# Calendar No. 327 

$\left.\begin{array}{c}19 \text { TH Congress } \\ 1 s t \text { Session }\end{array}\right\} \quad$ SENATE

## INCREASE OF PERMANENT PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT

September 26 (legislative day, September 23), 1985.-Ordered to be printed

Mr. Packwood, from the Committee on Finance, submitted the following

## REPORT

together with

## ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany H.J. Res. 372]
The Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill (H.J. Res. 372) to increase the permanent public debt limit, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon without amendment, and recommends that the bill do pass.

## I. SUMMARY

H.J. Res. 372 provides initially for an increase of $\$ 24$ billion in the permanent debt limit from $\$ 1,823.8$ billion to $\$ 1,847.8$ billion, which would become effective on enactment.
An additional increase of $\$ 230.9$ billion which would raise the permanent public debt limit to $\$ 2,078.7$ billion would go into effect on October 1, 1985.
The debt limit levels in this bill are the amounts approved by the Congress in the Conference Report on the Budget Resolution for fiscal year 1986 (S. Con. Res. 32).

52-458 0

# Table 1.-Statutory Debt Limitations, Fiscal Years 1947 to Date, and Proposed Permanent Limit 

[In billions of dollars]

| Fiscal year | Statutory debt limitation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Permanent | Temporary additional | Total |
| 1947-1958 through Feb. 25. | 275 |  | 275 |
| 1958: Feb. 26 through June 30 ........................... | 275 | 5 | 280 |
| 1959 through Sept. 1 | 275 | 5 | 280 |
| 1959: Sept. 2 through June 29............................ | 283 | 5 | 288 |
| 1959: June 30................................................. | 288 | 5 | 290 |
| 1960. | 285 | 10 | 295 |
| 1961 | 285 | 8 | 293 |
| 1962 through Mar. 12 | 285 | 13 | 298 |
| 1962: Mar. 13 through June 30 | 285 | 15 | 300 |
| 1963 through Mar. 31 | 285 | 23 | 308 |
| 1963: Apr. 1 through May 28 | 285 | 20 | 305 |
| 1963: May 29 through June 30 | 285 | 22 | 307 |
| 1964 through Nov. 30 | 285 | 24 | 309 |
| 1964: Dec. 1 through June 28. | 285 | 30 | 315 |
| 1964: June 29 and 30 | 285 | 30 | 342 |
| 1965. | 285 | 39 | 324 |
| 1966. | 285 | 43 | 328 |
| 1967 through Mar. 1 | 285 | 45 | 330 |
| 1967: Mar. 2 through June 30 | 285 | 51 | 336 |
| $1968{ }^{1}$ | 358 |  | 358 |
| 1969 through Apr. $6^{1}$.. | 358 | 7 | 365 |
| 1969 after Apr. $6^{1}$ | 358 |  | 358 |
| 1970 through June $30{ }^{1}$ | 365 | 12 | 377 |
| 1971 through June 301 | 380 | 15 | 395 |
| 1972 through June 301 | 400 | 50 | 450 |
| 1973 through Oct. $31{ }^{1}$ | 400 | 50 | 450 |
| 1973 through June 301 | 400 | 65 | 465 |
| 1974 through Nov. $30{ }^{1}$ | 400 | 65 | 465 |
| 1974: Dec. 3 through June $30{ }^{1}$. | 400 | 75.7 | 475.7 |
| 1975 through Feb. $18{ }^{1}$ | 400 | 95 | 495 |
| 1975: Feb. 19 through June 301 | 400 | 131 | 531 |
| 1976 through Nov. 151. | 400 | 177 | 577 |
| 1976 through Mar. 151 | 400 | 195 | 595 |
| 1976 through June $30{ }^{1}$.................................... | 400 | 227 | 627 |
| TQ: from enactment through Sept. 30, 1971 ${ }^{1}$........................... | 400 | 236 | 636 |
| 1977: from Oct. 1, 1976 through Mar. 31, 19771 $\qquad$ | 400 | 282 | 682 |
| 1977: from Apr. 1 through Sept. 30, 1977 1............ | 400 | 300 | 700 |
| 1978: from Oct. 1, 1977, through July 31, 19781 | 400 | 352 | 752 |
| 1978: from Aug. 3, 1978, through Mar. 31, 19791 | 400 | 352 398 | 798 |
| 1979: from Apr. 2 through Sept. 30, 1979 1............ | 400 | 430 | 830 |
| 1980 through June 30, $1980{ }^{1}$............................. | 400 | 479 | 879 |

# Table 1.-Statutory Debt Limitations, Fiscal Years 1947 to Date, and Proposed Permanent Limit-Continued 

[In billions of dollars]

| Fiscal year | Statutory debt limitation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Permanent | Temporary additional | Total |
| 1981 through Feb. 28, $1981{ }^{\text {¹ }}$........................... | 400 | 525 | 925 |
| 1981 through Sept. 30, $1981{ }^{1}$ | 400 | 535.1 | 935.1 |
| 1981 through Sept. 30, $1981{ }^{1}$........................... | 400 | 585 | 985 |
| 1982 through Sept. 30, 19821 | 400 | 679.8 | 1,079.8 |
| 1982 through Sept. 30, 1982 ¹.......................... | 400 | 743.1 | 1,143.1 |
| 1982 through Sept. 30, $1983{ }^{\text {² ........................... }}$ | 400 | 890.2 | 1,290.2 |
| $1983{ }^{1}$ | 1,389 | . | 1,389 |
| $1984{ }^{1}$ | 1,490 | ............... | 1,490 |
| $1984{ }^{1}$ | 1,520 | ............... | 1,520 |
| 19841 .......................................................... | 1,573 | ............... | 1,573 |
| $1985{ }^{1}$. | 1,823.8 | ................ | 1,823.8 |
| Proposed: |  |  |  |
| $1985{ }^{1}$ | 1,847.8 |  | 1,847.8 |
|  | 2,078.7 | ............... | 2,078.7 |

[^0]
## II. EXPLANATION OF PROVISIONS

## A. Increase in the Limit on the Public Debt

## Present Law

The present permanent limit on the public debt is $\$ 1,823.8$ billion, which was enacted on October 13, 1984 (P.L. 98-475). A permanent debt limit has no expiration date.

## Reasons for Change

## Current debt situation

The outstanding public debt at the close of business on September 17 , 1985 , was $\$ 25$ million below the $\$ 1,823.8$ billion current statutory limit on the public debt. Treasury Department's operating cash balance was $\$ 21.1$ billion, which is $\$ 3.9$ billion below the preferred $\$ 25$ billion operating cash balance and allowance for contingencies.

The Treasury Department told the Committee on Finance during its public hearing that the increases in the public debt limit will be necessary by September 30, 1985, if the Treasury Department is to carry out its statutory obligations with regard to investment of funds of several trust funds. On September 30, the Federal contribution to the Civil Service Retirement trust fund of about $\$ 16$ billion must be paid and invested. Similarly, a $\$ 10$ billion payment and investment in the Military Retirement fund is due on October 1 , and an additional $\$ 1.8$ billion must be paid to and invested for the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance trust fund. Finally, an advance of estimated social security October receipts must be deposited in the OASDI trust fund in the form of Federal securities on October 1. These amounts add to a $\$ 40$ billion requirement in a 4-day period. Thus, at that time, it is anticipated that the Treasury Department would not be able to meet Federal Government obligations as they become due, unless the statutory debt limit is increased before then.

## Budget perspective

Under the budget resolution for fiscal years 1985 and 1986 that was approved by Congress last month, estimated budget deficits will be large but declining as a result of spending and tax changes mandated in the reconciliation provisions. As shown in table 2, the budget deficits for fiscal years 1985 and 1986 will be $\$ 209.8$ billion and $\$ 171.9$ billion, respectively.

The Administration's current estimates for the two fiscal years, which were published in its Mid-Session Review on August 30, 1985, are not appreciably different from the budget totals in the budget resolution. These totals also are shown in table 2 .

Table 2.-Estimated Budget Totals, Fiscal Years 1985 and 1986
[Billions of dollars]

|  | Budget resolution |  | Administration |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1985 | 1986 | 1985 | 1986 |
|  | 946.3 | 967.6 | 947.3 | 957.7 |
| Receipts ................................ | 736.5 | 795.7 | 736.0 | 779.8 |
| Deficits.......................... | -209.8 | -171.9 | -211.3 | -177.8 |

${ }^{1}$ Include off-budget outlays.
Detail may not add to totals due to rounding.

## Consequences of delayed approval

Financing of deficit.-When the outstanding debt equals the statutory debt limit and the cash balance has been exhausted, the only issuing of debt that may lawfully take place is refunding of expiring issues. The Tresaury Department has announced that it has postponed the auctions of 4 -year and 7 -year notes and 20 -year 1 month bonds whish have been scheduled for the last week in September 1985 pending enactment of the public debt limit bill.
Among the bonds and other debt that could not be issued are savings bonds, and Treasury would have to send thousands of notices to employers who have payroll savings plans, banks and all other institutions through which savings bonds may be purchased. Sales could not be made of certain special issues for State and local governments which help these governments stay within the Federal arbitrage limits for tax-exempt bond issues.
Federal outlays.-Expenditures for all Federal Government activities could continue only until the operating cash balance is exhausted. These payments include-in the first three days of the month-social security benefits, civil service and military retirement payments, veterans benefits, and various other individual entitlement programs. Payments to government contractors, on fulfillment of obligations or as periodic performance payments, are made daily. Periodic interest payments on outstanding Federal debt are made mainly on the 15 th day of the month in which they are due.
Spending priorities.-When there is doubt whether an increase in the public debt limit will be enacted before an existing limit will expire or be reached, speculation arises whether the President or Secretary of the Treasury has authority to exercise legally sanctioned priorities with respect to different spending programs. The best information available to the Committee on Finance indicates that no such priorities are in existence. Each law that authorizes expenditures or makes appropriations stands on equal footing, and there are no grounds for the Administration to distinguish a payment for any one program over any other program. As a consequence, the Secretary of the Treasury can be expected to make payment on the Federal Government's legal obligations to pay as they come due while cash remains in the till.

## Explanation of Provision

After considering the matters discussed above as they relate to Federal finances, the committee voted to report the bill without amendment. This bill will increase the permanent public debt limit to $\$ 1,847.8$ billion for the rest of fiscal year 1985 and to $\$ 2,078.7$ billion on October 1, 1985. It is expected that the bill will provide the Secretary of the Treasury with sufficient authority to issue Federal debt obligations for financing the Federal Government's activities through fiscal years 1985 and 1986.

