are serious about this is to have a unanimous vote in the Senate. Therefore, I believe that that ought to be the procedure that is followed, that we should have an opportunity—hopefully it would be a unanimous vote—to say that the Senate is going on record in strong support of the provision that would have resulted in \$3.6 billion in revenue, according to the Finance Committee—\$3.6 billion.

That provision has been dropped. I believe it was a mistake to drop it, and the Senate of the United States ought to go on record with a broad, overwhelming majority to say that we want it reinstated as outlined here, and that 100 Senators believe this to be so.

And I just finally would say I think it is entirely appropriate to go on record at this particular time when we are debating rescissions. As soon as this issue is resolved, we will be talking in this Chamber about the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota which relates to education of children and to child care. The cost of the Senator's amendment is a third of this \$3.6 billion cost, a third of this cost. I think it is entirely appropriate that we go on record at this time, Mr. President.

There is no desire to delay. I was glad to stay here and am prepared to go ahead and see votes on the rescissions. I plan to be here. I am here this afternoon. I waited here yesterday to speak for the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota. I waited from 2 o'clock until 10 o'clock last night, to be able to speak for it.

We spoke very briefly on the Senator's amendment. Then we had an amendment that was put right on top of it which precluded us from having any further debate and discussion. Then this measure came right in. I was going to exit the floor at 3 minutes of 12 and then was told that this measure was going to come on in here and was going to be passed in a few moments, and I had to object to it, without having the opportunity to talk to the Democratic Members and others on that conference committee.

That is not how you treat the institution, Mr. President. I am glad to cooperate, and I urge that we set a time definite for the vote and the final disposition of the conference report, and that prior to that time we have an opportunity to express the sense of the Senate—which I hope will be unanimous—in order to reaffirm the Senate's position on the provision that has been reported out favorably—virtually unanimously, Republican and Democrat alike—from the Finance Committee and accepted virtually unanimously by the Members of this body. If we can get that process set up, then I

think that would be the best way to proceed.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. I know the Senator from Massachusetts said he does not have any confidence in anybody on the Finance Committee, either party, so we are going to hold hostage all weekend millions of people out there who want to do their tax returns because we do not trust each other. There are 3.1 million filers and they live in all of our States. We have got them down now to 2 weeks. We are going to squeeze them now, take 3 days away from them. They are going to have to file amended returns, which is going to cost them a lot of money, but it is going to make somebody feel good in the Senate.

That is why the American people are so frustrated when they look at Congress. No wonder it is only a 31-percent approval rating. After today, it will probably drop to 10. Every time we bring up a bill this session we have this turkey shoot. Everybody over on the other side figures out some little political amendment they can offer. And I have served notice on the White House today we are not bringing up any more bills the White House wants until we have some understanding on the legislation that we thought would go through here in a normal way. If the President does not care, that is good enough for me. If he does not want this legislation, we are not going to take it up, but neither will we take up legislation that he wants.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. DOLE. I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the conference report to accompany H.R. 831, the Self-Employed Health Insurance Act:

Robert Dole, Bob Packwood, John Ashcroft, Orrin Hatch, Richard Lugar, Lauch Faircloth, Larry Pressler, Thad Cochran, Trent Lott, Pete Domenici, Rick Santorum, Larry Craig, Alfonse D'Amato, Hank Brown, James Inhofe, and Slade Gorton.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. It is my intent to either have a pro forma session tomorrow or, unless we can agree to count a day and it will not be necessary to have a pro forma session, come in at 11 o'clock on Monday, and the cloture vote will occur at 12 o'clock.

Now, if those who feel so strongly about this little sense-of-the-Senate resolution want to deny us cloture, why, that is fine. We will explain to the

3.1 million people in Minnesota and Kansas and Oregon and Massachusetts and California and Oklahoma, wherever, what is holding us up, why they are going to have to pay their lawyer, their accountant to file an amended return because some Senators wanted to have a little fun in the Senate and we were not interested in their welfare. We are not willing to take the word of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle about an amendment that already passed the Senate. As we learned since then, it should be corrected as pointed out by the Senator from Florida.

Now, maybe the Senator from Massachusetts feels that he has a special right in the Senate where he can have everything he wants voted on before anything else. It does not work that way. The Senator from New York wanted to have a vote yesterday on his amendment. I did not see anybody letting him vote. We had a filibuster going on on the other side, from Members on the other side of the aisle who would not raise their voice when we were first talking about helping Mexico. We could not get one Member on this side to stand up and say they supported the President of the United States. But they would not let Senator D'AMATO vote. No. That was a very important issue.

We are supposed to hold up 3.1 million filers, about 9 million people, because the Senator from Massachusetts wants to vote on his little sense-of-the-Senate thing first. He does not have confidence, apparently, in those of us on the Finance Committee.

That is his choice. That will be the choice of all those who support the Senator. So the moment of truth will come at noon on Monday when we have a cloture vote.

If we cannot get cloture on Monday, I do not know when the conference report will pass.

I wish to thank both Senators PACKWOOD and MOYNIHAN for their efforts to bring this to the floor and pass it to help millions of people in America. I guess maybe only a third will have to file amended returns. I do not know what it costs any more; probably \$50, \$100. You can add up the costs going to real people—the taxpayers.

