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COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

MARK-UP

MISCELLANEOUS TARIFF AND TRADE MATTERS

Wednesday, September 17, 1980

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1980

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United States Senate

Committee on Finance

Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10:10 a.m. in room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell B. Long (Chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Talmadge, Ribicoff, Byrd, Bentsen, Matsunaga, Moynihan, Boren, Bradley, Dole, Packwood, Danforth, Chafee, Heinz, Wollop, Durenberger.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order, please. We were on the Miscellaneous Tariff Bill.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, the bill that we had begun to discuss at the time the meeting broke up yesterday appears at the bottom of page 3 of Attachment E, Miscellaneous Tariff and Trade Matters, and it is H.R. 5047.

To expedite things, since on almost all of the provisions of that bill no one has raised any issue on, perhaps Mr. Foster could just address himself to the few things on which any issues have been raised. Otherwise, we would recommend that that bill be favorably reported.

The Chairman. Do you have any items that need to be discussed?

Mr. Foster. There are several provisions in this bill,

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1 Senator.

2 The Chairman. Why not touch on the ones we have not discussed  
3 up until now?

4 Mr. Foster. All right. On page 5 of the Staff Document E  
5 we move to Section 201 of the bill. What this would do is permit  
6 the drawback of duties, that is the refund of duties, on products  
7 which are imported into the United States but then, within three  
8 years after importation, are exported or destroyed.

9 What the situation now under present law is, when someone  
10 imports a product into the United States, if they know at the time  
11 of importation they are going to process it and re-export, they can  
12 get this drawback provision.

13 The Chairman. Which section is that?

14 Mr. Foster. This is Section 201 at the bottom of page 5.

15 But if they do not know at the time of importation that they  
16 may ultimately re-export it they cannot get the drawback provision,  
17 they have to post bonds, and that sort of thing.

18 This would simply extend the drawback provision moderately.  
19 The Administration supports it. There have been submissions in  
20 favor of it from many companies. There was one submission that  
21 was submitted in opposition. We have contacted that person. He  
22 did not request to testify in opposition to the bill and we have  
23 not really been able to understand his basis for objection.

24 So, the staff would recommend that the committee approve the  
25 provision.

1 The Chairman. The Administration does not object.

2 Mr. Foster. No.

3 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed. Go on to the next  
4 one.

5 Mr. Foster. On top of page 6 we come to Section 202 of the  
6 bill. This would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to permit  
7 the informal entry of U.S.-origin merchandise; that is goods that  
8 have been produced in the United States, have then been exported  
9 but are brought back for the purpose of repair if they are under  
10 a warranty, or if they have been rejected by the importer in the  
11 other country as nonconforming goods.

12 What is happening now is that when these goods are returned  
13 to the United States after being exported, a formal entry has to  
14 be filled out if they are valued over \$250. This adds considerably  
15 to the cost of providing the warranty, the cost to small and  
16 medium-sized exporters in particular.

17 Again, we have had comments on this bill on this provision  
18 in favor and opposed. The Customs brokers have opposed the bill  
19 on the basis that they feel it would increase the possibilities  
20 of circumvention of the duty laws and that sort of thing.

21 The Customs Service has stated in the House and to the  
22 committee that they feel they can administer it. There was a  
23 statistical problem raised with it, but the Census Bureau and the  
24 Customs Service have worked out that.

25 So, at this point the Administration is not opposed and no

1 Customs revenue effect is expected on this particular provision.

2 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

3 Mr. Foster. That is essentially it on this particular bill.

4 The rest of the provisions, as Mr. Stern indicated, are ones that  
5 have the support of the Administration or are not objected to, no  
6 one has objected to. They are basically continuations of existing  
7 suspensions for the same reason that the matter was originally  
8 suspended, or given permanent duty-free treatment.

9 So, we would recommend that the committee approve this  
10 particular bill.

11 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed to.

12 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman?

13 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

14 Senator Bradley. I would like to raise one other issue on  
15 this bill, and that has to do with the disparity in duty on the  
16 substance of ephedrine. The difference between natural ephedrine  
17 and synthetic ephedrine. Ephedrine is a substance that is used to  
18 treat asthma; it is used in a lot of nasal sprays.

19 As of right now, the duty on natural ephedrine is 4.8 percent  
20 and on synthetic ephedrine it is 15 percent. The problem is that  
21 there is only one place in the world that produces natural  
22 ephedrine, that is the People's Republic of China. We have a lot  
23 of pharmaceutical companies that are now purchasing the synthetic  
24 ephedrine and there is a fear that we will, by having this disparity  
25 continue, give a monopoly to the People's Republic of China; they

1 can then raise the price at will.

2 So, what this amendment would do, to simply equalize the  
3 natural and synthetic ephedrine, the duty on each of those.

4 The Chairman. Is there objection to that?

5 Mr. Foster. Mr. Chairman, this provision is H.R. 7802, that  
6 has been reported by the House Ways and Means Committee. On the  
7 House side the Administration had no objections to it, and no one  
8 appeared to oppose it.

9 What the bill does, as Senator Bradley described, is to  
10 equalize the duty treatment for natural and synthetic ephedrine.  
11 As far as can be determined by the International Trade Commission  
12 and the Department of Commerce, there are no U.S. producers of  
13 these products.

14 The Chairman. Without objection, then, agreed. Senator  
15 Chafee?

16 Senator Chafee. On Section 115, Senator Heinz is on his way  
17 and he had a couple of points he wanted to raise. I wonder if  
18 we could hold that particular thing. He will be right along.  
19 Here he is now.

20 Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman?

21 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

22 Senator Heinz. I would like to bring to the committee's  
23 attention a change in Section 112, which was introduced as H.R. 7047  
24 and passed the House.

25 The bill that passed the House has come over to us and

1 suspends only the Column 1 in the duty rate. I think we would be  
2 wise to add to that the Column 2 duty rate as well. The reason  
3 for that is that there apparently are only two countries that  
4 manufacture machines of this kind. One country is West Germany,  
5 they have two manufacturers; the other country is East Germany, the  
6 have one manufacturer.

7 Many people feel that if we do not suspend the Column 2 duty  
8 rate the same way as we suspend the Column 1, that we will be  
9 granting a monopoly to the West Germans, and that if we want to have  
10 some competition it would be advisable in this case to suspend  
11 both columns.

12 I have talked with people over in the House and they say they  
13 have no objection to our doing that. It was an oversight on their  
14 part. So, I would recommend to the committee, Mr. Chairman, that  
15 we do that.

16 The Chairman. What can you tell us about that, Mr. Foster?

17 Mr. Foster. Mr. Chairman, this is Section 113 of the bill,  
18 relating to warp knitting machines. There are imports to the  
19 United States from East Germany of these machines. As far as we  
20 are aware, there is no domestic production that would risk being  
21 injured by expanding this duty reduction or temporary suspension  
22 to the Column 2 countries. We are not aware of any Administration  
23 objection to this, or objections from the domestic industry.

24 The Chairman. There are no objections?

25 Mr. Foster. We are not aware of any.

1 The Chairman. Without objection, then, it is agreed.

2 Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, one other item. In this bill  
3 there is a provision which includes the elimination of suspension of  
4 duty for a shipment of roof tiles for the Chinese Cultural Center  
5 in Philadelphia. I would like to keep that provision in this bill.  
6 Staff has recommended it be deleted. I would like to keep it in  
7 the bill to make sure we get it passed.

8 The Chairman. Why do you recommend leaving it out, is it  
9 controversial, or what?

10 Mr. Foster. No, Mr. Chairman. This has already been  
11 approved by the committee as an amendment to H.R. 3122, which is  
12 already on the calendar. Rather than have it in two bills, we  
13 just recommended that it be deleted. It is not controversial.

14 Senator Heinz. I just do not know what is going to happen  
15 to any of our bills, Mr. Chairman.

16 Mr. Foster. There is no problem with it.

17 Mr. Stern. It does not make any difference.

18 The Chairman. All right, leave it in; it is agreed to.

19 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, we would suggest that the provisions  
20 that you agreed to substantively yesterday, relating to chipper  
21 knives; the duty on lead, and on tuna purse seine nets and hardwood  
22 veneers be put as amendments to this omnibus bill. Those are all  
23 House-passed measures.

24 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

25 Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, a question. The omnibus bill



1 being?

2 Mr. Stern. H.R. 5047.

3 Senator Heinz. You want to put in which ones, now?

4 Mr. Stern. The substance of H.R. 2535, relating to chipper  
5 knives; 6089, 6571, and 6975, which were agreed to yesterday.

6 Senator Heinz. Thank you. That is no problem.

7 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

8 Mr. Foster. Mr. Chairman, the last item on Staff Document E  
9 is the U.S. implementation of the Protocol that was negotiated  
10 to the MTN Customs Valuation Agreement.

11 This is a matter that the committee reviewed earlier in the  
12 year, approved the agreement at that point, and instructed the  
13 staff to work with the Administration to prepare a bill that carried  
14 out the committee's recommendations. This bill proceeds under  
15 the provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 which provides for an un-  
16 amendable bill to approve trade agreements and implement them in  
17 domestic law.

18 The bill that has been returned carries out the recommenda-  
19 tions of the committee. Again, it is not controversial and no  
20 objections have been received from any source on these matters. It  
21 has been under discussion and under way for over a year and the  
22 staff would simply recommend that when the House bill arrives here,  
23 that the committee report at that time the House bill.

24 The Chairman. Any objection? Without objection, agreed.

25 Mr. Stern. The next item on the agenda, Mr. Chairman, relates

1 to revenue sharing.

2 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman?

3 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

4 Senator Bradley. The staff document on revenue sharing, I  
5 think, reflects much of the thinking of the members of the Revenue  
6 Sharing Subcommittee, including the staff recommendations.

7 The basic document re-authorizes revenue sharing for a five-  
8 year period. It provides for the local share and for the State  
9 share commencing in year '82, with advance funding provisions, which  
10 Mr. Morris will explain.

11 The changes that the Administration proposed in their revenue-  
12 sharing bill have been dropped by the subcommittee, and the staff  
13 recommends that they be dropped with the one exception of tax  
14 enclaves.

15 The bill, I think, is in good shape and I think that it is  
16 certainly a crucial bill, of interest to everyone here. There is  
17 some disagreement on just parts of it, but overall, I think, that  
18 the staff document reflects a wide area of agreement in the  
19 committee. Mr. Morris would explain it.

20 The Chairman. Which document is that now?

21 Mr. Stern. This is Document F.

22 Mr. Morris. Just by way of background, as the committee is  
23 familiar, the general revenue-sharing program was established in  
24 1972 and was extended with amendments in 1976. It has provided for  
25 the distribution of \$30.2 billion during the 1972 through '76 period

1 and an additional \$25.6 billion between 1976 and 1980.

2 If we can, we would like to go through the changes one by  
3 one, starting at page 11 of the staff document. The first ten  
4 pages basically explain the existing programs. The bill that was  
5 approved by the House Government Operations Committee, H.R. 7112  
6 to extend the general revenue-sharing program. It is my under-  
7 standing that this Government Operations Committee bill has been  
8 set for floor action next Wednesday in the House.

9 The first issue in connection with general revenue sharing  
10 is the extension of the program. Payments are scheduled to  
11 terminate to State and local governments at the end of fiscal year  
12 1980.

13 The Administration has proposed extending the program for a  
14 five-year period. The House Government Operations Committee in  
15 H.R. 7112 has agreed to extend the program for three years.

16 The staff would suggest that the committee may want to extend  
17 the program for a period of five years.

18 The Chairman. How about the five years? All in favor of  
19 the five years signify by saying aye.

20 (Chorus of ayes.)

