EXECUTIVE SESSION
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1979
United States Senate,
Committee on Finance,
Washington, D. C.

8 The Committee met, purusant to recess, at 10:20 a.m. in 9 room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell B. Long 10 (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Talmadge Ribicoff, Byrd, Nelson,
Bentsen, Matsunaga, Moynihan, Boren, Bradley, Dole, Packwood,
Roth, Chafse, Heinz and Durenberger.

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14 The Chairman: Why do you not commence to explain several 15 of these suggestions to us and tell us what the bill is that we 16 have before us and what the suggestions are?

As I understand it, we are mandated by the Budget 18 Committee to report out -- how many billions of dollars of 19 savings did they mandate us to report out?

20 Mr. Stern: The Budget Resolution is in conference now, 21 but the Senate position was that the Finance Committee should 22 save \$1.4 billion under a special reconciliation process and 23 another \$900 million in general, for a total of \$2.3 billion.

The Chairman: Another \$900 million of what?
Mr. Stern: They had already taken into account the fact

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1 that the Finance Committee had reported out savings in the 2 health area, so when you add the total of savings in health 3 that had been achieved by the time of the resolution plus the 4 additional amount that they require, and the resolution comes 5 to a total of \$2.3 billion.

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6 So far, you have done a net of \$700 million in the health 7 area and you have done \$200 million in Aid to Families with 8 Dependent Children as part of the Social Services bill.

9 So the staff had prepared, for committees considerations,
10 a number of suggestions for savings in the unemployment area
11 and Senator Boren's subcommittee had held hearings on them.

Just to set the stage, Mr. Chairman, it might be worth 13 looking at the blackboard a minute.

Senator Moynihan: Mr. Chairman, if I may make a point?The Chairman: Yes.

16 Senator Moynihan: Mr. Stern did say that the question of 17 what reductions we may have to make is in conference now and we 18 do not have any final instructions.

19 Mr. Stern: That is correct.

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20 Senator Moynihan: The House does not have the reductions 21 that are imposed upon us?

22 Mr. Stern: That is correct.

23 There is a large difference.

24 The Chairman: What is the House figure?

25 Mr. Stern: Basically speaking, the House does not

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1 contemplate any savings in the income maintenance areas and, in 2 fact, has made allowances for such legislation as has already 3 passed the House.

Senator Moynihan: It would not be wrong, Mr. Chairman, to 5 keep it somewhat tentatively in our mind. A normal outcome of 6 that kind of House-Sentate conference may be something in the 7 middle, perhaps. In any event, it is not likely to be as 8 large.

9 Mr. Stern: We do not know what the numbers are.
10 One of the problems as you do the reconciliation process
11 you are under the gun without the ordinary process of amendment
12 on the Senate Floor.

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To some extent, if you think you are going to have to 14 achieve some savings it is worth your while to look at the 15 thing substashtively now before you are in that position. 16. At any rate, what is shown on the blackboard is the 17 different parts of the unemployment program as they exist now. 18. During the first six months, that is to say the first 26 19 weeks, regular benefits are payable to unemployed workers, and 20 those benefits are paid 100 percent out of state unemployment 21 tax funds.

If the unemployment level in a state is sufficiently high, and or if nationally the unemployment level is sufficiently high, that triggers then the extended benefit program which would pay an additional three months worth of benefits. Those benefits

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1 are paid 50 percent federally from unemployment taxes and 50
2 percent state.

The reason why we would put the word "ultimately" in 4 parenthesis for the time being, the Federal unemployment taxes 5 have not paid the cost of the program and there have been loans 6 made from the general fund to the unemployment funds. 7 Ultimately 50 percent Federal funds did get paid for 8 unemployment taxes on employers.

9 Finally, there is a trade adjustment assistance program,
10 part of which pays benefits to workers, and that is 100 Federal
11 funds paid out of general funds of appropriations.

12 The Trade Adjustment Assistance Program is paid out of 100 13 percent general funds. That is appropriations for the first 14 six months. Those benefits supplement the regular unemployment 15 benefits because they are typically higher and then for the 16 last six months they are entirely Federal.

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In the case of an individual who is over age 50 or in 18 training, the benefits may actually go on for another six 19 months for a total of a year and a half's worth of benefits.

20 On the agenda today, we are proposing discussing a number 21 of possible savings in the unemployment area. In the regular 22 unemployment and extended benefit unemployment programs first, 23 then to take up an actual bill that has pased the House in 24 Trade Adjustment Assistance.

There is no bill pending before you on unemployment

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1 benefits. These are suggestions for possible savings in the 2 unemployment program.

3 Senator Ribicoff: Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt, are 4 we not at a disadvantage to try to vote on something that we 5 may or may not have to do?

6 If the conference report takes a completely different 7 tack, what we are required to do might influence how we may 8 vote on many of these measures. So it is premature.

9 As I read the papers, there seems to be a very bitter 10 impasse between the House and Senate Budget Committees, so we 11 do not know where they are going.

12 The Chairman: Well, we are under a mandate to try to 13 balance this budget for fiscal year 1981. Most of us voted for 14 that.

15 If we are going to do that, I believe that we will have no 16 choice but to do some of the kinds of things that are suggested 17 in the staff memorandum. We are going to have to cut down on 18 unemployment insurance where we can.

19 Senator Packwood: Mr. Chairman?

20 The Chairman: Yes, sir.

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21 Senator Packwood: I would respectfully disagree, only to22 this extent.

If we mean fitting within a mandate of a reconciliation or 24 some other cut in this Committee, you may or may not be right. 25 You may balance the budget in 1981. I am willing to be, as

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1 sure as we are sitting here when the revenue projections come 2 out and the higher oil prices, we are going to balance the 3 budget. The budget the President submitted us will be 4 balanced, and Congress will balance it. Whether or not we save 5 \$500 million to \$1 billion in a variety of programs within the 6 jurisdiction of this Committee, I would be willing to bet that 7 there would be as much as a \$10 billion to \$20 billion surplus 8 next year when we project our revenues in January.

9 The Chairman: Well, that would be good news to me. I was 10 not counting on it.

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15 Senator Packwood: In the testimony before this Jommittee 16 -- somebody correct me if I am wrong -- when Alice Rivlin 17 testified about three weeks ago, as I recall she projected that 18 we would have a surplus of \$10 billion to \$15 billion next 19 year. I cannot remember if anybody was here at the time of 20 that hearing but I am quite sure those were her figures.

21 This assumed no tax cut. It assumed a number of things, 22 gross revenues and projected expenditures.

Congress can do all kinds of things with the money.
The Chairman: Well, we do not have to consider any of
this morning.

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1 Senator Moynihan: Mr. Chairman?

2 The Chairman: Yes, sir.

3 Senator Moynihan: If we are going to make some 4 preliminary remarks -- which I think we should --

5 The Chairman: Yes, sir.

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6 Senator Moynihan: I would like to associate myself with 7 Senator Ribicoff's statement about the problem. I would like 8 very much to associate myself with Senator Packwood's hopes for 9 revenue.

But, in any event, there is a specific which the President Has established -- the National Commissoin on Unemployment Compensation which has been doing a very serious piece of work has here and is taking up measures which Senator Boren has done and twill, no doubt, reach many of the same conclusions. Perhaps it swill not.

But as a procedural matter, if we are going to have Presidential Commissions and ask people to take them seriously, Normalized the seriously is not premature. I would have thought the Ocmmission would report ---which it will do next year -- and then the Subcommittee -- Senator Boren -- then we will have not only our judgment about the budget but a consensus of the communities involved about this major social insurance program.

This is not just another Federal program. This is 24 probably, next to Social Security, this is the most important 25 income maintenance program the Federal government has, and in

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1 your working lives it is by far your most important.

I just make this point, Mr. Chairman.

3 The Chairman: Senator Boren?

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Senator Boren: Mr. Chairman, I have to disagree, at least 5 in part, with what has been said. I do not think -- whatever 6 the projections are, I think it is far too early for us to 7 know. I do not think it is ever the wrong time to try to find 8 ways to save money, if it can be done in a manner that is 9 constructive and useful.

10 Now, the Commission of course, we have passed out the 11 continuation of the study commission. It will be underway for 12 another year, and they did get a late start. Some of the 13 issues there are under study there by the Jommission and some 14 are not. There are also studies of many other things that are 15 not listed here.

I think what we have here is a staff assessment of some 16 17 possibilities that might in the very near term leave to some 18 savings. I think some of these things are fairly 19 straightforward and they are merely the kinds of things that we 20 can look at, but I think they deserve consideration.

If the Committee felt that these were areas where there is 21 22 substantial debate or is undecided on some of these things, it 23 would be very simple to pass those over. On the other hand, we 24 might go through the whole list. Maybe we would only pick two 25 or three things out of the list that we thought were possible,

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ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC. 300 7th STREET, S.W. REPORTERS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024 (202) 554-2345 1 or alternatives to what is suggested here. We might end up 2 saving \$100 million instead of \$2 billion. \$100 million is 3 \$100 million and a step in the right direction.

4 The Chairman: There are some suggestions here in this 5 list.

Senator Boren: Which are not controversial.

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7 The Chairman: Which, it seems to me, should not be 8 controversial. Some of them might be, but there are some of 9 them that I think are hardly controversial at all.

10 One of them back here in the rear, for example, wherein an 11 employee leaves in order to take a pension. A fellow has 12 earned his retirement and he retires after working for many 13 years, let us say at a plant. And he has a very good 14 retirement available to him, so he retires.

This fellow was telling me about it. After he retired from the plant someone said why did you not go down there and get your unemployment money. He said, what unemployment money? Is I retired. I have a good pension.

And the fellow said, yes, but you can go down there and tell them you are unemployed and you can get six months of unemployment money even though you are retired.

He said, that seems to me like stealing and he said 23 everybody else is doing it, go down there and get your money. 24 So he inquires around among the people. That seems to be the 25 thing to do, go down there.

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Here is a fellow who earns a good retirement from a company who had a very good retirement program. Go down there and get your unemployment money in addition to your pension.

That is not what we passed this program for and it seems to me that in a situation like that, that is a rip off. That 6 is a rip off.

7 It does get down to something that I have said around this 8 committee other times. By the time you give somebody something 9 he has no right whatever to expect he does not appreciate that 10 any more than when you give him something that he has earned. 11 It is more like a gift than it is when a fellow has actually 12 worked for something and earned it.

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But the unemployment program is not supposed to be a Herein a vacation with pay program. It seems to me that that item is one we could agree on, where you have a pension 6 coming but you earn from your regular retirement that you would 17 reduce the unemployment payment by the pension.

I am not talking about a case where a guy has got a 19 disability pension coming from his service-connected disability 20 from wartime and all of that, but where he earned a pension 21 which is for the purpose of taking him out of the work program. 22 In a case like that, it seems that he would not be drawing 23 the pension. Which suggestion is that, that is the last one? 24 Mr. Stern: On page 4, item number 10 on the top of the 25 page, a couple of years ago you enacted a law which says you

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1 have to have a dollar for dollar offset for any pension benefit 2 and that will go into effect next April, if you do not do 3 anything else.

