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CONSIDERATION OF FINANCE COMMITTEE MARCH 15 REPORT TO THE BUDGET COMMITTEE

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1977

United States Senate,,,
Committee on Finance,
Washington, D.C.

The Committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m. in room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell T. Long (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Byrd, Nelson, Bentsen, Hathaway, Matsunaga, Moynihan, Curtis, Packwood, Roth, Laxalt and Danforth.

The Chairman. Let me call this meeting to order.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare called me this morning and he is a little concerned. He felt that there may be a misunderstanding.

The Administration is not going to recommend an increase in the Social Security tax, not for this coming fiscal year, and that being the case, he urged that we reconsider our suggestion that we raise some money to reduce the deficit in Social Security.

I indicated to him, and I indicated to the Committee
yesterday, that my thought is that you can put money into the
fund by more ways than raising the Social Security tax, but

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iffetheyeare not going to recommend a tax increase, I do not see any point for us to put it in this Budget. It seems to me that we could propose a tax increase any time that we want to, is this correct, Mike?

If we do not put a recommended tax increase in, it does not really give us any problem. We could always recommend a tax increase anyhow. As I understand it, it does not break the budget for us to increase taxes. It just breaks it for us to increase expenditures or to reduce taxes if they had not planned on it.

Is that not right?

Mr. Stern. That is true, in general. There is a special wrinkle in the case of the Social Security program.

When you raise the payroll tax, you automatically increase the amount that is appropriated to the Social Security Trust Fund. That is called budget authority.

After a Second Budget Resolution, you would then be raising budget authority.

Senator Bentsen. Subject to a point of order.

Mr. Stern. Subject to a point of order.

Senator Byrd. What would be the status of the Social Security Trust Fund if nothing is done?

Mr. Stern. If nothing is done -- if you look in the blue book on page 18, Chart 5, the Trust Fund -- well, at the beginning of the period, the amount of money in these two

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trust funds is about \$40 billion, so it decreases \$4.5 billion in fiscal year 1978, a further \$4.8 billion in '79 and so forth.

Senator Byrd. There still is a surplus.

Mr. Stern. There is a Trust Fund. In none of these years is there a surplus of income over outgo. Each year, more money is paid out than is paid in.

\$4 billion left in the Trust Fund, when the outgo would be \$133.5 billion. You would run completely out of money in calendar year 1983.

Senator Byrd. At the present time, you have \$40 billion in the Trust Fund?

Mr. Stern. That is right, at the end of the current fiscal year.

Senator Byrd. At the end of the current fiscal year.

At the end of the following fiscal year, you will have \$40 billion minus \$4.5 billion?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Senator Byrd. It will be reduced by \$4.5 billion?
Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Senator Byrd. In subsequent years, it would be reduced again by \$4.8 billion?

Mr. Stern.. To the point where in calendar year 1983 it would be completely exhausted.

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Senator Curtis. Let me ask you again, how would we be in violation of the Budget Resolution by increasing Social Security taxes?

Mr. Stern. There are three limitations in the Budget Resolution. One is on outlays or expenditures. One is on revenues. The third one is on what is called budget authority.

Senator Curtis. Is there a limitation on revenues?
Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

Senator Curtis. You mean that we cannot raise taxes unless it is in the Budget Resolution?

Mr. Stern. No. In the case of revenues, you can raise the revenues, but cannot decrease them.

Senator Curtis. We are not proposing to decrease them.

Mr. Stern. The violation that is of concern, if you raise Social Security taxes, your violation is not on the revenue side. It is in that third category which is called budget authority.

That means appropriations: in most programs, budget authority is what ordinarily what would correspond to an appropriation.

Senator Curtis. When we raise Social Security taxes, what budget authorities are we using?

Mr. Stern. There is an automatic appropriation in the Social Security Act in the amount equal to the payroll cost

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into the Trust Fund, actually an appropriation.

Senator Curtis. That would be no bar. We could raise the Social Security tax and at the same time amend that law and have the budget authority extend into the other year. Absolutely the Budget Committee was brought into being to get a control on government funds. It is ridiculous that here we have the Social Security fund in jeopardy and that some technical rule prevents us, if we could get the votes, from restoring that fund.

All we would have to do is change that automatically -nothing but statute. When we impose the tax, we could have
that tax credited any way we wanted. The government would
still have the money. It would be that much protection to the
Social Security beneficiaries.

I think that we could handle that without a point of order, do you not?

Mr. Stern. In answer to your question, I really do not think that there would be a problem. I think that you, in fact, would be able to do this. The idea is to try to plan in advance.

Senator Curtis. We would not have to change the Budget Act; the Social Security Act provides how this money is handled, the automatic obligation.

This Committee would have authority to change that law.

We could even change it for a period --

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The Chairman. You had better go to the blackboard. It is difficult to understand unless you put it into writing.

Mr. Stern. Suppose, for example, that the Social Security taxes in a given year in these two programs -- I will use the same numbers that we used yesterday -- are \$90 billion. That shows up as part of the overall revenue total, \$90 billion.

Suppose at the same time that outlays are \$94 billion. That shows up as part of the income security category which adds up to an outlay total.

Budget authority ordinarily in most programs means appropriations. For example, if you appropriate \$300 million for maternal and child health, it means that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare can begin making grants so that they do not exceed \$300 million.

The outlays may occur spread out over a period of time.

You may spend only \$200 million of that \$300 million, but you have committed the government to spending \$300 million.

That is why budget authority ordinarily is before outlays and usually is higher than outlays.

In the particular case of the Social Security Trust Fund, the budget authority is permanent language in the statute that says the amount equal to the payroll tax collections is hereby appropriated into the Trust Fund.

So in the peculiar case of the Social Security Trust Fund, budget authority is really an amount equal to the

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revenues, in this case, \$90 billion.

So if you go along later this year and say, we will increase revenues by \$2 billion, increase outlays by \$2 billion, it also has the effect of increasing the budget authority \$2 billion.

To give a simpler example, suppose you only wanted to increase the taxes and not increase the benefits at all. While it is true that you are not violating the Budget Act by increasing revenues by \$2 billion, you would be subject to a point of order because you are increasing budget authority by \$2 billion.

Senator Byrd. Why does it automatically increase the budget authority?

Mr. Stern. It does because the permanent Social Security statute says that such amounts as are collected through the the Social Security tax, an amount equal to that amount is hereby appropriated into the Trust Fund.

Therefore, when you increase the amount through revenues, you are automatically increasing.

Senator Byrd. It does not go out. It stays with the government in the Trust Fund.

Mr. Stern. That is correct. You might say that it is an accounting procedure. It takes money out of the general fund and puts it into the Trust Fund.

I believe the reason that this was done in 1935 was to

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avoid any Constitutional issue about an earmarked tax, which is subject to certain limitations under the Constitution.

Senator Curtis. Do you not believe that the intent of the Budget Act, referring to outlays and budget authority, did not refer to transfers within the Treasury, but of actual budget commitments to pay money, or to actually pay it?

Mr. Stern. I agree that the spirit of the Budget Act really would not contemplate preventing you from raising Social Security.

Senator Curtis. Do you not also agree with what I raised a minute ago, even conceding that these fine tuners on the Budget Committee staff would want to raise a point against that, that we could write it so that they could not?

Mr. Stern. I think that you could probably do it in some way.

Senator Curtis. Yes. We could impose an additional tax and have budget authority for the transfer of funds. It is in the Treasury.

The Chairman. You could raise the tax if you wanted to,

I take it. You could raise the tax. The same bill that

increases the tax, you could say, this will be legislation

to go along with it.

In the same bill, you could say that notwithstanding the provision of the law that says that this money will automatically be appropriated to the Social Security fund, that

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this will not be automatically appropriated to the Social Security fund but will go to the general fund instead, until such time that Congress acts further.

If you do it that way, you could raise the dole, credit it to the general fund and at a future date appropriate it over, could you not?

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

I think you could do what Senator Curtis said, namely you would say that it would be transferred on October 1st of the following year. That way you would not have any effect on the current fiscal year.

Somehow, you have to get the money in the Trust Fund.

That is the purpose of raising the tax. You can just delay when that money is transferred.

Senator Byrd. If you'do not get it into the Trust Fund, it will be spent for something else.

Senator Bentsen. May I ask, if we try to take care of the distortion in the payment of benefits under the current formula by changing the formula, even though it means a minimal outlay in the coming fiscal year, should that be considered at this time for Budget Resolution purposes?

Mr. Stern. I think that it should. You already agree that you are going to have an allowance of \$500 million for new legislation.

Senator Bentsen. I know that. I was wondering if we

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 were reconsidering that point. You were not talking about that part of it.