## III. APPENDIX

## Table I.-Debt Limitations Under Sec. 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act as Amended-History of Legislation

Sept. 24, 1917: ..... In billions40 Stat. 288 , sec. 1, authorized bonds in the amount of
40 Stat. 290, sec. 5, authorized certificates of indebtedness outstand-ing revolving authority${ }^{1} \$ 7.5$
Apr. 4, 1918: ..... ${ }^{2} 4.0$
40 Stat. 502 , amending sec. 1 , increased bond authority to ..... ${ }^{1} 12.0$
40 Stat. 504 , amending sec. 5 , increased authority for certificates out-
40 Stat. 504 , amending sec. 5 , increased authority for certificates out- standing to
88.0
88.0
July 9, 1918: 40 Stat. 844, amending sec. 1 , increased bond authority to
Mar. 3, 1919: ..... ${ }^{2} 20.0$ Mar. 3, 1919 :
${ }^{2} 10.0$
40 Stat. 13 , amending sec. 5 , increased authority for certificates out- standing to
17.0
17.0
Nov. 23, 1921: 42 Stat. 321, amending sec. 18, increased note authority outstanding (established revolving authority) to ..... 27.5
June 17, 1929: 46 Stat. 19, amending sec. 5 , authorized bills in lieu of cer- tificates of indebtedness; no change in limitation for the outstanding. ..... ${ }^{2} 10.0$
Mar. 30, 1931: 46 Stat. 1506, amending sec. 1, increased bond authority to ..... ${ }^{1} 28.0$
Jan. 30, 1934; 49 Stat. 343, amending sec. 18, increased authority for notes outstanding to. ..... ${ }^{1} 10.0$
Feb. 4, 1935:
49 Stat. amending sec. 1 , limited bonds outstanding (establishing re-
49 Stat. amending sec. 1 , limited bonds outstanding (establishing re- volving authority) to ..... ${ }^{2} 25.0$
49 Stat. 21, new sec. 21 added, consolidating authority for certificates and bills (sec. 5) and authority for notes (sec. 18); same aggregate amount outstanding ..... ${ }^{2} 20.0$
49 Stat. 21, new sec. 22 added, authorizing U.S. savings bonds withinauthority of sec. 1
May 26, 1938: 52 Stat. 447, amending secs. 1 and 21, consolidating in sec. 21 authority for bonds, certificates of indebtedness, Treasury bills, and notes (outstanding bonds limited to $\$ 30,000,000,000$ ). Same aggregate total outstanding ..... ${ }^{2} 45.0$July 20, 1939: 53 Stat. 1071, amending sec. 21, removed limitations onbonds without changing total authorized outstanding bonds, certifi-cates of indebtedness, bills and notes${ }^{2} 45.0$
July 25, 1940: 54 Stat. 526 , amending sec. 31 , adding new paragraph:
"(b) In addition to the amount authorized by the preceding paragraph of this section, any obligation authorized by secs. 5 and 18 of this Act, as amended, not to exceed in the aggregate $\$ 4,000,000,000$ outstanding at any one time, less any retirements made from the special funds made available under sec. 301 of the Revenue Act of 1940, may be issued under said sections to provide the Treasury with funds to meet any expenditures made, after June 30, 1940, for the national defense, or to reimburse the general fund of the Treasury therefor. Any such obligations so issued shall be designated 'National Defense Series.' "${ }^{2} 49.0$
Feb. 19, 1941: 55 Stat. 7 , amending sec. 21 , limiting face amount of obli- gations issued under authority of act outstanding at any one time to..... ..... ${ }^{2} 65.0$Eliminated separated authority for $\$ 4,000,000,000$ of national defense
series obligations ..... ${ }^{2} 65.0$
Mar. 28, 1942: 56 Stat. 189, amending sec. 21, increased limitation to ..... 2125.0
Apr. 11, 1943: 57 Stat. 63, amending sec. 21, increased limitation to ..... ${ }^{2} 210.0$
Apr. 3, 1945: 59 Stat. 47, amending sec. 21 to read: "The face amount of obligations issued under authority of this act, and the face amount of obligations guaranteed as to principal and interest by the United States (except such guaranteed obligations as may be held by the Secretary of the Treasury), shall not exceed in the aggregate, $\$ 300,000,000$ outstanding at one time"
June 26, 1946: 60 Stat. 316, amending sec. 21, adding: "the current redemption value of any obligation issued on a discount basis which is redeemable to maturity at the option of the holder thereof, shall be considered, for the purposes of this section to be the face amount of such obligation," and decreasing limitations to
Aug. 28, 1954: 68 Stat. 895, amending sec. 21, effective Aug. 28, 1954, and ending June 30, 1955, increasing temporary limitation by $\$ 6,000,000,000$ to
June 30, 1955: 69 Stat. 241, amending Aug. 28, 1954, act by extending until June 30, 1956, increase in limitation to
July 9, 1956: 70 Stat. 519 , amending act of Aug. 28, 1954, increasing temporary limitation by $\$ 30,000,000,000$ for period, beginning July 1, 1955, and ending June 30,1957 to
Effective July 1, 1957, temporary increase terminates and limitation reverts, under act of June 26,1956 , to
Feb. 26, 1958: 72 Stat. 27, amending sec. 21, effective Feb. 26, 1958, and ending June 30, 1969, increasing limitation by $\$ 5,000,000,000$
Sept. 2, 1958: 72 Stat. 1758, amending sec. 21, increasing limitation by \$5,000,000,000
${ }^{2} 280.0$
Sept. 2, 1958: 72 Stat. 1758, amending sec. 21, increasing limitation to $\$ 238,000,000,000$ which with temporary increase of Feb. 26, 1958, makes limitation
2288.0
June 30, 1959: Stat. 156, amending sec. 21, effective June 30, 1959, increasing limitation to $\$ 295,000,000,000$, which with temporary increase Feb. 26, 1958, makes limitation on June 30, 1959
Amending sec. 21, increasing limitation by $\$ 10,000,000,000$ for period beginning July 1, 1959, and ending June 30, 1960, which makes limitation beginning July 3, 1959

July 30, 1960: 74 Stat. 290, amending sec. 21, for period beginning on
July 1, 1960, and ending June 30, 1961, temporarily increasing limita
tion by $\$ 8,000,000,000$
June 30, 1961: 75 Stat. 148, amending sec. 31, for period beginning on July 1, 1961, and ending June 3, 1972, increasing limitation by $\$ 13,000,000,000$ to.
Mar. 13, 1962: 75 Stat. 23, amending sec. 21 for period beginning on Mar. 13,1962 , and ending June 3, 1962, further increasing limitation by $\$ 2,000,000,000$
July 1, 1962: 76 Stat. 124 as amended by 77 Stat. 50 , amending sec. 21 , for period-

1. Beginning July 1, 1962, and ending Mar. 31, 1963 ..... ${ }^{2} 308.0$
2. Beginning Apr. 1, 1963, and ending June 24, 1963 ..... ${ }^{2} 305.0$
3. Beginning June 25, 1963, and ending June 30, 1963 ..... ${ }^{2} 300.0$
May 29, 1963: 77 Stat. 50, amending sec. 21, for period-
4. Beginning May 29, 1963, and ending June 30, 1963 ..... ${ }^{2} 307.0$
5. Beginning July 1, 1963, and ending Aug. 31, 1963 ..... ${ }^{2} 309.0$
Aug. 27, 1963: 77 Stat. 131, amending sec. 21, for the period beginning on Sept. 1, 1963, and ending on Nov. 30, 1963 ..... 2309.0
Nov. 26, 1963: Stat. 342, amending sec. 21, for the period- 1. Beginning on Dec. 1, 1963, and ending June 29, 1964
6. On June 30,1964 .................................................. ..... 2315.0
${ }^{2} 309.0$
June 29, 1964: 78 Stat. 225 , amending sec. 21 , for the period beginningJune 29, 1964, and ending on June 30,1965 , increasing the temporarydebt limit to
June 24, 1965: 79 Stat. 172, amending sec. 21, for the period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30,1966 , increasing the temporary debt limit to
June 24,1966 , 80 Stat. 21 amending sec. 21 , for the period beginning July l, 1966, and ending on June 30, 1967, increasing the temporary debt

Lar. 2, 1967: 81 Stat. 4, amending sec. 21, for the period beginning Mar. 2, 1967, and ending on June 30, 1967, increasing the temporary debt limit to
${ }^{2} 336.0$
une 30, 1967: 81 Stat. 99-

1. Amending sec. 21, effective June 30, 1967, increasing limitation to .
2. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 7,000,000,000$ for the period from July 1 to June 29 of each year, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 365.0$
ıpr. 7, 1969: 84 Stat. 7-
3. Amending sec. 21, effective Apr. 7, 1969, increasing debt limitation to.
${ }^{2} 365.0$
4. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 12,000,000,000$ for the period from Apr. 7, 1969, through June 30, 1970, to make the limit for such period.
${ }^{2} 377.0$
lune 30, 1970: 84 Stat. 368-
5. Amending sec. 21, effective July 1, 1970, increasing debt limitation to.
${ }^{2} 380.0$
6. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 15,000,000,000$ for the period from July 1, 1970, through June 20, 1971, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 395.0$
Mar. 17, 1971: 85 Stat. 5-
7. Amending sec. 21, effective Mar. 17, 1972, increasing debt limitation to.
${ }^{2} 400.0$
8. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 30,000,000,000$ for the period from Mar. 17, 1971, through June 30, 1972, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 430.0$
Mar. 15, 1972:.86 Stat. 63, increasing the temporary debt limit by an additional $\$ 20,000,000,000$ for the period from Mar. 15, 1972, through June 30, 1972, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 450.0$
July 1, 1972: 86 Stat. 406, extending the temporary debt limit of $\$ 50,000,000,000$ for the period from July 1, through Oct. 31, 1972, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 450.0$
Jct. 27, 1972: 86 Stat. 1324, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 65,000,000,000$ for the period from Nov. 1, 1972, through June 30, 1974, to make the limit for such period
Iuly 1, 1973: 87 Stat. 134, extending the temporary debt limit of $\$ 465,000,000,000$ for the period from June 30, 1973, through Nov. 30, 1973, to make the limit for such period
Dec. 3, 1973: 87 Stat. 691, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 75,700,000,000$ for the period from Dec. 7, 1973, through June 30, 1974, to make the limit for such period.
${ }^{2} 475.7$
June 30, 1974: 88 Stat. 285, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 95,000,000,000$ for the period from June 3, 1974, through Mar. 31, 1975, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 495.0$
Feb. 19, 1975: 89 Stat. 5, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 131,000,000,000$ for the period from Feb. 10, 1975, through June 3, 1976, to make the limit for such period
2531.0