The Administration suggestion, which I believe is 5 basically what you referred to, Mr. Chairman, you modify that 6 so as to say when an individual is receiving a pension from the 7 smae employer for whom he receives unemployment benefits, then 8 you would have a dollar for dollar offset.

9 If a person retires from the XYZ Company and is 10 unemployment with the XYZ company is the basis for his 11 unemployment benefit, then he could not both receive a pension 12 and an unemployment benefit from that company. If he had a 13 pension, however, based on some military service of some prior 14 years or some other employer who was his employer three, four, 15 or five years before that, that would not be taken into 16 account.

17 The concept here is you are being insured against the risk 18 of loss of income due to unemployment with that particular 19 employer and therefore when you are no longer employed by that 20 employer, getting a pension benefit, you would have an offset. 21 Otherwise, you would not.

22 That is a suggestion.

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23 Senator Moynihan: May I make a slight amendment, Mr.24 Chairman?

25 It seems to me in the theory and practice of unemployment

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1 insurance, unemployment insurance is a deferred wage. It is 2 bargained for. It is a part of the agreement on compensation.

3 There is an insurance principle involved, but the employee 4 has obtained it as a benefit. It is no different, that retired 5 person is no different receiving his pension, then a person 6 receiving dividends in bucks. And a pension is negotiated as a 7 deferred wage.

8 We would not ask a person who took stock options from a 9 company, as it were, not to receive other benefits. That is 10 his property. He may be looking for work. If he is looking 11 for work, he is entitled to that.

These are large questions. I do not think they should be 13 resolved. They are issues of social policy. I do not think 14 they should be resolved in the context of employing the 15 budget resolution that we are not sure is going to take 16 effect.

Mr. Stern: This is the only item on the list where you 18 actually have a policy written into the law that is harsher 19 than that. It simply says that there is a dollar for dollar 20 offset. Unlike the other items, there is something that is 21 written into law.

22 Senator Chafee: Mr. Chairman?

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23 The Chairman: Senator Chafee?

24 Senator Chafee: A possible compromise might be not to 25 deduct from the unemployment compensation that portion of the

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In other words, let us say that there is an entitlement In other words, let us say that there is an entitlement In other words, let us say that there is an entitlement In other words, let us say that the employee contributed half to, say the total pension is \$100 a month of which the employee's contribution would be responsible for, say, 50, just like our own pensions here with the Federal government which we make a contribution to.

8 So thus the income from the pension for the employee -- we 9 will say \$100 a week. Let's put it on that basis. \$50 is a 10 return of his own contribution. \$50 is the employer's 11 contribution.

12 Then have the employer's contribution be deducted from the 13 unemployment comp rather than the full dollars since the 14 employer is the sole person to pay into unemployment comp. 15 Senator Packwood: Would the same theory be true for the

16 half of Social Security that the employer pays?

17 Senator Chafee: Yes, I think so. Yes, I think you could18 work that out.

19 Senator Packwood: What is it, Mike, that the National 20 Commission recommends on this?

21 Mr. Stern: They mention simply repealing the pension22 offset provision.

23 Senator Packwood: Repealing what?

24 Mr. Stern: Repealing the provision in present law that 25 requires the offset so each state would make its own

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1 determination on how to handle it.

2 Senator Packwood: They would recommend allowing each 3 state to determine for itself?

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4 Mr. Stern: That is correct.

5 Senator Packwood: Eliminate that March 31, 1980 date we 6 have?

7 Mr. Stern: That is right.

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8 Senator Chafee: The House has not gone that far, have 9 they?

10 Mr. Stern: The Ways and Means Subcommittee has held
11 hearings -- I guess even the full Committee has reported out
12 the administration proposal.

13 Senator Chafee: Which is what?

14 Mr. Stern: I think it is -- I had thought it was based 15 only on employers. Maybe Mr. Weatherford would like to 16 comment. I believe he is saying it is the proposal you 17 described, Senator.

18 Mr. Weatherford: Basically ours was basically what you 19 had outlined, that you do take into account employee 20 contributions into it. If the employer contributed, say, 50 21 percent or more, then you would make some sort of pro ration in 22 there. I think that would be what we would support on this.

23 That is basically what the House Ways and Means Committee 24 reported out also, sir.

Mr. Stern: Under this suggestion you would not take into

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1 account Social Security. You would only be talking about 2 private pensions.

Senator Chafee: You could take Social Security. I do not 3 4 know.

Mr. Weatherford: We understand Social Security is taken 5 6 into account, I believe, in the House bill.

7 That is right, sir.

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Mr. Stern: I am sorry. 8

Senator Packwood: Have we had any hearings on this? 9 I 10 feel like I am legislating in the dark.

11 The Chairman: Senator Boren conducted hearings on this 12 subject.

Senator Boren: Yes, Mr. Chairman. We have had two 13 14 hearings on this.

I would like at this point, 'in terms of urging the 15 16 Committee to proceed ahead, I know when I served at the state 17 level when I was running for the Senate, nothing was talked 18 about to me by the average citizen on the street more than 19 abuses in the unemployment system. I had more comments about 20 that, more resentment toward it.

21 We have found, for example, in our state, by making some 22 of these changes -- which, by the way, have been adopted by 39 23 states, not exactly controversial since 39 states have followed 24 them -- by changing items one, two and four on the sheet that 25 the Committee staff has prepared in terms of disallowing

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1 benefits to those who voluntarily quit work without cause and 2 will not accept employment, we have found astounding results in 3 our state.

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4 Our fund was broke. I would point out I see a number of 5 people around this table whose funds are not only broke, but 6 owe \$6 billion back to the Federal Treasury.

7 What is the outstanding owed by the states now?

8 Mr. Humphreys: \$5 billion.

9 Senator Boren: Do we have a list here of the states that 10 are owing substantial amounts of money?

11 Mr. Humphreys: It is on page 8.

12 Senator Boren: Page 8.

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13 Mr. Humphreys: Of the blue book.

14 Senator Boren: The number of states that still have 15 outstanding amounts, \$410 million in the state of Connecticut; 16 \$694 million in the state of New Jersey; \$103 million in the 17 state of Rhode Island; \$1.2 billion in the state of 18 Pennsylvania and so on.

19 There are some very significant -- \$335 million in the 20 state of New York -- some very significant amounts of money 21 that are still owed and if we are, indeed, coming into a period 22 of some economic problems under which we might see the 23 unemployment rate go up and some of these additional benefits 24 triggered and all of us want to take care of the people who are 25 genuinely unemployed, I would say we are running grave risks if

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1 we do not anticipate these developments and try to save in the 2 areas where the funds are being paid out on an illegitimate 3 basis.

4 Our fund was broke in our state. We were absolutely broke 5 in 1976. We were going to have to raise employer contributions 6 significantly or face having to go into debt again to the 7 Federal government for it.

8 We made some of these changes. The result was, within two 9 years, our reserves had risen from \$155 million -- the highest 10 in the state history. We reduced the employer contribution for 11 30,000 employers.

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We found that over 60 percent, I think, of the claims in 13 our state were being made by people who voluntarily quit work 14 or were fired for cause, not laid off in any kind of economic 15 downturn, or people who refused to accept work when offered.

16 What we are dealing with here is a program that has been 17 highly abused, funds that are set aside in an insurance program 18 to take care of people who are thrown out of work by recession, 19 by change in the trade laws, or other things.

20 We are really threatening, I think, money that is set 21 aside for them. We are allowing abuse of money that they paid 22 into.

If we are going into a period of downturn with \$5 billion 24 still owing, with all due respect, especially the states that 25 have money owing, I think they would have the first

1 repsonsibility of trying to void any abuses so we do not have 2 this problem in the future.

3 So I would hope that we would not say to the American 4 public that we want to turn our backs on this. The Commission 5 when we had the hearings in which we considered their 6 continuation, I have urged them again to look at areas in which 7 we can prevent abuse and where we can find some areas of 8 savings, so we can pay to those who generally deserve it.

9 I do not think we ought to drag our feet on some of these 10 things which are very clear-cut. The issues are not going to 11 change. It is going to be the same thing next year, the same 12 thing two years from now.

When the Commission reports back, they are not going to 14 change. We either want to face up to them or we do not. I 15 think we should.

16 The Chairman: Mr. Moynihan?

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17 Senator Moynihan: Mr. Chairman, Senator Boren has not 18 said a word I disagree with except that the element of time and 19 the fact that the Commission -- what the Senator's subcommittee 20 is thinking about is a major departure in this area towards 21 Federal standards and really sort of Federal rules, almost, and 22 there is a logic to that, but it is a logic that this 23 Committee, which has a responsibility for the Social Security 24 Act and the Unemployment Compensation legislation, would really 25 want to give a month's serious consideration to, and will next

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2 I wwonder, sir, if we could ask the administration what it 3 feels at this point?

4 The Labor Department is here.

5 The Chairman: Mr. Weatherford, would you like to speak to 6 that?

7 Mr. Weatherford: Thank you.

8 Senator Moynihan, in our testimony, we generally took the 9 same position that you did. I think the National Study 10 Commission has just been extended and has under consideration 11 many of these particular areas here.

12 As we indicated, many of them we have concerns about but 13 believe that that Commission ought to take that under 14 consideration.

15 I think another comment I would like to make, Senator 16 Long, is that many states already have these provisions in 17 place.

As Senator Moynihan said, you are going towards putting a 19 standard in, because 43 states now address the question of 20 duration, disqualification, that Senator Boren is talking 21 about. They already do that.

22 Senator Nelson: I do not understand. Forty-three23 states --

24 Mr. Weatherford: Forty-three states already have a 25 provision to disqualify people who quit, or voluntarily quit,

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1 their jobs to disqualify them for the duration of their 2 unemployment.

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3 The Chairman: Forty-three states already have it?
4 Mr. Weatherford: Yes, sir.

5 The Chairman: We are talking here in the areas where you 6 have got most of these recommendations have to do with areas of 7 the extended benefits which is where the Federal government is 8 paying the whole thing. All right.

9 Now, where you have got something that works out to be a 10 rip-off and forty-three states already recognize the thing to 11 be a rip-off, why do we have to wait for that Commission to 12 report.

They were supposed to have reported already. When Mr. 14 Cowen, who is the Chairman of that Commission, was up here I 15 told him out there on the Senate Floor, they mandated us to 16 come up with \$1.4 billion worth of svings. He did not say it 17 for the record; we were not talking on the record at that 18 point. He said, I could give you a number of things where you 19 could save some money and you have every right to do it, he 20 said.

For example, the states have a right to complain about 22 your mandating in the area where the state matching applies and 23 where the state laws apply but in the area where the Federal 24 government is paying the whole cost of it, you have the right 25 to tell them how it should be done. Where you get down to

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ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC, 300 7th STREET, S.W. REPORTERS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024 (202) 554-2345 1 something that 43 states agree that it is a rip-off and all 2 logic agrees that it would suggest that it is a rip-off, why do 3 we have to wait for some commission to come in here?

4. Senator Packwood: Could I ask a further question? Did
5 you say --

6 The Chairman: The Chairman of the Commission could tell 7 you right now that he thinks it is a rip-off.

8 Senator Packwood: Did you say that 43 states have a 9 provision that if you voluntarily quit you are never eligible 10 for unemployment compensation?