21 The Chairman. Opposed, no.

22 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I want to be recorded as no on  
23 the five-year extension.

24 The Chairman. The ayes have it, go on to the next one.

25 Mr. Morris. The next issue is that of funding.

1 Senator Dole. What page are we on?

2 Mr. Morris. This is page 11, Item No. 2, Funding.

3 Since 1977 funding has been set at \$6.8 billion per year, with  
4 one-third of the funds going to the States; two thirds going to  
5 units of local government.

6 The Administration has proposed funding only the local govern-  
7 ment portion of general revenue sharing at a \$4.6 billion figure  
8 annually, which is the amount currently distributed to local  
9 governments.

10 The Administration has also proposed a \$500 million payment  
11 which it has called "Transition Aid for Fiscal Years 1981 and 1982."  
12 However, the House Government Operations Committee has adopted  
13 the Administration proposal providing \$4.6 billion per year for  
14 local units of government, and it did not agree to the \$500 million  
15 additional for fiscal years '81 and '82. The first Concurrent  
16 Budget Resolution for fiscal year 1981 similarly does not provide  
17 any funds for this transitional assistance.

18 The Chairman. What is the transition, for what is that?

19 Mr. Morris. It basically was an attempt to recognize the  
20 fact that because the amount that was being given to the State,  
21 some of which was being passed through to local governments. Since  
22 what was being proposed was the elimination of funding for the  
23 States, that this additional money would help local governments  
24 during this transition period and provide them with some additional  
25 funds for fiscal years '81 and '82.

1           The Chairman. So, it did not recommend the \$500 million  
2 transitional part.

3           Mr. Morris. That is correct.

4           The Chairman. Mr. Moynihan?

5           Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, we come to a very critical  
6 decision here. The House agreed with the Administration not to  
7 provide revenue sharing to the State governments. In other words,  
8 cutting back this program from its original conception which was  
9 to State governments, after which we added local units, taking out  
10 the States..

11           I think this is a grave mistake. I think one of the most  
12 important pieces of legislation in the Federal system in this  
13 generation has been general purpose revenue sharing. To abandon  
14 a principle of this kind in response to a budgetary situation which  
15 the Administration no longer thinks exists anyway, seems to me to  
16 be retrogressive.

17           I would hope the committee might consider the staff recommen-  
18 dation - a once popular recommendation - to include both State  
19 and local revenue sharing and continue this program as it now  
20 exists.

21           Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman?

22           The Chairman. Senator Chafee.

23           Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, the budget  
24 does not provide for the transition; is that correct?

25           Mr. Morris. That is correct.

1 Senator Chafee. So, we have two decisions here to make. One,  
2 whether to go for the transition amount; and two, whether to  
3 authorize the State share in the out-years, other than '81. They  
4 are two separate decisions, is that right?

5 Mr. Morris. It in essence is two separate items. We combined  
6 it as one in the recommendation.

7 Senator Chafee. I think that is different. I do not think  
8 because the budget is out of balance due to a variety of circum-  
9 stances we ought to throw this thing to the wind and say, "This  
10 is out of balance, all that is wrong."

11 So, I am not for the transition amount.

12 Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, I would support Senator Chafee  
13 in that regard. If we choose to do otherwise, as I understand it,  
14 we are in conflict with the budget resolution and we have to  
15 look at some other point to try to make this up. I can under-  
16 stand the concern of Senator Moynihan, but for a long time I have  
17 felt that the State governments were in a lot better shape than  
18 the Federal Government.

19 I well understand the great desire of Governors to spend money  
20 they do not have to raise, that is the easiest kind of money to  
21 spend and you get a lot of credits for it. You do not have the  
22 pain and the agony of trying to raise it. The Federal Government  
23 is in serious trouble. We have a major deficit facing us. We  
24 have many good programs that we have cut back on and had to do  
25 so. I think, frankly, that this is one of the easiest ones to do

1 that to. I know no State with a deficit and the Federal Government  
2 is facing a deficit of at least \$30 billion. We have a problem  
3 with the depreciating currency, inflation, and the more we increase  
4 that deficit the more we are going to see the financial markets  
5 react, and the more we are going to see interest rates go up; and  
6 the more we see any budding recovery in the housing industry  
7 stifled, stopped.

8 So, I for one would oppose the additional sum.

9 The Chairman. Let me see if I understand this. Do I under-  
10 stand, Mr. Morris, that the Administration has proposed \$500 million  
11 for transition aid, in addition to what is otherwise in the bill?

12 Mr. Morris. In addition to \$4.6 billion for State and  
13 local governments. What they have proposed eliminating is roughly  
14 \$2.3 billion each year, payable to the States.

15 The Chairman. All right. Now, do we run into conflict with  
16 the Budget Committee if we propose to keep this transition aid  
17 in here?

18 Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, I think there was a slight mis-  
19 understanding. What we have proposed is providing \$4.6 billion,  
20 which is for fiscal year '81 through '85 for local governments. We  
21 have not proposed the transition amount of \$500 million per year.  
22 What we have suggested is funding for fiscal years '82 through '85,  
23 the States' share, of \$2.3 billion on an appropriated basis rather  
24 than an entitlement basis so that each year the Congress would have  
25 to decide. We actually suggest doing it on an advance appropriation

1 basis so that a year in advance the Congress would have to decide  
2 whether it wants to appropriate funds for the States' share.

3 In essence, what this committee would be doing is authorizing  
4 the Appropriations Committee to decide whether there should be a  
5 State share in fiscal years '82 through '85. We would not run  
6 into a problem with the Budget Act.

7 The Chairman. We would make it automatic to just let the  
8 Appropriations Committee decide.

9 Mr. Morris. That is correct. We would also not recommend  
10 any money for fiscal year 1981 which has not already been provided  
11 for in the first Concurrent Budget Resolution. We are not  
12 suggesting a \$500 million transition payment for fiscal '81 and '82.

13 The Chairman. Senator Moynihan?

14 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, I will not delay. This is  
15 an issue that we all understand and have our respective views on.  
16 But I would make the point, we are getting an authorization language  
17 here and a five-year program. We are free to do what we want,  
18 the budget does not constrain us in that regard.

19 Everything that my friend, Senator Bentsen said, is true and  
20 I agree with him. But there are other truths which are that the  
21 Federal system is becoming seriously imbalanced. More and more  
22 matters come to the Congress, come to the Floor of the Congress  
23 that do not belong here; that are clearly State or local activities.  
24 But it is the tendency for moneys to be available or deficits to be  
25 available - if you will - in this place that brings them here and



1 has us working on things that are appropriately the work of  
2 city councils, or State legislatures at best.

3 Now, revenue sharing was a large idea in federalism. It has  
4 its absurdities - there is always Eagle Rock, Missouri. Is that  
5 right? What is that little town that got \$50?

6 Senator Dole. Eagle Rock, Missouri.

7 Senator Danforth. Tennessee.

8 Senator Moynihan. But it is an idea in federalism that is  
9 new and powerful, and is one of the three pieces or four pieces  
10 of legislation in the last 30 years that will be recorded in  
11 American history as having an idea about government behind it.

12 Now, it seems to me we are dropping it in response to a  
13 budgetary situation which is temporary. It may be endemic but  
14 it certainly is not the fundamental issue involved. We can cut  
15 the amounts of money and still keep the principle of involving  
16 the States.

17 I will press it no further, but I think we are giving up  
18 something we achieved in the 1970s.

19 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, I think that the staff  
20 recommendation here actually preserves what Senator Moynihan has  
21 said and what Senator Bentsen has said because it does not have a  
22 budget impact in 1981, but preserves the right of the Appropriations  
23 Committee to appropriate funds for the States' share in the out  
24 years, '82 through '85 on an advanced funding basis which gives  
25 local governments some certainty that they are going to actually

1 get the money. While at the same time subjecting it to the  
2 appropriations process. So, the States' share is not an entitlement  
3 but the authorization would provide the power for the Appropriation  
4 Committee to actually get the money to the States while the local  
5 share is an entitlement.

6 I think the subcommittee basically looked at the problem  
7 of State and local share and came to the conclusion that this was  
8 the most efficient way to proceed. I know Senator Durenberger who  
9 played a big role in the subcommittee hearings feels that way.

10 Senator Durenberger. Mr. Chairman?

11 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

12 Senator Durenberger. I think, to add to the comments, it is  
13 important to say that those of us who may not necessarily agree  
14 with Senator Bentsen's evaluation of the problem have in essence  
15 compromised our views in light of the budgetary realities of fiscal  
16 1981. I for one feel strongly that the States ought to be in there  
17 all the way through the process.

18 I do not think that the Federal Government's problems are  
19 created by the States or local government, they are created by us,  
20 right here. We have, very appropriately, through the process of  
21 general revenue sharing encouraged State revenue sharing with  
22 local government. We have encouraged a greater reliance on the  
23 part of the States on the income tax, to share that State-levied  
24 income tax with local government. My own State shares something  
25 between 75 and 85 percent of its money.

1           When we goof up down here economically. we create the kinds  
2 of problems that all or most of the States in this country are  
3 suffering through right now.

4           I think it is very important that we hold out the principle of  
5 revenue sharing which started in '71-72, even though we may not be  
6 implementing it this year because of the problems. But retain that  
7 principle. Retain the principle of local sharing by States as  
8 well as Federal sharing with State governments.

9           Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

10          The Chairman. Yes, sir.

11          Senator Byrd. What do you mean by "transition period?"

12          Mr. Morris. What that refers to is the Administration's  
13 proposal for fiscal years 1981 and 1982. They were suggesting  
14 this additional \$500 million for those two fiscal years in lieu of  
15 providing any additional funds to State governments. That was why  
16 they denominated those two fiscal years as the transitional period,  
17 basically permitting the local governments to become accustomed to  
18 receiving reduced transfers from the State governments.

19          Senator Byrd. Well, it does not stop at '81 and '82, does it,  
20 it goes on to '85.

21          Mr. Morris. Well, the Administration has proposed just pro-  
22 viding that money for fiscal years 1981 and 1982, and nothing after  
23 that.

24          Senator Byrd. I understood it would not impact on the '81  
25 budget.

1 Mr. Morris. No, Senator. That transition amount would have  
2 an impact on fiscal year '81 if the committee were to agree to pro-  
3 vide that assistance.

4 What we have recommended is just providing \$4.6 billion solely  
5 to units of local governments for fiscal year 1981, and then  
6 authorizing an appropriation of \$2.3 billion for the States' share  
7 in fiscal years '82 through '85. So, there would be no budget impact  
8 in fiscal '81.

9 Senator Byrd. Well, you have a five-year transition period.

10 Mr. Morris. We had not recommended any transition assistance.  
11 What we had recommended was not providing any funds for fiscal year  
12 '81 for State governments and authorizing an appropriation in  
13 later years, which the Appropriations Committee could determine  
14 was warranted or not warranted.

15 Senator Byrd. Well, will money be going to the States under  
16 your proposal in '81, or not?

17 Mr. Morris. No. No money would be distributed to State  
18 governments in fiscal year 1981.

19 Senator Byrd. Well, how is it a transition period?

20 Mr. Morris. That term, "Transition aid" only applied to the  
21 Administration proposal, which was different than the Staff  
22 Recommendation. That was simply to provide \$500 million in  
23 additional funds to local governments for 1981 and 1982 in  
24 recognition of the fact that since you are no longer providing  
25 any money to State governments there would be reduced transfers from

1 State governments to local governments, which had been the custom  
2 under the prior program.

3 Senator Byrd. Now, your \$2.3 billion would go to the States?

4 Mr. Morris. Right. It would basically go back to the same  
5 formula that has been in existence under the original program for  
6 the past eight and three-quarter years.