Mr. Stern. As of now, you have made an allowance -- you have increased the estimate under current law by \$500 million and you made an allowance of plus \$500 million for new legislation.

Senator Bentsen. The Secretary is not questioning that and the Chairman is not, as I understand it.

Mr. Stern. No.

Senator Bentsen. Thank you.

The Chairman. The more I think of it, even with all of this, it gets us down to the simple point that we are supposed to tell the Budget Committee our best estimate of how much money we are going to take in and how we arrive at it.

Just by way of being forthright about the matter, I do not think that we have any business assuming that we are going to raise Social Security taxes with the Administration advocating against it. If the President vetoes it, we are not going to be able to override a veto to raise the Social Security tax.

The Administration is phanning, this fiscal year, to live on the Trust Fund and draw down against it. I guess one of these days when they come up with a health care program they will be suggesting that we put a tax on to pay for it.

In my judgment, it would be unrealistic for us to say that

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we are going to put a tax on when the Administration is opposed to it.

The tax is not all that popular. If any kind of President is willing to come up with a suggestion or a recommendation that we begin to cover some of these deficits, I would be willing to do my part. I do not see how we can do it. think it is unrealistic to assume that we are going to do it if the President is going to advocate against it.

Senator Bentsen: Mro Chairman, I agree. I move that we rescind the action of yesterday on the question of an increase in the tax. It is obvious that the Administration opposes it.

The Chairman. If they are willing to carry the ball, I would be willing to get in there and do what I can to push or block or do whatever is necessary to do something. If they are not going to provide the leadership, I do not see how we can do it.

Senator Danforth?

Senator Danforth. Is it your understanding, Mr. Chairman, that it is the Administration's position that it does not favor an increase in the tax rates, nor does it favor any other method of increasing Social Security revenues?

Mr. Stern. There was one proposal on that, to charge employers the Social Security tax on tips. That was about \$100 million. That was about the only Social Security tax

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increase in the Carter budget.

The Chairman. If they cannot do anything more than that, I do not see why we should fool around with that. Incother words, here we are, we are going in the red \$4.5 billion a year.

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir, they are talking about \$100 million on a \$4.5 billion deficit.

The Chairman. \$100 million we are going to tax on a guy who does not get tips.

Senator Danforth. As I understand it, they are opposed to any other method of increasing revenues, such as increasing the base.

The Chairman. That is my understanding. I think that their argument is that the economy needs some stimulus insofar as we raise, the Social Security tax, that that takes money out.

Frankly, if you want to raise some revenue, you ought to put it on energy. That is where you ought to put it, to discourage people from wasting it. You ought to put it frankly on oil and gas.

I come from an oil and gas state. You ought to put it on oil and gas.

I guess the President is going to recommend something along that line. There is no point in us recommending a tax that is not going to happen.

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 Senator Byrd. I certainly agree with the Chairman on that. This Committee would be foolish to recommend something that the Administration is opposed to.

Senator Bentsen. Do you take my motion, or not?
The Chairman. You so move?

Without objection, we will rescind our decision to recommend this tax increase.

There is one other item. We should see if we can come into accord at the moment.

We assumed that this \$700 million would be saved as a result of administrative reform in handling the programs over in HEW. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare says that they do not have a program drafted, but something has to be done to try to control these hospital costs, and he strongly urges that we leave that \$700 million potential saving in there on the theory that they will be able to generate some kind of recommendation and if that is done, that we will pass something along that line.

I would suggest that we go along with them on that just on the basis, if by the time these negotiations are over, by the time the Second Resolution comes along, we find that you can save the \$700 million administratively rather than saving it by new legislation, that is a simple change to make, a simple adjustment in the Second Budget Resolution. I suggest we leave it the way we have it there. We hope to save \$700

million by controlling these hospital costs.

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If there is no objection, we will make that change from what we did yesterday.

You were talking about something, hMr. Constantine, that should be done about certain other items.

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Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir.

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The Chairman. What page were you looking at?

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Mr. Constantine. Page 42, Chart 13.

The Committee was concerned -- the staff, as you know,

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we were recommending against allowing the \$200 million for

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the Part B freeze for a variety of reasons. There are a

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lot of other things that you might want to do.

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Obviously the sense of the Committee was to do something

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to improve benefits, so you have \$200 million there.

The Administration has also proposed an increase in the

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a plus-\$200 million.

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child health screening of close to \$200 million. We have

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some problems with that, too. They now concede that they

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do not know how many new children will be covered, to what

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extent we are substituting Federal for state dollars as

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opposed to covering more kids.

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We would suggest that there are a variety of things you can do with the \$400 million, the plus-\$200 million for the Part B freeze, \$200 million for the screening of children.

You may want to consider an increase in the maternal and

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child health ceiling that is now \$350 million. The states would like that. No increase for three or four years.

You could put \$1,000 ceiling on what Medicare beneficiaries pay under Part A for hospital insurance and deductibles. That would cost \$100 million.

You could put \$1,000 ceiling on what beneficiaries pay for doctors bills, for deductibles, and co-insurance. That would be \$200 million.

You could cover the mentally ill, the only people not covered under Medicaid. We match for the mentally ill under age 21, we match for the mentally ill over 65. Everyone in between is not presently matched.

What we would suggest is that the Committee keep its options open and allow \$400 million, the two \$200 million items, for health program improvements rather than labelling it for anything specific.

The Chairman. And indicate that these are different things that we have in mind?

Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir. Possible improvements.

The Chairman. Make sure that the Administration suggests these items and that these other things are possible.

Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir.

Senator Byrd. Would that increase the cost to the government?

Mr. Constantine. It would not increase the cost beyond

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what is provided for in the budget. In other words, the budget shows a plus-\$200 million for the Part B freeze and a plus-\$200 million for child health assessment.

We suggest that we take those two items and allow plus-\$400 million for health care program changes, improvements. It would not be beyond the budget. It gives you your options as to how you want to do it.

The Chairman. That would give us the option to do these other things rather than do what they have here.

Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir.

Senator Byrd. It would be beyond the Ford budget? Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir.

Senator Byrd. It is an increase in the Ford budget? Mr. Constantine. Not in the aggregate. These are new items, not in the Ford budget. Those two items were not in the Ford budget, that is correct. It is not an increase over the Ford budget in the aggregate on the health programs, because the Ford budget did include a limitation on reimbursement rates, an increase in beneficiary cost-sharing, as you can see there, both of which the Committee rejected last year.

Those were kind of unrealistic assumptions that those would have been done in any case. We are simply saying to hold the budget as President Carter submitted it, but just keep your options open as to what you are going to do with that

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\$400 million, if you want to do anything.

The Chairman. Keep in mind, what we are talking about here is not whether Congress is going to do that. If the Congress decides to do it, the funds ought to be there to cover it.

Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. That being the case, I think that that is about as good a way to do it as any. If there is no objection, we will lump these two together and say, here are the kinds of things that we would like to consider doing.

Without objection, agreed.

Could we talk about social services, Mr. Stern?

Senator Hathaway. On the same page, before we leave it, on the Medicaid cost control, that is going to stay in?

Mr. Constantine. Yes, sir. It is \$700 million and \$100 million.

The Chairman. I am personally convinced that there ought to be more in here for social services. There was an article that appeared in the newspapers in my part of the country that explained that for lack of funds for social services, a lot of people are having to go on welfare who would prefer not to be on welfare.

For example, here is a mother who wants to take a child, perhaps she is already on a job, but unless someone can provide some money to provide child care to look after the child when

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the mother is working, then the mother is not able to stay with the child. She has to quit the job, or cannot take the job, as the case may be, unlessksomebody can look after the child while she is working.

The argument is made that a lot of these people would prefer to get off welfare and take a job if we provide the social services to look after the children.

Further than that, since we have put this \$2.4 billion limitation into effect, there has been no increase in the fund for social services, even though there has been a tremendous increase in demand.

For example, we are finding more and more that there are a lot of old people in the nation who have made their contribution when they were in better health and younger who today have really very little left to show for it. Many of these old people do not want to go to a nursing home. Some of those nursing homes where they would be put are pretty sad. They would prefer to stay in their own little home, but you need to have somebody go around and maybe help them clean the place up or talk to them, just to visit. Somebody to go by and say hello and tell them what day of the week it is.

Some of them cannot see. They get old, they cannot see the dust in the house because their eyesight is not very good.

Just to have someone come and help them with a little housework,

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maybe fix them a meal, visit, makes it possible for those old people to stay in the home where they are rather than be just so horribly lonely.

There has been no increase, even though the cost has gone up -- how much has the cost gone up since we put the \$2.4 billion lid on this thing?

Mr. Stern. The limit was put on in 1972 and the cost of living has gone up 41 percent to 42 percent since then.