11 Mr. Weatherford: No, sir. Until you become re-employed. 12 Senator Packwood: I understand the re-employed part. You 13 were saying if you voluntarily quit this job, 20 weeks 30 14 weeks, 50 weeks go by and you cannot find a job. In those 43 15 states you are not eligible for unemployment compensation?

16 Mr. Weatherford: That is correct, sir.

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17 I would just like to have, in addition, in the remainder, 18 no state pays an individual unemployment benefits when they 19 quit. They disqualify them for a specified period of time, and 20 after that if they are unable to find work, that is the 21 difference.

22 But no state in the country pays benefits just if you quit 23 your job and start paying benefits.

24 Senator Packwood: Only seven will pay them after a 25 certain specified period of time. Is that right?

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Mr. Weatherford; We call it nine because we include
 Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

3 Senator Packwood: Forty-three will not pay them no matter 4 what length of time has elapsed?

5 Mr. Weatherford: That is correct.

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6 Senator Long, if I could respond, one of the difficulties 7 in dealing with the Federal standard in terms of individual 8 state law -- for example, one of the states now that provides 9 for a fixed duration or a fixed disqualification, Texas, they 10 can disqualify an individual up to 25 weeks.

If we put in the provision we are talking about here which l2 is duration disqualification, the individual quit the job, goes l3 back and gets another job for six to eight weeks and qualifies l4 so that they would be back to your rolls well before the time l5 under the proposed deal than you have under current law. It is l6 a complex thing, trying to deal with something where you have l7 so many different state laws involved.

18 I think that is at the heart of trying to be sure.

19 You know, we have had some standards where we have had to 20 wrestle around on how to impose those things.

The Chairman: Where we are paying 100 percent of it, not the state program at all, a Federal program, we are paying 100 apprcent, the states are just passing the money on through. Do we not have a right to say how that should be handled? Mr. Weatherford: There is no question about your right to

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2 Senator Nelson: 100 percent of what? What benefit is 100
3 percent paid for by the Federal government?

The Chairman: The extended benefits.

5 Senator Boren: The Chairman is right. If you look at 6 items one, two and four on this sheet, where we are saying you 7 are disqualified for the duration of the unemployment from 8 that incident, voluntarily quits, discharged for misconduct, 9 and so on.

10 Let's take number one. Let's settle with number one.
11 If we were to do that and mandate that that all states do
12 it, the savings would be \$300 million a year. In fact, 41
13 states plus Puerto Rico and the District have already done
14 that.

What you are saying is, let's not get into the whole hilosophical area of mandating something on the states. Let's yust over the part that the Federal government, and the Federal government pays it after the 26 weeks. When we go into the setended benefits, then we are talking about Federal money.

All you are saying is why not have the Federal government adopt the same standards with Federal money that 43 of the zz states have already seen fit to adopt, to prevent abuse.

23 We are lagging far behind the states in terms of what the 24 Federal government is willing to say in terms of spending its 25 own money. That is not controversial to me.

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1 The Chairman: Senator Moynihan had his hand up, then 2 Senator Chafee.

3 Senator Moynihan: I had spoken more than I intended, Mr. 4 Chairman, I would just like to say that when we have heard each 5 other out here, I am going to offer a motion to defer this 6 matter until the report of the Commission is before us. I 7 think it is a large and important undertaking and this 8 Committee should give a good chunk of its time next year and 9 that will be time enough.

10 That is all I have to say.

11 The Chairman: Mr. Chafee?

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12 Senator Chafee: Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out 13 that the Federal government does not solely come into this 14 program after the 26 weeks has expired. The Federal 15 government, right from the beginning of the program, pays the 16 entire administrative cost of it, so what is our annual --17 forget what we pay for extended benefits. What do we pay just 18 year by year for administrative costs?

19 Mr. Humphreys: \$1.8 billion right now.

20 Senator Chafee: So the Federal government has some reason 21 to insert themselves into this whole program and set some 22 standards.

23 The Chairman: Mr. Packwood, then Mr. Dole.

24 Senator Packwood: I want to come back again to the 26 25 weeks. You are saying in these 43 states, after the person has

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1 quit, he never gets any benefits. After 26 weeks has gone by, 2 the Federal government will start to pick up benefits?

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3 Mr. Weatherford: No, sir.

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4 Senator Packwood: Where did the 100 percent Federal 5 funding come from that the Chairman talks about? What benefits 6 are those?

7 Mr. Weatherford: I do not think it is 100 percent Federal 8 funding. 50 percent for the extended benefit program which 9 triggers in after week 26 when unemployment reaches the trigger 10 level.

11 Senator Packwood: Let's come back to the voluntary quit, 12 where you have those states that will allow an individual to be 13 qualified for unemployment compensation after a period of time 14 has gone by. Who pays those benefits?

15 Mr. Weatherford: The states. After week 26.

16 Senator Packwood: From week 26 onward they are fully 17 funded from the Federal government?

18 Mr. Weatherford: 50 percent.

19 Senator Packwood: 50 percent.

20 Are any of the benefits 100 percent fully funded by the 21 Federal government?

22 Mr. Weatherford: Not currently.

23 Senator Packwood: Those states that choose to go beyond 24 the 26 weeks or the extended benefits or allow benefits after a 25 voluntary quit are paying 100 percent of the benefits up until

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1 week 26. If they allow a person to come back on unemployment 2 compensation after quitting, they are paying 100 percent of the 3 benefits?

4 Mr. Weatherford: Yes.

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5 Senator Packwood: After that, they are paying 50 percent 6 of the benefits, so in no event is the Chairman right that we 7 are paying 100 percent of the benefits?

8 Mr. Weatherford: That is correct.

9 Senator Packwood: The \$1.8 billion in terms of 10 administration that Senator Chafee talks about would be very, 11 very insignificantly affected, the administrative cost, by 12 whether or not we adopt any of these suggested reforms. Is 13 that not true?

14 Mr. Weatherford: The additional administrative costs, or 15 savings, would not be that great, no sir.

16 Senator Packwood: When we say this is Federal money --17 here again, we love to use this distinction. That money is 18 simply money paic into the Unemployment Compensation fund at 19 the Federal Treasury by the employees, is it not?

20 Mr. Weatherford: Federal unemployment.

21 Senator Packwood: Whereas they pay another portion of the 22 money to the state fund?

23 Mr. Weatherford: That is correct.

24 Senator Packwood: The only reason it becomes Federal 25 money is because we happen to have got it, so while that may 1 give us a right ----I hate to use that word ----a right to tell 2 the states how to spend the money we would have the same right 3 with the revenue sharing or anything else, if you go under the 4 theory that the money belongs to us.

5 The Chairman: Senator Dole?

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6 Senator Dole: Apparently Senator Moynihan is going to 7 offer a motion. Maybe we should dispose of that.

8 If he prevails, we would not be discussing any specifics. 9 I just read in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch over the week-end 10 that Kansas is being visited by a lot of military retirees 11 because they come into the state and qualify as soon as they 12 are discharged. They are told by the Veterans Administration 13 to head for Kansas where they can pick up 26 weeks of 14 unemployment comp. They cannot do it in Colorado, so we are 15 getting a lot of Chamber of Commerces helping along. They 16 spend a lot of their money there while they are in Kansas, and 17 they need it.

18 It seems to me that ought to be stopped. Kansas gives 19 military retirees an opportunity to double dip and they tell 20 them to head for Kansas and you get \$123 a week for 26 weeks 21 while they search for a civilian job. They come to Kansas 22 because in Colorado unemployment benefits are reduced by the 23 amount of military pension, so they come to our state.

I just wonder, would this be taken care of, Mike?
Mr. Stern: I read the article. The way the article

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Senator Packwood: For retired or discharged Federal 18 Senator Moynihan: It costs Kansas nothing? 19 employees? Mr. Weatherford: That is correct. However, they are 22 treated like all other people in Kansas, military people, 20 23 Senator Dole. They do not deduct any pension from anybody, 21 24 as we understand it in Kansas, military, Federal or private. Senator Dole: I guess there are several states, come 25

12 the Federal ex-military program which is probably 100 percent 11 Senator Packwood: I thought you said there were no 100 13 Federal. 15 percent Federal unemployment benefits. Mr. Weatherford: For Federal employees, we use general 14 17 revenue to pay those benefits, Senator Packwood.

9 correct, Bob -- the state of Kansas is apparently paying half Mr. Stern: This is probably Federal. He would be under 10 of the benefits.

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6 pension would not be taken into account under the proposal that Senator Packwood: Are we not in a situation -- am I not 7 we have been discussing.

1 starts out is about a sergeant who is just now discharged. 2 This proposal would take care of that because his recent 3 employer is the military and that is also the basis for 4 unemployment and pension, but if he were to take another job 5 with a company and two years later become unemployed, then the

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1 April 1st, unless we postpone this, it will be changed.

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2 In '76, Alaska, California, Georgia, Kentucky, Nevada, New 3 Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Puerto Rico, Rhode 4 Island, South Carolina, Texas and Vermont are not in compliance 5 but they will make the appropriate changes, hopefully before 6 April 1st.

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Senator Nelson: Mr. Chairman, I want to say something on 7 8 the motion which has been, or will be, made by Senator 9 Moynihan. I think that there is no doubt, at least from what 10 I have read and looked at over the years, that there are 11 abuses, waste, some worse in some states than others, and there 12 ought to be some corrective action.

That is the reason that we have a national commission. 14 I used to understand quite a bit about the program when I 15 had to work with it in the legislature and as Governor, but it 16 has been a good many years and it is enormously complex and it 17 does seem to me that we ought to address ourselves to all of 18 these issues after the Commission has made its report.

We have the same thing on Social Security. Some people 19 20 wanted to make corrections in the Social Security law. That is 21 what we created the Social Security Commission for. In fact, 22 it has not completed its work, so we are now going -- I will be 23 proposing on a bill next week, this week, the disability act, 24 that we extend the Commission another year because they tell us 25 they cannot complete their work.

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Some of this stuff sounds very simple. I undertand
 Senator Long's argument. I also understand Senator Moynihan's
 3 argument.

I am not prepared without looking at the Commission's 5 report, plus some hearings, to make a judgment piecemeal on 6 various aspects of the unemployment insurance business.

So I prefer, and shall vote, to postpone taking any action8 until the Commission reports.

9 Senator Bentsen: I would like to ask the Senator from10 Oklahoma, you had two days of hearings?

11 Senator Boren: Yes. We had two days of hearings.

12 Senator Bentsen: On any specifics?

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13 Senator Boren: We had hearings on all 14 items, the 14 second set of hearings we had ---we had hearings on all of the 15 14 suggested staff items.

16 Senator Bentsen; If this motion of Senator Moynihan's 17 does not prevail, are you going to be offering some of these 18 suggestions? Do you feel that your Committee has taken 19 sufficient action or not?

20 Senator Boren: I cannot speak for the Committee because 21 the subcommittee did not attempt to take any action. The staff 22 merely prepared these as a set of suggestions and I would think 23 that what we should do is go through them.