7 Senator Byrd. I see. The Federal Government has no revenue  
8 to share. We are heavily in deficit. This fiscal year the  
9 Federal Government will have the second-largest deficit in history -  
10 the second-largest deficit in history in this one year.

11 Senator Bentsen made the point that it is fine for the State  
12 Governors to receive money and not being responsible for raising  
13 revenue, and that is certainly correct. But also, it might be  
14 added, Congress is doing exactly the same thing. The Congress is  
15 appropriating money and it is not raising the revenue to pay for it.  
16 We are operating on a deficit basis.

17 Senator Dole. Mr. Chairman?

18 The Chairman. Yes, Senator Dole.

19 Senator Dole. Mr. Chairman, I move we approve the Staff  
20 Recommendation, that would at least take care of the transition  
21 problem, there would not be any; then it would be subject to  
22 appropriation.

23 Senator Bentsen. May I commend on that before we vote on that?

24 The Senator from New York and I have a difference of opinion,  
25 and I share this idea with a number of the members of this committee

1 on the question of merit of revenue sharing for the States.

2 This is not a change for me, I opposed it in 1971. I have been  
3 consistently against it. I saw a situation then in the relative  
4 positions of the States and the Federal Government where they were  
5 in a much better position from a fiscal point of view than the  
6 Federal Government. I have not seen that change. If anything, we  
7 have seen a further deterioration in the Federal Government's  
8 position.

9 I think we are kidding people when we talk about authorizing  
10 for the future this amount of money. I do not see any great change  
11 in what is going to happen as far as the fiscal position of the  
12 Federal Government over the next two or three, even four years.  
13 We are going to have difficult, difficult positions. We are going  
14 to be having to cut many, many programs that we think are very  
15 worthwhile and very important to the people of this country.

16 We are going to have further problems in Social Security,  
17 Medicare, Medicaid, and the rest of it.

18 Now, as we try to arrive at those decisions to hold this out  
19 to the Governors as though they are still going to have a serious  
20 chance of getting this amount of money, I think, is a mistake. I  
21 think they ought to be facing up to this problem and ought to be  
22 doing it with their legislatures.

23 I know if we do not do it, I know when the appropriations  
24 come around the argument will be made, "Well, you authorized it,  
25 you held that carrot out there, you assured them without authori-

1 zation that this was still a program they could depend on." Frankly  
2 I think we ought to vote against it, and I certainly will. As you  
3 know, I question rather seriously whether that is the majority  
4 viewpoint.

5 Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman?

6 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

7 Senator Chafee. If we authorize this, then it moves out of  
8 our control, as I understand it, we have authorized it for five  
9 years - not for '81, but for the five years. That completes our  
10 part. I am just talking about the States' share now. Is that  
11 not correct?

12 Senator Dole. For four years.

13 Senator Chafee. For four years. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think  
14 that is a mistake. I think we will thus be giving an indication,  
15 as Senator Bentsen suggested, to the Governors that they are going  
16 to get it. There is a good chance they might not get it.

17 If the money is around, if it is available, we can always  
18 authorize it next year. Is that not so, for fiscal year '82?

19 Therefore, I am opposed to the Staff Recommendation of  
20 authorizing this State share for the four out-years.

21 The Chairman. How do you propose to do that, Senator?

22 Senator Dole. Leave it out.

23 Senator Chafee. I would leave out that authorization for  
24 that State share. Then, if we choose to authorize it we can always  
25 authorize it next year; can we not, for '82?

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- 1 The Chairman. If you can get the House to go along with it.
- 2 Senator Dole. Well, we can vote on the Staff Recommendation.
- 3 The Chairman. Let us vote on the Staff Recommendation, just
- 4 call the roll.
- 5 Mr. Stern. Mr. Talmadge?
- 6 Senator Talmadge. No.
- 7 Mr. Stern. Mr. Ribicoff?
- 8 Senator Ribicoff. No.
- 9 Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd?
- 10 Senator Byrd. No.
- 11 Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gravel, Mr. Bentsen?
- 12 Senator Bentsen. No.
- 13 Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Moynihan?
- 14 Senator Moynihan. Aye.
- 15 Mr. Stern. Mr. Baucus, Mr. Boren, Mr. Bradley?
- 16 Senator Bradley. Aye.
- 17 Mr. Stern. Mr. Dole?
- 18 Senator Dole. Aye.
- 19 Mr. Stern. Mr. Packwood?
- 20 Senator Packwood. Packwood passes.
- 21 Mr. Stern. Mr. Roth, Mr. Danforth?
- 22 Senator Danforth. Aye.
- 23 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chafee?
- 24 Senator Chafee. No.
- 25 Mr. Stern. Mr. Heinz?



1 Senator Heinz. Aye.

2 Mr. Stern. Mr. Wallop, Mr. Durenberger?

3 Senator Durenberger. Aye.

4 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

5 The Chairman. Aye.

6 Mr. Stern. Mr. Packwood?

7 Senator Packwood. I am going to vote aye.

8 The Chairman. If Senator Packwood votes aye, that makes it  
9 eight ayes and five nays. That will not be final until we hear from  
10 enough Senators to constitute a majority of the committee. I would  
11 ask the staff to try to get those Senators to record their vote  
12 as soon as you can.

13 What is the next point?

14 Mr. Morris. The next series of items involves some proposed  
15 changes in the formula for distribution of funds within each State  
16 to local governments.

17 These are a series of Administration recommendations.

18 Senator Ribicoff. What page are you reading from?

19 Mr. Morris. We are now looking at page 12 of Staff Document F.  
20 The first item, (a) "Detiering" at the top of page 12 in Document F.

21 Basically, under present law when funds are distributed within  
22 a State, they are allocated among the different units of government  
23 by group. In other words, there is a pot of money set up for  
24 distribution to the counties; another fund to units of local govern-  
25 ment; another fund to townships.

1           The Administration has proposed that these separate "pots"  
2 be eliminated and that all the units of government within a State  
3 compete on an equal basis for the funds. They argue that because  
4 of the existing way in which funds are allocated, units of govern-  
5 ment within a county, or within the State, even though they have  
6 the same population characteristics and the same relative tax  
7 effort, and the same relative income factors which should entitle  
8 them to the same per capita entitlement as any other comparable  
9 locacility, they actually end up getting possibly more or less  
10 money, depending on which area they happen to be located in.

11           At the Administration's proposed funding level of \$4.6 billion  
12 the adoption of this change would shift money among 14,700 locali-  
13 ties, and these jurisdictions would lose about \$137 million in each  
14 of the fiscal years of the program.

15           The House Government Operations Committee did not adopt this  
16 change.

17           What we would like to do is make a general recommendation with  
18 respect to all of the Administration-proposed formula changes after  
19 we get to the end of the series of changes that they have  
20 recommended.

21           The second proposal would be a revision in the maximum and  
22 minimum constraints.

23           The Chairman. Can we act on that first? I am not sure I  
24 understand it.

25           Mr. Morris. Our recommendation with respect to this provision

1 of so-called "Detiering" would be not to adopt the Administration  
2 recommendation.

3 The Chairman. Not to adopt it?

4 Senator Dole. To not adopt it.

5 Senator Bentsen. What do you recommend?

6 Mr. Morris. We recommend keeping existing law.

7 The Chairman. Keeping the law the way it is?

8 Mr. Morris. That is correct.

9 The Chairman. Well, then that does not require a vote. Do we  
10 have to vote to drop it out, or is it in there?

11 Mr. Morris. It is not in there.

12 The Chairman. Unless there is a motion to put it in, it stays  
13 out. All right. What is next?

14 Mr. Morris. The next Administration proposal would be  
15 changing the minimum and maximum constraints. You may recall, in  
16 the original program the Congress put in a provision saying that  
17 no county area or unit of local government can receive more than  
18 145 percent of the average per capita payment to all of the locali-  
19 ties in the same State.

20 Similarly, there is a 20-percent floor so that no government  
21 can receive less than 20 percent of the average per capita grant  
22 within the State.

23 The Administration has proposed revising these constraints  
24 and they argue that this would permit units of government under  
25 the formula to get a fuller entitlement with respect to the

1 maximum. It would permit units of government to get more money by  
2 raising the maximum from 145 percent to 175 percent; and similarly  
3 by reducing the minimum from 20 percent to 10 percent, which would  
4 shift some money away from governments the Administration feels do  
5 not need as much revenue-sharing funding.

6 The House Government Operations Committee did not adopt this  
7 change and we would similarly recommend to the committee that it not  
8 adopt the change.

9 The next provision which was in the Administration's original  
10 proposal was changing, again, a provision of existing law which  
11 says that no government can receive an amount equal to more than  
12 50 percent of its budget from general revenue-sharing funds. The  
13 Administration originally proposed to cut that 50 percent maximum  
14 to 25. They have now abandoned that proposal. So, we can just  
15 pass over that one.

16 The next item that has been proposes is re-allocating the  
17 excess funds that are created by these minimum and maximum con-  
18 straints for local governments. Under existing law where there  
19 are these excess funds, they are re-allocated to the State  
20 government. Since there is some question about whether we are going  
21 to be providing additional funding for the States and because in  
22 1981 there would be no funding for the States, the committee may  
23 want to consider providing that these excess funds be re-allocated  
24 to units of local government rather than having them passed back  
25 to the State, as under existing law.

1           What we would suggest, and what the House Government Operation  
2 Committee has agreed to, is re-allocating these excess funds  
3 ratably among the county and local governments. We would suggest  
4 the committee provide for the same redistribution.

5           The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

6           Mr. Morris. The next item would be a limitation on the tax  
7 effort factor. The Administration has proposed limiting the  
8 tax effort factor with certain jurisdictions with per capita  
9 income over 115 percent of the per capita income within the State,  
10 and they would reduce their tax effort factor by the amount that  
11 their per capita income level exceeds 115 percent of the average  
12 per capita income level in the State.

13           The House Government Operations Committee did not agree to  
14 include this proposed change, and we would similarly propose that  
15 the committee not go along with this proposed change.

16           The Chairman. Leave it out.

17           Mr. Morris. The formula changes recommended by the  
18 Administration would affect about 22,500 jurisdictions out of  
19 39,000 and would shift around about \$200 million a year. There-  
20 fore, we recommend not shifting those funds around.

21           The Chairman. We do not have to take action unless we want  
22 to follow the recommendation.

23           Mr. Morris. That is correct.

24           The Chairman. All right.

25           Mr. Morris. The next item involves the non-contiguous State

1 adjustment. This is a special provision that was put in the  
2 original Act to provide the States of Alaska and Hawaii with  
3 increased amounts to reflect a cost-of-living adjustment that is  
4 available for those States in other similar legislation.

5 The Administration proposed continuing this adjustment at a  
6 \$3.3 million level for each fiscal year. This is a reduction of  
7 the amount currently provided to reflect the fact that no funds  
8 are being provided to the State governments.

9 The House Government Operations Committee discontinued the  
10 funding for the non-contiguous States in their bill. We would  
11 recommend that the committee continue the non-contiguous State  
12 adjustment at the \$3.3 million level, as recommended by the  
13 Administration; and the committee may also want to authorize the  
14 restoration of the full adjustment should the States' share for  
15 fiscal years '82 through '85 be authorized.

16 The Chairman. Are you recommending that?

17 Mr. Morris. We would recommend that. We would recommend that  
18 you continue to take care of the adjustment for local governments  
19 and agree to it on a contingent basis for the State's share if  
20 the committee should decide to provide it.