Senator Byrd. The Chairman has not pointed out how much that social services fund went up from the original proposal of \$49 million to \$2.4 billion, way up above that before we put a ceiling on it.

The Chairman. I know. When we put that ceiling on, was that not a cutback?

You had all these people who wanted to provide all kinds of things that we did not think were social services.

Frankly, the point I have in mind, if nobody else does it, I will certainly offer the amendment myself, to bring the social services up for these Meals-on-Wheels or somebody to help look after these old people and to provide some day care for these mothers who want to go to work rather than live on welfare.

Senator Matsunaga. What figure is the Chairman thinking of?

The Chairman. What has been the increase in the cost of

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living since the \$2.4 was levied on this?

Mr Stern. The cost of living has gone up a little more than 40 percent. If you apply that to the \$2.5 billion, it would be \$1 billion.

The Chairman. It would take \$1 billion to put it in line with what it was. The Administration is recommending \$200 million just for child care. It does not take care of anything else.

I assume that it does not contemplate an improvement in the child care program. It would seem to me that we ought to at least; increase it as much to bring it in line with the increase in the cost of living, \$1 billion rather than \$200 million.

Senator Matsunaga. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. I do not have the slightest doubt that when the amendment is offered out there, that when we call the roll, there are not going to be many brave souls who will stand up and vote against it.

In can sassure your of that. There is a lot of sympathy for this program.

Senator Byrd. This whole program got greatly out of hand. We tried to get it back into shape. Now we are going to get it out of shape again.

The Chairman. No, all we are doing is keeping it in line with the increase in the cost of living.

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Under the Social Security program, it automatically increases.

Senator Danforth. Is your proposal simply to increase line item 1 on chart 9? What are we increasing by a billion?

The Chairman. Where is the Social Services chart? Mr. Stern. Chart 9 on page 30; the basic grant program right now authorizes \$2.5 billion. Most states are up at the limit of their entitlement so that they use almost all of the money, \$2.4 out of the \$2.5 billion.

If you look under proposed legislation in the Carter Budget, there is an additional \$200 million, which was proposed for additional child care funds.

Senator Byrd. A total of \$700 million involved.

Senator Danforth. An inquiry cinto what your proposal is, you are proposing an increase at least to keep up with what the cost of living has done to this. Are you also proposing a consolidation of these various parts into Title XX?

The Chairman. The money would best be used in letting the states decide where they think the states would serve their best purpose.

Senator Packwood. What you have is a block grant, the way it works now.

Senator Danforth. What you would like to do is to consolidate what they have here into Title XX together with

an increase -- you would be both consolidating and increasing the amount for Title XX.

The Chairman. Right.

Senator Byrd. You have \$700 million here. What do you do with that?

Mr. Stern. What you would be doing is you would not be extending the additional child care funds that are only available through September 30th of this year. The additional amount of money would be in lieu of extending that. It would be broader than only child care.

Child welfare services, you could determine later what you want to do. That is a little bit more than \$50 million. You could consolidate that into it too.

The rehabilitative services for recipients of Supplementary
Security Income, that was only contemplated as a three-year
program at a \$30 million level. Our suggestion is to keep
that until it runs out and not replace it right at the
moment.

It would be lines 1, 2 and 3 that you would be consolidating for now, then item number 4 after the authority expires at the end of fiscal year 1979.

The Chairman. We would strike out the \$250 million they are asking for additional child care?

Mr. Stern. That is right. This is in lieu of that.

This other proposal on consolidation, it would be in

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The Chairman. You would add those together, then that would be the \$2.4, it would become \$2.6. You would add another \$800 million to it. That would be \$2.8, so you get to \$3.4.

Mr. Stern. If you authorize Title XX funds at \$3.5 billion, you would not actually spend \$3.5 billion because some states would not be able to increase that quickly.

I would assume it would be something more like \$3.1 or \$3.2 of actual outlays, if you entitle states to their proportion of \$3.5 billion.

Senator Hathaway. What are we consolidating? I am a little leery about consolidating anything until we find out whether that is the thing to do.

Mr. Stern. For budgetary purposes, you are not consolidating anything. You are not acting legislatively at this point.

Later on if you decide that you have three separate programs rather than one --

Senator Hathaway. The total now is \$3.1, right? \$2.4 plus 1, 2 and 2?

Mr. Stern. The 2 and 2 down at the bottom are legislative proposals. Basically you are proposing doing something instead of that. It would be \$3.1.

Senator Hathaway. Whereiwould the increase be?

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Mr. Stern. The \$400 million under the proposed legislation.

Senator Hathaway. What is the proposal? I thought we were going to add \$1 billion.

Mr. Stern. I was making a guess that if you did add \$1 billion worth of authorization, in fact states would not use that full \$1 billion next year since it is a rather large increase in the program amount.

My assumption was that they would only probably use some portion of that. My guess is that they would use \$3.1 billion, something like that.

That would still represent an increase of \$600 or \$700 million over present levels, because they are using \$2.4 billion out of the \$2.5 billion now; the additional child care funds, that is an additional \$200 million. Child welfare services is only an appropriation of a little over \$50 million now.

By authorizing an extra \$1 billion, you would not be spending an extra \$1 billion, maybe about \$600 or \$700 million of that.

Senator Byrd. What is the point of doing it?

Senator Hathaway. You are talking about authorizing another \$1 billion over what was spent last year, is that what you mean?

Mr. Stern. I am skirting the issue a little bit, because

I am not sure what items you want to include in your consolidation and which ones you do not.

Senator Laxalt. I am lost in the detail here. Could we ask setting out on the board currently where we are, and what is proposed to be changed, so we can follow it a little bit better?

Mr. Stern. Perhaps I can explain what the separate programs are in the chart.

The first program is rather in the nature of a block grant that can be used for most anything in the social service area. That authorizes \$2.5 billion.

Senator Hathaway. Where do you get \$2.5?

Mr. Stern. Thatiistthe authorization.

Senator Byrd. It says \$2.4 here.

Mr. Stern. The difference here is that these tables are on the basis of actual expenditures. Forty-one states in fiscal year '77 are expected to use their full entitlements; the other states are not.

Almost all states use their full amount, not all do, so the actual expenditure is \$2.4 billion, even though \$2.5 is the amount allowed.

Senator Hathaway. If we changed that and had a redistribution of the surplus, they would use the \$2.5 probably.

Mr. Stern. If you allowed reallocation, you would probably spend almost every penny.

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Senator Laxalt. This is block grant on population with a cap on it that was placed in 1972, is that correct?

Mr. Stern. That is correct. That is the basic Federal support for social services.

Senator Laxalt. What does that include? What type of service?

Mr. Stern. The main ones, child care, service for the elderly, family planning. There are other services.

Senator Hathaway. Alcoholism?

Mr. Stern. Alcoholism and drug abuse. Most of the things that you associate with social services.

Senator Packwood. There is always a limit to what the state can do.

Senator Curtis. A 75 percent grant was put in; the governors proceeded to write their own definition of social services. Some states transferred every program that they could.

Senator Roth. Their entire budget.

Senator Curtis. We were running kindergartens in one state. Up in New York we were taking care of most everything.

The Chairman. We got it down from our projected \$4.5 billion down to \$2.4, when we put a lid on.

Meanwhile, this program had adjusted to where it is a social service program within the limitations provided. There are some very good things in it.

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We have had a cost of living increase for a great number of things, but we have not done it here. Failure to do it here means, in a lot of cases, that people have to go on the welfare rolls because you cannot provide the child care. In other cases, with the cost going up, if you are providing some old person with a hot meal once a day, the cost of the wages and the cost of the food has all gone up. The cost of gasoline has all gone up.

What do you do? You have to cut back because you cannot pay for it.

So just to adjust for the cost of living, you ought to take care of it. That is all the suggestion is.

Senator Laxalt?

Senator Laxalt. May I ask another question?

I gather from what Senator Curtis said that the governors made a subjective judgment in their own state what social services consist of, taking away some of the funds for the purposes that you are describing, Mr. Chairman. Are there any criteria that have been laid down?

Senator Curtis. There are now. That is how the Chairman of this Committee got it down. It was heading for \$5 billion.

Senator Laxalt. Is there any criteria directed to the governors on the purposes for which the money should be spent?

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Mr. Stern. The statute does not need to be too limited, but it does give quite a bit of guidance by listing the kinds of services that are contemplated and by stating that they have to meet certain general purposes.

Senator Packwood. Is it not fair that within reason anything that would be a social welfare program could fit into the social service definition?

Mr Stern. Yes, you cannot pay medical bills, but other than that --

The Chairman. Senator Roth?

Senator Roth. As one who has worked with the Chairman in putting the ceiling on it, I think that pretty much the abuses that were found in the early, wide-open program have been eliminated. Is that not correct?

