

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 anywhere 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