21 The Chairman. Any objection? Without objection, agreed.

22 Senator Dole. Mr. Chairman?

23 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

24 Senator Dole. I wonder if I can just bring up two small  
25 matters, I have to leave for about 30 minutes.

1 The Chairman. All right.

2 Senator Dole. One has to do with, we found in Kansas that  
3 there are eight Kansas municipal auditors, including one in Russell  
4 County, Kansas - which is my home county - who failed to qualify  
5 under Treasury regulations defining, "Independent Public  
6 Accountant" for revenue-sharing audit.

7 Now, there is no penalty per se for submitting audits pre-  
8 pared by these individuals, but the audits will have to be re-done  
9 at the expense of the municipality.

10 I have a narrowly-drafted amendment that would apply to the  
11 State of Kansas. We have checked with the Kansas CPA organization  
12 and they do not object to it because we require in the amendment  
13 certain specifications that would limit it to the State of Kansas -  
14 he has to have twelve hours of public accounting; not less than  
15 three years of work experience; has to pass an examination  
16 observing the principles of accounting for municipal governments;  
17 not less than 15 hours each year of continuing education in  
18 accounting in order to maintain his license.

19 I do not know of any objection to this amendment.

20 Mr. Morris. There is no formal objection that we know of.  
21 The only thing that we would point out is that it is a departure  
22 from the GAO standards for auditing. But it would apply solely in  
23 the State of Kansas.

24 Senator Dole. We provided it shall not be construed to limit  
25 the term "Independent Public Accountant." It does apply for the

1 State of Kansas.

2 There does not seem to me to be any need to go back and  
3 spend a lot of money to have the audits done over.

4 Mr. Morris. There is a provision which we will get to later,  
5 under "Auditing" to provide discretion to the Secretary of the  
6 Treasury for waiver of the audit requirement in certain circum-  
7 stances. This would in essence be in keeping with that type of  
8 provision.

9 Senator Dole. Is there any objection to that?

10 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

11 Senator Dole. Then, the other matter is, Senator Exon and a  
12 number of us - I should have raised it earlier - would have  
13 extended the revenue-sharing program for five years but would pro-  
14 vide that a State government receive its allocation only to the  
15 extent there is a reduction in the amount of categorical grant  
16 money that it would otherwise receive.

17 Now, I am not offering that at this point, but we would like -  
18 and I think Senator Exon joins me in this request, along with  
19 Senators Baker, Domenici, Armstrong and Danforth - if we could  
20 have maybe within a year a study done by the Treasury, submitted  
21 to the committee because they indicate it creates an administrative  
22 nightmare. So, we would just like to have some objective  
23 information on it.

24 Mr. Morris. We would suggest that you might want to have the  
25 Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations perform that



1 study and have it reviewed by the Treasury.

2 Senator Dole. Is it necessary to offer any amendment to that  
3 effect, or just make a request?

4 Mr. Morris. We can provide that in the committee report,  
5 request such a study.

6 Senator Dole. All right.

7 The Chairman. Without objection, it is agreed.

8 Now, that gets us to the matter about the Louisiana Sheriffs,  
9 does it not?

10 Mr. Morris. That is correct.

11 The Chairman. Let me just explain why I urge that the  
12 Sheriffs be separately taken care of. Different from the other  
13 States, the Sheriffs historically in Louisiana have always been  
14 separately funded. They have been funded by a separate tax. They  
15 did their own function, and they do not work under the supervision  
16 of the police jury. The police jury has its own function, such  
17 as parish roads and things of that sort and the general government,  
18 but the Sheriff does the law enforcement and he has been separately  
19 funded.

20 I did not have to ask that you separately fund the chiefs of  
21 police there, they are included within the budget for the city  
22 and are taken care of. But the Sheriff, who is usually the most  
23 dignified, respected man in the parish, he is looked upon as a very  
24 important person and so, when we funded the police juries under  
25 the theory that the law enforcement would get their part, those

1 fellows always thought they were in a secondary position. They  
2 just told the Sheriff, "We are sorry, you have plenty of money the  
3 way it is. If you think there ought to be more money for you, ask  
4 for a tax increase." ➤

5 So, the experience was the Sheriff did not get any money. I  
6 urged that they be included separately and funded for what would  
7 appear to be appropriate. We did that. We did it by taking one-  
8 half of it away from the parish where you would ordinarily assume  
9 they would put some of that money in law enforcement. They did not  
10 do so. Then we took the other half away from the Federal fund.

11 I can appreciate my friend Jack Brooks. He has been against  
12 revenue sharing every step of the way, and anything he can do to  
13 louse it up, he is going to do so; and so with great glee knocking  
14 out the part about the Louisiana shares. I can understand that.

15 All I can tell him, if he was still living in Crowley,  
16 Louisiana where he was born, I would take care of him and make him  
17 sorry he did that.

18 (Laughter.)

19 The Chairman. But he does not live in Crowley any more. So,  
20 I have to ask this committee to appreciate our problem.

21 Now, since the State no longer gets any money it looks to  
22 me as though I need to fund the Sheriffs by taking a little more  
23 out of the part that the policy jury gets. Now, how much additional-  
24 ly would we need to take from the policy jury in order to fund the  
25 Sheriffs?

1 Mr. Morris. You would need an additional, roughly, \$3.2  
2 million.

3 The Chairman. Now, the Sheriffs ought to sustain some of the  
4 reduction, too. Here is what I am thinking, if you take the amount  
5 that the Sheriffs were getting and the amount the policy jury  
6 was getting, and simply reduce them all correspondingly. You see  
7 what I am talking about?

8 In other words, basically you have to find \$3 million. Well,  
9 the Sheriffs take about 10 percent of the cut and the police jury  
10 has to take the other 90 percent of it. Basically they would all  
11 get a little less, but they would be on the same pro rata basis.  
12 If they have to suffer a \$3 million cut, they just have to absorb it

13 Now, how much is the police jury getting the way it is now,  
14 can you tell me that?

15 Mr. Morris. It varies. The police juries in the parishes in  
16 the aggregate are contributing roughly \$3.2 million currently to  
17 fund the Sheriffs' share because the total is about \$6.4 million.

18 Now, we had a slightly different proposal, Mr. Chairman, to  
19 deal with funding the Sheriffs for fiscal year 1981.

20 The Chairman. But here is what is wrong about your proposal.  
21 If we do that, I will be left in the position of asking that  
22 Louisiana get more than other States get. I do not like to be  
23 left in that position. I would rather just take my chances with  
24 the position where we just absorb that out of our share. Can you  
25 work it out so you just add up the total of what the police juries

1 get - not the parishes - and add to that what the Sheriffs were  
2 getting, so that to squeeze out \$3 million, just reduce them all  
3 pro rata. Can you do it that way?

4 Mr. Morris. Yes.

5 The Chairman. That is what I would suggest we do, that way  
6 we are not asking in Louisiana for more than anybody else gets  
7 out of the formula.

8 Senator Moynihan. I would like to second that proposal.

9 (Laughter.)

10 The Chairman. I am not asking for anything extra. I know  
11 I have a lot of unhappy police jurors when they see that they are  
12 going to get a little less in each parish.

13 Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my  
14 great admiration for my colleague, Jack Brooks, as I vote with you.

15 (Laughter.)

16 The Chairman. Let me say it, he would be a greater statesman  
17 if he was still living in Crowley.

18 (Laughter.)

19 The Chairman. Can you work that out?

20 Mr. Morris. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we will provide for a 10-per-  
21 cent reduction in the total entitlement for the Sheriffs and the  
22 balance to be funded out of the parishes.

23 The Chairman. All in favor say aye.

24 (Chorus of ayes.)

25 The Chairman. Opposed, no.

(No response.)

1 The Chairman. The ayes have it.

2 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, the next issue on the list  
3 relates to New Jersey. I would ask that the committee defer  
4 consideration of this with the understanding that I might offer  
5 this amendment on the floor. It relates to a circumstance in New  
6 Jersey where because of the formula we have a number of munici-  
7 palities who have smart lawyers and they have changed their  
8 designation to "Township" and doubled the amount of revenue  
9 sharing dollars that they have gotten.

10 We are at the moment looking at how the change would affect  
11 those townships that indeed have not switched but merit the funds.  
12 I would like to defer consideration of this amendment at this time  
13 with the committee's understanding that I would offer it on the  
14 Floor.

15 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed.

16 What is the next point you have?

17 Mr. Morris. The next item, Mr. Chairman, is the limitation on  
18 tax enclaves. This is an Administration proposal, it is on page 16.  
19 It is Item No. 7.

20 The Administration has proposed imposing a limit on the  
21 per capita adjusted taxes for certain jurisdictions which have  
22 unusually high adjusted tax effort factors because of special  
23 circumstances. They are either a small area with a heavy industrial  
24 concentration or a vacation resort area which receives unusually  
25 high taxes as a result of that type of activity.

1           The Administration proposes limiting those jurisdictions to  
2 per capita adjusted taxes of 250 percent of the average per capita  
3 adjusted taxes within the State. They would be scaled back from  
4 whatever the amount of their adjusted taxes are, back to this level  
5 This effects a relatively limited number of jurisdictions.

6           This provision is one that has been incorporated in the  
7 House Government Operations Committee bill with certain modifi-  
8 cations and we would recommend that the committee adopt this  
9 provision.

10           The Chairman. All in favor say aye.

11           (Chorus of ayes.)

12           The Chairman. Opposed, no.

13           (No response.)

14           The Chairman. The ayes have it.

15           Mr. Morris. The next item involves a definition of a unit of  
16 local government. Under present law, a unit of local government  
17 is defined as a government of a county, municipality of township,  
18 which is treated by the Bureau of the Census as a unit of general  
19 government below the State level.

20           The Administration has not proposed any change in this  
21 definition. However, the House Government Operations Committee  
22 in their bill has adopted a series of high criteria for determining  
23 whether a particular unit of government should qualify as a unit  
24 of government for purposes of general revenue sharing. They have  
25 a list of 14 criteria and require different places to meet at

1 least 14 specified services or to spend at least ten percent of  
2 their funds on at least two of the services.

3 We would recommend that the committee not agree to this change  
4 in the definition of a "unit of local government."

5 The Chairman. Without objection, we will follow the staff  
6 recommendation.

7 Mr. Morris. The next item is a reserve for adjustments. In  
8 the original Revenue Sharing Act there was a special fund set up  
9 for the purpose of permitting the Secretary to adjust for over and  
10 underpayments to recipient governments. In 1976, this provision  
11 was changed and we provided for a separate reserve fund for each  
12 State area and authorized the Secretary to reserve up to a half of  
13 one percent of the State area's entitlement. The funds that have  
14 been accumulated in this reserve exceed the needs of the Treasury  
15 in meeting these adjustment requirements.

16 The House Government Operations Committee bill continues the  
17 provision in present law, but urges the Secretary of the Treasury  
18 to vary future reserve adjustments to reflect projected needs for  
19 each State. We would recommend that the committee provide a similar  
20 directive to the Secretary of the Treasury to avoid the buildup of  
21 excess funds in the reserve.

22 Senator Talmadge (presiding): Any objection? Without objection  
23 it is approved.

24 Mr. Morris. The next item involves the annual use reports.  
25 In the original Revenue Sharing Act the Congress provided that each

1 recipient government should provide an annual report on the amounts  
2 and purposes for which revenue sharing funds have been appropriated  
3 spent, or obligated, and they should also show the relationship  
4 of these funds to their functional items in the budget.