Mr. Stern. At this point, forty-one states are at their limit within the \$2.5 billion. They are in a position of having to determine priorities.

I would say that it was the open-endedness that was the temptation. The case that the Chairman referred to, Mississippi proposed that its kindergarten program should be carried as a social service.

Senator Roth. What I am trying to say is that I personally feel that with this kind of program, this has a great deal of pluses over others because it gives broad discretion to the states. Many of us have been trying to get

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away from the categorical programs where states are forced to spend money in areas that they are not interested in, and this is one program that gives that discretion; as far as I know that has been working.

The Chairman. Senator Danforth?

Senator Danforth. I am sorry to be so dense, but the proposal would be to consolidate what? Regardless of the figures, the first item is \$2.4, is Title XX and obviously remains Title XX. The second item in '78 is \$100 million for child welfare. Would that go into it?

Mr. Stern. Let me suggest that one way to proceed is that you consolidate the first four items: the basic grant; additional child care funds; the third is child welfare services; and the fourth is rehabilitative services for recipients of Supplemental Security Income.

Senator Danforth. Training and research is different?

Mr. Stern. Anything above that is what you would call social services.

Senator Danforth. Below that, the Carter budget extended additional child care funding, that is part of it.

Mr. Stern. That would be part of it.

Senator Danforth. The other proposal consolidates social services funded. Thatwwould be part of it?

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

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Senator Danforth. On this page, the current levels, you would be Teft, if you consolidated all of these under Title XX with \$3 billion even?

Mr. Stern. That does not include the \$200 million that we put in as a suggestion for consolidation. The last line on the page is a proposal for consolidation and is lower than what the Chairman is talking about.

If you look at present levels, you are really talking about \$2.8 billion.

Senator Danforth. The Chairman has suggested an increase because of the increase in the cost of living to what, \$3.5?

The Chairman. \$3.5 billion.

Senator Laxalt. That is on the basic grant, on top?

Mr. Chairman, was your proposal to add that to the basic grant under Title XX?

The Chairman. My suggestion is that you consolidate those items so that you provide the \$3.5 billion for the overall.

That leaves you some discretion as to whether you are going to put it in.

The states can have discretion as to whether they need it more for child welfare services or the basic program, or need it more for aid to the social services for the aged.

That is a place where the state could look at that program and see how they could best use it.

Senator Danforth. I agree. I have to step outside for a

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few minutes, but before I did, I wanted to express my agreement.

The Chairman. Thank you.

Senator Hathaway. So this is a total of \$3.5? The Chairman. Yes.

Senator Hathaway. Even though we are talking about consolidation, but legislatively it is not consolidation. Some of us may want to leave it as it is.

The Chairman. For budgetary purposes.

Senator Hathaway. I agree.

Senator Matsunaga. I move that we consolidate the first four items, raise it to \$3.5 billion.

Senator Byrd. Before you put the motion, Mr. Chairman, I want to get some facts straight.

On this chart, as I understand it, you have \$3.1 billion involved now, not \$2.4 but \$3.1 for social services, is that not right?

That is the total amount shown. I should Mr. Stern. add that the last line on this was a suggested incremental amount for consolidation, just a staff suggestion, so it is not anything that has any status, like being in the President's budget or anything.

If you are talking about present levels, you should drop that out. That would give you --

Senator Byrd. I am talking about what you proposed to

Mr. Stern. That is the total amount shown on the chart. Senator Byrd. I have to go by the chart, do I not? Senator Byrd. \$3.1 billion, that is substantially over Mr. Stern. \$400 million of that is new legislation and Senator Byrd. The existing legislation has a ceiling Mr. Stern. \$2.5 billion, plus there is an additional amount for child welfare services and an additional amount for Senator Byrd. If that is the case, then the social services program has been increased since the ceiling of \$2.4 was put Senator Packwood. Other things were added to specific programs above and beyond the social services program, not Senator Byrd. Any way you look at it, we are expanding

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Senator Byrd. Part of it is in the \$2.4, the other part of it is in these other items, so we are expanding it and increasing the cost beyond the \$2.4.

Senator Matsunaga. To make up for the cost of living increase.

Senator Byrd. But you took the 40 percent on the \$2.4 and did not give consideration to what we have already increased.

The Chairman. What we are doing here -- let us give credit where credit is due. You have to give the President's group credit, seeing down there that they are going to need additional funds for children so they add those \$200 million in the Carter Budget. That is not going to be enough. You are going to need this additional money.

Senator Byrd. Nothing is going to be enough if Congress takes that view.

The Chairman. I do not think it is going to be enough.

It is clearly up to the Congress to vote on it, but what

we should be doing here is anticipate. Do you think the

Congress is going to want to do something about this, and if

so, there should be some funds to take care of it.

Frankly, I do not have the slightest doubt. I have been in that debate before. I have been trying to hold it down and I am perfectly prepared to be in a debate to bring it back up again.

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There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that when all of this is explained to the Senate, that is how the Senate is going to vote. I think the House will do the same thing.

Politically, I think it is a very good vote. It will probably have more appeal on the House side than it does in the Senate, for that matter, because the people run every two years, but it has merit. It ought to be done. This is a matter where the cost of living has depreciated the service, and it ought to be brought up.

Senator Byrd. Mike says that they cannot spend more than 3.1; we still want to authorize 3.5.

Mr. Stern. If you authorize 3.5, I would guess that perhaps a third of the states, or half of the states, would be able to use the total, their total entitlement.'

Senator Byrd. They will find a way to use it, all right.

The Chairman. If you do it the way I want to do it, they would not have the least difficulty spending the money. The way I want to do it, I think you just add this on to what they have coming to them already.

The thing that is going to hold them back on using it if you do not amend the program would be because you would have to say that they would have to find something to match it.

Is this a 75-25 program?

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Mr. Stern. Yes.

The Chairman. They have to find something to match the \$1 billion. Frankly, if you do it the way I will probably advocate when the time comes, is give them the additional money and add on to what they have and that being the case, they will have no problem whatsoever with the matching.

Leaving out the matching problem, they will all use it.

They may have to find some way to save some money in their welfare program in order to put it over here on the social services. That is the kind of thing that might limit that.

We do not need to decide all of that.

All that we have to decide is whether we are going to make good in terms of dollars what the program was to begin with. It was \$2.4. It has been eroded by a 40 percent cost of living increase.

The point is, are we going to put enough funds in here so that Congress -- that if Congress wants to make it good in constant dollars that Congress has that option?

Senator Curtis. I am fully aware at this time we are not passing on the merits in these proposals, merely the figures for consideration of the Budget Committee.

This program was presented as applying social services so that people could take care of themselves and thus lessen the welfare rolls. We had never had an investigation or study on the benefits connected to the costs.

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I am serving notice that I am going to raise that when we actually legislate on this. We ought toifind out; I will not press it at this time.

The Chairman. That is fine. The question is simply a matter of do you think the Congress might want to do something about this? Toeme, I do not have the slightest doubt.

All in favor, say aye.

(Achorus of ayes.)

The Chairman. All opposed?

Senator Byrd. No.

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Senator Byrd. I want to say to the Chairman that all spending is popular. That is why we are in such a fix, because all spending is popular with the Congress.

The Chairman. I would like to applaud Harry Byrd's consistency. If the budget is out of balance, we should all recognize that it is over Harry Byrd's vehement protests.

Senator Byrd. I would like the record to show that, by God.

The Chairman. It definitely should be there. I know it is true. If anybody had any doubt about it, all they have to do is look at the record. Harry has been consistent and unfailing.

What is the next item?

Mr. Stern. There are two other things that you had passed

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On page 34, Chart 10, Unemployment Compensation, you had passed over the decision on what you wanted to do, how much money you wanted to include in extending emergency benefit programs. The bottom of Chart 10, page 34.

Senator Hathaway. Mr. Chairman, I was the one who raised the objection to knocking that out, even though I probably myself would vote for a lot of the provisions thatas would cut it down, I think that we probably ought to leave it the way it is. Chances are I will be outvoted. will be many members who will want to keep the program just the way it is.

To cut it down would preclude us from doing that.

The Chairman. You are talking about 65 weeks?

Mr. Stern. The President's proposal is 52 weeks. The estimate of \$400 million assumes that.

Senator Matsunaga. Really, a cut down.

Mr. Stern. Not a cut down in the sense that new people get less than they otherwise would have if you had extended the program under a straight extension.

I am inclined to think that this will The Chairman. assume that we will tighten up the program,

The Carter budget includes no tightening whatsoever.