There may be some that have a great deal of opposition or 25 a lot of confusion about them that we can discard. There may

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1 be others that may be fairly noncontroversial that we can go 2 ahead and adopt at this point.

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3 Certainly there are many of them which I favor. I realize 4 that my views may not be representative of everybody on the 5 Committee. I see a few nods to that effect.

6 The Senator from Oklahoma, when would this report be made 7 by the advisory committee.\*

8 Mr. Stern: July, 1980 is the statutory date.

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9 Senator Chafee: How long have they been in existence?
10 Mr. Stern: They were established by the 1976 unemployment
11 amendments. They were a little bit late.

12 Senator Roth: One of the things that concerns me, to be 13 very candid, I do not think it is at all realistic to think 14 that some time after July, 1980 in a major Presidential 15 election that there is going to be major reform, at least in so 16 far as tightening the requirements of this legislation.

17 So that it seems to me that there is a great deal of merit 18 to the position of the Senator from Oklahoma, at least with 19 respect to what appeared to be some of the more glaring 20 weaknesses that we ought to consider and correct them. If we 21 do not like them, we can always change it again later.

22 Could I ask the Senator from Oklahoma how much savings 23 would you expect per year to be a result of your 24 recommendations?

25 Senator Boren: This would depend somewhat on whether or

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1 not the national rate of unemployment was such that we had a 2 national trigger activated.

3 The higher the rate of unemployment, and if the national 4 trigger were activated, the savings, if all of these things 5 were adopted, could run between \$2 billion and \$3 billion.

6 Senator Roth: Per year?

7 Senator Boren: Yes.

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8 Senator Roth: We are talking about a very substantial9 amount of money.

10 Senator Boren: A very substantial amount of money even if 11 we just adopted a part of them, a fourth of them, you are still 12 talking about significant amounts of money.

Your point about the Commission is well taken. I support14 the extension of the Commission.

Frankly, I would not have done so if I thought it would for cause us to lag behind in our duty and hide behind a study roommission which itself is going. Whenever you try to get the business groups, the labor groups, all of the others who are interested in this kind of thing to come out with a consensus, it is difficult and I would suspect it is not just because they had a late start after two years that they have not been 22 able to come out with any recommendations.

23 Some of these issues are tough. They are pretty 24 straightforward, but they are tough to resolve.

I do not think that we should -- some of the technical

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1 areas yes, I think we should wait on their recommendations.

2 . Your point is well taken. Some of these things ought to 3 be done and I would just say I would think it would be a good 4 signal to the country if we could get some of these 5 accomplished before the next election.

6 The Chairman: Senator Moynihan?

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7 Senator Moynihan: Mr. Chairman, I would like to simply 8 say I again have the greatest respect for what Senator Boren is 9 saying. The point he makes about the time that the Commission 10 is taking, the Social Security system is a treasure of this 11 nation because it represents agreement among parties that have 12 often been in conflict and they have labor and the business 13 community and have found it possible, over two generations now, 14 to reach agreement in these matters.

I would remind this committee overwhelmingly, it is their noney we are talking about and when they do reach agreement then the Congress is in a good position to legislate. I do not 18 think that agreement has been reached yet.

19 There is no discord on that Commission. They are just 20 trying to solve problems.

21 Without speaking further, I would move to defer at this 22 time without study until some future time. I do not think we 23 are constructively read to take up this question.

24 The Chairman: Call the roll.

25 Mr. Stern: Mr. Talmadge?

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1	Senator Talmadge: No.
2	Mr. Stern: Mr. Ribicoff?
3	Senator Ribicoff: Aye.
4	Mr. Stern: Mr. Byrd?
5	Senator Byrd: No.
6	Mr. Stern: Mr. Nelson?
7	Senator Nelson: Aye.
8	Mr. Stern: Mr. Gravel?
9	(No response)
10	Mr. Stern: Mr. Bentsen?
11	Senator Bentsen: No.
12	Mr. Stern: Mr. Matsunaga?
13	(No response)
14	Mr. Stern: Mr. Moynihan?
15	Senator Moynihan: Aye.
16	Mr. Stern: Mr. Baucus?
17	(No response)
18	Mr. Stern: Mr. Boren?
19	Senator Boren: No.
20	Mr. Stern: Mr. Bradley?
21	Senator Bradley: Aye.
22	Mr. Stern: Mr. Dole?
23	Senator Dole: No.
24	Mr. Stern: Mr. Packwood?
25	(No response)

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1 Mr. Stern: Mr. Roth?

2 Senator Roth: No.

3 Mr. Stern: Mr. Danforth?

4 (No response)

5 Mr. Stern: Mr. Chafee?

6 Senator Chafee: No.

7 Mr. Stern: Mr. Heinz?

8 Senator Heinz: Aye.

9 Mr. Stern: Mr. Wallop?

10 (No response)

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11 Mr. Stern: Mr. Durenberger?

12 Senator Durenberger: Aye.

13. Mr. Stern: Mr. Chairman?

14 The Chairman: No.

15 Mr. Stern: Mr. Packwood?

16 Senator Packwood: Aye.

17 The Chairman: On this vote, the years are seven and the
18 nays are eight. Not voting at this moment are Messers. Gravel,
19 Baucus, Danforth and Wallop and Matsunaga.

20 Senator Dole: It looks like a draw.

21 The Chairman: Here is letter. I have Mr. Baucus's proxy 22 here. He would record himself --

23 Senator Boren: Is it safe to say it is not an overwhelming 24 mandate?

25 Senator Ribicoff: I would think, Mr. Chairman, it is

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1 complicated by another problem because it is so close. That is 2 the question that we are here basically under special 3 reconciliation process under the Budget Act and the conference 4 is deadlocked between the House and the Senate.

5 I think many of the proposals of Senator Boren are 6 excellent, but if we are going to have to determine which one 7 we take and which one we do not take, now we do not know what 8 the requirement will be in reconciliation when the Budget 9 Committees come to an agreement.

Just to see what the feeling is, I would move that we defer any further action on this this until we have a <u>conference report from the two houses on the Budget Resolution</u>. Then we would know. We would have the feeling here if we should wait on this until these decisions are made.

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ං ා 15 The Chairman: I think that might be a fair compromise of 16 the issue.

Senator Boren: Mr. Chairman, I would move that we defer
18 action of the Committee until the Budget Committee --

19 The Chairman: If the Budget Committee is going to call 20 and estimate major savings in these areas, it would seem to me 21 if we have to make major savings in the social welfare areas we 22 are going to have to make recommendations here and frankly 23 looking at the Senate Budget Committee expects of us, my 24 reaction was to plead with people to vote to put something out 25 there that would save a lot of money even though we anticipate

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1 the Senate might vote it down.

If we want the recommendations of them, my reaction would 3 be let's put something out there and those who want to vote for 4 it, give them an opportunity to vote that way if they want to 5 and anticipate that the Senate would not do it, probably would 6 not.

7 In any event we would have discharged the burden put on us 8 by making the recommendations.

9 All in favor of the Ribicoff motion, say aye?

10 (A chorus of ayes)

11 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

12 (No response)

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13 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

14 Let's go on to the next matter.

Mr. Stern: I am not sure, Mr. Chairman, that there is 16 anything more to bring up until you know what the amount 17 allowed by the Budget Committee is. I am not sure that there 18 is anything to go on to, then, until you know what amount you 19 are talking about in general for the Budget Committee.

20 The Chairman: How about the Trade Adjustment Assistance? 21 Mr. Stern: The Trade Adjustment Assistance bill as it 22 passed the House cost \$200 million. I would think that would 23 be in the same category.

24 If you at act on that --

25 Senator Packwood: Is that a dispute between the House and

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1 budget offset? That is part of what they have to resolve. It 2 falls into the same category.

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3 The Chairman: If that is the case, without objection we 4 will save that one.

5 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, on the House side -- could I 6 have the attention of the Committee?

7 The Chairman: The Senator from Delaware is recognized. 8 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, I would just like to point 9 out in the case of trade adjustment legislation, on the House 10 side, funds have been specifically provided for. They have 11 already acted on the legislation and I would point out that 12 last year in the very closing hours of the Congress both sides 13 acted favorably on this legislation.

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I think that there is, in a sense, what you might call a 15 social compact in this area. We recently passed, I believe, 16 almost unanimously the multi-national trade agreement. At that 17 time, labor went along with that legislation, but I think there 18 was a general understanding that we were going to take action 19 on the trade adjustment legislation and correct certain 20 weaknesses.

It concerns me that, again, we are saying, let's delay. 22 This legislation was adopted. I think there was something like 23 16 votes against it in the closing hours. The only reason it 24 is not law today is the fact that some nongermane amendments 25 were offered and they were killed because there was no way of

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1 resolving that in the closing minutes of the Congress was 2 possible.

3 I would wish that we could at least that we could at least 4 report it out of committee and move that far ahead and see 5 where we are, then, with respect to the Budget reconciliation.

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6 Senator Nelson: I agree with Senator Roth. We did act on 7 this last year. I think there is an understanding that we 8 would act on it again.

9 I think we are going to act on it. We might as well act 10 on it now.

11 Senator Byrd: How much money is involved?

12 Mr. Stern: There is about \$200 million in the bill.

13 Senator Nelson: It is pretty much a compromise agreement, 14 is it not?

15 Senator Roth: That is correct.

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16 Senator Nelson: The administration?

17 Senator Roth: Everybody has been working very hard on 18 this legislation, Senator Moynihan, Senator Nelson as well as 19 others.

20 And I think we have ironed out most of the areas of 21 dispute and for that reason I would hope that we could at least 22 report it out of this committee and the Chairma and the rest 23 can decide at what time it should be brought up.

24 The days are slipping by very rapidly and if we do not act 25 today, I can see exactly the same thing happening, Senator

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1 Nelson, that happened last year. We had to add it at the very 2 last moment and it fell -- not because it did not have almost 3 unanimous support, but because people had been up all night and 4 were tired. That is not fair to the people we are trying to 5 help.

6 This country has adopted a liberal trade policy. It is a 7 policy that has been in effect for many years. We have made 8 the deliberate decision that we are going to permit competitors 9 to export their products to this country which causes the loss 10 of jobs for American workers.

11 It seems to me that we have an obligation to those people 12 when it is a deliberate act of the Federal government to make 13 that adjustment.

14 I would urge that we would act.

15 Senator Heinz: Mr. Chairman?

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16 The Chairman: Let me just ask about this matter.

17 Do I understand that there are funds, \$200 million, for 18 this in the House Budget Resolution and nothing in the Senate 19 Budget Resolution?

20 Mr. Stern: That is my understanding, Mr. Chairman.

21 The Chairman: Then it would seem to me that a logical 22 compromise would be to split the difference. It is all right 23 with me to report out whatever amount of money they would put 24 in the budget for it. I would think we could take enough time 25 to see what they are going to allow us. That is what we are

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1 talking about here.

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2 The part I am concerned about, I am willing to vote for 3 enough money to use whatever the budget will allow us for this 4 function.