June 30, 1975: 89 Stat. 246, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 177,000,000,000$ for the period from June 30,1975 , through Nov. 16 , 1975, to make the limit for such period
Nov. 14, 1975: 89 Stat. 693, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 195,000,000,000$ for the period from Nov. 14, 1975, through Mar. 15, 1975, to make the limit for such period

1. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 236,000,000,000$ for the period from July 1, 1976, through Sept. 30, 1976, to make the limit for such period
2. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 282,000,000,000$ for the period from Oct. 1, 1976, through Mar. 3, 1977, to make the limit for such period.
3. Increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 300,000,000,000$ for the period from Apr. 2, 1977, through Sept. 30, 1977, to make the limit for such period
Oct. 4, 1977: 91 Stat. 1090, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 352,000,000,000$ for the period from the date of enactment through Mar. 31, 1978, to make the limit for such period $\$ 352,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through July 31, 1978, to make the limit for such period

$$
2752,0
$$

Aug. 3, 1978: 92 Stat. 419, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 398,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through Mar. 31, 1979, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 798.0$
Apr. 2, 1979: 93 Stat. 8, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 430,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30, 1979, to make the limit for such period
Sept. 29, 1979: 93 Stat. 589, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 479,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through May 31, 1980, to make the limit for such period
May 30, 1980: 94 Stat. 421, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 479,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through June 5, 1980, to make the limit for such period
June 6, 1980: 94 Stat. 439, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 479,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through June 30, 1980, to make the limit for such period
June 28, 1980: 94 Stat. 598, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 525,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through February 28 , 1981, to make the limit for such period
December 19, 1980: 94 Stat. 3261 , increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 535,100,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30, 1981, to make the limit for such period
February 7, 1981: 95 Stat. 4, increasing the temporary debt limit............................................... $\$ 585,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30, 1981, to make the limit for such period
September 30, 1981: 95 Stat. 955 , increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 599,800,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30, 1981, to make the limit for such period
${ }^{2} 999.8$
September 30, 1981: 95 Stat. 956, increasing the temporary debt limit by $\$ 679,800,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30 , 1982, to make the limit for such period
June 28, 1982: 96 Stat. 130, increasing the temporary public debt limit by $\$ 743,100,000,000$ from the date of enactment through September 30, 1982, to make the limit for such period

2 1,143.1
September 30, 1982: Stat. 270, increasing the temporary public..................................................... by $\$ 890,200,000,000$ during the period beginning on October 1, 1982, and ending on September 30, 1983, to make the limit for such period.....
May 26, 1983: 97 Stat. 196, increasing the permanent public debt limit by $\$ 989,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment to make the pubic debt limit for such period

2 1,290.2
${ }^{2} 1,389.0$
November 21, 1983: 97 Stat. 1012 increasing the permanent public debt limit by $\$ 101,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment to make the public debt limit.
May 25, 1984: 98 Stat. 217, increasing the permanent public........................................................................... $\$ 30,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment to make the public debt limit
${ }^{2} 1,520,0$
July 6, 1984: 98 Stat. 313, increasing the permanent public debt limit................................................................................ $\$ 53,000,000,000$ from the date of enactment to make the public debt
October 13, 1984: 98 Stat. 2206, increasing the permanent public debt
limit by $\$ 250,800,000,000$..................................................... limit by $\$ 250,800,000,000$ from the date of enactment to make the public debt limit.
${ }_{2}^{1}$ Limitation on issue.
${ }^{2}$ Limitation on outstanding.

Table II.-Outstanding Public Debt Subject to Limitation at End of Fiscal Years 1916-84, and on September 17, 1985

| Fiscal year: | Millions | Fiscal year: | Millions |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1916.............................. | \$1,225 | 1951.............................. | \$253,283 |
| 1917............... | 2,976 | 1952. | 257,233 |
| 1918.............................. | 12,455 | 1953. | 647,220 |
| 1919.............................. | 25,485 | 1954. | 269,379 |
| 1920... | 24,299 | 1955. | 272,348 |
| 1921... | 23,977 | 1956. | 270,619 |
| 1922.............................. | 22,963 | 1957. | 269,120 |
| 1923. | 22,350 | 1958. | 275,395 |
| 1924.... | 21,251 | 1959... | 282,419 |
| 1925. | 20,516 | 1960. | 283,827 |
| 1926.............................. | 19,643 | 1961. | 286,308 |
| 1927............................. | 18,512 | 1962. | 296,374 |
| 1928. | 17,604 | 1963. | 302,923 |
| 1929. | 16,931 | 1964. | 308,583 |
| 1930.... | 16,185 | 1965. | 314,126 |
| 1931... | 16,801 | 1966.. | 316,293 |
| 1932. | 19,487 | 1967.............................. | 323,143 |
| 1933. | 22,539 | 1968... | 1348,534 |
| 1934. | 27,053 | 1969. | ${ }^{1} 356,107$ |
| 1935.............................. | 28,701 | 1970............................... | ${ }^{1} 372,600$ |
| 1936............................... | 33,779 | 1971. | ${ }^{1} 3988650$ |
| 1937................................ | 36,425 | 1972. | ${ }^{1} 427,751$ |
| 1938.............................. | 36,882 | 1973... | ${ }^{1} 458,264$ |
| 1939. | 40,371 | 1974............................. | ${ }^{1} 475,181$ |
| 1940. | 43,219 | 1975.. | ${ }^{1} 5344,207$ |
| 1941.............................. | 49,494 | 1976............. | ${ }^{1} 620,556$ |
| 1942. | 74,154 | Transition quarter ......... | ${ }^{1} 635,822$ |
| 1943. | 140,469 | 1977.............................. | ${ }^{1} 6999963$ |
| 1944. | 208,077 | 1978.............................. | ${ }^{1} 772,691$ |
| 1945. | 268,671 | 1979.............................. | ${ }^{1} 827,614$ |
| 1946. | 268,932 | 1980............................. | 1908,723 |
| 1947.............................. | 255,767 | 1981.............................. | ${ }^{1}$ 1998,818 |
| 1948................................. | 240,381 | 1982.............................. | ${ }^{1} 1,142,913$ |
| 1949. | 250,965 | 1983. | 1 1,377,953 |
| 1950............................. | 255,382 | 1984.......................... | ${ }^{12} 1,572,975$ |

${ }^{1}$ Includes FNMA participation certificates issued in fiscal year 1968 in debt of fiscal years 1968-83.
${ }^{2}$ Debt at close of business, September 17, 1985.
Source: Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for fiscal year 1923, table 34, p. 544, for 1916-17; Annual Report for fiscal year 1962, table 507, for 1983 and 1939; Annual Report for fiscal year 1976. Statistical Appendix, table 21, p. 67, for 1940-76; Treasury Bulletin, November 1982, table FD-8, p. 24 for 1977 through 1982, monthly Statement of the Public Debt, September 30, 1983, and Daily Treasury Statement, September 17,1985 .

Tables III-A through III-F provide general background information about private and Federal, State and local government debt, total and per capita, and also the relationship of Federal debt to gross national product (GNP), population and prices. Each table presents annual data from 1929 through 1984.

Tables III-A and III-B show that private and public levels of debt (in total or per capita terms) have increased steadily since the end of World War II. Net federal debt as a percentage of total debt declined from 1946 through 1974. In the subsequent 10 years, the percentage ratio has both risen and fallen, reaching 19.1 percent in 1984.

Corporate and State and local debt have increased slowly relative to GNP since post-World War II lows, as shown in table III-C. Other private debt, which includes consumer debt and home mortgages, has increased steadily since 1944, and has exceeded GNP since 1979. Net federal debt has decreased relative to GNP since 1945, but since 1974, it has increased from 25.2 to 37.6 percent of GNP.
Tables III-D shows that gross federal debt per capita was $\$ 7,029$ in 1984, and private individuals and institutions held $\$ 5,111$ on a per capita basis. When reduced to compensate for inflation, i.e., year-to-year changes in the consumer price index, the 1984 per capita debt figures fall to $\$ 2,259$ and $\$ 1,643$; these figures are 32 percent of the unadjusted per capita debt figures.
The ratio of privately held federal debt to GNP is shown in table III-E. Comparing these data and those in table III-C, it can be seen that private holdings of federal debt account for the bulk of investments in federal debt.
Tables III-6 presents data on real gross national product per capita. Since 1933, real GNP per capita has increased from $\$ 1,763$ to $\$ 6,909$. The increase has not been marked by sustained annual increases because there have been brief declines associated with cyclical fluctuations and a 12 -year decline associated with the end of World War II.

