

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I understand all time has expired on both sides at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota has a little over 3 minutes of time left.

Mr. INHOFE. I think he yielded the floor. I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak as in morning business.

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

#### GOVERNMENT REGULATION

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I will make this very brief, because several questions have come up concerning Social Security. I think it is a very critical thing. I happen to have been privileged to be presiding yesterday when the distinguished Senator from Wyoming, the senior Senator, Senator SIMPSON, who is the chairman of the Social Security Subcommittee and, I think we all agree, is the authority in this body on Social Security—he is here and will be responding to these questions in a much more informed and eloquent way than I would be able to respond to them. But I do have to respond to a few things that have been said by both my good friend, the Senator from North Dakota, and the Senator from Kentucky.

First of all, it was implied—I am sure it was not intentional—that I was only concerned about Republican grandchildren. Obviously, we are all concerned about our own. I opened my remarks yesterday on the floor making a reference to Senator Simon, who had talked about Nicholas Simon, his grandchild. I said I know he is just as emotionally involved with his children and grandchildren as I am, and Democrats are as much as Republicans. I hope that is understood.

But, when the distinguished Senator from North Dakota used the example of government control, with the rats eating the bread laced with arsenic, certainly if I had been there at the time I would have strongly supported an effort to stop these types of abuses and these types of unsanitary practices from taking place.

But there is a fine line here. You come to a point where, if you see that point, you have too much government control. I think that is one of the basic philosophical differences, and it is an honest difference, between Democrats and Republicans. I suggest to you, if you talk to Tim Carter of Skiatook, OK, who was called a couple of days before Christmas a few years ago and put out of business by the EPA, what he had done wrong was he moved his business from one area of Skiatook, OK, a very small city, to another area, and did not inform the EPA of this move.

I said, "They do not know that you moved?" He said, "Well, yes, I informed the district office, but they apparently did not inform the national office." For that reason they put him

out of business and they took his number away from him.

Then, when I finally got that corrected, he called me again and he said, "Now I have another problem. I have an inventory of 50,000 bottles." He had some kind of operation, horse spray or something, that they manufactured. Apparently there is a market for it. He said, "The EPA says I cannot use those bottles now, because during that brief time I was out of business they gave my number to somebody else." This is the type of thing.

Or Jim Dunn, who owned a third generation family lumber company in Tulsa, OK, who called me up and said, "The EPA put me out of business." This was a couple years ago. I was in the other body at the time. I said, "What did you do wrong?" He said he did not do anything wrong. He said, "I have been selling used crankcase oil to the same contractor for a couple years and they traced some of that to the Double Eagle Superfund Site and they say I am in violation. They are going to impose \$25,000 a day fines on me." This is a company that had its net increase the year before of something like \$50,000. He was out of business. The heavy hand of overregulation.

We corrected that situation. But if he had not called me, he probably would be out of business today. That contractor he sold his oil to 10 years ago was licensed by the Federal Government, by the State of Oklahoma, by Tulsa County. He did nothing illegal. Yet Government was regulating him out of business. This is what I am talking about. Have we gone beyond that point, to where we are the most overregulated society or country, to the point where we are not globally competitive? I say, yes, we are overregulated.

#### MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from North Dakota talked about star wars. He and I have had this discussion. There is, I guess, nothing to be gained other than to update it and put it in the context of today's debate, but it always offends me when we talk about star wars. Star wars is a phrase that was coined to make it look like this is something fictitious, something imaginary, when in fact there is a very real threat that is facing the United States of America, that of missile attack.

We know the Russians have their SS-25. They have the SS-18, which is a MIRV'd missile with a number of warheads capability, some 10 warheads. We know the Chinese have a missile that can reach us. We know the North Koreans are in the final stages of developing the Taepo Dong missile that originally was going to reach the United States by 2002. Now we feel, our intelligence community feels, it will be the year 1999.