5 The Administration recommends discontinuing this annual use  
6 report because it is felt that it does not necessarily represent  
7 the actual fiscal impact of the funds within each jurisdiction.

8 The House Government Operations Committee went along with the  
9 Administration proposal in this area. The committee may want to  
10 eliminate the requirement for this annual use report.

11 Senator Talmadge. Any objection? Without objection, it is  
12 approved.

13 Mr. Morris. The next item involves the auditing requirements  
14 under the Revenue Sharing Act. In 1976, the general revenue  
15 sharing program was revised to include a requirement that each  
16 government which received annual payments of more than \$25,000 -  
17 and this is 11,000 out of the 39,000 units of government which  
18 received revenue sharing funds - obtain an independent audit of all  
19 of its financial statements in accordance with generally accepting  
20 auditing standards, once every three years, covering all three  
21 years.

22 The Administration has proposed that this audit requirement  
23 be revised so that you require an audit not less than ever two  
24 years, which covers all of the financial statements for both years.

25 The House Government Operations Committee adopted the



1 Administration proposal but provided in addition that the Secretary  
2 of the Treasury has authority to waive the audit requirement where  
3 it would involve the repetition of an audit which had been performed  
4 by a State agency which was not in compliance with the auditing  
5 standard requirements but had taken action to comply with the  
6 requirement that the audits be conducted in accordance with the  
7 generally accepted auditing standards.

8 We would recommend that the committee may want to stick with  
9 the auditing requirements in present law, which require an audit  
10 once every three years, covering all three years.

11 The committee may want to also provide the Secretary of the  
12 Treasury with authority to waive the audit requirement under  
13 circumstances similar to that in the House. The House provision  
14 regarding the waiver is basically designed to cover a situation  
15 in the State of Michigan. We have received correspondence from  
16 the Senators from Michigan in support of that waiver provision and  
17 asking that our committee report similarly reflect that.

18 Senator Talmadge. Any objection? Without objection, it is  
19 approved.

20 Mr. Morris. That brings us to the reports required under the  
21 program. In 1976 we added a provision requiring the Advisory  
22 Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations to make a study of the  
23 interrelationship between revenue sharing and our Federal system.  
24 This report has been prepared and we would recommend deleting this  
25 requirement.

1 Senator Talmadge. Any objection? Without objection, it is  
2 approved.

3 Mr. Morris. There is no provision in current law requiring  
4 anyone to evaluate the fiscal impact of revenue sharing on the  
5 budgets of recipient governments. The Administration has proposed  
6 that the Secretary of the Treasury be required to report to the  
7 Congress in 1982 and 1984 on the operation and status of the  
8 Revenue Sharing Trust Fund and include an assessment of its fiscal  
9 impact on State and local government.

10 Since the committee has deleted the requirement for the  
11 annual use reports, it may want to follow the Administration  
12 recommendation that requires the assessment of the program.

13 Senator Talmadge. Any objection? Without objection, it is  
14 approved.

15 Mr. Morris. That brings us to the last part of the measure,  
16 and that brings up the subject of countercyclical fiscal assistance.

17 In August of 1979 the Finance Committee and the full Senate  
18 approved S. 566, which in part authorized an anti-recession fiscal  
19 assistance program. A similar program has been included in  
20 Title II of the House Government Operations Committee bill. Although  
21 the Administration did not include a countercyclical program in  
22 its original proposal, the President in his Economic Renewal  
23 Program announced on August 28 endorsed the enactment of a \$1  
24 billion countercyclical program for fiscal year 1981.

25 We would point out that the first Concurrent Budget Resolution

1 for fiscal year 1981, which was approved by the Congress in June  
2 of this year, and the second Concurrent Budget Resolution order,  
3 reported by the Senate Budget Committee on August 21, do not  
4 include any funds for countercyclical assistance.

5 We have provided a chart on pages 19, 20 and 21, comparing  
6 the differences between the countercyclical program approved by  
7 this committee and the Senate in S. 566, and the program approved  
8 by the House Government Operations Committee.

9 I can explain the principal differences between the bill  
10 as approved by the Senate, and the House bill. First of all, the  
11 funding under the bill originally approved by the Senate would  
12 have provided money only for fiscal year 1980, October 1979 to  
13 1980. The House provision would provide funding from October  
14 1980 through September 1983. Each would authorize one billion  
15 dollars per year.

16 In order to bring the countercyclical program into operation,  
17 the bill approved by the Senate provided that when national un-  
18 employment exceeded 6.5 percent for the most recent calendar  
19 quarter, the program would become effective.

20 The House committee has adopted a different approach. Rather  
21 than looking at unemployment, they would require two consecutive  
22 quarterly declines in real wages and salaries and gross national  
23 product. There would be a continued distribution of funds under  
24 their proposal until real wages and salaries regained their  
25 adjusted pre-recession level or, when the program ends pursuant

1 to the authorization. it would terminate funding.

2 Under the bill approved by the Senate, the Congress would  
3 have distributed \$125 million plus an additional \$30 million,  
4 multiplied by each one-tenth of a percentage point by which  
5 unemployment exceeds 6.5 percent. This would be distributed on a  
6 quarterly basis.

7 Under the House bill, the amount of funding would be \$10  
8 million per quarter, multiplied by each one-tenth of a percentage  
9 point decline in real wages and salaries from the adjusted pre-  
10 recession level. Also, they would limit the quarterly distribution  
11 to not more than \$300 million per quarter.

12 Another principal difference is that under the Senate bill  
13 one-third of the money would go to State governments, two thirds  
14 would go to local governments; under the House bill 50 percent  
15 would go to the State governments and 50 percent to units of local  
16 government.

17 The distribution to local governments under the Senate bill  
18 would depend on excess unemployment, which is defined as unemploy-  
19 ment over 4.5 percent; and under the House bill it would be based  
20 on declines in real wages and salaries.

21 The de minimis level of payment would be \$2,500 per quarter  
22 under the Senate bill and \$1,000 per quarter under the House bill.

23 On page 21 is an explanation of exactly how the distribution  
24 formula works under each of the two bills.

25 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, just a point of clarification.

1 S. 566, am I correct, has passed the committee and passed the  
2 Senate, and is technically in Conference with the House?

3 Mr. Morris. Yes.

4 Senator Moynihan. So, we are comparing a bill which we  
5 adopted and a bill from the House and, I suppose, awaiting  
6 Conference?

7 Mr. Morris. That is correct, it is pending, waiting for  
8 Conference.

9 Senator Moynihan. I do not want to have a big discussion,  
10 but a possibility would be just to adopt once more the bill we have  
11 adopted and go to Conference with the House where we will meet  
12 the provisions on the right-hand side of your table.

13 Senator Bentsen. I have a question on that. Where do we  
14 stand on the Budget Resolution, they do not provide for this?

15 Mr. Morris. That is correct.

16 Senator Bentsen. Where does that leave us, then?

17 Mr. Morris. The second Concurrent Budget Resolution has been  
18 reported by the Senate Budget Committee, and an effort would have  
19 to be made on the floor.

20 Senator Bentsen. I see, it was not provided for in that.

21 Mr. Morris. Right.

22 Senator Bentsen. So, the change would have to be made on the  
23 floor if it was to accomodate this. Is that correct?

24 Mr. Morris. That is correct.

25 Senator Moynihan. I can tell my friends that it was defeated.

1 I proposed it, our committee having passed this bill. I proposed  
2 to the Budget Committee to provide funds for it.

3 Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, we should also mention that this  
4 is an authorization of an appropriation, rather than an entitlement,  
5 which puts it in a different position vis-a-vis a budget  
6 resolution.

7 Senator Byrd. Am I correct, is a billion dollars involved in  
8 that?

9 Mr. Morris. It would be one billion dollars per year.

10 Senator Bradley. It is one billion dollars per year if  
11 the unemployment rate went up to 6.5 percent and other factors in  
12 the formula were triggered.

13 Senator Byrd. This is a one-billion dollar expenditure that  
14 is being proposed.

15 Mr. Moynihan. May I speak to my friend from Virginia? This  
16 is legislation that is a stand-by legislation if the economy goes  
17 into a recession in 1981 and the recession is fairly severe, this  
18 would kick in.

19 Senator Byrd. It would trigger a billion-dollar appropriation.

20 Senator Moynihan. Yes, but it is not automatic.

21 Senator Byrd. It is not automatic, I understand that. I  
22 just think we have to draw a line somewhere, some time on these  
23 expenditures. This fiscal year we are in now has the highest  
24 increase in spending of any year in history; and the second-highest  
25 deficit of any year in history. The upcoming year likewise pro-

1 vides for a tremendous increase in spending and a tremendous  
2 deficit.

3 I am going to move at the proper time that this be stricken,  
4 this billion dollars be stricken out, and ask for a roll call. I  
5 just think we have to draw a line somewhere some time on spending  
6 more and more of the tax funds that we do not have.

7 The Chairman. Are we still talking about the revenue sharing  
8 bill?

9 Mr. Morris. We are talking about the countercyclical title.

10 The Chairman. I see.

11 Senator Bradley. This is simply an authorization.

12 Senator Byrd. I know it is an authorization and that leads to  
13 an appropriation.

14 Senator Bradley. I would like to speak to the concept of why  
15 it is in this bill. The reason it is in this bill is the belief  
16 that the concept of revenue sharing involves State, local, and also  
17 stand-by authority.

18 Now, it is certainly only available in the appropriations  
19 process. Therefore, if it is not appropriated we will not have the  
20 money. It also has to be triggered only if the Federal economy  
21 deteriorates to the level where the formula factors become operative.  
22 I know that those are not arguments that will convince the Senator  
23 from Virginia, but the theory behind it was to have on the shelf a  
24 comprehensive Federalism program for revenue sharing,

25 Senator Bentsen. Could I ask the Senator on that, as far as

1 the technicalities, triggered on certain indexes, reaching certain  
2 points. Are those conditions now in effect? Would it now be  
3 triggered under the current conditions?

4 Mr. Morris. Depending on when you commenced the program, yes.  
5 We have unemployment of over 6.5 percent at the national level.  
6 We also have had two consecutive declines in real wages and salaries.

7 Senator Bentsen. Under the current conditions today it would  
8 be triggered.

9 Mr. Morris. That is correct. As an alternative, if the  
10 committee wanted to provide for a stand-by program which would not  
11 be triggered immediately, it could use a different national  
12 unemployment percentage.

13 Senator Bentsen. I am seeking information.

14 Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman?

15 The Chairman. Yes, sir.

16 Senator Chafee. It seems to me that taking the figure of 6.5  
17 percent unemployment is a low figure. If this Act were in effect  
18 now, the trigger would be on, would have been actuated. In other  
19 words, unemployment now is over 6.5 percent.

20 Senator Bentsen. It is at about 7.7 percent.

21 Senator Chafee. Where did you arrive at the figure of 6.5,  
22 where did you get that one from?

23 Mr. Morris. That was a figure that we selected last year.

24 Senator Bradley. That was in 566, which was passed in  
25 August of 1979.



1 Senator Moynihan. That is a figure that typically denotes a  
2 recession. We are getting so used to it, we do not think of it as  
3 a recession any more, perhaps. But there was a time when it was  
4 thought that four percent was much too high. We have now reached  
5 the point where 6.5 is beginning to be thought of as too low.

6 Senator Chafee. Under this Administration we have to lift  
7 our sights.

8 (Laughter.)

9 Senator Moynihan. Why not stick up for the principles of  
10 Republicanism and say, "6.5 percent is outrageously high and  
11 it requires countercyclical responses?"