5 Senator Packwood: Mr. Chairman, I will tell you exactly 6 what the situation is. The House had \$200 million, we have 7 nothing. The House Budget Conferees will be happy to accede to 8 our figure and have nothing, period.

9 It is going to be a battle over whether that or \$100 10 million so that there is no particularly heart among the Senate 11 or the House conferees to keep the figure.

12 Senator Heinz: Mr. Chairman, on the merits of the 13 legislation, this is an issue that I know that Senator Roth has 14 been deeply involved in for a number of years, as I have I and 15 a number of other members of this Committee. I am sorry, of 16 this Committee. And as a result of that involvement, I think 17 that legislation represents a rather carefully crafted meeting 18 of the minds and it takes some of the ideas that all of us have 19 been working on for some period of time. The administration 20 has sat down with affected parties. The have worked out a very 21 carefully crafted approach that is quite thoughtful.

I thnk that it would be a shame to first of all ignore all of the work and time and effort that has gone into this. It would also, as a second point, be very, very unfair to American sworkers.

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I think Senator Roth is correct that we have opted for an 2 approach best known as free trade. We all know that there are 3 casualties when it comes to the question of free trade. Many 4 of the people on this committee have taken considerable 5 political risk because it is in the interests of the greatest 6 number to have free trade, not protectionism.

7 But we have all, I think, got to recognize that we need to 8 have some kind of safety net for workers or small firms that 9 are caught and are casualties of what is a right policy.

10 That is essentially what Sentaor Roth is trying to 11 achieve for us here.

12 I would hope that we could get on with it.

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Senator Roth: May I make one observation? We do not know what the Budget Committee will do, but I think, as has been brought out, that all sides have reached, I think, pretty careful compromises, so I would think the legislation could go through rather easily.

As far as the amount of money is concerned, how you phase 19 it in, there is some flexibility. We have several members on 20 the Budget Committee, Senator Packwood and Senator Moynihan 21 just to mention two, so I think that the ways and means of 22 taking care of it, as far as the Budget is concerned -- would 23 you agree with that, Mr. Moynihan?

24 Senator Moynihan: I would hope that is so. Senator 25 Packwood would, also.

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Senator Ribicoff: If the Senator would yield, could you 2 not, Mr. Chairman, hereto, as before, since the sentiment seems 3 almost unanimous for this legislation to vote it out with the 4 understanding that if the Budget Conference has a different 5 figure we can come back here and reopen and adjust the figure 6 to take care of whatever the Budget Committee has.

7 Senator Roth: As I say, at that time, by some adjustment 8 of the dates and so forth we could probably take care of the 9 problem.

10 Senator Moynihan: Senator Packwood, do you share that 11 view?

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12 Senator Packwood: As long as the Committee realizes that 13 we vote on a \$200 million, we may still have to come back and 14 make choices.

15 Senator Moynihan: We will do our best. We may have to 16 come back. We would.

17 Senator Packwood: Mr. Chairman, I would like to add one 18 thing to this. I am not asking for money. One of the things 19 that we face in Oregon, Trade Adjustment Assistance for people 20 who lose their jobs. I would like to have a study attached to 21 this bill by Commerce, labor or both, to report back within six 22 months to a year as to whether or not one, workers are affected 23 in the same manner by imports and two, what they would suggest. 24 Senator Nelson: A study?

25 Senator Packwood: A study from Commerce or the Department

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1 of Labor or both on the effect -- we are talking about lowering 2 trade barriers. It hurts both ways. One on imports and one on 3 people who lose jobs and exports where we are exporting raw 4 materials when we used to put in finished products here, and we 5 are becoming more and more a raw material exporting country and 6 I would like to have a study on that.

7 We have never had hearings. I am not suggesting it become 8 a part of this bill for payments, but I would like to have a 9 study on it.

10 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that 11 there is a committee chaired by the STR that includes 12 representation from Commerce and Labor that would be 13 appropriate to make that kind of study and I would think that 14 -- I do not know its official name, but there is a committee 15 already involved in this sort of thing.

16 Do you know what they call that Committee?

17 Mr. Stern: A coordinating committee.

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18 Senator Roth: A coordinating committee.

19 I think that is a worthwhile proposal.

20 Senator Packwood: I would be happy to draw up an 21 amendment. I am not asking for benefits, but I would ask for a 22 study.

23 Mr. Stern: Mr. Chairman, if you are going to ask for the 24 substance of trade adjustment assistance, we would like to call 25 your attention that there is a GAO study which takes quite a

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1 different viewpoint on trade adjustment assistance and 2 questions, whether there is a value in having a special higher, 3 longer, benefit program for persons whose unemployment is due 4 to imports than persons whose unemployment is due to other 5 economic causes.

6 Their suggestion was that the Trade Adjustment Assistance 7 program be modified so that it applies only after the six 8 months and that the benefits be at the same level as the 9 ongoing regular unemployment benefits. That was a suggestion 10 that we would have made in the context of having to achieve 11 savings overall in the unemployment area.

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Senator Boren: Mr. Chairman, I would point out we did have testimony on the trade adjustment program. This is 4 another area, by the way, that the Commission on Unemployment Scompensation has in its study purview. One of the areas they for are still looking into, in fact, the state director's rassociation offered testimony expressing great skepticism and reservations about the program because the program because they say once you give special benefits to people who are unemployed of or specific reasons, that you are doing some damage to the coherence of the system because an unemployed person is an unemployed person is sort of the line of reasoning.

I am not necessarily opposed to the trade adjustment 24 itself, the assistance. I think there are some special 25 problems here because of the recent changes in the trade laws

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1 that we hve passed. I just would point out that that is also 2 an item that the Commission will include in its report and 3 where there is a substantial disagreement among the state 4 directors of the unemployment programs.

5 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, I would like to go back to 6 the basic concept here. I recognize and I respect that there 7 are a number of people, particularly of the staff, who disagree 8 with the concept, who feel that workman's compensation is the 9 answer, but I think that the basic condition under which we 10 have agreed in the past on trade adjustment is that this is 11 only equitable, this is only fair in return for support among 12 the people who are going to be affected for a liberal trade 13 policy.

I happen to have been a strong supporter for the 15 multi-national trade agreements. I happen to recognize that 16 that is going to have an adverse effect on workers. It is 17 going to have an adverse effect on firms.

18 This legislation involves firms as well.

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19 It also has an adverse effect on communities that depend20 on these industries.

I think that the concept has already been recognized. 22 Basically what we are going to do is try to work out some of 23 the inequities and coverage so that we do deal fairly and 24 squarely.

25 As I mentioned while there are some groups in disageement,

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1 General Accounting's report is not out. It will not come out 2 until next year, as I understand it.

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We have a number of employees who have been unfairly 4 treated in the past. I just think that this is, again, time to 5 act. I will be very blunt with you. I will bet that there is 6 not a piece of legislation before the Congress that somewhere, 7 somehow, we do not have some kind of commission or study group 8 reviewing, and that is all very fine. The General Accounting 9 Office is the tool, or servant of the Congress, but we are the 10 ones who have to make the decisions.

11 Since we have had discussions I will not belabor -- labor, 12 business, I must say people on both sides of the aisle on this 13 committee have worked very hard to feel that we have a viable 14 vehicle. For that reason, I think we should move ahead.

15 The Chairman: Let's talk about the bill. Let's talk 16 about the GAO recommendation at the same time.

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ං ා 17 Senator Roth: Let me, if I may, Mr. Chairman, I would 18 welcome any of the other Senators to step in at any time, but 19 there have been, as I have said, a number of compromises worked 20 out.

One of the inequities which have happened in the past is 22 that a number of employees were not eligible for trade 23 adjustment because of a so-called one year rule. The one-year 24 rule meant that the application had to be made with a year of 25 the severance. Unfortunately, it was not well known that many

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1 employees were not covered who otherwise would have been 2 entitled to it.

3 As a result many of the proposals have been developed to 4 cover these employees and a compromise has been reached on the 5 part of OMB and the labor unions supporting the bill.

6 It provides that retroactive benefits would be available 7 only to those workers who filed petitions but were denied 8 benefits because of the one-year rule. Those who never filed 9 for benefits would not be eligible for retroactive benefits and 10 this would reduce the roughly \$200 million cost by about \$20 11 million.

12 The retroactive costs would drop from \$50 million to \$30 13 million.

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A second area where a compromise has been reached is with 15 respect to the number of work weeks required for 16 eligibility. Under the bill, under the present law, to be 17 eligible for Trade Adjustment Assistance, one had to work 26 of 18 the last 52 weeks. The House modified that to provide that you 19 had to work 40 of the last 104 weeks.

20 One of the great concerns and unhappiness about the 21 present law was that if an older employee, for example, was 22 sick and did not work was that that counted against him and he 23 was not eligible for trade adjustment.

Again, a compromise has been reached, that we would 25 continue the present requirement of 26 of the last 52 weeks, 1 but sick leave, military leave and vacation time would be 2 included and would not count against you and this would reduce 3 the cost of this provision from approximately \$5 billion.

A third compromise that has been reached by OMB and the 5 labor unions was that an additional 26 weeks for older workers 6 as a bridge to Social Security would be retained.

7 The report language would clarify that these benefits 8 would terminate when Social Security is available even if a 9 worker theoretically were eligible for adjustment assistance.

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Finally, at our request, the labor unions have agreed to Heliminate the recomputation requirements. A number of the States have been very unhappy because, under the present law, there had to be a recomputation of a worker's benefit as frequently as every quarter.

This requirement increased the cost of the present program for administration as a burden to state governments and also delays in delivery of benefits to workers. So agreeent has been reached on that.

19 Senator Moynihan: Mr. Chairman, may I just endorse what 20 Senator Roth has said?

21 This is sound legislation. There have been improvements 22 made that Senator Roth has described and there is a 23 repsonsibility incumbent upon this committee. This was an 24 agreement made. It is not unfair.

25 Senator Heinz and Senator Nelson would agree that this was

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1 an agreement made about the conditions under hwich the United 2 States would take what seemed to be at the time an unlikely 3 decision to maintain the liberal trade policies of the past two 4 generations, which would keep our agreement.

5 Senator Ribicoff: Mr. Chairman, I think we do owe an 6 obligation. Senator Roth, Senator Heinz and Senator Moynihan 7 make a very sound point. It is even more important.

8 One of the problems that weakens America's competitive 9 position in the world is that our international competitors do 10 everything that they can to buttress strong industries. 11 American policies is usually surrounding weak industries and 12 therefore, as a government, we constantly lose out.

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With MTN it would seem, having voted 90 to 4 that we are 4 about to change our policies and do everything we can for 15 strong industries that there will be a period in American 16 society that the weak industries are going to be hurt and go 17 under and to wait until the strong industry can absorb that 18 employment will take a considerable period of time.

During all the discussion it was assumed that we were 20 going to do whatever we could in trade adjustment assistance. 21 So, I think having voted 90 to 4 to change America's 22 export-import policy that this Committee really owes an 23 obligation to pass this legislation. It is an implied promise 24 that we made to the people who are going to be hurt, and I 25 would hope that we could vote it out.

Again, in the event that the conference committee 2 indicates that we are overboard, we can adjust the amount in 3 this legislation.