We were on schedule from 1983 to protect ourselves against a missile attack, so that we would have protection, or a

defense system in place, by the year 1999. We are not talking about star wars. We are not talking about even space-based launchers. We are talking about technology that is alive today. We have bought and paid for and have almost \$50 billion invested in 22 Aegis ships that are floating now, paid for. They have launching capability. They can knock down missiles coming in. But they cannot knock down missiles coming in, ICBM's, that would come in from above the atmosphere. So we are trying merely to take that \$50 billion that has already been spent, spend \$4 billion more so they can reach above the atmosphere and knock down a missile that might be coming from North Korea.

We would have some 30 minutes' time between the time a missile is launched and our technology tells us when that was launched. I am an aviator. I flew an airplane around the world a couple of years ago. I used the global positioning system, that is satellites, for navigation all the way around. We can know what is happening around the world today. The technology is there.

So, if a missile is launched in North Korea, we know it is coming, we have 30 minutes to do something about it, but you cannot hit it because it is above the upper tier. All we need to do is spend about 10 percent more of the money that we have spent to be able to give the capability to knock it down. That is not star wars. I do not know where they come up with this \$70 billion or \$60 billion. The CBO came out and said it would cost about \$31 billion to \$60 billion more, over the next 14 years, if we installed and made a reality all of the proposed missile defense systems. We are not suggesting that. No one is.

The other day on this floor I said it is like going into a used car lot and saying I want to buy all the cars. You do not need to do that. You get the one that works, the one that fits your needs, and that takes care of it. That is the way we are in our missile defense system. I hate to use that as an example. I hate to be redundant by coming back over and over again, talking about it, but it has to be talked about.

When the distinguished Senator from North Dakota said we are talking about a budget next week about spending \$11 billion more than the Pentagon wants—yes, I will be supporting that. Those of us who are conservatives over here, we want cuts in programs. We have to defend America. I was so proud of the chiefs of the four services testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, who came in and—this is the first time, I think, in the history of this country this has happened—they defied their own President and said we have to have \$20 billion more in order to defend America. This is what they said.

They are not the top. There is the Secretary of Defense, appointed by the President; not the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, John

Shalikashvili, who is also appointed. These are the ones in charge of the four services, and it took a lot of courage. We do need it and it took courage.

"Where is the money going to come from for all these," the Senator said. If he had been listening, I outlined a program we have been talking about for several years now. The Heritage Foundation and others came up with it. If we take all our Government programs and not eliminate one program, but only expand each one by 1.5 percent, we would be able to balance the budget and have the tax cuts that we have talked about that Americans desperately need.

That is not realistically what is going to happen, but we could do it, and I would live with that in a heartbeat, a 1.5 percent increase in the defense budget. We have cut our defense budget 11 consecutive years. We are down now below the level where we were in 1980 when we could not afford spare parts. So that is significant.

#### THE DEFICIT

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I am going to wind up here. I will only mention the last thing that was stated by the Senator from North Dakota in response to something the distinguished Senator from Texas, Senator HUTCHISON, said this morning.

When she started in business, she made it grow, and it was difficult. He said, "I bet you started with debt."

"Yes."

The difference is this: The business Senator HUTCHISON is talking about and the businesses that are started with debt have to pay that debt back. We do not, and that is the difference. Our debt just accumulates, and that is why we are looking at \$5 trillion. The difference is, they pay it back, and we do not.

Getting to the comments made by the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky—and I think so much of him; I have held him in very high regard—we just disagree philosophically.

When he talked about the deficit reduction programs of 1990 and 1993, yes, one of those was a Republican President. In 1990, it was George Bush. I disagreed with him at that time, and I even went on "Nightline" and talked about how we should not have caved in to the Democrat-controlled Congress. As a result of that one cave-in by President Bush, he lost the election.

The next one is 1993. In 1993—he can call it a deficit reduction plan—it was the largest single tax increase in the history of public finance in America or anyplace in the world, and that is not a quote from conservative Republican JIM INHOFE, that is a quote from Senator DAN MOYNIHAN, who was then chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

So you look at these things in a different light. I would just say to those who are holding on to the past and those who do want to have business as

usual and want to go back to and continue the social revolution of the middle 1960's, those days are behind us.