12 Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that under the  
13 existing conditions to have had this program triggered in is not  
14 the kind of situation that I would envision requiring this program,  
15 particularly when we are running at a deficit. I would suggest we  
16 raise that trigger figure to something higher.

17 Senator Bradley. What would you propose raising it to?

18 Senator Chafee. Eight percent?

19 Senator Bradley. Eight percent? Could staff tell us, when  
20 was national unemployment last at eight percent?

21 Senator Bentsen. In '74-75 it was in excess of eight percent.

22 Senator Bradley. For two consecutive quarters?

23 Senator Bentsen. You certainly had that in effect, too.

24 Senator Chafee. Under the Senate bill it is just the most  
25 recent quarter, is it not?

1 Senator Bradley. We are going to go to Conference, I hope.

2 Senator Chafee. Let us work with the bill we have in front  
3 of us.

4 The Chairman. How do you feel about that, are you willing to  
5 go along with that proposal?

6 Senator Bradley. It is at 6.5 percent, he is suggesting  
7 eight percent. Why not compromise at 7.5 percent? I would be  
8 willing to compromise at that level.

9 The Chairman. Why not do that?

10 Senator Danforth. We are compromising on what now, as the  
11 trigger?

12 Senator Bradley. The trigger up from 6.5 to 7.5 percent.

13 The Chairman. That is a fair compromise.

14 Senator Chafee. Well, I should have started at nine, I guess.

15 (Laughter.)

16 The Chairman. Yes, but you did not.

17 (Laughter.)

18 Senator Byrd. Mr. Chairman, I would like a vote on the item  
19 itself.

20 The Chairman. All right. All in favor about doing something  
21 about this matter say aye.

22 (Chorus of ayes.)

23 The Chairman. Opposed, no.

24 (Chorus of noes.)

25 The Chairman. The ayes appear to have it.

1 Senator Byrd. I would like to have a roll-call vote on  
2 striking out the countercyclical provision.

3 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, just from a purely parliamentary  
4 situation, the way we have been operating has been changing from  
5 present law. So, I would think the vote would be the other way,  
6 namely whether you are going to put countercyclical in.

7 Senator Byrd. The vote is whether to put the billion dollars  
8 into it.

9 The Chairman. You are talking about an authorization now, is  
10 that right?

11 Senator Byrd. I understand it is an authorization, which leads  
12 to an appropriation.

13 The Chairman. I understand. Go ahead and call the roll.

14 Mr. Stern. Mr. Talmadge; Mr. Ribicoff?

15 Senator Ribicoff. Aye.

16 Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd?

17 Senator Byrd. No.

18 Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gravel, Mr. Bentsen?

19 Senator Bentsen. Aye.

20 Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunaga?

21 Senator Matsunaga. Aye.

22 Mr. Stern. Mr. Moynihan?

23 Senator Moynihan. Aye.

24 Mr. Stern. Mr. Baucus, Mr. Boren, Mr. Bradley?

25 Senator Bradley. Aye.

1 Mr. Stern. Mr. Dole?

2 Senator Dole. No.

3 Mr. Stern. Mr. Packwood, Mr. Roth, Mr. Danforth?

4 Senator Danforth. Aye.

5 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chafee?

6 Senator Chafee. No.

7 Mr. Stern. Mr. Heinz?

8 Senator Heinz. Aye.

9 Mr. Stern. Mr. Wallop, Mr. Durenberger?

10 Senator Durenberger. Aye.

11 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

12 The Chairman. Aye.

13 Mr. Stern. The question is whether there should be an  
14 authorization for a countercyclical revenue sharing program added  
15 to this bill.

16 The Chairman. It is nine ayes and four noes. The ayes appear  
17 to have it. We will leave it open in case the absent people  
18 record themselves contrary to that. I would assume, though, just  
19 looking at the attitude, I would assume that the ayes would have it.

20 Now, let me announced that, having polled the absentees on  
21 the Dole motion authorizing appropriations for the State share  
22 revenue sharing in fiscal years 1982 to 1985, it was agreed to  
23 eleven by seven. So, that takes care of that.

24 Now, can you agree to a compromise?

25 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, I thought Senator Chafee was

1 offering that in the spirit of someone who was in favor of the  
2 general concept. His vote indicates that he is not in favor of the  
3 general concept. So, I would be interested to hear from my  
4 colleagues who are in favor of the general concept as to wheter  
5 7.5 percent is a realistic number for them.

6 Senator Chafee. I thought we had already accepted it.

7 The Chairman. Well, you suggested a compromise of 7.5, and  
8 I would like to agree to 7.5 if we can.

9 Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, I thought that was what we  
10 were voting on.

11 Senator Byrd. No, Harry Byrd did not want to do anything,  
12 he wanted to give it zero. But I think the members of the committee  
13 felt they were voting on the 7.5 or zero.

14 Senator Bradley. That is all right. I thought there were  
15 members who wanted to make a statement.

16 The Chairman. Why not agree on the 7.5, can we agree on that?

17 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, some can, some cannot. There  
18 is an issue here, and that issue is, at what levels of unemployment  
19 do we officially perceive the stress on the economy and the working  
20 people. There was a time when - under President Kennedy - we had  
21 a national goal of four percent unemployment that was set, and that  
22 was thought to be surprisingly high. We have gotten up to the  
23 point where 6.5 is an indication of serious trouble; and now  
24 moving it to 7.5 accustoms us to levels of unemployment which I do  
25 not think we should grow accustomed to.

1 Senator Bradley suggested that Senator Chafee's thought was  
2 that he could be in favor of this legislation at 7.5. Well, those  
3 of us who wished to get a majority would have understandably  
4 responded. But had we known that he was going to be against it  
5 anyway, I think we would have said, let us keep the bill we passed.  
6 It was a good enough bill when we passed it the last time; the  
7 whole Senate has passed it.

8 The Chairman. If nobody wants to move it to 7.5, I will move  
9 it to 7.5. Just have a vote on it, just call a vote at the 7.5  
10 level. Now, the 7.5 amounts to a reduction from what?

11 Senator Bradley. It is 6.5 now.

12 The Chairman. And we are moving it to 7.5.

13 Senator Byrd. The vote will be on whether to increase it  
14 from 6.5 to 7.5 as a trigger.

15 Mr. Stern. Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Ribicoff?

16 Senator Ribicoff. No.

17 Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd?

18 Senator Byrd. Aye.

19 Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gravel, Mr. Bentsen?

20 Senator Bentsen. Aye.

21 Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunaga?

22 Senator Matsunaga. Aye.

23 Mr. Stern. Mr. Moynihan?

24 Senator Moynihan. No.

25 Mr. Stern. Mr. Baucus, Mr. Born?

1 Senator Born. Aye.

2 Mr. Stern. Mr. Bradley?

3 Senator Bradley. Aye.

4 Mr. Stern. Mr. Dole, Mr. Packwood, Mr. Roth, Mr. Danforth?

5 Senator Danforth. No.

6 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chafee?

7 Senator Chafee. Aye.

8 Mr. Stern. Mr. Heinz, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Durenberger?

9 Senator Durenberger. Aye.

10 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

11 The Chairman. Aye.

12 Well, the ayes are nine, and the noes are three. We can  
13 record the absentees and I assume it will be at 7.5.

14 Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, if I might comment just one  
15 minute on the question of the unemployed. One of the things that  
16 has happened in this country, as Senator Moynihan has very  
17 correctly stated our concern in years past at other levels. We  
18 have had more people who have wanted to take jobs than ever  
19 before in the history of this country.

20 In the last three and-a-half years you had eight million  
21 people added to the work force in this country. No other country  
22 in the world has matched that during that period of time. But  
23 with that you had people going to two-income families. You have  
24 a lot of women who had not been in the work force who are now  
25 seeking that kind of work; you have a lot of young people come on

1 seeking that kind of work. That has added to our unemployment,  
2 plus we have had a growth in structural unemployment.

3 Unfortunately, we are going to end up in a situation where, as  
4 the Senator from New York has stated, we are going to probably  
5 accept as a norm something higher than we have accepted in the past.  
6 That is a tragedy and one which we have to work at, trying to  
7 correct.

8 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, I would like to, if possible,  
9 propose to amend the formula that was described by Mr. Morris on  
10 page 21.

11 On page 21 the formula is excess unemployment times general  
12 revenue sharing employment, times local share, divided by the sum  
13 of the products of all local governments.

14 Well, I think it would be better if we did not have the GRS  
15 entitlement but rather used the GRS formula elements which are  
16 population, relative income, and general tax effort.

17 The entitlement formula includes constraints or limits, which  
18 is supposed to guarantee that the wealthy community gets a minimum,  
19 and it also imposes a ceiling on what the payments to the poor  
20 community are. The very purpose of this bill is to get it to those  
21 communities that are most in distress. I think by using the formula  
22 elements instead of the GRS entitlement formula you will be getting  
23 it to the poor communities who have the highest tax effort. I  
24 think that will be more consistent with the purpose of the program.

25 The Chairman. I would just like to ask for an opportunity to



1 study that overnight because I do not know how I want to vote on  
2 it. I would vote that on this particular item we would have a  
3 chance to study it and vote on it tomorrow because I do not under-  
4 stand it.

5 Senator Ribicoff. Along that line I would hope the staff  
6 would translate this in some examples.

7 Senator Bradley. I think I could tell you, for example, in  
8 Louisiana which towns do better because of it. For example, it  
9 means more money in New Orleans, in Plaquemine.

10 The Chairman. I know what Plaquemine is.

11 Senator Bradley. It helps rural towns that are poor as well  
12 as the towns such as New Orleans.

13 The Chairman. Well, I would just like to have a chance to  
14 know a little more about it before voting on it.

15 Mr. Morris. One of the reasons, Mr. Chairman, that we did  
16 not include a staff recommendation on this was because we really  
17 did not have any sort of overall printout on how it would work.  
18 But since it involves a program which is not in existence at  
19 this point, nobody would lose any money.

20 The Chairman. That is fair enough, but I would just like to  
21 see a little bit more about what I am voting on. I am sympathetic  
22 to you and I know when you are on to something; there is no doubt  
23 about that.

24 Senator Bradley. How about Plaquemine, Mr. Chairman?

25 (Laughter.)

1           The Chairman. Well, Plaquemine does not have as many people  
2 who suffer, as New Orleans has. I would like to take a look at it  
3 overnight.

4           Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, during the heated controversy  
5 last year on the question of State royalties I made the argument  
6 that one of the effects of decontrol will be that State Severance  
7 Tax will be increased and as a result the revenue-sharing portion  
8 of mineral-producing States would be increased as well, the  
9 proportion of the entire Revenue-Sharing Fund.

10           I have a couple of charts which I want to just refresh the  
11 committee's recollection on, the effect of decontrol in increased  
12 State revenues from both royalties and Severance Taxes, which is  
13 the chart on my right. These are the figures from last winter, I  
14 am not sure they are still accurate.

15           But they show a total amount of \$127.7 billion worth of in-  
16 creased revenues. Now, the chart on the left shows Severance Tax  
17 increases - and this is not just oil, it is all minerals - in  
18 various States between 1972 and 1978, which is prior to the  
19 effect of decontrol, of course. It shows an enormous increase in  
20 Severance Tax revenues of these States, from \$710 million to over  
21 \$2 billion; and of course that Severance Tax increase from those  
22 States is almost certain to go up and is going up right now.

23           The effect of this is that because Severance Tax income is  
24 included in the computation of local tax efforts, the proportion of  
25 the total amount available for revenue sharing going to these States

1 with Severance Tax incomes is constantly being increased; and the  
2 proportion of the States who do not have Severance Tax income is  
3 being decreased.