4 The Chairman: Sentaor Dole?

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5 Senator Dole: I agree with everything that has been said. 6 At the same time, if there is some credibility to the GAO 7 study, parts of which are available, it is just a waste of 8 money to prove that we all believe in what we are about to do. 9 It does not make much sense.

We have a GAO representative here and I understand that 11 the study will be completed on January 1, 1980 -- either that 12 or before then.

I do not want to hold up anything, but if there is a 14 chance that we can reduce the cost, and not have any impact on 15 what Senators Roth, Heinz, Moynihan, Ribicoff and others seek 16 to do, then I think we ought to make those modifications.

We are talking about a retroactive eligibility which is a18 \$50 million item.

19 I wonder if I could have GAO comment on the area that you 20 feel needs to be addressed?

21 Mr. Coughenour: I believe our basic feeling is that the 22 benefits ought to be added on to the end of the regular 23 unemployment insurance eligibility period which would provide 24 the benefit period adjustment that the workers need.

We found that most people who received benefits went back

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1 to work by the time they received them. There were many people
2 who, of course, did need the benefits who were off a long
3 period of time. Those are the people, I believe, that the
4 benefits ought to be addressed to.

5 By adding the trade adjustment assistance cash payments on 6 after they have exhausted their regular unemployment insurance 7 benefits, but that they would get an extended period of 8 employment, of income protection, in which to find employment, 9 and that is our basic feeling which would save quite a bit of 10 money, based on the results of our study.

11 Senator Dole: Is there any quarrel with that?

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12 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, what I would point out, what 13 the GAC is proposing is a very different approach. What they 14 are saying is that you add on the so-called trade adjustment at 15 the end of unemployment compensation. Unemployment 16 compensation depends on what the state does and varies by area 17 to area.

I would point out that you already have a reconciliation 19 in the sense that your unemployment compensation is deducted 20 from your trade adjustment but I do disagree that that is a 21 very different, very fundamental change in this legislation 22 from what is already on the books.

23 What we are saying, what Senator Moynihan and others have 24 said, in return for a national policy that we should take care 25 of these people especially because they do suffer from a

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1 deliberate Federal policy of promoting the importation of 2 foreign goods. That means a loss of jobs.

You know, conceivably you could have all kinds of 4 different approaches, but I think we already have a law on the 5 books. What we are proposing is to do away with some of the 6 inequities and I would move that we could vote it out 7 accordingly.

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8 The Chairman: I think we should discuss the bill point by 9 point. It is the job of the Committee to recommend what would 10 be done about it.

11 Why do you not, Mr. Stern, if you can, give us the points 12 that we need to decide and see if we can decide them?

Mr. Stern: The first element in the House bill -- maybe the best way would be to take the staff blue book called "The Trade Adjustment Assistance Program", the description of the House bill which is identical to S. 227 by Senator Roth and to thers.

18 It begins on page 5 of this blue book.

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19 The requirement under present law for eligibility says 20 that sales or production of the workers' firm or appropriate 21 subdivision must have decreased absolutely and increased import 22 articles like or directly competitive produced by the workers' 23 firm, or an appropriate subdivision, must have contributed 24 importantly to the workers' **partial or total separation**. 25 The first provision in the House bill, which is the

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1 longest single cost item, says you can permit a finding of 2 eligibility on the basis of a threatened absolute decrease in 3 sales or production and you can expand the eligibility to 4 employees of firms or appropriate subdivisions who provide 5 essential parts or services to trade-impacted firms, not simply 6 the employees of the firms themselves immediately trade 7 impacted.

8 The House bill does not actually specify a minimum portion 9 of sales or production they would have to be provided. The 10 Senate passed bill last year provided that at least 25 percent 11 of total sales or production of the secondary firm have to --12 that was the minimum threshold in order for them to get trade 13 adjustment assistance.

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14 The Chairman: Let me ask you this. Let's look at some of 15 these points.

16 Do we want to provide adjustment assistance where there is 17 a mere threat of injury?

18 Senator Roth: Mr. Chairman, I think that that has to be 19 clarified. The findings can be made on the threat of damage, 20 but no payments can be made until it is actually suffered.

The problem under the present legislation is that there 22 has been too long of a delay. For that reason the workers have 23 not received the assistance when most needed.

That is when they are out of a job. All they are 25 providing is to do the preliminary investigation, that there is

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1 this threat of suffering, loss of workers, but no payment can 2 be made upon that finding.

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3 It is only when there is actually a resultant loss of 4 work.

The Chairman: Is that what the bill provides?

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6 Mr. Stern: I am sorry. I should have left out that 7 parenthetical remark. This is designed to allow the processing 8 of the claims faster, not to change the eligibility standard.

9 The part that is important, the second part in terms of 10 cost, namely expanding eligibility to secondary firms, that is, 11 firms that supply parts or services.

12 Senator Roth suggested a few minutes ago the standard 13 there be 50 percent.

Senator Roth: I did not suggest it would be 50 percent.
Mr. Stern: You did not?

16 Senator Roth: The administration suggested it.

17 Let me spell out what is here. That is a very important 18 change that needs -- what the House bill does --

19 Senator Dole: The Downey amendment.

20 Senator Roth: Which I think is only ethical.

Let me point out what I am talking about. You are an 22 automobile manufacturer. You produce some of the bumpers for 23 your cars but you also buy bumpers from an outside supplier. 24 The Toyota, or some other foreign car, comes in reduces 25 sale and there is a certification required under the law.

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1 Under current law, the workers who make the bumpers for the 2 American automobile manufacturer, is entitled to trade 3 adjustment and would secure it. Right across the street, the 4 independent supplier who is making these bumpers for the 5 American manufacturer is left out in the cold.

6 To me, it is very hard to argue that there is anything 7 fair or equitable about that.

8 So what has been done, they have eliminated that 9 requirement that that outside supplier has to supply 25 percent 10 of its sales to this company and instead when you use exactly 11 the same criterion which is used in buying the automobile, the 12 manufacturer itself has suffered from imports.

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13 This to me is just a clear-cut case of equity and fairness 14 in treating the American worker.

15 Senator Moynihan: May I say it is a clear-cut case of a 16 realistic understanding of what our economy is like? The end 17 product that is affected by trade ---this automobile or that 18 television set -- a complex economy draws components from 19 hundreds of purchasers. This deals with reality.

20 Senator Dole: How far down the line does this go?
21 Senator Roth: Just the first tier.

22 Senator Dole: you could have a third and fourth tier. 23 Senator Roth: you could make a strong argument that it 24 ought to be carried further but I think that it is perfectly 25 obviously at least at the first tier at this time that we

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2 On the basis of equity, I could argue it should go further 3 because of cost and otherwise there has been agreement reached 4 by most people concerned that this is the fairest way.

5 Senator Dole: Does the administration support this? 6 Mr. Fooks: Senator Dole, the administration does not 7 support the Downey amendment or the version that this committee 8 reported out last year. The administration feels that because 9 of the uncertainty of the scope of the additional coverage 10 involved when you go beyond the first tier that you should go 11 through on expanding coverage in this area, that it should 12 cover only components at a 50 percent ratio, no stated ratio at 13 all, or 25 percent.

14 The Chairman: You represent a 50 percent ratio?15 Mr. Fooks: Yes, sir.

16 Senator Dole: Lower tier and upper tier. It is the sme 17 thing.

18 The Chairman: Assuming he loses 50 percent of his
19 business. Supposing he is making parts going into an
20 automobile, he is making parts going into an automobile. Would
21 you contend that the suppliers ----say he is making bumpers that
22 go on an automobile, that the supplier would have to lose 50
23 percent of his business before he could get some help.
24 Mr. Fooks: The way it would work, Senator Long, if the

25 workers are employed on bumpers in a particular production

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1 line, supplying 50 percent of their output to an automobile 2 that was import impacted they would come under the coverage of 3 the program. It would not have to be a 50 percent sales 'loss. 4 There would still have to be a decline in sales or production.

5 The Chairman: They would have to provide 50 percent of 6 their output to somebody who comes under that?

7 Mr. Fooks: That is correct.

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8 The Chairman: Does the House bill say 25 percent?

9 Mr. Stern: The House bill has no minimum.

10 Senator Roth: The House bill does what I say is fair and 11 equitable. It provides that the same standard would be used 12 with respect to the first tier supplier in determining whether 13 it contributed substantially to his loss of business.

14 Senator Dole: Last year's bill we passed was 25 percent, 15 was it not?

16 Mr. Stern: Last year's was 25 percent.

17 Senator Dole: That cost \$78 million. The administration 18 approach would cost\$20 million and what we are looking at 19 would be \$100 million.

20 Senator Roth: I feel very strongly if there is any merit 21 to the case, as I think there is for the reasons I already 22 outlined, you just cannot argue that it is fair to the second 23 group of workers who make the bumpers that they are not 24 covered, and the first group is because you are giving them 25 a stricter test.

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You are discriminating by giving a stricter test.
 The Chairman: That employer, if he can, would like to
 3 attribute that unemployment, if he can, to the trade program.
 4 The trade program is 100 percent Federal funds. Is that right?
 Mr. Stern: The trade adjustment assistance benefits
 6 are --

7 The Chairman: Otherwise if it is not attributed to the 8 trade program, then it is applied against -- if it is not 9 attributed to the trade program, it would be applied to the 10 experience rating. He would have to pay more money.

11 Is that not right?

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Mr. Stern: Well, for the first six months of benefits, I Note: Mr. Stern: Well, for the first six months of benefits, I squess, the trade adjustment is supplementary to the regular benefits so he still would be charged, either way, for purposes for the regular benefits.

16 The Chairman: How about after that?

Mr. Stern: After that, if there was no extended benefit 18 program as there is not in most states now, it would be 100 19 percent.

20 Mr. Fooks: It has no effect on the employer's experience 21 rating.

22 The Chairman: No effect on it.

23 Mr. Fooks: No.

24 Mr. Stern: Do I understand correctly that you are saying 25 that the 50 percent rule would only apply to parts, not

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1 services?

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o c 2 Mr. Fooks: That is the administration's approach, yes.
3 The Chairman: Parts, not services.

Sentor Roth: Mr. Chairman, there are a number of cases
throughout the country where employees suffer by the importation
6 of the same foreign made products.

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7 I do not know of any way you can explain that.

8 As I say, under the House bill ---which I strongly support 9 -- you have exactly the same test for the manufacturer of the 10 car as you do for the manufacturer of the bumper that is used. 11 They have to show that it contributed substantially to the work 12 loss.

13 Senator Dole: How would it work -- if we are all 14 concerned about the People's Republic of China, the impact on 15 textiles, next year they laid off a bunch of textile workers 16 and they were concerned about not the actual industry, but the 17 threat from the People's Republic of China and they would be 18 paid under this provision?

19 Senator Roth: That is going to another point.

20 Senator Dole: The first part of that.

21 Senator Roth: As I mentioned, there would be no payments 22 made unless, in fact, there was a reduction in employment 23 because of the actual importation of textiles from Red China.