Senator Hathaway. Even though I agree with some of the proposals you mentioned as ways we could tighten it up, I think 4.13

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there isegoing to be an awful lot of pressure against doing that, to leave the program just the way it is. If we do not have the money provided for, we are going to be stuck, Even if you tighten it up, what it would come to?

Mr. Stern. If you tighten it up and limit the duration it would bring it to \$100 million rather than \$400 million.

If you have a needs test for these emergency extended benefits, since the average family income of people receiving the benefits is \$10,000, you are really going to cut a lot of people out of the program. It is going to be a lot less expensive.

The Chairman. Do you suggest that we should make it \$100 million?

Mr. Stern. That was a staff suggestion. You may want to do what Senator Hathaway suggests. You would achieve substantial savings in the program because a great many people --

Senator Hathaway. I think you are right, but I do not think that you can get the votes to do that. I feel pessimistic that you would.

Senator Byrd. Under the Carter program, does it go down to 52 weeks?

Mr. Stern. A maximum of 52 weeks, yes, sir.

Senator Byrd. Do you want to leave it at 65?

Senator Hathaway. No. \$400 million covers 52 weeks.

1 Mr. Stern. That is right. 2 Senator Hathaway. 65 would go up to \$500 million. 3 Senator Byrd. You do not favor extending it to 65? 4 Senator Hathaway. No, I say leave the figure the way 5 it is there. 6 Senator Moynihan. We are proposing to tighten, reduce 7 the present amount. 8 Senator Hathaway. 65 to 52. We could tighten it further by having a needs test and some other things. Senator Moynihan. It is not possible to do that and keep 10 the President's proposal? 11 Senator Hathaway. Right. 12 13 I propose that we leave it the way it is. The Chairman. All in favor, say aye? 14 (A chorus of ayes.) 15 The Chairman. Opposed, no? 16 17 (No response.) The Chairman. The ayes have it. 18 Mr. Stern. The last item that you passed over is on 19 page 26, welfare programs for families. I do not think you 20 specifically decided on this limit on the work expense 21 deduction. This is a matter that the Committee has approved 22 in the past and the Senate, so I believe that it is realis-23 tic. 24 The Chairman. Say that again? 25

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Mr. Stern. In Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the President is proposing that the treatment of work expenses be somewhat less generous for purposes of determining benefit levels and this is a matter that the Finance Committee and the Senate has approved in the past. I think it is unrealistic to assume that you can legislate it.

The Chairman. You think it is realistic to assume that we could do something about that?

Mr. Stern. Yes.

The Chairman. Senator Curtis has been interested in that.

Mr. Stern. Senator Curtis had a list of ten people who had substantial earnings and were still receiving AFDC in Nebraska because of work deductions.

Senator Curtis. We can always go down on these things as far as the Budget Act is concerned. That is the reason I am not wasting the Committee's time now. But I think there is a lot of room for some changes that should save several million dollars.

The Chairman. Why do we not assume that we can make these savings here?

Mr. Stern. I should mention that Senator Talmadge would like the Committee to consider, in connection with the economic stimulus, that the funding of the Work Incentive Program be doubled from \$400 million to \$800 million on the

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grounds that he would anticipate a much bigger program if you have economic stimulus and tax credit and so on.

The Chairman. I think that you do. I think that it is worth pointing out that while this Work Incentive Program appears to have an expense, is it not our experience that the Work Incentive Program, every dollar that you spend in that saves you at least \$2 by getting people off welfare rolls?

Mr. Galvin. It is a saving, not quite that high.

The Chairman. It works out to an overall saving. It looks like an expenditure.

Mr. Galvin. I would like to call your attention to what is happening to the AFDC statistics in the last few months.

The Chairman. What is that?

Mr. Galvin. The number of recipients on AFDC has been going up since 1975 and the trend changed in much of this year and started to go down. It went up as high as 11 million.

Senator Curtis. March of '76.

Mr. Galvin. March of '76.

It had gone up as high as 11.5 million. The last figure that we have for '76, 11.1 million.

The Chairman. Down 400 million from the peak?

Mr. Galvin. That is right.

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The Chairman. All right. Part of that has been because of what we did with runaway fathers, what we have been able to do that they take a better look at their roles.

Governor Mandel told me at a luncheon yesterday in the state of Maryland they decided, as a matter of cost control, to keep people from being on the rolls under more than one name or some improper basis that they decided they would insist that everybody who was on the rolls ought to have an identification like a driver's license, a card with a picture on it, to identify himself.

So they called everybody to come in and have their picture taken and ll percent of the people did not show up to have their picture taken, so they made an ll percent savings in the program by saying that everybody who wants a check has to have their picture taken.

Senator Curtis. It is not the jurisdiction of this Committee, but you can do the same thing in Food Stamps. A very responsible doctor in my state told me a week ago Monday that 50 percent of the appointments made with him to see Medicaid patients did not show up. They must not be very sick.

TheaChairman: What is the savings?

Mr. Stern. You would have a savings of .1 under new legislation, an additional expenditure of .4. It would be a net of \$300 million.

Senator Curtis. Mr. Chairman, last year your staff
man worked up some good things on various savings of these
kinds and these particular programs and we were going to have
hearings and we never had the time to have them.

Will we have those hearings some time?

The Chairman. I think we definitely ought to...

As you know, I think a lot of us on the Committee wanted to act on those suggestions and we were told that there was a lot of support in the Department for many of those suggestions, but obviously there are some people who had some concern. At the very closing dates of the Congress, we could not get around to doing anything about it.

But you would still recommend those, Mr. Galvin, those ideas of what we are considering?

Mr. Galvin. Yes, I would.

Senator Curtis. Do you think we ought to have some hearings so that the Committee could be familiar?

Mr. Galvin. We definitely need hearings on it.

The Chairman. All of those are good ideas. We found one lady in Louisiana who was on the rolls under eighteen different names. As a matter of fact, not this time, but when they had the Miami Democratic Convention, one of the ladies who was representing Louisiana at the Democratic National Convention was on welfare under two different names at the time.

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We ought to be doing a job here of improving the program and helping out the people. To me, I am not ambitious to save the money just to say that it is being spent wisely for those who need the benefits out of it.

If there is someone on the rolls improperly, then take that money and take care of someone who needs it desparately. This is an area where I think we could do some good in helping people.

What else do we have to look at?

Senator Matsunaga. Mr. Chairman, what did we decide to do on AFDC?

Mr. Stern. An increase of \$300 million, which includes an increase of \$400 million and a saving of \$100 million.

The Chairman. We think that with the additional incentive to hire people that the House has in their bill, that a lot of those people who will be hired will come from the welfare rolls to employment, which of course will be good for the country. That is an overall savings, even though at this point it looks like a cost.

Without objection, we will agree to that.

What else is there?

Mr. Stern. Page 46, Chart 13, the first item on that chart is Revenue Sharing. General Revenue Sharing was extended in legislation last year, a small increase from fiscal year '77 to fiscal year '78.

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Also, you enacted last year a counter-cyclical Revenue Sharing proposal and the President is proposing an extension and expansion of that, which in fiscal year '78 will involve \$1.6 billion.

The Chairman. Without objection, I think that we ought to budget that.

Senator Danforth?

Senator Danforth. I do not know if this is an appropriate time to raise this question. My understanding of the counter-cyclical Revenue Sharing proposal of the President is that this is a part of his economic stimulus package. Then we are going to get, I suppose, to the next item which will be the total stimulus package of the President, and as you know, this is highly controversial.

The question is whether or not this is the best approach of stimulating the economy, assuming the stimulus is necessary. I wonder if it would not be appropriate instead of singling out \$1.6 billion for counter-cyclical Revenue Sharing and then itemizing in Chart 16 various items up to \$16.9 billion for tax stimulus, economic stimulus, if those items could not be consolidated and we could come up with an aggregate figure for a stimulus package and leave open exactly how it is going to be divied up between various proposals.

Mr Stern. The problem is that all of the revenue things will be consolidated in new legislation for revenues. The

reason why Revenue Sharing is shown separately is because it is an outlay and appears in the Revenue Sharing category as outlay, so when you make a report to the Budget Committee, you have to report some number, whatever it is, for Revenue Sharing and some number for revenues. That is the reason for showing them separately here, even though they are a part of the same package.

The Chairman. It comes from two different places in the budget?

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

Senator Roth. I would like to follow with a similar type question, because later this morning I intend to make a proposal in this area.

If youhhave two different charts, does that mean when we come to the legislation itself that we are not free -for example, I happen to think that the tax rebate is the wrong approach. I just do not think it is going to create a major stimulus to our economy and I feel very strongly that the proper approach is an across-the-board tax cut for individuals and I intend to make a major fight for that approach, Mr. Chairman, which is expensive, but I intend to propose that in lieu of many of the other things that the President has proposed, and frankly, some of my colleagues are proposing.