4 I have an amendment which would put a cap on the extent to  
5 which Severance Taxes can be used in the computation of local  
6 tax efforts, so that the States could pick whichever year, 1977,  
7 1978, or 1979, they want to use. Severance Taxes vary somewhat  
8 from year to year. So, it would give them a three-year period from  
9 which to pick. But after that selection is made the proportion of  
10 local tax efforts consisting of Severance Taxes would be frozen.

11 The Chairman. Well, let me just say, looking at your chart  
12 you cannot support some of these figures you have there. I, for  
13 one, have been contending to the people in Louisiana when I was  
14 seeking re-election that they are going to get a lot more money  
15 than their Revenue Department tells them they are going to get.  
16 They contend, the Revenue Department down in Louisiana, that they  
17 are not going to get anything like that \$13.8 billion, it going to  
18 be a much lesser figure than that. I was roughing it out at about  
19 \$15 billion. They said, no, it was going to be about two thirds of  
20 that.

21 Now, in addition to that, what is wrong about this proposal  
22 is, this opens up a great big "Mare's nest" of trying to tell the  
23 States how they are going to finance their governments. Once we  
24 get off in that area, tell them, "You do not finance your government  
25 with this tax, you have to finance it with that tax. You have to

1 put more here, or we are going to punish you somewhere else."

2 I think that it just gets us into an area where the Federal  
3 government should not be, and that is trying to tell the State that  
4 it cannot use its own discretion about how to finance itself.

5 Now, worrying about what to do about the Severance Tax, I think  
6 in the main it has proved not justified. Louisiana has not raised  
7 its Severance Tax, we are one of the main oil-producing States. Has  
8 Texas raised their Severance Tax; Senator Bentsen?

9 Senator Bentsen. No.

10 The Chairman. We have not raised ours. They have not raised  
11 theirs. People in Alaska attempted to have a big increase in  
12 Severance Tax and it was the Louisiana people who told them, "Do not  
13 do that, it will create a lot of bad will." So, Alaska kept their  
14 Severance Tax at what the Louisiana figure is.

15 I do not know why, when States are behaving themselves very  
16 nicely anyway, why in the devil we have to go into the business of  
17 trying to penalize them because they raised their revenue the way  
18 they thought they ought to raise it.

19 Now, the Severance Tax that Louisiana has was set in place  
20 long before this oil increase took place. If the price of the  
21 oil is increased they collect more tax.

22 Here is a revenue-sharing bill, the premise of which was to  
23 tell the State, "We are going to give you a certain amount of money,  
24 no strings attached." That is how we started out with it. "We  
25 are not going to bear in. Rather than to tell you under what terms

1 and conditions you are going to get the money we are going to  
2 tell you here is a certain amount of money, you spend it the way  
3 you think it ought to be spent."

4 Now, when the idea first came up Wilbur Mills went around  
5 speaking to these people and he said, "You do not want to have  
6 anything to do with this. As sure as you set up a program like  
7 this, it will be used just as one more leverage for Uncle Sam to  
8 try to run your State government for you."

9 Now, no one ever suggested at the time that we got into this  
10 that you ought to use the Revenue Sharing Bill to try to limit the  
11 State taxing power.

12 Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, I will not argue this at  
13 great length, but I just want to make two points about it.

14 The issue that is before us is the distribution of the total  
15 amount of money that is available for revenue sharing. It is a  
16 question of how much of that fund, what portion of this fund, should  
17 go to States that are otherwise doing very well.

18 Now, I take it that the whole argument for revenue sharing  
19 when people say, "Why do you take money to Washington and then send  
20 it back to the States" is that it is a way of redistributing of  
21 resources in this country. It is a way of trying to help, I hope,  
22 States that are not so well off.

23 So, what you have here is an acceleration of a maldistribution  
24 of resources where in effect because the percentage of the total pot  
25 is being increased for those States that are already doing well, in

1 effect States such as, say, New York, New Jersey, Missouri, or  
2 Rhode Island, are subsidizing other States.

3 The second point that I would make is that Severance Tax,  
4 unlike most other taxes, is fundamentally an exported tax. That  
5 is an income tax, sales tax, those are largely borne by people who  
6 are within the State. The Severance Tax is not. The Severance Tax  
7 is borne by the populace as a whole; it is paid by the consumer of  
8 the product.

9 The Chairman. Senator, I am glad you said that because you  
10 just got through totally and absolutely destroying your whole  
11 argument. Let me just explain this to you, this is something you  
12 should understand.

13 The price of oil right now is controlled by the Federal  
14 Government. But under this decontrol it is going to be based on  
15 the world price. So, when you take that world price of oil,  
16 suppose the world price is \$40 - just to pick a figure. That  
17 Severance tax comes out of what the producer gets, and there is  
18 no way on God's green earth that he can get one cent more than the  
19 \$40 just because he has been taxed.

20 So, you take the 12,5 percent out of him. He has to take,  
21 let us say, about \$5.50 out of his \$40, and so instead of getting  
22 \$40 he gets \$35.50 and he cannot pass on one penny of that \$5 that  
23 is being taxed away from him.

24 I know a little about that, I helped to raise that Severance  
25 Tax in Louisiana, and my father raised it before me. I am

1 thoroughly familiar with it. I pay out a tremendous amount of it.  
2 So, it comes out of the hide of the producer.

3 I would ask Senator Bentsen if he is not familiar with that  
4 fact. You cannot pass a Severance Tax through to that consumer.  
5 The producer has to bear it.

6 Senator Bentsen. Yes, he has to bear it because finally you  
7 get the price set by the people. We are not setting it ourselves  
8 any more.

9 Let me also say that when you raise the Severance Tax in the  
10 State of Texas you are talking about a State with 13 million  
11 people. The idea that such a Severance Tax does not affect them,  
12 in the years past it has affected them very materially. Now you  
13 have a situation where the OPEC countries are really setting the  
14 price.

15 But as a result of what we have done in the past - and I did  
16 not hear the Senator From Missouri disturbed about the fact - we  
17 were paying full prices for gas in our State, decontrolled, and  
18 other States were getting it at a subsidized rate, much cheaper  
19 than ours. That is something that is very difficult for people  
20 outside of a producing State to understand. But that was what was  
21 happening. The resources of our State were being transferred to  
22 other States at a price less than we paid domestically for it.

23 The kinds of results that you saw with us right there at the  
24 site where we were producing it, we are paying utility rates in  
25 Austin and in San Antonio, and Houston that are the equivalent or

1 more of the rates in Boston and Minneapolis. Now, that is what  
2 has happened to us.

3 When you get into a fight on excise taxes or Severance Tax,  
4 rather, in Texas, you have yourself a bloody political fight. I  
5 have not seen any move on those Severance Taxes in years in Texas  
6 because no one has dared take that kind of a thing on.

7 So, the idea that this is something that is just exported  
8 and does not affect the folks at home, that sure has not been the  
9 case in the past. Now, on oil we have a situation where OPEC  
10 countries are setting that price and the producer at this time is  
11 having to "eat" it, whatever it is.

12 Senator Ribicoff. Can I just make one comment? You talked  
13 about a big political fight in Texas. What has been raised by  
14 Senator Danforth is going to plague this country and this Congress  
15 for a long, long time. I think it is not going to go away, it is  
16 going to divide the country. That is the tragedy of what revenue  
17 sharing has done because it has changed the basic concept of our  
18 system of government between the Federal and the State.

19 That is why I commend and supported Senator Bentsen's and  
20 Senator Byrd's proposal because as I understand Senator Danforth,  
21 this is not the same fight that he made on the floor, so vehemently  
22 opposed by Senators Long and Bentsen, in which they prevailed.

23 Now he is talking about, if you get that and you keep that  
24 because they accept the arguments made by Senator Bentsen and  
25 Senator Long. Now you add something additionally to take away



1 from the other States because you do not figure that extra so-  
2 called "windfall" - you say it is not a windfall - in the formula,  
3 which deprives the other State from its revenue share. You are  
4 always going to have this argument until you eliminate revenue  
5 sharing.

6 Some day you are going to have to face up to the situation,  
7 are we going to go back to what the founders of this country  
8 intended between the Federal and State governments. But as long  
9 as we have that revenue sharing it is going to be with you.

10 Senator Danforth has hit on something that is going to plague  
11 Senator Danforth and Senator Long for lots of years to come.

12 The Chairman. Well, now, look, how does a State go about  
13 deciding how much tax it wants to levy on these people? I do not  
14 care whether you are raising it by a Severance Tax - Severance  
15 Tax is by no means the only tax we have in Louisiana. We have a  
16 Severance Tax; we have an income tax; we have sales tax, we have  
17 property tax.

18 A State looks at its needs and it levies taxes to bring in  
19 the amount of money it thinks it ought to raise, based on the  
20 needs that exist within that State. Cities do pretty much the  
21 same type of thing.

22 When you start trying to say, "Well, now, we are going to  
23 look at the way you raise your money, and we are going to reduce  
24 your revenue sharing based on how you raise your money," once  
25 you get into that, it seems to me as though you totally destroy

1 the whole principle that the Federal Government is going to raise  
2 some money. It is not going to tell the States how to run their  
3 State governments. It is going to raise some money and it is  
4 going to distribute it to the States on an equitable basis.

5 Now, if you are looking at tax effort, how are you going to  
6 start to judge a State's tax effort - especially we are talking  
7 about a tax on their people. Are we going to get down to saying,  
8 "You can use one tax but you cannot use another tax?" It seems  
9 to me that a State pretty well has the privilege to decide how  
10 it wants to raise whatever amount of revenue that State thinks it  
11 needs to raise.

12 Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, the minute we got into the  
13 business of cranking States' tax efforts into the business of  
14 distributing Revenue Sharing Funds, we got ourselves into the  
15 business of making a judgment as to what the State does in its own  
16 tax policy is related to what we do in distributing revenue  
17 sharing.

18 The Chairman. You look at tax effort, you look at how much  
19 money the State raises.

20 Senator Ribicoff. I do not think when the revenue sharing  
21 was passed anyone contemplated the consequences and the  
22 reverberations that would take place when the price of oil  
23 advanced to such a great extent. It certainly was not in the  
24 mind of the Senator from Louisiana or the Senator from Texas.

25 But now it has taken place and I can foresee a continuous

1 struggle between the various sections of the country with corelative  
2 resentment. I think a lot of it could be eliminated if you  
3 eliminated the revenue sharing because it is going to have a  
4 constant struggle and fight. One of these days the majority of  
5 the States that do not have the advantage of a Severance Tax from  
6 oil or other natural resources will actually join together to  
7 punish the States with the Severance Tax. Philosophically - and it  
8 is not going to happen this year or the next, or the year after -  
9 but philosophically this is going to be a fight that is going to  
10 divide the country and I hope it is not going to take place.

11 The Chairman. Let me just make this point, and I am not sure  
12 Senator Ribicoff understands it, and I think there are maybe some  
13 other people who do not understand it.

14 Louisiana had a Severance Tax much higher than that in  
15 Texas. Can you recall what the Severance Tax is in Texas?

16 Senator Bentsen. We are a little over four percent.

17 Louisiana. All right, so Texas has a four percent Severance  
18 Tax.

19 Senator Bentsen. What is yours, about twelve percent?

20 The Chairman. Louisiana has a twelve and-a-half percent  
21 Severance Tax, about three times as high. A barrel of Texas oil  
22 sells for the same price as does a barrel of Louisiana oil. The  
23 Louisiana producers just have to take an extra eight points out  
24 of their hides. They just get that much less because the State  
25 taxes it away from them.