24 Senator Dole: If the cotton were produced here, would he 25 get a secondary payment? Would he fall under it?

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Mr. Foster: Senator, the way it would work, if you had an apparel manufacturer sewing a shirt, shirts were imported into the United States, and displaced some of his production and his workers, then the individual who supplied cotton cloth to him would definitely be covered under this extension of the program. The person who supplied the raw cotton to the cloth maker, it would not be considered a first tier producer at that point and would not be covered, as I understand the concept. Senator Dole: Even though he cannot sell his cotton?

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10 Mr. Foster: Yes.

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11 The issue is you are extending this to a first tier 12 supplier and as you move further away from the actual direct 13 import impact, there is some concern that the causation element 14 basically the relationship between the imports and actual 15 injury gets weaker.

There is a desire to move it to one tier, because there is There is a desire to move it to one tier, because there is realized that there is a substantial relationship there. If you go beyond that, you are getting into an area where it becomes very, very difficult to prove anything with certainty.

20 So I think that proponents of this proposal are saying one 21 tier because there we can say with some confidence you will 22 still have the relationship between imports and the impact of 23 the worker. Let's not go beyond the first tier until we have 24 some more experience and we can demonstrate, in fact, that 25 there is still going to be that relationship.

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1 The Chairman: Let's just talk about the service parts of 2 it. What kind of services are we thinking about? Can you give 3 us some idea as to what type thing those services are likely to 4 be?

5 Mr. Fooks: The administration does not support coverage 6 of services.

7 The Chairman: What would it be likely to be?

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8 Mr. Fooks: Both bills before the Committee, what they 9 propose is services essential to the production of an article. 10 That could be putting a coating on a metal. It could be 11 cleaning a bolt of cloth before it is manufactured into an 12 apparel item. Services such as that.

13 I do not think that the bills contemplate the coverage of 14 banking, financial services or retail trade.

15 Senator Roth: What they have in mind is such things as 16 trucking services where they truck material. I think that 17 would be one example.

18 The Chairman: I can understand it to be injury if a guy 19 has a cafe across the street from the plant, but I hope we are 20 not including that.

21 Mr. Fooks: I do not think that is the intent.

The Chairman: I do not think we should have to take the restaurant workers in. You do not think that would be included anyway?

25 Mr. Fooks: In the legislative history from the House, it

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1 indicates that that type service would not be included.

2 The Chairman: It would include such things as
3 transportation of the product to the market and services
4 provided?

5 Mr. Fooks: I do not think it would in include 6 transportation to the market except where a carrier had a more 7 or less exclusive arrangement with a production facility.

8 Senator Roth: I think what is being talked about, Mr. 9 Chairman, is essential services and in the House bill, 10 certainly that could be done in the Senate bill. That would 11 spell it out in some care in the report.

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12 The Chairman: If I were to go along with it, I would 13 think, at a minimum, we ought to have the 25 percent test that 14 we voted for last time. It seems to me if somebody -- that is 15 only about 1 percent of the person's business -- it just gets a 16 little too nebulous it seems to me. That 25 percent test we 17 voted for last time at least pins it down to the extent that 18 there has to be something substantial. It cannot be some minor 19 aspect of the person's business, and I would suggest that we at 20 least include that much of a test if we are going to do it.

21 Senator Roth: May I point out, Mr. Chairman, you are 22 talking in this case of the assistance to the workers. My 23 concern is when you have that 25 percent figure and it depends 24 on how large that company is; in the case of the automobile 25 manufacturer himself, if he has 25 or 100 employees put out of

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1 work who are making these bumpers, they are covered. Whereas, 2 if we put on this additional requirement with respect to the 3 first tier, that same number of employees would not be covered 4 on the outside unless it met that second test.

. .

5 I do not see why we need any additional test for that 6 first tier. I would leave it exactly the same. It contributes 7 substantially and that finding has to be made.

8 Let me point out under the Downey amendment, those firms 9 and subsidvisions supplying essential parts to import-impacted 10 firms must show: one, a significant number of workers are 11 totally or partially separated; two, sales or production has 12 absolutely declined; and three, that the imports contributed 13 importantly to the sepration or decline before they receive any 14 benefits.

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That is the test for the first tier. The language for the importantly, exactly the same use for the end product manufacturer. I think that is a hard line to draw, the 18 25 percent.

19 For that reason I would hope that we could keep the House20 language.

21 Senator Dole: You are talking about \$22 million, I would 22 think. You are not talking about very much -- \$25 million or 23 \$50 million, but there ought to be some direct link to trade 24 damage. That is the only objection I have.

25 If, in fact, they are displaced because of injury, I think

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1 they should be taken care of, whatever tier they are in. I do 2 not know. Anybody can do that without getting into 3 percentages to show a more direct link.

Mr. Foster: Senator Dole, the House bill in its language 5 does attempt to do that. What it essentially says, if you have 6 an end product being imported and a first tier supplier wants 7 adjustment assistance, he has to demonstrate to the Department 8 of Labor that that end product contributed substantially to his 9 unemployment, so his responsibility is to trace the effect 10 through.

11 Senator Dole: Is that in our bill?

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Mr. Foster: The House bill language right now, the 25 13 percent requirement would be an additional requirement that 14 would just weed out, if you will, a number of firms in an 15 earlier stage who could not meet that.

16 On the theory, as a general rule, that they are not 17 supplying 25 percent of their production to an impacted firm, 18 they are not likely to be able to demonstrate this direct 19 relationship.

The House basically said, why bother to have that second criterion? Let's make them demonstrate directly they can do it. If they get the relief, they get the relief; if they do anot, they do not. But basically, they have to demonstrate it. Senator Dole: I do not know if that will be acceptable, Senator Roth: As long as there is a direct link, I do not

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1 see any problem with it.

2 Mr. Foster: That is what the House bill requires, that 3 there be that direct link.

Senator Roth: Yes.

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5 The House bill provides "such guidelines should establish 6 a direct significant supplier relationship exists." I would 7 assume we would have the same language in the Senate Committee 8 report. We want the link. There is no question about that. 9 That is the whole purpose of the legislation.

10 The Chairman: Let's go to the next point, then.

11 Senator Dole: Do we accept that?

12 The Chairman: If somebody wants to move the 25 percent 13 limitation, they can do so. I am not going to move it.

Senator Dole: Are we going to do as Senator Roth just suggested, to make sure that there is some direct link?

16 The Chairman: The bill so provides.

Mr. Stern: Senator Roth is suggesting the House language 18 and reference in the House Committee Report that deals with the 19 question, too. Are you not, Senator Roth?

20 Senator Roth: What?

21 Mr. Stern: That you preserve the House language and 22 incorporate the House Committee Report language.

23 Senator Roth: That is correct.

24 The Chairman: The next point.

25 Mr. Stern: The next point is another major element of the

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1 proposal and it relate; to what connection to the labor force 2 you have to have had in order to qualify for trade adjustment 3 assistance benefits. Under the present law, you would have had 4 to work 26 of the preceding 52 weeks in adversely affected 5 employment with a firm, or subdivision of the firm.

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6 The House bill gives an alternative test of 40 of the 7 preceding 104 weeks. Senator Roth has proposed that you keep 8 the 26 of 52 weeks test but you allow sick leave and vacation 9 leave to be counted towards your 26 weeks of employment.

Senator Roth: That, Mr. Chairman, is acceptable to OMB or 11 the Administration, as well as to the unions.

12 The Chairman: What is this recommendation?

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<sup>13</sup> Mr. Stern: The recommendation is that you preserve the <sup>14</sup> requirement that an individual have worked 26 of the prior 52 <sup>15</sup> weeks and not change that test, but that you allow him to count <sup>16</sup> towards his 26 weeks sick leave and vacation leave. So if he <sup>17</sup> had worked 23 weeks but was sick for three weeks, that would <sup>18</sup> count for 26 weeks.

Senator Roth: What has happened, Mr. Chairman, there have 20 been many cases where older employees may be out sick. Under 21 the present rule, those weeks that they were out sick counted 22 against them.

In the interest of fairness to them it is proposed that those and vacations be counted in.

Senator Dole: I move that we adopt the Roth modification?

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The Chairman: All in favor, say aye.

2 (A chorus of ayes)

3 The Chairman: Opposed, no.

4 (No response)

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5 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

6 Mr. Stern: The next item on page 6 of the blue book, the 7 House allows older workers -- that is, workers 60 years old --8 an additional period of 26 weeks of benefits and Senator Roth 9 has suggested that that provision be included in the bill. It 10 is in the House bill.

. .

11 The Chairman: How is that? Give that to me again? 12 Mr. Stern: It allows workers who are at least 60 years 13 old when they become separated an additional 26 weeks of 14 benefits beyond 78 weeks.

15 Senator Roth: The administration here, again, has 16 withdrawn its opposition to this. It is primarily a benefit to 17 the older workers and would cost \$2 million.

18 Mr. Stern: It would allow up to two years of benefits 19 instead of a year and a half.

20 The Chairman: All in favor, say aye.

21 (A chorus of ayes)

22 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

23 (No response)

24 Senator Roth: One final modification, which we have 25 discussed with the unions who have been interested in this

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1 legislation and it is satisfactory to them on the recomputing
2 the benefits.

3 Under the present law, you have to recompute weekly wage 4 and benefits. This delays the delivery of benefits. The 5 states have objected. It has increased very substantially the 6 administrative burdens to them.

I understand the administration supports the elimination
8 of this requirement. I have checked it out with groups
9 benefiting from the program. They do not oppose it.
10 Therefore, I suggest the Committee adopt an amendment adopted
11 by the Department of Labor eliminating this burdensome
12 provision.

13 I so move, Mr. Chairman.

14 The Chairman: All in favor, say aye.

15 (A chorus of ayes)

16 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

17 (No resopnse)

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18 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

19 Senator Dole: That leaves the retroactive eligibility.

20 Mr. Stern: We have not come to that yet as to the extent 21 we are going through the book. This is a provision that was 22 not included in the House bill.

The next item to take up, Mr. Chairman, in the middle of 24 page 6 is a liberalization in the House bill for expenses of 25 unemployed workers finding new jobs.

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1 The present law allows 80 percent of necessary costs with 2 a maximum benefit of \$500 of the cost of finding suitable work 3 and the House bill would increase that to 100 percent of his 4 costs with a maximum of \$600.

5 It also provides for a long period of time in the case of 6 older workers to seek new employment.

7 The Chairman: We are trying to hold the costs of it down. 8 It does not seem to me that it is necessarily 80 percent. That 9 is showing that he is looking for an additional job. If you 10 are paying 80 percent of it you are doing pretty well. That is 11 my thought, anyway.

12 Senator Roth: I wonder what the Labor Department thinks. 13 Mr. Fooks: We do not think there is a significant cost 14 associated with this, Mr. Chairman. We also propose a change 15 that would permit the government to reduce the grant or payment 16 by the amount ordinarily paid by employers so it will not be a 17 wash in terms of cost.

18 There is so little utilization now.

19 The Chairman: What do you think the cost of it would be.20 Mr. Fooks: Less than \$1 million, probably.

21 The Chairman: All right.

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22 Mr. Stern: The House provision is \$6 million. This is a 23 modification, am I correct?