# Table III-A.-Estimated Net Government and Private Debt, by Major Categories 

| Year | Private ${ }^{1}$ |  |  | State and local | Federal ${ }^{2}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Total net } \\ \text { debt } \end{gathered}$ | Percent Federal of total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Corporate | Other | Total |  |  |  |  |
| 1929 | 88.9 | 72.9 | 161.8 | 13.6 | 16.5 | 191.9 | 8.6 |
| 1930 .................. | 89.3 | 71.8 | 161.1 | 14.7 | 16.5 | 192.3 | 8.6 |
| 1931 .................. | 83.5 | 64.9 | 148.4 | 16.0 | 18.5 | 182.9 | 10.1 |
| 1932 .................. | 80.0 | 57.1 | 137.1 | 16.6 | 21.3 | 175.0 | 12.2 |
| 1933 .................. | 76.9 | 51.0 | 127.9 | 16.3 | 24.3 | 168.5 | 14.4 |
| 1934 | 75.5 | 49.8 | 125.3 | 15.9 | 30.4 | 171.6 | 17.7 |
| 1935 | 74.8 | 49.7 | 124.5 | 16.1 | 34.4 | 175.0 | 19.7 |
| 1936 .................. | 76.1 | 50.6 | 126.7 | 16.2 | 37.7 | 180.6 | 20.9 |
| 1937 .................. | 75.8 | 51.1 | 126.9 | 16.1 | 39.2 | 182.2 | 21.5 |
| 1938 .................. | 73.3 | 50.0 | 123.3 | 16.1 | 40.5 | 179.9 | 22.5 |
| 1939 | 73.5 | 50.8 | 124.3 | 16.4 | 42.6 | 183.3 | 23.2 |
| 1940 | 75.6 | 53.0 | 128.6 | 16.4 | 44.8 | 189.8 | 23.6 |
| 1941 | 83.4 | 55.6 | 139.0 | 16.1 | 56.3 | 211.4 | 26.6 |
| 1942 | 91.6 | 49.9 | 141.5 | 15.4 | 101.7 | 258.6 | 39.3 |
| 1943 | 95.5 | 48.8 | 144.3 | 14.5 | 154.4 | 313.2 | 49.3 |
| 1944 | 94.1 | 50.7 | 144.8 | 13.9 | 211.9 | 370.6 | 57.2 |
| 1945 | 85.3 | 54.7 | 140.0 | 13.4 | 252.5 | 405.9 | 62.2 |
| 1946 | 49.5 | 66.3 | 155.8 | 14.9 | 228.0 | 358.7 | 63.6 |
| 1947 | 56.7 | 80.4 | 137.1 | 16.3 | 220.8 | 374.2 | 59.0 |
| 1948 | 62.8 | 98.3 | 156.1 | 18.5 | 215.1 | 389.7 | 55.2 |
| 1949 | 64.6 | 104.1 | 168.7 | 21.0 | 217.7 | 407.4 | 53.4 |
| 1950 | 71.3 | 123.0 | 194.3 | 24.4 | 216.5 | 435.2 | 49.7 |
| 1951 | 79.6 | 135.7 | 215.3 | 26.6 | 216.1 | 458.0 | 47.2 |
| 1952 | 86.8 | 152.4 | 239.2 | 30.2 | 221.4 | 490.9 | 45.1 |
| 1953 | 91.0 | 168.6 | 259.6 | 34.5 | 228.4 | 522.6 | 43.7 |
| 1954 | 95.9 | 183.1 | 279.0 | 40.6 | 230.8 | 550.5 | 41.9 |
| 1955 | 104.2 | 212.4 | 316.7 | 45.9 | 230.0 | 592.6 | 38.8 |
| 1956 | 114.8 | 232.2 | 347.0 | 49.5 | 224.2 | 620.7 | 36.1 34.1 |
| 1957 | 124.7 | 250.5 | 375.2 | 53.7 | 222.0 | 650.8 | 34.1 33.4 |
| 1958 | 133.2 | 268.4 | 401.5 | 59.2 | 231.3 | 692.0 | 33.4 |
| 1959 | 143.5 | 302.3 | 445.9 | 65.5 | 238.3 | 749.7 | 31.8 <br> 29 |
| 1960 | 154.3 | 328.3 | 482.6 | 70.8 | 236.3 | 789.6 | 29.9 290 |
| 1961 | 165.1 | 355.1 | 520.1 | 75.9 | 243.5 | 839.4 | 29.0 |
| 1962 | 177.5 | 391.1 | 568.5 | 81.2 | 250.5 | 900.2 | 27.8 |
| 1963 | 190.2 | 437.7 | 627.9 | 86.9 | 254.4 | 969.3 10428 | 26.3 25.0 |
| 1964 | 203.0 | 486.2 | 689.2 | 92.9 | 260.7 | 1,042.8 | 25.0 |
| 1965 | 221.6 | 540.1 | 761.6 | 100.3 | 262.4 | 1,124.4 | 23.3 22.1 |
| 1966 | 244.1 | 586.0 | 880.0 | 105.9 | 266.1 | 1,202.0 | 22.1 |
| 1967 | 269.5 | 626.6 | 896.0 9878 | 113.7 | 279.1 | 1,288.8 | 20.8 |
| 1968 | 296.5 | 691.3 | 987.8 | 123.2 | 292.6 289.0 | 1,403.7 | 19.1 |
| 1969 | 325.5 | 766.4 | 1,091.8 | 133.1 | 289.0 300.8 | 1,514.0 | 18.5 |
| 1970 | 355.0 380.1 | 821.7 910.0 | $1,176.7$ $1,290.1$ | 144.4 | 300.8 325.7 | 1,621.9 | 18.5 18.3 |
| 1971 | 380.1 | 910.0 $1,047.4$ | $1,290.1$ $1,459.9$ | 176.5 | 340.8 | 1,977.2 | 17.2 |
| 1973 | 41.5 461.3 | 1,208.2 | 1,669.4 | 191.2 | 349.1 | 2,209.7 | 15.8 14.8 |
| 1974 | 527.4 | 1,335.4 | 1,862.8 | 207.7 | 360.8 446.3 | 2,431.4 | 14.9 |
| 1975 | 548.5 | 1,429.8 | 1,978.3 | 223.8 | 446.3 | 2,945.4 | 17.5 |
| 1976 | 591.5 | $1,598.7$ 1 | $2,190.1$ $2,492.9$ | 262.9 | 575.8 | 3,328.4 | 17.2 |
| 1977 | 662.6 741.1 | $1,830.3$ $\mathbf{2 , 1 4 7 . 1}$ | $2,492.9$ $2,888.2$ | 291.3 | 626.2 | 3,805.7 | 16.5 15.4 |
| 1979 | 836.5 | 2,476.5 | 3,313.0 | 321.6 | 663.6 | 4,298.1 | 15.4 |

## Table III-A.-Estimated Net Government and Private Debt, by Major Categories-Continued

| Year | Private ${ }^{1}$ |  |  | State and local | Federal ${ }^{2}$ | Total net debt | Percent <br> Federal total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Corporate | Other | Total |  |  |  |  |
| 1980 ................. | 912.0 | 2,738.1 | 3,650.1 | 351.9 | 742.8 | 4,744.7 | 15.7 |
| 1981 | 1,010.8 | 3,021.7 | 4,032.4 | 374.6 | 830.1 | 5,237.2 | 15.9 |
| 1982 ................... | 1,085.4 | 3,200.1 | 4,285.5 | 428.4 | 991.4 | 5,705.3 | 17.4 |
| 1983 .................. | 1,144.9 | 3,557.8 | 4,702.7 | 484.6 | 1,177.9 | 6,365.3 | 18.5 |
| 1984. | 1,307.3 | 3,999.6 | 5,306.9 | 539.2 | 1,376.8 | 7,222.9 | 19.1 |

Footnotes follow table III-F.

## Table III-B.-Estimated Per Capita Net Government and Private Debt ${ }^{3}$

| Year | Private ${ }^{1}$ |  |  | State and local | Federal | Total net debt |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Corporate | Other | Total |  |  |  |
| 1929 | 726 | 595 | 1,321 | 111 | 135 | 1,367 |
| 1930 | 722 | 581 | 1,303 | 119 | 133 | 1,556 |
| 1931 | 671 | 521 | 1,192 | 129 | 129 | 1,469 |
| 1932 | 639 | 456 | 1,095 | 133 | 170 | 1,397 |
| 1933 | 610 | 405 | 1,015 | 129 | 193 | 1,337 |
| 1934 | 595 | 393 | 988 | 125 | 240 | 1,353 |
| 1935 | 586 | 389 | 975 | 126 | 269 | 1,370 |
| 1936 | 592 | 394 | 986 | 126 | 293 | 1,406 |
| 1937 | 586 | 395 | 981 | 124 | 303 | 1,409 |
| 1938 | 562 | 383 | 945 | 123 | 311 | 1,379 |
| 1939 | 557 | 384 | 941 | 124 | 323 | 1,388 |
| 1940 | 567 | 398 | 965 | 123 | 336 | 1,424 |
| 1941 | 619 | 413 | 1,032 | 120 | 418 | 1,570 |
| 1942 | 672 | 366 | 1,038 | 113 | 746 | 1,896 |
| 1943 | 691 | 353 | 1,044 | 105 | 1,117 | 2,267 |
| 1944 | 673 | 363 | 1,036 | 99 | 1,516 | 2,652 |
| 1945 | 604 | 387 | 991 | 95 | 1,788 | 2,874 |
| 1946 | 345 | 462 | 807 | 104 | 1,590 | 2,501 |
| 1947 | 388 | 551 | 939 | 112 | 1,512 | 2,562 |
| 1948 | 423 | 628 | 1,051 | 124 | 1,448 | 2,623 |
| 1949 | 428 | 688 | 1,116 | 139 | 1,440 | 2,696 |
| 1950 | 464 | 801 | 1,265 | 159 | 1,409 | 2,833 |
| 1951 | 509 | 869 | 1,378 | 170 | 1,382 | 2,930 |
| 1952 | 546 | 959 | 1,505 | 190 | 1,393 | 3,088 |
| 1953 | 563 | 1,043 | 1,606 | 213 | 1,413 | 3,232 |
| 1954 | 583 | 1,112 | 1,695 | 247 | 1,403 | 3,344 |
| 1955 | 622 | 1,268 | 1,890 | 274 | 1,373 | 3,537 |
| 1956 | 673 | 1,361 | 2,034 | 290 | 1,314 | 3,639 |
| 1957 | 718 | 1,444 | 2,162 | 309 | 1,279 | 3,751 3 |
| 1958 | 755 | 1,521 | 2,276 | 336 | 1,311 | 3,922 |
| 1959 | 800 | 1,686 | 2,486 | 365 | 1,329 | 4,179 |
| 1960 | 846 | 1,801 | 2,647 | 388 | 1,296 | 4,332 4,532 |
| 1961 | 891 | 1,917 | 2,808 | 409 | 1,314 | 4,532 4,788 |
| 1962 | 944 | 2,080 | 3,024 | 432 456 | 1,332 1,334 | 4,788 5,084 |
| 1963 | 998 | 2,295 | 3,293 3,567 | 456 | 1,334 1,349 | 5,084 5,397 |
| 1964 | 1,051 | 2,516 | 3,567 3,895 | 481 | 1,349 | 5,750 |
| 1965 | 1,133 | 2,762 2,964 | 3,895 4,198 | 513 536 | 1,346 | 6,079 |
| 1966 1967 | 1,234 1,349 | 2,964 $\mathbf{3 , 1 3 5}$ | 4,198 4,484 | 569 | 1,397 | 6,450 |
| 1968 | 1,470 | 3,426 | 4,896 | 611 | 1,450 | 6,957 |
| 1969 ............................................... | 1,597 | 3,759 | 5,356 | 653 | 1,418 1,457 | 7,427 |
| 1970 .............................................. | 1,719 | 3,980 | 5,699 6,175 | 699 774 | 1,459 | 8,509 |
| 1971 | 1,820 | 4,355 4965 | 6,175 6,920 | 837 | 1,615 | 9,371 |
| 1972 ................................. | 1,955 | 4,965 | 6,920 7840 | 898 | 1,639 | 10,378 |
| 1973 .................................................... | 2,166 | 5,674 6,213 | 7,840 8,667 | 898 966 | 1,639 1,679 | 11,312 |
| 1974 | 2,454 2,526 | 6,213 6,587 | 8,667 9,113 | 966 1,031 | 2,056 | 12,199 |
| 1975 1976 | 2,526 2,699 | 6,587 7,293 | 9,992 | 1,093 | 2,353 | 13,438 |
| 1976 | 2,699 | 8,264 | 11,256 | 1,187 | 2,585 | 15,028 |
| 1978 | 3,310 | 9,591 | 12,901 | 1,301 | 2,797 | 16,999 18,981 |
| 1979 ................................................. | 3,694 | 10,936 | 14,630 | 1,420 | 2,930 | 18,981 |

Table III-B.-Estimated Per Capita Net Government and Private Debt ${ }^{3}$-Continued

| Year | Private ${ }^{1}$ |  |  | State and local | Federal | $\begin{gathered} \text { Total net } \\ \text { debt } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Corporate | Other | Total |  |  |  |
| 1980 | 3,985 | 11,963 | 15,948 | 1,537 | 3,245 | 20,730 |
| 1981 | 4,374 | 13,078 | 17,452 | 1,621 | 3,593 | 22,666 |
| 1982 | 4,653 | 13,719 | 18,372 | 1,836 | 4,250 | 24,458 |
| 1983. | 4,864 | 15,115 | 19,979 | 2,059 | 5,804 | 27,043 |
| 1984 | 5,511 | 16,860 | 22,371 | 2,273 | 5,804 | 30,447 |

Footnotes follow table III-F.