But I do not want to find myself in a box like you and I

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did on some things last year where the Budget Committee says that we cannot do it.

So I am raising this question. As I say, I intend to propose roughly a 10 percent cut in personal income taxes which will have a significant impact next year in lieu of the many proposals that the President has made, because all I am suggesting and recommending is what President Kennedy urged that we do in the 60's. I mentioned this to the Secretary of the Treasury at our breakfast the other day.

This brings me to the question that Senator Danforth is raising: how do we take care of that flexibility because it is a very critical, crucial, question to the economy of this country.

It is important that we have full debate, not only before this Committee, but when we get to the Floor.

Senator Curtis. What you are raising, would your rights be protected under the Budget Act so that you could offer a proposal in the nature of a substitute for the Carter package to do something else that would affect revenues not to exceed --

The Chairman. Let me tell you how I react to that.

It seems to me that the Republican leadership in the

House and the Senate -- John Rhodes spoke of it at the

Governor's meeting yesterday -- is going to suggest something

along the lines that you are recommending and, of course,

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that will be voted on. It may be that that does not fit
the notches in the Carter Budget or the Budget Resolution,
but if not, this is something that would be voted on before
the Second Budget Resolution and if the amendment is agreed
to, the Second Budget Resolution will simply have to conform
to it.

Senator Roth. I recognize that, Mr. Chairman. I also recall our experience last year, which I joined with you in fighting, that the Budget Committee has taken the very tough position that if it does not fit their particular Budget proposal that our freedom is restricted and that has been — I am not being entirely critical. I understand in part why they are doing that.

At the same time, I think that somehow we have to protect our rights now, so that argument cannot be made on the Senate Floor.

The Chairman. You do not have to worry about Russell Long. I am not going to confront you. As far as I am concerned, it is just a matter of which way you want to do it.

I would hope that the Republican members on the Budget Committee would be equally as alert to what is going on here as the Republican members on the Finance Committee and make it clear that they are going to offer a substitute and they want it clearly understood that this does not lock them in.

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Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to my Republican colleagues on the Budget Committee, what I propose may not necessarily be the same as to what some of my colleagues are proposing.

Frankly, I want an across-the-board cut, at least up to a certain relatively high figure, because I think that that is the only way you are going to get a real stimulus, that is the only way you are going to build some confidence in the economy, the way the consumers are going to start purchasing, the only way you are going to get business start construction and additional buying and creating additional jobs in the private sector.

What I am saying, I want to make sure my rights as one Senator -- not as a Republican or a Democrat -- has that right and this troubles me because I am not sure -- I know full well we are going to get on the Senate Floor. If your proposal does not meet this particular notches as far as the stimulus is concerned, we are going to meet that fight. I do not like it.

Senator Moynihan. If the Senator would yield?
Senator Roth. I would be glad to yield.

Senator Moynihan. I am not sure that I will be in favor of your proposal, sir. I would like to make a general point in support of what you are saying, which is that the Budget.

Impoundment Act was largely designed in this respect to see

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that the cumulative effect of small increases does not get out of hand, and there is a tendency in Committee structure for the Committee to do that, and that is sensible, and I think we can all support it.

But what you are talking about is a fundamental change in the tax structure of the United States which is the preserve of this Committee. The responsibility and right of this Committee to make proposals must never be impaired because we are trying to get out of that nickel and dime problem which will wreck the budget no doubt. But we are talking about the larger sense of tax policy and that is this Committee's preserve.

Senator Roth. Absolutely.

Senator Curtis. You are so right.

Senator Roth. From that standpoint, the standpoint of our Committee, somehow maybe you have some idea of how we can do that. There ought to be language that shows that we intend to maintain that flexibility.

Probably the most important issue we are going to have this year is this one.

Senator Curtis. On Friday, there is going to be colloquy on the Floor, I was told by some of the Budget Committee, discussing that very point because there will be people who will contend because the oncoming Budget Resolution makes allowance for the Carter package, that that is approval of the

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Carter package, and that that settles it.

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I understand that two or three Minority members of the Budget Committee are going to bring it to the Floor and you are going to be notified about it, because certainly that should not be the legislative intent.

The Chairman I think it ought to be well understood.

The Chairman. I think it ought to be well understood and, Senator, even though I may not go for your amendment as a substitute for what the President is suggesting, I will certainly be glad to support your position in the debate that we have the right to do it however the Senate wants to do it.

Incidentally, that is how the thing worked out last year on the fight between the Budget Committee and the Finance Committee.

Senator Curtis. They have not given up.

Senator Roth. Now what I suggest is that we give some careful thought to our recommendations to the Budget. I do not know exactly how. Certainly this was not the intent of the budget procedure, which I played a key part in.

The Chairman. Why do you not put something in the report that we make and just say in a footnote that certain members of the Minority Party made clear that they were intending to offer a substitute for the President's economic package in terms of a general tax reduction for all taxpayers, and that they made it clear that if their proposal were successful they

intended to strike this proposal out.

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Senator Roth. Do we want to limit it?

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If I understand Senator Moynhihan --

one net figure for newylegislation. Suppose it were \$18 billion; what you are telling the Budget Committee is the Resolution

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proposal or any combination of proposals, but simply a

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Mr. Stern. The way the report works, you simply have ought to allow for a reduction of \$18 billion in revenues for new legislation. That is no endorsement of any particular number.

Senator Curtis. Why could you not do this: every place that there is an item -- this is not for argumentative purposes -- but every place that there is an item here of the Carter package, how much it costs, put it down as they have got it or an alternative which the Congress may adopt.

Mr. Stern. In fact, you have made substantial modifications in a number of Carter proposals.

Senator Curtis. Our problem is not with the President; our problem is with the Budget Committee and they have a right to tell us how much revenue they want and what kind of ceiling they want on expenditures, but how we get there is none of their business.

The Chairman. Why do you not put something in there where the counter-cyclical appears that the Committee is aware that there is substantial support for a substitute for

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the President's stimulus package, that if this effort is successful it may well result in striking the counter-cyclical Revenue Sharing and a substitution of a larger tax cut.

Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. You fellows decide what you want.

Senator Danforth. Rather than a tax cut, I would say what I would like to see is an asterisk appearing before the \$1.6 and appearing before the table, Chart 16, and the same asterisks in both places simply stating that the aggregate amount of the President's package is about \$18.5 billion, or whatever, for 1978 and it remains to be seen how that is going to be divied with respect to tax reductions of one kind or the other, or other forms of economic stimulus that may or may not be tax reductions.

Youth employment, for example, would not be a tax reduction part of this program, but it would be still a part of the total economic package that some of us think is preferable to the President's.

But I would just like to flag that so that we do not get sandbagged by the Budget Committee or by appoint of order at some subsequent time.

Senator Roth. I agree with what Senator Danforth is saying.

The President's package next year costs roughly around, the total package stimulus -- what is it? \$15 billion in its

entirety?

Senator Byrd. \$20 billion.

Senator Roth. One of the problems I have, for example, an across-the-board tax that I am talking about would be an substantial impact on revenues next year. I intend that in lieu of many of the other spending programs — I am not only concerned about what is in the Budget here, but by a 10 percent across-the-board cut, for example, we are all right during the remainder of the current year. It will have roughly a \$12 billion net loss of revenue next year, roughly speaking, which is no more than the President is proposing altogether, but includes the spending program.

I intend, and want the Senate, to have the opportunity to take that approach and vote on it and not have it decided on technical grounds.

The Chairman. Right.

You prepare the language and I think we can accomodate you.

Senator Roth. Thank you.

Senator Curtis. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Without objection, we will recommend this to the Budget Committee with that caveat.

Now let us talk about, then, the revenue -- is there any problem there?

Mr. Stern. There is one other item, the Sugar Act,

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on page 46.

The Chairman. It may be that the Administration can work out the problem administratively, but not knowing that, I think that we ought to have these figures in here, that we might need another Sugar Act, and if so, we would estimate that it would cost \$100 million and it would raise \$100 million.

Without objection, that will be agreed to.

Senator Byrd. I would like to ask the staff about an item on page 46.

On the interest figures, I assume that is net interest, because the interest on the debt would be substantially more than that, would it not?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Senator Byrd. I want to get the figure. What is the interest on that debt of fiscal '77 and what is the interest on the debt for fiscal '78?

Mr. Stern. The interest on the debt in the revised Carter Budget for fiscal '77 is \$42.3 billion.

Senator Byrd. No, I take it that that is net debt.

Mr. Stern. That is the figure that is called interest on public debt.

Senator Byrd. But I think it is important that we know whether that is net debt or whether that is the interest on the public debt.

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Mr. Stern. Interest on public debt.