The last thing I will say, I hope that the Senator from Kentucky did not mean it when he implied that I impugned his integrity. All I was doing was quoting him, and regardless of how we interpret the quotes, I do not think he wanted me to quote his entire statement that was page after page.

But I will say this: These are the two resolutions we talked about. The Senator from North Dakota said that does not include the amendment by Senator NUNN. I think you are talking about the judicial review amendment. I suggest to you that, verbatim, that same amendment was offered and passed by Senator Danforth in 1994. So we have identical resolutions, and regardless of whether the distinguished Senator from Kentucky was quoted or misquoted, he still supported this back then, as the Senator from North Dakota did, and opposed it yesterday.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SIMPSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I very much appreciate the presence of Senator DORGAN of North Dakota. He and I have had spirited discussions about Social Security, but we respect each other. I certainly do. I told him that. I told him whenever I had a pain in my bosom with regard to his activities, I shared it exactly and expressly with him, which I have always done. It is good that maybe the two of us have a moment to at least speak on an issue which surely cannot continue to go in this fashion, where two thoughtful people, as the Senator from North Dakota and I hope your loyal communicator here, are continually just totally in opposition while many who deal with the Social Security Program are telling us what is happening to the program and where the money goes.

So, if I may, in a series of questions, and then let us have the debate which we never had, because I will come to the floor and do my thing and leave and get on to the seven committees I go to, and the Senator from North Dakota comes to the floor and gives his good and able presentation and then leaves the floor.

Let us just, may I, go back to where you have been. You were on the House Ways and Means Committee in 1983. In 1983, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN and company, a bipartisan group—I believe Senator DOLE was part of that group; I do not recall all of the participants—they came together knowing that Social Security was

going to go broke, totally broke, and that it would go broke within a very short time. So they met in good faith, in a bipartisan way, and they put together a package, as you described—and I address the Chair, as my friend addressed yesterday—they put together a package which provided for increased payroll taxes, it provided for some benefit restructure, it did something with the "notch babies."

Remember, we had to deal with that one for about 12 years, and it was an absolute phony argument. Talk about the froth that goes with Social Security. We finally, when that vampire came out of the silk casket one more time, drove the stake through it and through the lining, hopefully, and that is the end of it. We do not hear any more about it from the National Committee for the Preservation of Social Security and Medicare or the AARP or any other group, because it is a dead issue, staked through the heart.

Yet, it created tremendous concern around America in what was happening. Because of the adjustment made in 1983, we found that the people who were born before that certain cutoff date had received much, much more than they ever should have received, far above the replacement rate of Social Security. We corrected that, and then had 10 years of background clutter and flak and shelling from these various groups. That is over.

But what we did do—and we must all use the same facts. We do not have to share the same opinion, but we must use the same facts. If anyone will remember, you need only go to the report where we were told that when we did what we had to do in 1982 and 1983 with Social Security, it would "save the system and make it solvent until the year 2063."

If there is anyone within the range of my voice who says that that was not the final package—what we did, our stuff, tough political stuff, that when we did that, we would "save the Social Security System till the year 2063." That is book, page and hymn number. Done. OK.

What has happened in the next 13 years? It is now 1996, and each and every year that the trustees issue their annual report, we are told that Social Security is going broke faster than we ever would have dreamed. And yesterday—just yesterday—we have the 1996 annual report. This is a summary. The actual report is here. It is quite extensive. My staff has been through it. I hope that all of us will enjoy this weekend reading. It is just a joy.

But I tell you what it does. It tells the truth, and I will tell you who is telling us the truth. The truth-tellers are Donna Shalala, a woman I have the greatest respect for and admiration; the truth-givers are Robert Rubin. He and I have not agreed on many things, but I admire him. Robert Reich, my fellow thespian—our line of work takes us away from this. We intend to "trod the boards" starting in Peoria. Robert