# Table III-C.-Net Government and Private Debt Related to Gross National Product 

[In billions of dollars; debt as a percent of gross national product]

| Year | $\begin{gathered} \text { Gross } \\ \text { national } \\ \text { product } \end{gathered}$ | Private ${ }^{1}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { State } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { local } \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\substack{\text { Feder- } \\ \text { ald }}}{ }$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Total } \\ \text { nett } \\ \text { debt } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Corpo- } \\ \text { rate } \end{gathered}$ | Other | Total |  |  |  |
| 1929 | 103.4 | 86.0 | 70.5 | 156.4 | 13.2 | 16.0 | 185.6 |
| 1930 | 90.7 | 98.5 | 79.2 | 177.6 | 16.2 | 18.2 | 212.0 |
| 1931 | 76.1 | 109.8 | 85.3 | 195.1 | 21.0 | 24.3 | 240.4 |
| 1932. | 58.3 | 137.3 | 98.0 | 235.2 | 28.5 | 36.5 | 300.3 |
| 1933. | 55.8 | 137.8 | 91.4 | 229.1 | 29.2 | 43.5 | 301.9 |
| 1934 | 65.3 | 115.3 | 76.3 | 191.9 | 24.4 | 46.6 | 262.8 |
| 1935 ...................................... | 72.5 | 103.2 | 68.6 | 171.7 | 22.2 | 47.5 | 241.4 |
| 1936 | 82.7 | 92.0 | 61.2 | 153.1 | 19.6 | 45.6 | 218.3 |
| 1937. | 90.9 | 83.4 | 56.2 | 139.6 | 17.7 | 43.1 | 200.5 |
| 1938 ........................................ | 85.0 | 86.2 | 58.8 | 145.0 | 18.9 | 47.6 | 211.6 |
| 1939. | 90.9 | 80.8 | 55.9 | 136.7 | 18.0 | 46.9 | 201.6 |
| 1940 | 100.0 | 75.6 | 53.0 | 128.6 | 16.4 | 44.8 | 189.8 |
| 1941 | 125.0 | 66.7 | 44.5 | 111.2 | 12.9 | 45.0 | 169.1 |
| 1942 | 158.5 | 57.8 | 31.5 | 89.3 | 9.7 | 64.2 | 163.2 |
| 1943. | 192.1 | 49.7 | 25.4 | 75.1 | 7.5 | 80.4 | 163.0 |
| 1944 | 210.6 | 44.7 | 24.1 | 68.7 | 6.6 | 100.6 | 175.9 |
| 1945 ....................................... | 212.4 | 40.2 | 25.7 | 65.9 | 6.3 | 118.9 | 191.1 |
| 1946 | 209.8 | 23.6 | 31.6 | 55.2 | 7.1 | 108.7 | 170.9 |
| 1947 | 233.1 | 24.3 | 34.5 | 58.8 | 7.0 | 94.7 | 160.6 |
| 1948 | 259.5 | 24.2 | 35.9 | 60.2 | 7:1 | 82.9 | 150.2 |
| 1949 | 258.3 | 25.0 | 40.3 | 65.3 | 8.1 | 84.3 | 157.7 |
| 1950 | 286.5 | 24.9 | 42.9 | 67.8 | 8.5 | 75.6 | 151.9 |
| 1951 | 330.8 | 24.1 | 41.0 | 65.1 | 8.0 | 65.3 | 138.5 |
| 1952 | 348.0 | 24.9 | 43.8 | 68.7 | 8.7 | 63.6 | 141.1 |
| 1953 | 366.8 | 24.8 | 46.0 | 70.8 | 9.4 | 62.3 | 142.5 |
| 1954 | 366.8 | 26.1 | 49.9 | 76.1 | 11.1 | 62.9 | 150.1 |
| 1955 | 400.0 | 26.1 | 53.1 | 79.2 | 11.5 | 57.5 |  |
| 1956 | 421.7 | 27.2 | 55.1 | 82.3 | 11.7 | 53.2 | 147.2 |
| 1957 | 444.0 | 28.1 | 56.4 | 84.5 | 12.1 | 50.0 | 146.6 |
| 1958 | 449.7 | 29.6 | 59.7 | 89.3 | 13.2 |  |  |
| 1959 | 487.9 | 29.4 | 62.0 | 91.4 | 13.4 | 48.8 | 153.7 |
| 1960 | 506.5 | 30.5 | 64.8 | 95.3 | 14.0 | 46.6 | 155.9 |
| 1961 ....................................... | 524.6 | 31.5 | 67.7 | ${ }^{99.2}$ | 14.5 | 46.4 | 160.0 |
| 1962 | 565.0 | 31.4 319 | 69.2 73 | 100.6 | 14.4 14.6 | 44.3 | 162.4 |
| 1963 | 596.7 6377 | 31.9 31.8 | 78.3 | 108.1 | 14.6 | 40.9 | 163.5 |
| 1964 | 691.1 | 31.8 | 78.2 | 110.2 | 14.5 | 38.0 | 162.7 |
| 1966 | 756.0 | 32.3 | 77.5 | 109.8 | 14.0 | 35.2 | 159.0 |
| 1967. | 799.6 | 33.7 | 78.4 | 112.1 | 14.2 | 34.9 | 161.2 |
| 1968. | 873.4 | 34.0 | 79.2 | 113.1 | 14.1 | ${ }_{30}^{33.5}$ | 160.7 |
|  | 944.0 | 34.5 | 81.2 | 115.7 | 14.1 | 30.6 30.3 | 160.4 |
| 1970 ....................................... | 1992.7 | 35.8 | 82.8 | 118.7 | 14.0 | 30.3 30.2 | 165.0 |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1971 . \\ & 1972 . \end{aligned}$ | $1,077.6$ $1,185.9$ | 35.3 34.8 | 84.4 88.3 | 123.1 | 14.9 | 28.7 | 166.7 |
| 1973 | 1,326.4 | 34.8 | 91.1 | 125.9 | 14.4 | 26.3 | 166.6 |
| 1974 | 1,434.2 | 36.8 | 93.1 | 129.9 | 14.5 | 25.2 | 169.5 |
| 1975 | 1,549.2 | 35.4 | 92.3 | 127.7 | 14.4 13.9 | 28.8 30.0 | 171.4 |
| 1976 | 1,718.0 | 34.4 | ${ }_{95.4}^{93.1}$ | 130.0 | 13.7 | 29.8 | 173.5 |
| 1977 ..... | 1,918.3 | 34.5 | 95.4 |  |  |  |  |

Table III-C.-Net Government and Private Debt Related to Gross National Product-Continued
[In billions of dollars; debt as a percent of gross national product]

| Year | Gross national product | Private ${ }^{1}$. |  |  | State and local | Feder$\mathrm{al}^{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Total } \\ & \text { net } \\ & \text { nebt } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Corporate | Other | Total |  |  |  |
| 1978 | 2,163.9 | 34.2 | 99.2 | 133.5 | 13.5 | 28.9 | 175.9 |
| 1979 | 2,417.8 | 34.6 | 102.4 | 137.0 | 13.3 | 27.4 | 177.8 |
| 1980 | 2,631.7 | 34.7 | 104.0 | 138.7 | 13.4 | 28.2 | 180.3 |
| 1981 | 2,957.8 | 34.2 | 102.2 | 136.3 | 12.7 | 28.1 | 177.1 |
| 1982 | 3,069.3 | 35.4 | 104.3 | 139.6 | 14.0 | 32.3 | 185.9 |
| 1983 | 3,304.8 | 34.6 | 107.7 | 142.3 | 14.7 | 35.6 | 192.6 |
| 1984 | 3,661.3 | 35.7 | 109.2 | 144.9 | 14.7 | 37.6 | 197.3 |