Senator Byrd. Are you certain of that? I think that you will find that it is the net debt. I think you will find it is net interest, not the interest on the debt, but net interest.

Mr. Stern. The figures shown in the blue book are the net figures which is about \$4 billion in fiscal '77 and almost \$5 billion in fiscal '78.

Senator Matsunaga. You have a figure of \$38.2 in the blue book that he says is net debt and he is giving \$42.3 as the interest on the public debt.

Senator Byrd. Where do you get the \$42.3?

Senator Hathaway. The budget book.

Senator Byrd. It is not in this book.

Senator Hathaway. What is the net debt? What do they subtract?

Senator Byrd. They subtract interest they received.

That is going to be my question, is where they get the interest payments.

Mr. Stern. I am sorry, Senator. What is the question?

Senator Byrd. My first question is this: what is

the total interest paid on the national debt by the government?

What will it be for fiscal '77 and what will it be for

fiscal '78?

Mr. Buckberg. In fiscal '77 the interest payment on the

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public debt will be \$42.3 billion. In fiscal '78, the Carter estimate is \$46.8 billion.

There are some offsets through this total interest expense to the Federal government because after auditing on income taxes, people who have not paid an adequate amount are charged interest on that amount, and that offsets the total interest payment, so that what will be shown in the Budget is that the interest payment will be a smaller amount of approximately \$4 billion, but the figures I gave you are the interest on the public debt.

Senator Byrd. That is what I want; that is not in this book.

Mr. Buckberg. The figure they are showing in the book is net interest payment.

Senator Byrd. Why should we not show in the book the total payment and with a separate item on the offset, if you want to?

Mr. Stern. We will do that from now on. We can do that also in the letter, if you want to.

Senator Byrd. What letter?

Mr. Stern. In the letter from the Finance Committee to the Budget Committee giving a figure for interest on the debt. We can show both the gross figure and the net figure.

Senator Byrd. I wish you would do that. I wish you

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would show the gross figure in any of these figures that you have come up for Committee consideration and the public. I think the public should know the interest on the debt.

These figures do not give it.

Mr. Stern. All right.

Senator Byrd. I think also that it would be well -- you do not need to put it in the book, but if you could give me a brief memorandum as to where the real offsets are, where they come from the offsets for the most part.

Mr. Stern. All right.

Senator Byrd. As I understand it, the gross interest on the national debt is \$42.3 billion in '77 and \$46.8 billion estimated in '78.

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Actually, when the Committee is done, to the extent that your recommendations modifies the size of the deficit, we would modify even these numbers in what you send to the Budget Committee.

Senator Byrd. You would modify them?

Mr. Stern. For example, if the net effect of what the Finance Committee is recommending represents a deficit of \$2 billion more than the Carter Budget, then this \$46.8 billion would be an increase.

Senator Byrd. What interest figure would you take, 6 percent, 7 percent?

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Mr. Buckberg. We usually try to estimate what we think the interest rate would be. We really have not worked out what it will be fully in the future.

The Administration used \$4.6 percent as the basis for their estimates. It is a question of whether it will remain at that rate.

Senator Byrd. I think it is low. That is why I think that this figure is probably low. 4.6, you are not going to get money at 4.6 percent.

Senator Curtis. That is the average of all the payments including evidences of indebtedness that have been out for several years, is that right?

Mr. Buckberg. That is the payment for all. The 4.6 percent rate is the shortest rate the Federal government pays on three month bills. Those are the things that turn over most frequently, and they use this as the rate for stating what the estimate is.

There is a structure that goes in almost a mechanical way above that for 180-day bills and one-year notes. Much beyond that, the debt is outstanding and continuing so you do not have to re-estimate what it would be. You know that, because it is a prior commitment.

The Chairman. Can you give me some estimate, by the way, of how much of this interest we are getting back in taxes on that same interest?

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Mr. Buckberg. A rule of thumb guess would be slightly less than -- well, for fiscal '77 where it is \$4 billion, I would guess on the total interest, a rule of thumb -- I would say it would be somewhat in the neighborhood of \$6 billion.

The Chairman. That is taxable, and you are estimating that you would only get \$6 billion back in taxes on that income?

Mr. Buckberg. Part of it is savings bonds where the interest is not included in income until the bond is redeemed, and the average — this would be an amount fully going into personal income, the average tax rate on personal income, not taxable income. This is a total income figure and it runs somewhere in the neighborhood of between 10 and 11 percent.

To the extent corporations are receiving this, their rate is going to be somewhat higher. At the moment, there is \$6 billion on a \$42 billion outlay. I would guess it is somewhere in the neighborhood of 15 percent.

The Chairman. You figure over \$6 billion?

Mr. Buckberg. Yes.

The Chairman. What is next?

Mr. Stern. Letrmelémphasize, the figure you give to the Budget Committee will be one figure. These charts show detail and the way it goes to the Carter Budget, but the

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figure going to the Budget Committee is one number.

Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, I have two comments I want to make and one proposal.

Again, Mike, I want to make it clear, in what we were just discussing a few minutes ago, of course, what I am proposing has a substantial effect of \$12 billion on the revenues so we would have to make sure that the language that we write applies both to spending and revenues which is what my proposal and some of the other proposals will have.

Mr. Stern. The \$12 billion includes some spending funds too?

Senator Roth. No, it will not.

My \$12 billion would be less revenue, but what I am proposing that in lieu of certain spending proposals of the President.

Mr. Stern. I think, though, that you should think also in terms of having your own amendment to the Budget Resolution.

Senator Roth. I am.

Mr. Stern. If you do not do anything to the Budget Resolution, you will be in a difficult position.

Senator Curtis. Would you state that again?

Mr. Stern. Supposing, for example, that there was a proposal to cut taxes by \$20 billion rather than cutting taxes by, say, \$15 billion and spending an additional \$5

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billion. In terms of deficit effect, it is the same.

In terms of procedure of the Budget Act, however, it will
be one category for revenues and one category for outlays
and it will look as though you are going below the revenue
figure, and you will be going below the revenue figure in
that category, so I think you would want some kind of
conforming amendment.

Senator Roth. I agree with what you are saying. At the same time, I want to make certain that we, as the Chairman has mentioned, put language in that admonishes that this will happen.

My college tax credit will have an effect on revenue. It would have an effect of \$1 billion.

This legislation has been cosponsored by Abe Ribicoff as well as Senators Moynihan, Dole and Packwood. We have something like twenty-one cosponsors of this legislation, and I think I can say the same thing to my distinguished Chairman that he said a moment ago, that there is no question that when this comes to a vote on the Senate Floor it is going to have broad support, if last year is any indication of this.

So what I am asking is that the revenues reflect this legislation.

The Chairman. I think that it ought to. I think that the Senate will vote it. If you do not want the Senate to

pass it, you had better not let them vote on it. I do not have any doubt that the Senate will vote for it; I think it should be in there.

Without objection, we will add it.

Mr. Stern. How much money are you talking about?
Senator Roth. The college tax credit, \$1 billion.

Senator Danforth. I am apologetic again for being so dense. We are talking about, as I understand it, an aggregate figure for tax reductions for 1978 and the question is exactly what that figure should be.

You start out here with \$16.9. If you would add to that what Senator Roth is proposing, that would be another billion. Is that correct?

Senator Roth. That is correct.

Senator Danforth. What your proposal is, as I understand it, not to separate the two, but simply to increase this from \$16.9 to \$17.9, right?

Senator Roth. That would be correct.

Mr. Stern. It is only one number when you are all done, one net figure.

Senator Danforth. If you viewed Revenue Sharing, counter-cyclical Revenue Sharing, if that took the form of a tax cut, that would be an additional 1.6. However, we are handling that by an asterisk, right?

Mr. Stern. As of the moment, you put in the 1.6 billion

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and you did not put it in revenues, you put it in as an outlay. You are putting in language in your letter to the Budget Committee that there may be a proposal in lieu of that additional funding to convert that into revenues instead.

But as I understand it, you have left it in as an amount shown as an increase in new legislation in Revenue Sharing at this minute, and saying in the letter that you may do something else.

Senator Danforth. The thingits, I think this is going to be the question as to how much you cut taxes and whether you cut taxes and alternatively the effect -- not alternatively, but on the other side of that coin, the degree to which the tax cut in turn stimulates the economy, by cutting taxes you increase the revenue, that kind of argument.

What I am concerned about is locking ourselves into a figure, even if it is \$17.9 instead of \$16.9, or if it is \$18.5 versus \$16.9. I would just like to see maximum flexibility for tax cuts.

What I would like to do is see this figure increased to about, say, \$22 billion for next year for tax cuts, which is kind of an off-the-top-of-the-head figure, but we had to come up with something.

I would like to see a little room for flexibility.