But, again, if that is what the Senator from Massachusetts wants, we will do the best we can. And the best thing I can think of is to do as I have just done: File a cloture motion and indicate there will be no more votes today, and indicate we will be in tomorrow, if necessary. But, in any event, there will be a cloture vote at noon on Monday.

SITUATION IN HAITI

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, President Clinton is in Haiti today as part of the transition from American control to U.N. control. All Americans are proud of the performance of the men and women of our Armed Forces in Haiti. As always they have served where ordered with skill and courage. And all

Americans are pleased that the occupation of Haiti has gone as smoothly as it has.

We all support democracy in Haiti. That does not mean, however, that we should have occupied Haiti in the first place. And the transition to U.N. command serves as a reminder that all concerns about the Haiti operation are not over.

First, we would do well to remember that the problems in Somalia did not occur under United States command—they occurred after the operation was transferred to U.N. control. We learned the hard way that the agenda of Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the United Nations is not the American agenda. It is true the U.N. commander is an American—Gen. Joseph Kinzer—but the U.N. bureaucrats will be in the loop. The problem of Mission Creep has already been raised—in requests to disarm the Haitian population, for example. In my view, U.N. command of American soldiers should be avoided.

Second, the costs of Haiti are mounting daily; \$1½ billion have already been spent on the occupation and nation-building in Haiti. The tab is only going to go up—up to \$2 billion or more. In a time of severe budget cuts, and in a time when foreign aid is being reduced, we must ask whether we can afford \$2 billion for Haiti.

Third, Haiti still has a long way to go. Elections called for in the Haitian Constitution have been postponed. Political assassination appears to be on the rise. Serious reports of involvement by the Aristide government in this week's murder have been made, and they deserve full examination. Little effort to reach out to parliamentary opponents has occurred. There are disturbing indications that President Aristide or his supporters are subverting the democratic process. Despite the ceremony today, we realize there are real problems in Haiti—and there will continue to be problems, no matter how long the United States or the United Nations stays in Haiti.

We all support genuine efforts at reconciliation and democracy in Haiti. We hope the long-delayed elections move forward in Haiti—that they are free and fair, that the results are respected by all Haitians, and that President Aristide keeps his promise to step down. As a recent article by President Clinton's former envoy to Haiti points out, the hard work of restoring democracy in Haiti was not returning President Aristide from exile—it is in building truly democratic institutions in a country that has never known them.

I ask consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 22, 1995]

A VOICE FOR ALL HAITIANS

Operation Restore Democracy landed more than 20,000 U.S. soldiers in Haiti and secured the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on Oct. 15, 1994. "We have helped to

give the people of Haiti a chance to remake the democracy they earned, they deserve and they plainly wish for," said President Clinton on the eve of Aristide's return. Today that goal, which appears to have been eclipsed by the Clinton administration's need to portray Haiti as a foreign policy victory, is in danger of being subverted by some of Aristide's most ardent supporters.

The issue before Aristide is the election of some 2,000 local officials, 18 of the 27 senators and all 83 deputies, scheduled to be held June 4. There's little doubt among political observers that Aristide's Lavalas movement will win big. In fact, in some districts four and even five candidates are competing for the honor of representing their movement. But legitimate opposition parties charge that the Aristide government is stacking the Provisional Electoral Council with Lavalas loyalists and making arbitrary decisions that prejudice fair and open elections.

When former President Jimmy Carter traveled to Haiti recently to raise these concerns, he was greeted with obscene graffiti painted by Aristide supporters. The mildest epithets called our ex-president "a false democrat," "a thug" and a "danger to democracy." While Aristide praised Carter to his face, his close advisers characterized the ex-president as "tricky and sneaky" behind his back. Carter offered to perform the same role he did in 1990, when he and a group of international monitors ensured Aristide's free election in a political atmosphere that was even more problematic than it is now. It's a role he's played in Nicaragua, Panama and Guyana. This time Carter's services were turned down.

Why? Whether Aristide is leading the move to consolidate power at the expense of political opponents or permitting the more radical elements in his Lavalas movement a free hand is not clear. One former member of the coalition that supported Aristide's presidential candidacy in 1990 predicted to us that paramilitary groups would emerge if the political right is not given an opportunity to participate fully in the political process. Political violence and even civil war are possible in this highly polarized society, he says. And legitimate democrats are fearful and frustrated. They see the heavy-handedness of the Aristide camp as a portent of the authoritarianism that has plagued the political history of their country.

The fairness of the June elections raises the larger issue of political reconciliation in Haiti, which has been championed by Haitian politicians on all levels of the political spectrum as the key to the future of democracy in their country. Unfortunately, this goal was abandoned by the Clinton administration almost a year ago, when Aristide lobbied hard for U.S. military intervention to restore him to power. He got his way. Since then he has dismantled the Haitian military. Remnants of the old police force now operate under international supervision. And the new police force that is being trained poses no threat to him. Interestingly, the only attempt to politicize the police force—which the U.S. Embassy, to its credit, put an end to—came from the Aristide camp.

When Aristide's political rivals extended the olive branch in July 1993 during the New York Pact and again in the spring of last year, they were accused of advocating "power sharing" and pushed away. This came after first U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and then Vice President Gore assured Aristide in person that neither the United Nations nor the United States would accept any agreement that would threaten his constitutional power. It's important to remember that the Haitian