[^1]
# Table III-D.-Estimated Federal Debt Related to Population and Prices 

| Year | Outstanding Federal Debt |  |  | Per capita Federal |  |  | Real per capita Federal debt ${ }^{4}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Gross ${ }^{5}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Private- <br> ly held ${ }^{6}$ | Gross ${ }^{5}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Privately held ${ }^{\text {B }}$ | Gross ${ }^{\text {s }}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Privately held ${ }^{6}$ |
| 1929. | 18.7 | 16.5 | 16.0 | 153 | 135 | 131 | 298 | 263 | 255 |
| 1930. | 18.6 | 16.5 | 15.8 | 150 | 133 | 128 | 301 | 267 | 256 |
| 1931. | 20.4 | 18.5 | 17.7 | 164 | 149 | 142 | 359 | 326 | 312 |
| 1932. | 23.2 | 21.3 | 19.4 | 185 | 170 | 155 | 453 | 416 | 379 |
| 1933. | 26.8 | 24.3 | 21.9 | 213 | 193 | 174 | 548 | 497 | 448 |
| 1934. | 38.1 | 30.4 | 28.0 | 300 | 240 | 221 | 749 | 598 | 550 |
| 1935. | 41.8 | 34.4 | 32.0 | 327 | 269 | 251 | 796 | 655 | 610 |
| 1936. | 46.2 | 37.7 | 35.3 | 360 | 293 | 275 | 866 | 707 | 662 |
| 1937. | 48.9 | 39.2 | 36.6 | 378 | 303 | 283 | 879 | 705 | 658 |
| 1938. | 51.8 | 40.5 | 37.9 | 397 | 311 | 291 | 941 | 736 | 689 |
| 1939. | 55.7 | 42.6 | 40.1 | 422 | 323 | 304 | 1,014 | 775 | 730 |
| 1940. | 59.4 | 44.8 | 42.6 | 446 | 336 | 320 | 1,061 | 800 | 761 |
| 1941. | 73.3 | 56.3 | 54.0 | 544 | 418 | 401 | 1,234 | 948 | 909 |
| 1942. | 119.2 | 101.7 | 95.5 | 874 | 746 | 700 | 1,791 | 1,528 | 1,435 |
| 1943. | 176.1 | 154.4 | 142.9 | 1,275 | 1,117 | 1,034 | 2,460 | 2,157 | 1,997 |
| 1944. | 236.6 | 211.9 | 193.1 | 1,693 | 1,516 | 1,382 | 3,212 | 2,877 | 2,622 |
| 1945. | 281.1 | 252.5 | 228.2 | 1,990 | 1,788 | 1,616 | 3,693 | 3,317 | 2,998 |
| 1946. | 261.9 | 228.0 | 206.1 | 1,826 | 1,590 | 1,437 | 3,122 | 2,718 | 2,457 |
| 1947. | 256.8 | 220.8 | 199.1 | 1,758 | 1,512 | 1,363 | 2,628 | 2,260 | 2,038 |
| 1948. | 253.6 | 215.1 | 192.0 | 1,707 | 1,448 | 1,292 | 2,367 | 2,008 | 1,792 |
| 1949. | 257.7 | 217.7 | 197.7 | 1,705 | 1,440 | 1,308 | 2,388 | 2,017 | 1,832 |
| 1950. | 257.6 | 216.5 | 196.6 | 1,677 | 1,409 | 1,280 | 2,326 | 1,955 | 1,775 |
| 1951. | 259.7 | 216.1 | 193.1 | 1,661 | 1,382 | 1,235 | 2,136 | 1,777 | 1,588 |
| 1952 | 267.8 | 221.4 | 196.8 | 1,685 | 1,393 | 1,238 | 2,119 | 1,752 | 1,557 |
| 1953. | 275.6 | 228.4 | 200.0 | 1,704 | 1,413 | 1,237 | 2,128 | 1,764 | 1,544 |
| 1954. | 278.8 | 230.8 | 204.2 | 1,694 | 1,403 | 1,241 | 2,104 | 1,742 | 1,541 |
| 1955. | 282.1 | 230.0 | 204.8 | 1,684 | 1,373 | 1,223 | 2,100 | 1,712 | 1,524 |
| 1956. | 278.9 | 224.2 | 199.4 | 1,635 | 1,314 | 1,169 | 2,009 | 1,615 | 1,436 1,359 |
| 1957. | 280.6 | 222.0 | 198.8 | 1,617 | 1,279 | 1,146 1,160 | 1,918 1,877 | 1,517 1,513 | 1,359 1,340 |
| 1958. | 286.8 | 231.3 238.3 | 204.7 | 1,625 1,673 | 1,311 1,329 | 1,160 1,197 | 1,877 | 1,513 | 1,340 1,372 |
| 1959. | 300.1 300.5 | 238.3 236.3 | 214.8 | 1,673 | 1,329 | 1,197 1,165 | 1,916 | 1,461 | 1,314 |
| 1961. | 300.5 307.4 | 243.5 | 217.8 | 1,659 | 1,314 | 1,176 | 1,852 | 1,467 | 1,312 |
| 1962 | 315.8 | 250.5 | 222.8 | 1,680 | 1,332 | 1,185 | 1,854 |  | 1,308 |
| 1963. | 322.2 | 254.4 | 223.9 | 1,690 | 1,334 | 1,174 | 1,843 | 1,455 | 1,265 |
| 1964. | 332.5 | 260.7 | 227.0 | 1,721 | 1,349 1,342 | 1,175 | 1,852 | 1,452 1,420 | 1,261 |
| 1965. | 3336.7 353.6 | 262.4 | 225.6 2275 | 1,722 1 | 1,342 1,346 | 1,154 1,151 | 1,822 | 1,420 | 1,221 |
| 1966. | 353.6 382.0 | 266.1 | 227.5 237.3 | 1,788 | 1,346 1,397 | 1,188 | 1,840 | 1,384 | 1,188 |
| 1968. | 382.0 386.4 | 292.6 | 240.7 | 1,915 | 1,450 | 1,193 | 1,838 | 1,392 | 1,145 |
| 1969 | 382.0 | 289.0 | 233.0 | 1,874 | 1,418 | 1,143 1,162 | 1,707 1,673 | 1,291 | 1,041 |
| 1970. | 401.6 | 300.8 | 239.8 | 1,945 | 1,457 | 1,162 | 1,673 | 1,285 | 1,012 |
| 1971. | 435.2 461.1 | 325.7 340.8 | 256.5 271.9 | 2,083 | 1,515 | 1,228 1,289 | 1,744 | 1,289 | 1,029 |
| 1972. | 461.1 480.7 | 340.8 349.1 | 271.9 271.2 | 2,185 | 1,639 | 1,274 | 1,696 | 1,232 | 957 |
| 1974. | 504.0 | 360.8 | 280.1 | 2,345 | 1,679 | 1,303 | 1,588 | 1,137 | 882 1,023 |
| 1975. | 587.6 | 446.3 | 358.1 | 2,707 | 2,056 | 1,650 | 1,779 | 1,380 | 1,120 |
| 1976. | 664.8 | 515.8 | 418.5 | 3,033 | 2,353 2,585 | 2,120 | 1,814 | 1,424 | 1,168 |
| 1977. | 729.2 | 572.5 | 469.5 | 3,292 | 2,585 | 2,120 | 1,814 | 1,424 | 1,168 |

# Table III-D.-Estimated Federal Debt Related to Population and Prices-Continued 

| Year | Outatanding Federal Debt |  |  | Per capita Federal debt ${ }^{3}$ |  |  | Real per capita Federal debt * |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Gross ${ }^{\text {s }}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Privately held ${ }^{6}$ | Gross ${ }^{\text {B }}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Privately held ${ }^{6}$ | Gross ${ }^{\text {s }}$ | Net ${ }^{2}$ | Privately held |
| 1978. | 797.7 | 626.2 | 515.4 | 3,563 | 2,797 | 2,302 | 1,823 | 1,431 | 1,178 |
| 1979. | 852.2 | 663.6 | 546.0 | 3,763 | 2,930 | 2,411 | 1,731 | 1,348 | 1,109 |
| 1980 | 936.7 | 742.8 | 621.3 | 4,093 | 3,245 | 2,714 | 1,658 | 1,315 | 1,100 |
| 1981. | 1,034.7 | 830.1 | 698.9 | 4,478 | 3,593 | 3,025 | 1,644 | 1,319 | 1,110 |
| 1982. | 1,201.9 | 991.4 | 851.9 | 5,152 | 4,250 | 3,652 | 1,782 | 1,470 | 1,263 |
| 1983. | 1,415.3 | 1,177.9 | 1,026.0 | 6,013 | 5,004 | 4,359 | 2,015 | 1,677 | 1,461 |
| 1984. | 1,667.4 | 1,376.8 | 1,212.5 | 7,029 | 5,804 | 5,111 | 2,259 | 1,865 | 1,643 |

[^2]Table III-E.-Privately Held Federal Debt Related to GNP
[Dollar amounts in billions]

| Year | Gross national product | Privately held debt ${ }^{6}$ | Ratio of debt to GNP to GNP | Year to year changes ${ }^{\text {p }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1929. | 103.4 | 16.0 | 15.5 | . 0 |
| 1930 .......................................... | 90.7 | 15.8 | 17.4 | -2.5 |
| 1931 .......................................... | 76.1 | 17.7 | 23.3 | -8.8 |
| 1932 .......................................... | 58.3 | 19.4 | 33.3 | -10.3 |
| 1933 ........................................... | 55.8 | 21.9 | 39.2 | -5.1 |
| 1934 .......................................... | 65.3 | 28.0 | 42.9 | 3.4 |
| 1935 .......................................... | 72.5 | 32.0 | 44.1 | 2.5 |
| 1936 .......................................... | 82.7 | 35.3 | 42.7 | 1.0 |
| 1937 .......................................... | 90.9 | 36.6 | 40.3 | 3.6 |
| 1938 .......................................... | 85.0 | 37.9 | 44.6 | -1.9 |
| 1939 ........................................... | 90.9 | 40.1 | 44.1 | -1.4 |
| 1940 ... | 100.0 | 42.6 | 42.6 | 1.0 |
| 1941 ............. | 125.0 | 54.0 | 43.2 | 5.0 |
| 1942 .......................................... | 158.5 | 95.5 | 60.3 | 10.7 |
| 1943 ............ | 192.1 | 142.9 | 74.4 | 6.1 |
| 1944 .............. | 210.6 | 193.1 | 91.7 | 1.7 |
| 1945 ....................................... | 212.4 | 228.2 | 107.4 | 2.3 |
|  | 209.8 | 206.1 | 98.2 | 8.5 |
| 1947 ............................................ | 233.1 | 199.1 | 85.4 | 14.4 |
| 1948 ........................................... | 259.5 | 192.0 | 74.0 | 7.8 |
|  | 258.3 | 197.7 | 76.5 | $-1.0$ |
|  | 286.5 | 196.6 | 68.6 | 1.0 |
| 1951 ............................................. | 330.8 | 193.1 | 58.4 | 7.9 |
| 1952 ......................................... | 348.0 | 196.8 | 56.6 |  |
| 1953 .......................................................... | 366.8 | 200.0 | 54.5 | . 8 |
| 1954 .......................................... | 366.8 | 204.2 | 55.7 | . 5 |
| 1955 ......................................... | 400.0 | 204.8 | 51.2 | $-.4$ |
| 1956 ............................................ | 421.7 | 199.4 | 47.3 44.8 | 3.6 |
| 1957 ............................................ | 444.0 449.7 | 198.8 204.7 | 44.8 | 3.6 |
| 1959 ......................................................................... | 487.9 | 214.8 | 44.0 | . 8 |
|  | 506.5 | 212.4 | 41.9 | 1.6 |
| 1961 ................................................................. | 524.6 | 217.8 | 41.5 | 1.0 |
| 1962 ......................................................... | 565.0 | 222.8 | 39.4 375 | 1.1 |
| 1963 ............................................ | 596.7 | 223.9 | 37.5 35.6 | 1.3 |
| 1964 ........................................... | 637.7 | ${ }_{225.6}^{227.0}$ | 35.6 32.6 | 1.7 |
| 1965 ...................................................................................... | 691.1 756.0 | 227.5 | 32.6 30.1 | 2.9 |
| 1967 .......................................................... | 799.6 | 237.3 | 29.7 | 2.9 |
| 1968 .................................................................... | 873.4 | 240.7 | 27.6 | 4.2 |
| 1969 ............................................ | 944.0 | 233.0 | 24.7 | 5.4 |
| 1970 .......................................................... | 992.7 | 239.8 | 24.2 | 5.9 4.3 |
| 1971 .................................................... | 1,077.6 | 256.5 | ${ }_{22.9}$ | ${ }_{3}{ }^{4.3}$ |
| 1972 ........................................... | 1,185.9 | ${ }_{271.2}$ | 20.4 | 6.2 |
| 1973 .......................................... | 1,326.4 | 280.1 | 19.5 | 11.0 |
| $\qquad$ | 1,4349.2 | 358.1 | 23.1 | 9.1 |
| 1976 ........................................................ | 1,718.0 | 418.5 | 24.4 | 5.8 |
| 1977 ................................................................ | 1,918.3 | 469.5 | ${ }_{23}^{24.5}$ | ${ }^{6.5}$ |
| 1978 ............................................. | 2,163.9 | 515.4 | 23.8 | 11.3 |
| 1979 ........................................... | ${ }_{2}^{2,417.8}$ | 546.0 621.3 | ${ }_{23.6}^{22.6}$ | 13.5 |
| 1980 ................................................................... | 2,631.7 | 621.3 | 23.6 | 13.5 |