The Chairman. There is an item that I want to offer.

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Somewhere along here we were talking about it. I think I

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mentioned it to you. It had to do with child care, did it not?

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir. What you mentioned to me, since the tax credit under the Ways and Means Committee Bill is a 40 percent credit and the child care credit part is a 20 percent credit, you may want to double that credit to make it 40 percent.

The Chairman. Here is my thought. The House for years would not go along with our deduction for mothers to pay someone to look after their children, or even take care of them while the mothers were trying to earn some income for the family, so finally they came up with the bright idea that they did not want the upper income people to get any advantage because they are paying a high tax already.

Rather than have a deduction, they would give a 20 percent tax credit for hiring someone to look after the house while the mother was out working.

They would give the tax credit even though the person would wash some dishes and do the housework in addition to minding the child.

If the House wants to pay a 40 percent tax credit to hire more people, then I think that that 20 percent ought to become 40 percent, because I think it has equal merit where a mother wants to go to work, she leaves the home and goes out and finds employment. Look at how it works out

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otherwise. Let us assume that she can get a job making, let us say, \$700 a month and let us assume that she has to pay someone \$500 a month to stay and look after the child and do the household duties that she would be doing if she were staying home.

Assuming that she is married and the husband is also earning, she would be paying in about the 30 percent tax bracket on the \$700 she is earning, so you take off \$210 from the \$700, and if she cannot deduct the \$500, she is losing meney by going to work.

If you let her deduct -- give her that 20 percent tax credit, \$100, then she finishes ahead by just a little bit, but not enough to really make it worth a woman going to work. The only value she gets out of going to work is just the stimulation of getting outside the home for a few hours.

But if we made it a 40 percent tax credit, then she would wind up, because she took the job after taxes, and considered a family would be about \$200 better off because Mama went to work.

If they are going to provide a 40 percent tax credit just for hiring somebody else, it seems to me we ought to do as well by a mother who pays somebody to look after her children while she is out trying to improve the family's condition.

So I am going to suggest that we are going to consider

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would get both, but you would get one or the other.

In other words, you would not get the benefit of the tax credit for adding the other person, the 40 percent there and get the 20 percent over 40. You would get one or the other of these tax credits.

My guess is that that would cost over \$1 billion because more people would use it.

Can you give me an estimate on that?

Mr. Shapiro. The figure now is \$870 million. It can go from 20 percent to 40 percent. You could doublt that and more people would be doing it. It would be close to \$1 billion because of doubling the percentage as well as additional people going on it.

The Chairman. If it puts more people to work -- and I hope it would -- for one thing, she could afford to pay more she has a 40 percent tax credit, and it seems to me as though you should estimate as though \$1.2 billion for that.

I do not think you could get by with less than that.

I would like to suggest that we include that in here.

You add \$1 billion for your credit, you add \$1.2 billion a year for this, and that gets us up to \$19.1. You are suggesting, Mr. Danforth, that we put that figure in the tax stimulus package up here to about \$22 billion?

Senator Danforth. Yes, I do. I would like to see us

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maintain maximum flexibility, because I suspect that one way or another, that is going to be the best way to go.

The Chairman. Why do we not put on another \$1.9 billion to round it out to \$22 billion to say for tax revenue reductions, other revenue reductions, for example, I would assume that you would be saying let us knock out this \$1.6 billion over here for counter-cyclical and have a further tax cut for that, and that gets you pretty close to what you are talking about right there.

SenatoriDanforth. Right.

The Chairman. My experience on the Senate Floor notwithstanding the Budget Committee is when we get a big tax cut bill out there, the Senate does not reduce the tax cut. We will have some great oratory about fiscal responsibility, but the tax cut does not get smaller on the Senate Floor, it gets bigger.

I could not help but be amused last year -- and I think

I irritated the Chairman of the Budget Committee -- how on

earth can the Finance Committee protect the fiscal sovreignity

of the country when the Chairman of the Budget Committee

himself leads the charge to bust the budget?

He said it was unrealistic to assume that we could discontinue that \$35 tax credit. One of the reasons that it was unrealistic was the Chairman of the Budget Committee led the charge to keep the \$35 credit. If he had supported

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us instead of opposed us, we could have terminated the \$35 tax credit.

If you look at what the Senate wants to do, I do not have the slightest doubt that when Senator Roth gets his amendment agreed to out there, assuming my amendment or somebody else's amendment on this line will be the only thing on the Floor on tax cuts. There will be other ideas.

Notwithstanding the Budget Committee, the way that we tend to hold those tax cuts, within some limitations, is that the Conference Committee between the Senate and the House rather than with the Budget Resolution, especially when it is not binding.

So I think that it is probably wise to recommend that if there is no objection, why do we not say we will recommend this figure of \$22 billion in tax stimulus and other revenue proposals.

It would be all right with me, gentlemen, to put a tax on energy to pay for some of this. We should be recommending an energy package to encourage people to insulate homes, to encourage them to conserve energy, to encourage them to use smaller automobiles, and frankly, we ought to put a tax on energy to pay for it.

Senator Curtis. We ought to take the bill we had last year on the Senate Floor -- it had a half a cent increase in gasoline tax. That ought to look awfully good in the light

of 25 percent.

The Chairman. I think we can find a better way of doing it when we have a chance to look at it. The President may recommend something on it. The more I think about it, if you want to raise money by a tax on energy, you ought to do it the way we do it on energy, tax it right at the well rather than at the gasoline pump.

I know, as far as a person voting for it, it is a lot easier to vote for the tax on the well than on the tax on the gasoline pump. The last time we raised the tax on the well, my Uncle Earl was Governor and the filling station operators called it Black Tuesday and lined the pumps with black crepe when the tax went into effect.

People do not like the tax directed to their attention.

On the other hand, you can tax energy when it comes out of the well and people will say that is a great tax. Tax those so-and-so's. The fact that it gets to them in the price of the product does not seem to concern them if they think they tax some guy in the oil business.

I think that is the easiest way to do it, if you are going to do it, a lot easier to do that than to put the tax at the pump.

Senator Roth. Can we limit the impact to Louisiana as as far as higher prices?

Senator Matsunaga. On Chart 16 on business tax credits,

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\$2.4 billion for '78, .7 for '77. Is this the one that was finally adopted by Ways and Means?

Mr. Shapiro. That is the new tax credit.

Senator Matsunaga. For small business establishments?

Mr. Shapiro. Yes.

Senator Matsunaga. The \$2.4 is also based on it?
Mr. Shapiro. Yes.

Senator Matsunaga. I just introduced a similar bill on this side.

Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, I think that Mike has come up who some language and I think it takes care of my concern. I would just like to read it so that everybody understands it, if there are any questions. It says:

"In recommending these amounts for revenue reductions and outlays, the Committee recognizes that the Senate will be considering alternate proposals to stimulate the economy and that these proposals, while keeping within the same, overall budgetary impact, may well involve larger revenue reductions and smaller outlays than are included in the various budget categories."

I think that puts the Budget Committee on notice.

Senator Curtis. Yes, and I think we should ask the Budget Committee to incorporate that in the report.

Senator Roth. That is a good suggestion. I respectfully request that that be incorporated. Certainly it was not the

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intent of the Budget procedures to prevent the Senate from considering alternate proposals, and that is what could happen.

The Chairman. Right.

I would suggest that, without objection, we would agree with that. I would suggest that the staff total all of this up and make it available to all of us, and that we schedule a meeting at 10:00 o'clock tomorrow, just in case the members want to discuss this matter further. There may be something that the Senators may want to discuss.

Mr. Stern. I just found that there is a 9:00 o'clock Democratic Caucus meeting, do you want to make that 11:00?

The Chairman. 11:00. If someone, on looking this over, wants to check with the staff, they certainly may, and the staff can show us what this looks like, and we might want to change it. Just in case someone has second thoughts about it, let us meet tomorrow.

Unless someone suggests tomorrow that we change it, then I suggest that we agree here that we are going to send this over, unless someone by 11:00 tomorrow indicates that they would like to reconsider some of it.

Mr. Stern. I am assuming that the Committee did agree to \$22) billion tentatively?

The Chairman. Right,

Mr. Stern. May we say that we should include it in the

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letter to the Budget Committee that they ought to make an allowance for minor tariff and tax bills, to make sure that you do not get in the situation --

The Chairman. \$100 million, that is right. Without objection, we will agree to that.

Then I would think that if we meet here at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow, we can make any suggested changes that we want to.

We may want to reconsider the whole thing, you cannot tell.

The Senators might think about it overnight, and see what we have.

Thank you, gentlemen.

(Thereupon, at 12:05 p.m. the Committee recessed to reconvene at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, March 3, 1977.)

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