1           If a State has no Severance Tax, their oil still sells for  
2 the same price, their producers just get that much more relative  
3 to what we get where we tax it.

4           Now, that Severance Tax has always been viewed in these  
5 States where we had it as a way, in terms of taxes, as a way of  
6 taxing those who are better able to pay, so those who are less  
7 able to pay would not have to pay so much. It has been a popular  
8 approach toward government in Louisiana, the attitude being just  
9 as some people would favor an income tax rather than a sales tax.

10          Now, we are not passing that tax on. That Severance Tax on  
11 oil is being paid by the producer. Even this windfall tax has  
12 given us all kinds of headaches because it is coming right out of  
13 their checks and they cannot pass it on to anybody.

14          Now, to come in here and say that we ought to be penalized  
15 because by virtue of the decontrol the Severance Tax brings in  
16 more money, which is being taxed away from our producers and it  
17 is not being passed through. The world price of oil determines  
18 what the oil is.

19          It seems to me this distorts the whole program, puts a whole  
20 new equation into it. This is a matter which in my judgment will  
21 lead to more and more Federal control - not just on what you can  
22 do with the money, but what you are going to do as a condition of  
23 getting it. It seems to me to say how you have to raise your  
24 taxes and I do not think we ought to get that into the bill.

25          Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, let me make a point to

1 Senator Danforth on this along the lines of what you are talking  
2 about.

3 I have a State that, in spite of the show "Dallas" where  
4 somebody in Los Angeles tries to interpret my State weekly; and a  
5 new show called "Texas" where somebody from Brooklyn tries to  
6 interpret my State, still has the lowest per capita income in  
7 parts of that State of any place in the United States.

8 It still is not up to the median on per capita income in the  
9 United States.

10 Now, that State has been depleting its resources to a very  
11 major extent for a very long time. Now we are seeing our reserves  
12 in that State going downhill. Now, are you to say to us then that  
13 if we decide that we are going to put a heavier tax on the producers  
14 in that State to try to make up some of that depleting resource, as  
15 the income goes down that we are not to be able to do it in effect,  
16 or we get penalized. You get penalized on how you go ahead and  
17 distribute your revenue sharing, that is what you are saying.

18 You put a disincentive on our doing it. Let me finish, and  
19 then I will be delighted to yield.

20 The point is that who pays for that is the producer in the  
21 State. It is a bloody political fight any time you take on the  
22 producers to try to raise the Severance Tax because as the OPEC  
23 countries now set these prices it is not passed on.

24 Senator Danforth. Well, the fact is without raising the  
25 percentage of tax at all, the tax revenues for Texas, for Louisiana -

1 even before decontrol - went up very, very substantially. That was  
2 the second map. Even before decontrol, between 1972 and 1978 the  
3 Severance Tax revenue for Texas increased from \$3.22 to \$9.53; and  
4 for Louisiana from \$2.20 to \$4.61. That is without any action of  
5 the legislature.

6 With decontrol it is clearly going to go up substantially  
7 more than that. Now, I am not saying that you can or cannot do  
8 anything. The only thing I am arguing is that the whole concept of  
9 sending money to Washington and then sending it back to State and  
10 local governments is not for the sake of going through all of the  
11 procedure and the red tape of doing that, but for the sake of  
12 trying to provide a source of income throughout the country, even  
13 for parts of the country which are relatively poor.

14 That you can do anything you want with the Severance Tax,  
15 provided the share of the total revenue sharing is not going to be  
16 constantly increased as a process.

17 The only issue before us - the only issue before us is, how  
18 big are the wedges of the revenue sharing pie that are going to be  
19 served up to States which have Severance Taxes. That is the only  
20 question.

21 The issue that I am presenting is, is it not possible - not to  
22 take it away entirely, some people propose that. Some people say  
23 Severance Taxes should not be included at all. I do not say that.  
24 All I say is, can we not, just for the sake of equity, can we not  
25 have some limitation to the future growth of the share of this

1 limited revenue sharing pie that is going to go to States with a  
2 Severance Tax because to the extent that their wedges grow, the  
3 wedges of other States shrink.

4 Senator Bentsen. Are we to be condemned forever to have a  
5 lower per capita income than some of the other States in the  
6 Union?

7 Senator Danforth. No.

8 Senator Bentsen. Is it because suddenly we are beginning to  
9 see our average move up and we are saying that we are approaching  
10 some of the other States in the Union and their per capita income  
11 average? Where is it that we are so rich?

12 The Chairman. I suspect you are going to find - and I will  
13 be glad to look at the figures - but I suspect you are going to  
14 find that the Louisiana share of the revenue pie will go down, not  
15 up because there are more factors in it than just this one item.  
16 One item is that we are moving up in per capita income. When I  
17 came here we were about 72 percent. Now we are gradually creeping  
18 up and we are now up to about 86 percent. Because we are creeping  
19 up in one area we have less in another. If we collect more taxes  
20 in one area, that probably means we are collecting less taxes in  
21 another area.

22 So, by the time you look at the balance - and I would like  
23 to ask that the staff get us some showing of just where we stand.  
24 My recollection is that Louisiana's share of revenue sharing has  
25 been going down, not going up. Can you tell me about that?

1 Mr. Morris. Off the top of my head, Mr. Chairman, I think  
2 it has remained relatively constant. We would have to get the  
3 distribution chart and double-check that. We can supply that.

4 The Chairman. Well, my recollection is that we have been  
5 moving up about one percent the last several years. We have been  
6 having about a one-percent gain as compared to the national average  
7 per year. This last year, I think, we gained about half of one  
8 percent. Can you tell me whether our share has gone up or down?

9 Mr. Morris. In fiscal years 1979 and 1980 the total amount  
10 distributed in Louisiana went down.

11 The Chairman. In 1979 and 1980?

12 Mr. Morris. Right.

13 The Chairman. Frankly, what our situation has been, our  
14 people are concerned about it going down, the way it is now; not  
15 going up. I suspect that is what you are going to find.

16 Furthermore, our situation here is that the State is not  
17 going to be getting any revenue sharing money. Where they really  
18 need help is at the local level, and they are not getting that  
19 Severance Tax money.

20 Mr. Morris. There was an actual reduction in the total amount  
21 distributed to the State of Louisiana just under \$9 million between  
22 fiscal year 1979 and 1980. Now, out of that \$9 million close to  
23 \$1 million represented just an overpayment during a prior period.  
24 So, there was actually an \$8 million decline.

25 The Chairman. So, we are not "hogging" up the other money, we



1 are declining the way it is now. I suspect you are going to find  
2 that, all factors considered, we will probably go down again next  
3 year. Yes, sir.

4 Senator Moynihan. I have a proposal that is going to increase  
5 your share.

6 The Chairman. Well, I would be willing to settle right now  
7 to just stand still, frankly.

8 Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, let us vote. You have the  
9 votes. Let us just call the roll.

10 The Chairman. Call the roll.

11 Senator Wallop. Mr. Chairman, I think we have gone beyond  
12 the time permitted.

13 Senator Bradley. Gone beyond what?

14 Senator Wallop. If you want to call it, I will not object;  
15 but we have gone beyond the time permitted.

16 The Chairman. Why not come back and vote tomorrow, then?

17 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, I take it that you would  
18 object to any other votes or any other issues being brought up  
19 now?

20 The Chairman. We do not have a quorum at the moment, frankly.

21 Senator Bradley. Mr. Chairman, as you are pondering a number  
22 of issues over the evening I hope that you will consider the  
23 future Plaucheville; and I hope that you will look at this formula  
24 change on countercyclical because all it says is that Plaucheville,  
25 if it has poor people and heavy taxes, that they should get the

1 full benefit of those two factors in the formula and not be  
2 constrained by the artificial constraints that are in the general  
3 revenue sharing proposal.

4 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, are we not doing any more  
5 business?

6 Senator Bradley. I think Senator Wallop objected. There is  
7 an agreement on the floor, is that right? What was the objection?

8 Senator Wallop. I said that if the Chairman wanted to vote  
9 on it, I was perfectly willing, I would not object; but that we  
10 had indeed gone beyond the time.

11 Senator Moynihan. I have an proposal to increase Louisiana  
12 and forgive Louisiana a debt of the Federal Government since 1836.

13 (Laughter.)

14 The Chairman. Why not temporarily set this aside and tell  
15 us about it tomorrow?

16 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, a measure of the first  
17 revenue sharing proposal of this government was proposed by a  
18 former chairman of this committee, a predecessor of yours, John  
19 Calhoun.

20 At a time when there was a great disturbance over the National  
21 Bank under President Jackson, Calhoun proposed and carried in  
22 both Houses the Act of June 23, 1836, in which surplus moneys of  
23 the United States Government treasury were deposited with the  
24 States, in proportion to their representation in the Congress.  
25 They were to be held in safekeeping and repayment was to be demanded.

1 Altogether some \$28 million was disbursed including, I am  
2 happy to say, \$477,919.14 to the State of Louisiana. That is still  
3 owed, it is undischarged; it is carried on the books of the  
4 Treasury. Treasury does not want it any more, it does not think  
5 the States are good for it; do not think they will pay it back, or  
6 whatever.

7 Here is an opportunity for the State of Texas - alas, there  
8 was not State of Texas.

9 (Laughter.)

10 Senator Moynihan. But New Jersey, Missouri, \$382,335.30. This  
11 is an opportunity to clear up a problem that has been burdening the  
12 bookkeepers of the Treasury Department for 150 years. And to  
13 the advantage of most members of this committee, those who are  
14 not advantaged or did not then exist, cannot very much complain.

15 (Laughter.)

16 The Chairman. I was not aware of this at all. Do you mind  
17 explaining what that is, Mr. Morris? Tell me more, what is that  
18 about?

19 Mr. Morris. As Senator Moynihan has explained, this is a sum  
20 of money that was distributed to the States back in 1836, and it  
21 has been carried on the books of the Treasury in a special  
22 category called a "Memorandum Asset Account." A number of States,  
23 when they issue a new bond indebtedness, have to have a provision  
24 within their prospectus indicating that there is this indebtedness  
25 on the books.

1 In the past there have been a number of bills that have been  
2 introduced during different Congresses. A bill to discharge  
3 the States from this liability was approved by the Ways and Means  
4 Committee in 1971. In the past, when this legislation has been  
5 proposed the Treasury Department and OMB have had no objection to  
6 those bills. We do not have a report as of this moment.

7 The Chairman. I have to leave to go to another meeting. I  
8 will leave Senator Moynihan in charge. You can work out whatever  
9 you can. If you can get the committee to agree to this matter,  
10 Senator --

11 Senator Moynihan. Can I say this, you can have fun with this,  
12 but actually there is a serious side. As Mr. Morris said, every  
13 time any of these States issue their bonds they have to have a  
14 clause acknowledging this debt to the Federal Treasury. The  
15 lawyers' fees have long since eaten up any advantage -- I failed  
16 to mention Rhode Island, \$382,000 that you got back in 1836.

17 The Chairman. It sounds like it might be a good idea. Is  
18 this a matter of forgiving something?

19 Mr. Morris. That is correct, it is simply a forgiveness  
20 of a so-called indebtedness, and there are ten Finance Committee  
21 States who would be discharged.

22 Senator Moynihan. There was no National Bank.

23 The Chairman. I see where Missouri gets \$382,000 out of this.

24 Senator Moynihan. That might cheer him up.

25 The Chairman. That should make him feel better.

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Why not think about this over night?

Senator Moynihan. All right, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. We will study it over night.

Senator Danforth. I feel I am going to like this bill.

The Chairman. The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m. the committee adourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, September 18, 1980.)