(21)

## Table III-E.-Privately Held Federal Debt Related to GNP— Continued

[Dollar amounta in billions]

| Year | Gross national product | Privately held debt ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | Ratio of debt to GNP | Year to year price changes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1981 ............................................. | 2,957.8 | 698.9 | 23.6 | 10.4 |
| 1982 ............................................ | 3,069.3 | 851.9 | 27.8 | 6.1 |
| 1983 ............................................ | 3,304.8 | 1,026.0 | 31.0 | 3.2 |
| 1984. | 3,601.3 | 1,212.5 | 33.1 | 4.3 |

Footnotes follow table III-F.

## Table III-F.-Changes in Per Capita Real Gross National Product

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## Table III-F-Changes in Per Capita Real Gross National Product-Continued

| Year | GNP in billions of 1972 dollars | GNP per capita constant 1972 dollars ${ }^{3}$ | GNP per capita, change from previous year |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Constant 1972 dollars | Percent |
| 1979 | 1,479.4 | 6,533 | 107 | 2 |
| 1980 | 1,475.0 | 6,444 | -89 | -1 |
| 1981 | 1,512.2 | 6,545 | 100 | 2 |
| 1982 | 1,480.0 | 6,345 | -200 | -3 |
| 1983 | 1,534.8 | 6,521 | 176 | 3 |
| 1984 .............. | 1,639.0 | 6,909 | 388 | 6 |

## FOOTNOTES TO TABLES III-A-F

(1) Date for years 1929-1945 from the Bureau of Economic Analysis, Commerce Department. Date for years 1946 to the present from the Federal Reserve Board Flow of Funds.
(2) Net Federal debt equals gross Federal debt less Federal debt held in U.S. Government accounts.
(3) Per capita debt is calculated by dividing the debt figures by the population of the conterminous U.S. as of December 31 of each year. Beginning 1949, population includes armed forces overseas, Hawaii and Alaska.
(4) Derived by adjusting per capita debt figures for changes in the level of prices, as measured by the Consumer Price Index for all items.
(5) Gross Federal debt is equal to public debt issued by the Treasury plus debt issued by other Federal agencies.
(6) Federal debt held by the public less Federal Reserve holdings of Federal debt.
(7) Measured by the Consumer Price Index for all items, year to year basis.

Sources: Federal debt, Treasury Department; other data, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Commerce Department, and Federal Reserve Board (Flow of Funds).
Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

## IV. COSTS OF CARRYING OUT THE BILL AND VOTE OF THE COMMITTEE IN REPORTING THE BILL

## Budget Effects

In compliance with paragraph 11(a) of Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following statement is made relative to the budget effects of H.J. Res. 372, as reported.
The committee does not believe that the change made by H.J. Res. 372 in the debt limitation will result in any additional costs in the current fiscal year or in any of the five fiscal years to follow.

## Vote of the Committee

In compliance with paragraph 7(c) of Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following statement is made relative to the vote by the committee on the motion to report the bill. H.J. Res. 372 was ordered favorably reported by voice vote.

## V. REGULATORY IMPACT OF THE BILL AND OTHER MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER SENATE RULES

## A. Regulatory Impact

Pursuant to paragraph 11(b) of Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the committee makes the following statement concerning the regulatory impact that might be incurred in carrying out the provisions of H.J. Res. 372, as reported.

## Numbers of individuals and businesses who would be regulated

The bill does not involve new or expanded regulation of individuals or businesses.
Economic impact of regulation on individuals, consumers, and business
The bill has no regulatory economic impact on individuals, consumers or businesses.

## Impact on personal privacy

The bill does not relate to the personal privacy of individuals.

## Determinations of the amount of paperwork

The bill will involve no additional paperwork for taxpayers.

## B. Other Matters

## Consultation with congressional budget office on budget estimates

In accordance with section 403 of the Budget Act, the committee advises that the Director of the Congressional Budget Office has not submitted a written statement with respect to the bill.

## New budget authority

In compliance with section 308(a)(1) of the Budget Act, and after consultation with the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, the committee states that the changes made to existing law by the bill involve no new budget authority.

## Tax expenditures

In compliance with section 308(a)(2) of the Budget Act with respect to tax expenditures, and after consultation with the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, the committee states that the provisions of the bill involve no new or changed tax expenditures.

## VI. CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In the opinion of the committee, it is necessary, in order to expedite the business of the Senate, to dispense with the requirements of paragraph 12 of Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate (relating to the showing of changes in existing law made by the provisions of H.J. Res. 372, as reported by the committee).

## ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF MR. ARMSTRONG

Each year the annual ritual of raising the debt limit becomes more Orwellian than the last. Some say it's "irresponsible" to oppose raising the debt limit because a "fiscal crisis" must be avoided.
But surely a $\$ 2$ trillion national debt is the very essence of irre-sponsibility-not opposing its extension. And just as sure, a fiscal crisis is when Congress consistently fails to come to grips with the reality of spending, deficits, and debt; it is when Congress takes nearly 40 percent of an individual's income tax payment to cover interest on the debt and nothing more.
This legislation would raise the statutory debt ceiling by $\$ 255$ billion for the remainder of FY85 and all of FY86. The debt ceiling would be raised from $\$ 1,823,800,000,000$ to $\$ 2,078,700,000,000$. That's two-trillion, seventy-eight billion, seven hundred million dol-lars-in debt.

## HISTORICAL DATA

From a historical perspective, that number ought to astound everyone. The federal debt subject to limit stood at $\$ 43$ billion in 1940. In one decade, it grew six-fold to $\$ 255$ billion in 1950 (as much as this bill proposes to raise it in one year). By 1970, the federal debt subject to limit was $\$ 373$ billion.
These were the good old days.
By 1981, the federal debt subject to limit had grown three-fold to $\$ 999$ billion. In just three years, an astounding $\$ 574$ billion has been added to the national debt subject to limit which at the end of fiscal year 1984 stood at $\$ 1,573$ billion. In 1984, the national debt was about 44 percent of GNP.
In 1985 , OMB estimates that $\$ 268$ billion will be added to the national debt subject to limit. That means, roughly, that $\$ 22$ billion a month, $\$ 5.6$ billion a week, $\$ 800$ million a day, $\$ 33$ million an hour, and $\$ 550,000$ a minute, and $\$ 9,166$ a second will have been added to the national debt in 1985. Earlier this year, OMB estimated that the national debt subject to limit would exceed $\$ 3$ trillion by 1990.

## INTEREST ON THE DEBT

As most know, massive increases in federal debt have created one of the largest and fastest growing components of federal spending: interest payments on the debt. In 1965, interest on the debt cost $\$ 9$ billion and consumed 1.4 percent of GNP. By 1980, annual interest costs rose to $\$ 52$ billion- 2 percent of GNP. But the worst was yet to come.
In 1984 , interest costs exceeded the $\$ 100$ billion barrier, reaching $\$ 111$ billion for that year. Under the First Budget Resolution recently passed by Congress, interest on the debt would be $\$ 130$ bil-
lion in 1985 rising to $\$ 155$ billion in 1988 -assuming that resolution is fully implemented. $\$ 130$ billion in interest costs in 1985 represents 3.3 percent of our GNP, 13.7 percent of the 1985 budget, and a 1,340 percent increase in annual costs over 1965 levels.
In case you were wondering, $\$ 130$ billion is equal to the sum total of all federal spending from 1789-the founding of the Repub-lic-to 1936. It also equals total federal outlays in 1966, the entire defense budget in 1980, and twice the level of Medicare funding today.

But if you remember statistics, let it be this: even assuming the latest budget resolution is implemented, from 1981 to 1988 the Federal Government will have spent $\$ 932$ billion on interest payments alone in just 8 years. This exceeds the amount of the entire national debt accumulated from 1787 to 1980. By 1990, the Federal Government will have spent $\$ 1,260$ trillion on interest payments in one decade.

## INTEREST ON THE DEBT COMPARED TO INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX REVENUE

During the Finance Committee's hearing on this measure, the question arose as to how much a share of personal income tax revenue was consumer by interest costs. Some 38 percent of all revenues collected by the federal government from the personal income tax in 1985 (which will total about $\$ 338$ billion) will go to pay interest on the debt. Based on CBO August budget estimates, which accounts for the new budget resolution, this figure will hold steady for much of the decade.
[Dollar amounts in billions]

|  | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

I have reviewed all of this data to help put in perspective the step Congress is about to take. Congress has raised the statutory debt ceiling 44 times in the last 58 years and 32 times in the last 24 years. Since 1981 alone, the debt ceiling has been raised 10 times. I suspect that each time this measure has come before it, Congress has used the occasion to forswear the fiscal mess that forces it to raise the debt limit, and vows-once and for all-that it will really do something about the problem. And, each year, Congress does precious little about it.
It's not hard to see why the American taxpayers believe Congress is numb to the economic and moral bankruptcy of the fiscal policies it adopts.
As we again approach floor consideration of this measure, I would like to stress three points from my perspective. First, the root of the current debt crisis is uncontrolled government spending, and not a lack of revenues. Over the past 25 years, total federal spending has grown from $\$ 92$ billion to $\$ 950$ billion. For the past
five years, federal spending as a percent of GNP has hovered near or above $24 \%$ while federal revenues today stand near their historical level of $19 \%$ of GNP.
Second, I do not consider this a "routine" measure merely ratifying past policy decisions and needed to keep the government running. Borrowing $\$ 255$ billion more money is a policy decision-and a bad one at that. The occasion should be used not just to ratify past policy decisions, but to condemn them and immediately change them.
Third, as the federal government reaches this tragic $\$ 2$ trillion milestone, I believe the Senate should refuse to enact this measure until it extracts a price for it. That price could be deeper reduction in spending in both FY86 appropriation and reconciliation bills beyond the levels assumed in the budget resolution conference report. Seldom if ever has the debt limit been used as a vehicle to reduce spending. In fact, debt limit legislation has in the past been used to appropriate more spending.
In addition, the Senate should attach to the debt limit reforms in the budget process itself that will discipline Congress to live within its means. My own preference is a proposal to enhance the President's authority to defer, rescind, or otherwise reduce spending of appropriated funds should Congress fail to live within the debt ceiling targets set forth in the budget resolution. I have joined with the ranking minority member of the Committee, Senator Long, in advancing such a proposal.
Our proposal would establish an effective means of disciplining Congress to actually implement its annual budget resolution. It would also enhance the power of the President to assert more executive control over the largest budget in the world. More often than not, current executive powers over spending-rescissions and defer-rals-have proven to be ineffective. Since 1975, Congress has rejected $\$ 17$ billion worth of savings that three Presidents proposed through rescissions. Congress has rejected all but one-third of $\$ 14$ billion worth of rescissions proposed by President Reagan since 1981. I believe this is one area where reform of the budget process could yield immediate savings.
There are other proposals under review that have great merit. Senator Mattingly's line-item veto proposal also seeks to enhance the President's control over appropriated funds. Senators Gramm and Rudman have advanced a deficit reduction proposal that could eliminate deficits by 1990 through a tougher budget enforcement process. Finally, the Senate should move to consider the Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment this fall and send it to the states with tough and effective enforcement mechanisms.
Until Congress takes action of this kind, I believe the debt ceiling extension ought to be delayed and the Treasury prevented from borrowing beyond the $\$ 1,823,800,000$ it has already borrowed. To be sure, bringing the government to a halt would be portrayed as a crisis. But after a year in which the window of opportunity for meaningful budget restraint has slammed shut, Congress needs to labor in a crisis atmosphere to focus on the stark reality before it. Refusal to routinely extend the debt ceiling would serve to highlight for all Americans the irresponsible fiscal policies of the last 50 years. If this were done, I believe the American people would
support the difficult measures necessary to sharply reduce federal spending and deficits.
Congress does not have to wait until the next budget cycle to take action. It has the power to act today. In addition to needed procedural reforms, coming appropriations and reconciliation bills provide a golden opportunity to reduce federal spending beyond what the budget resolution requires. Until this is done, I see no reason why the American taxpayers should bear the burden of $\$ 255$ billion more federal debt.

William L. Armstrong.

## Appendix to Senator Armstrong's Views

I. The following table reviews the growth in the federal debt:

| Year | Gross federal | Public dett | Detht suliject |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1940. | \$50.6 | \$42.7 | \$43.2 |
| 1950. | 256.8 | 219.0 | 255.3 |
|  | 290.8 | 237.2 | 283.8 |
| 1970. | 382.6 | 284.8 | 372.6 |
| 1975. | 544.1 | 396.9 | 534.2 |
| 1980. | 914.3 | 715.1 | 908.7 |
|  | 1,003.9 | 794.4 | 998.8 |
| 1982 | 1,146.9 | 929.4 | 1,142.9 |
| 1983. | 1,381.9 | 1,141.7 | 1,337.9 |
| 1984. | 1,576.7 | 1,312.6 | 1,572.9 |
| $1985 .$. | 1,844.3 | 1,515.2 | 1,840.6 |
|  | 2,076.9 | 1,694.7 | 2,073.4 |

## DEFINITIONS

Gross Federal Debt.-is composed of debt owned by the public and debt held by Federal Government accounts. Government accounts that hold debt are predominatly social insurance trust funds: Social Security, Medicare, Civil Service Retirement, Military Retirement, and Unemployment. Income into these accounts not needed for current benefits is used to purchase Treasury Securities, or, in effect, loaned to the general fund.
Public Debt.-Federal debt held by the public is all debt excluding that held by government accounts. The "public" includes any person or institution other than the Federal Government, for example, individuals, private banks, insurance companies, the Federal Reserve Banks, and foreign central banks.
Debt Subject to Limit.-This is the amount of federal debt the Treasury is authorized to borrow up to. Since the beginning of the Republic, Congress has authorized a specific amount of debt for each separate issue. Beginning with the Second Liberty Bond Act of 1917 and subsequent amendments the current statutory debt ceiling was established. This amount includes nearly all Gross Federal Debt. A small amount not included consists of certain certificates no longer issued and a small portion of agency debt.
II. Historical and projected Federal spending:

CONFERENCE SUBSTITUTE, IST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FISCAL YEAR 1986
[In bitilions of dollars]

|  | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| National defense..................................................................... | 45.2 | 78.6 | 134.0 | 157.5 | 185.3 | 209.9 | 227.4 | 249.40 | 267.10 | 285.20 | 303.90 |
| International affairs ................................................................. | 3.0 | 4.3 | 12.7 | 13.1 | 12.3 | 11.8 | 13.9 | 17.20 | 18.85 | 17.30 | 16.45 9.00 |
| Space and technology ............................................................................................................ | . 6 | 4.5 | 5.8 | 6.5 | 7.2 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 8.70 | 8.90 | 8.95 | 9.00 |
|  | . 5 | 1.0 | 10.2 | 15.2 | 13.5 | 9.4 | 7.1 | 5.50 | 5.55 | 5.15 | 4.45 |
| Natural resources. | 1.6 | 3.1 | 13.9 | 13.6 | 12.0 | 12.7 | 12.6 | 13.00 | 13.00 | 12.75 | 12.95 |
| Agriculture .............................................................................................................................. | 2.6 | 5.2 | 8.8 | 11.3 | 15.9 | 22.9 | 13.6 | 23.30 | 15.55 | 16.25 | 13.75 |
| Commerce and housing cr............................................................. | 1.6 | 2.1 | 9.4 | 8.2 | 6.3 | 6.7 | 6.9 | 5.50 | 3.70 | 3.45 | 5.20 |
| Transportation ........................................................................ | 4.1 | 7.0 | 21.3 | 23.4 | 20.6 | 21.3 | 22.7 | 26.00 | 25.80 | 27.70 | 28.10 |
| Community development........................................................... | . 2 | 2.4 | 11.3 | 10.6 | 8.3 | 7.6 | 7.7 | 8.40 | 8.05 | 7.30 | 6.85 |
| Social services and education .................................................... | 1.0 | 8.6 | 31.8 | 33.7 | 27.0 | 26.6 | 27.6 | 30.40 | 30.85 | 31.35 | 32.10 |
| Health ............................................................................................................................ | . 8 | 13.1 | 23.2 | 26.9 | 27.4 | 28.6 | 30.4 | 33.50 | 34.90 | 37.80 | 40.70 |
| Medicare |  | 6.0 | 32.0 | 42.0 | 46.6 | 52.6 | 57.5 | 65.90 | 69.20 | 76.40 | 84.90 |
| Income security. | 18.8 | 48.1 | 86.5 | 99.7 | 107.7 | 122.6 | 112.7 | 128.90 | 119.05 | 123.80 | 129.80 |
| Social Security ...................................................................... | 11.4 | 30.0 | 119.0 | 139.6 | 156.0 | 170.7 | 178.2 | 189.00 | 200.80 | 214.00 | 228.10 |
| Veterans ................................................................................ | 5.4 | 8.7 | 21.2 | 23.0 | 24.0 | 24.8 | 25.6 | 26.40 | 26.80 | 27.25 | 27.65 |
| Justice... | . 4 | 1.0 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 4.7 | 5.1 | 5.7 | 6.30 | 6.80 | 7.00 | 7.15 |
| General Government. | 1.0 | 1.9 | 4.4 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 4.8 | 5.1 | 5.70 | 5.45 | 5.20 | 5.45 |
| General purpose funds............................................................. | . 2 | . 5 | 8.6 | 6.9 | 6.4 | 6.5 | 6.8 | 6.40 | 6.50 | 3.20 | 2.10 |
| Interest...................... | 8.3 | 18.3 | 52.5 | 68.7 | 85.0 | 89.8 | 111.1 | 129.20 | 142.30 | 152.50 | 155.00 |
| Allowances. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | .......... | -1.65 | -1.70 | $-.50$ |
| Offsetting receipts. | $-2.5$ | $-6.6$ | $-19.9$ | -28.0 | -26.1 | -34.0 | -32.0 | -32.40 | -39.90 | -37.10 | -40.90 |
| Total | 92.2 | 196.6 | 590.9 | 678.2 | 745.7 | 808.3 | 851.8 | 946.30 | 967.60 | 1,023.75 | 1,072.20 |
| Budget receipts .................. | 92.5 | 193.7 | 520.0 | 599.3 | 617.8 | 600.6 | 666.5 | 736.50 | 795.50 | 869.40 | 960.10 |
| Surplus/deficit ................................................................... | $+3$ | -2.8 | -73.8 | $-78.9$ | -127.9 | -207.8 | -185.3 | $-209.80$ | -171.90 | -154.35 | - 112.10 |

CONFERENCE SUBSIITUTE, 1ST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FISCAL YEAR 1986-Continued
[ln billions of dollars]

| [In billions of dollars] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1960-69 | 1970-79 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 | SBC 1985 | SBC 1986 | SBC 1987 | SBC 1988 |
| U.S. economy: |  |  |  |  |  | 5.5 |  | 3.9 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 |
| Real GNP growth ............................................................. | 3.9 | 3.5 | -0.4 | -1.9 | -0.9 | 9.9 | 7.5 | 7.1 | 7.0 | 6.7 | 6.4 |
| Unemployment-................................................................ | 4.8 | 6.2 | 11.5 | 14.1 | 10.7 | 8.6 | 9.6 | 8.1 | 7.9 | 7.2 | 5.9 |
| Interest rate (T-bill) .......................................................... | 3.96 | 7.27 | 11.5 | 14.1 | 10.7 5.9 | 8.6 4.6 | 3.4 | 4.1 | 4.3 | 4.2 | 3.9 |
| Inflation (GNP deflator)....................................................... | 2.33 | 7.1 | 13.5 | 10.4 | 5.9 | 4.6 | 3.4 |  |  |  |  |

Source: Senate Budget Committee, Aug. 1, 1985.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Incuudes FNMA participation certificates issued in fiscal year 1968.

[^1]:    Footnotes follow table III-F.

[^2]:    Footnotes follow table III-F.