24 Mr. Fooks: The House has 100 percent.

25 Mr. Stern: That is right.

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1 Mr. Fooks: The modification we are talking about is 2 having the employer contributions offset is a modification.

3 Mr. Stern: This is a modification of the House provision.
4 Mr. Fooks: Yes.

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5 The Chairman: Those in favor say aye.

6 (A chorus of ayes)

7 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

8 (No response)

9 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

10 All right.

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11 Mr. Stern: The next item is at the top of page 7. This 12 only involves a small amount of money, half a million dollars.

The bill broadens the definition of an adversely affected 14 employer to include the cases where a worker is totally 15 separated from other employment with a firm which adversely 16 affected employment exists within 190 days of being transferred 17 from adversely affected employment.

18 It would include workers totally separated from other 19 employment in the firm which adversely affected employment 20 results from the transfer because of lack of work or 21 re-employment of another adversely affected worker.

22 That proposal is a fairly minor one and only involves a 23 half a million dollars.

24 The Chairman: Without objection, agreed.

25 Senator Heinz: Mr. Chairman, there is an issue maybe I

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1 should raise at this point which I think can be handled through 2 report language which has to do, through loss of jobs through 3 contract sales.

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I would defer it to later, but I would like to discuss the 5 issue briefly. I do not want to interrupt Mr. Stern's 6 presentation. Let me just put a footnote.

7 The Chairman: We will get to it.

8 What else is there?

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9 Mr. Stern: All right.

The next item, a significant cost item in the House bill 11 cost \$50 million. It allows retroactive filing of applications 12 in the case of workers separated from employment between 13 October 3, 1974 and November 1, 1977.

Senator Roth has proposed a modification. That is to say, say, he would extend it to that period but not for workers who had he never applied.

17 Senator Dole: Take out the open season.

18 Senator Roth: Take out the open seson. That would save 19 \$20 million to \$25 million, about half.'

20 The modification that the administration would support 21 this provision, if we eliminate the open season, it would only 22 be retroactive with respect to those who had actually applied.

23 Senator Dole: Go to '77 or '76?

24 Senator Roth: '74 and '77. A worker between October, '74 25 and November '77.

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Senator Dole: The administration supports that?
 Mr. Fooks: Yes, the administration supports it.
 The Chairman: All in favor, say aye?

(A chorus of ayes)

5 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

6 (No response)

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 7 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

8 All right. Does that take care of it? Is that all we 9 have on the bill?

10 Mr. Stern: That takes care of the worker portion.

Mr. Foster: The House bill, 1543, also has some 12 provisions relating to firm adjustment assistance whereby a 13 firm who is impacted by imports can receive loans or loan 14 guarantees or technical assistance from the government.

The first amendment that would be made by the House bill 16 would be to say, in addition to having to show that imports had 17 actually resulted in a decrease of sales or production of the 18 firm in order to qualify for assistance, a firm could also show 19 that there is a threat of a decrease in its sales or 20 production.

The theory behind this is the same as the analagous provision in the worker case. It would allow a quicker certification, but actual benefits would not be paid until there was an actual impact, an actual increase in the sale or production. 1 The administration does oppose this. The estimated cost 2 is about \$300,000 a year for this proposal.

3 The Chairman: Those in favor, say aye?

4 (A chorus of ayes)

5 The Chairman: Opposed, no?

6 (No response)

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7 The Chairman: What is the next one?

8 Mr. Foster: The next one is the analagous provision to 9 the labor provision with respect to firms which supply goods or 10 services to a produer that is actually impacted by imports. 11 Here the House bill does have the 25 percent supplying 12 requirement, i.e., that the supplying firm must supply at least 13 25 percent of its production to the firm that is actually 14 impacted.

The reason for the difference here, essentially is that in 16 the firm case you are dealing with a unit and you are basically 17 saying in order for a firm to receive adjustment assistance, 18 this is the best way of making sure that there is, in effect, a 19 relationship. In the worker case when you were dealing with 20 individual workers they wanted to have that particular 21 requirement.

22 The Chairman: Without objection, agreed.

23 Senator Dole: What is the administration position?

24 Mr. Foster: Well, the administration also opposes this. 25 They would be willing to accept an amendment if you raised the

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1 25 percent requirement to 50 percent and applied it only to 2 goods, they would support that. So they would eliminate 3 services and raise the 25 percent requirement.

The Chairman: How much money is involved in that?
Mr. Foster: As in the House bill, it is \$13
6 million. As would be acceptable to the administration, it is \$8
7 million. So I think there is approximately a \$5 million
8 saving.

9 The Chairman: Without objection, we will go along with 10 the 25 percent test.

11 What else do you have?

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5 5 Mr. Foster: The next series of amendments in the House Mr. Foster: The next series of amendments in the House House series and the program benefits. The first amendment relates to technical assistance. When a firm has been certified for beligibility to apply for program benefits, they have to come up for with a program demonstrating how they will adjust to the import competition and how they will use the loan or loan guarantee that is provided to them, in preparing this plan the government plan now pick up 75 percent of that plan if it is prepared by a private contractor or they use some sort of private individual to do this.

The bill would raise that pick up by the government to 90 23 percent. In each case, it is discretionary with the Secretary 24 as to whether the firm is able to pay for it. If he decides 25 the firm is able to pay on its own, the government does not

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1 have to pay anything. If he decides the firm is unable to pay, 2 then the government could pick up to 90 percent of it under the 3 amendment.

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4 The cost of this is approximately \$3 million a year.
5 Senator Roth The administration --

Mr. Foster: The administration has no objection to this.
The Chairman: Okay. Without objection, agreed.
8 What else?

9 Mr. Foster: The next provisions relate to financial 10 assistance, the actual assistance that is given to the firm 11 once they qualify. These include loans and loan guarantees.

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ං ට 12 Under present law, any single firm may, at any one time, 13 not have more than \$1 million in loans from the Federal 14 government nor more than \$3 million in loan guarantees.

The House bill would amend this to make it \$3 million at 16 any one time for any one firm with respect to direct loans and 17 \$5 million for loan guarantees. Additionally, the House bill 18 provides that with respect to loan guarantees, the Secretary of 19 Commerce contracts to pay annually for not more than ten years 20 interest rates subsidies to, or on behalf of, the borrowing 21 firm in amounts sufficient to reduce by a maximum of four 22 percentage points the interest paid by the borrower on that 23 loan.

24 So you have a firm that goes out and borrows money from a 25 bank. It is guaranteed. The government could provide an

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1 interest rate subsidy of up to 4 percent of the amount that the 2 borrower is having to pay for the money.

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3 There have been no objections to these provisions received 4 by the committee.

5 One other provision, I should indicate. Right now, the 6 cost on the direct loan to the borrower is essentially the 7 Treasury cost of borrowing plus a small percentage to cover 8 losses under the program.

9 What the House bill would do would be to eliminate that 10 addition for small costs, for covering the costs of the 11 program.

12 No objections to any of these provisions by the 13 administration were received from any source. The annual cost 14 for fiscal 1980 is about \$10.2 million for this provision.

15 The Chairman: Any objection?

16 Without objection, agreed.

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Mr. Foster: That is all on the firm provisions. That is18 all that I am aware of in the bill.

19 I believe the administration may have some additional
20 amendments they want to recommend in the labor provision.
21 There was one area that was not covered there.

22 Mr. Stern: Mr. Chairman, I wanted to mention one thing. 23 There are authorizations for appropriations here in the firm 24 part and also in the worker part and for Budget Act purposes, 25 would you prefer to leave the effective dates fiscal '80 but

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1 seek a budget waiver. In the alternative, you could just start 2 them in 1981. It is your choice. Senator Roth: What are your feelings on that, Senator? Mr. Stern: Under the Budget Act you are supposed to 5 report out any legislation that authorizes appropriations for 3 6 the fiscal year by May 15th and if you do it after that, you Senator Dole: How much is the waiver? How many dollars? 7 have to seek a waiver. Mr. Stern: Well, it is a procedural matter rather than a 8 9 10 dollar amount. Senator Moynihan: That is a hard one. Senator Dole: You are not talking about much in the 11 12 Mr. Stern: I do not think the money involved is very 13 waiver. Senator Moynihan: I think we can get the waiver. I think 14 15 large, in any case. 17 it is a fair bet that we will. And if we do not, we can then 18 deal with that. We will move very quickly to do it. The Chairman: All right. We will seek the waiver. Senator Moynihan: It is a bet. The Chairman: Without objection, we will agree to that. 19 Mr. Stern: In other words, you have approved a resolution 20 21 23 seeking a waiver on this bill when it is reported? 22 Senator Roth: Yes. The Chairman: Without objection, agreed. 24 25

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1 Mr. Fooks: Mr. Chairman, we would like a provision 2 which would provide the Secretary of Labor with authority to 3 suspend existing certifications so that workers whose most 4 immediate lay off is clearly not related to trade would not 5 receive benefits.

. .

6 It is a situation that arose during the past coal strike 7 where we found that steel workers were getting laid off at 8 Sparrows Point and other mills in the country who were covered 9 by an existing certification but whose immediate lay off had 10 nothing to do with imports. It was the result of the coal 11 strike, and that is a situation we would like to be able to 12 manage.

13 We cannot do it under the existing authority.

14 The Chairman: Without objection, agreed.

15 Any more administration suggestions.

16 Senator Heinz?

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Senator Heinz: If not, Mr. Chairman, I have two items I Not would like to raise which grow out of experiences we have had in my state.

20 The first issue has to do with the laws of contract sales. 21 These have been discussed with the staff, but let me just cover 22 them briefly.

23 When a firm sells an item that is produced under written 24 contract rather than being sold from inventory and where there 25 is a long lead time required for the manufacturer to ship those

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1 items, there is a possibility the firm which has bid on 2 contracts that are only awarded to a foreign competitor will, 3 in fact, experience an absolute decrease in production and will 4 have to lay off workers.

5 Yet, under present law they are denied adjustment 6 assistance because an increase in imports of that product has 7 not yet occurred, even though obviouslyit is going to occur. 8 They have lost the contract to a foreign bidder.

9 In this situation, there is simply just no question that 10 an increase in imports is going to occur when the production of 11 the goods by the foreign supplier is completed, but that 12 increase, as I mentioned, is not reflected in the import 13 statistics at the time the petition is considered.

14 So under the way the present legislation works, workers in 15 firms which are already suffering the injuries the program was 16 intended to remedy cannot receive the help on a timely basis.

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17 So what I would propose, Mr. Chairman, is that we have 18 appropriate language to be included in the report to clarify as 19 follows, that the Secretary of Commerce should provide all 20 possible technical assistance -- and by that, I mean short of 21 financial assistance which is permitted under the act in terms 22 of the advances to prepare reports and so forth -- so that the 23 firm may expedite the preparation of its proposal for economic 24 assistance when, number one, a contract has been awarded to a 25 foreign supplier to purchase goods whose production takes some

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1 time and which will be delivered at a future date.

2 Two, it is highly probable that there will be increased 3 imports of such products.

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4 Three, there has been an observable impact on the firm and 5 its workers by virtue of loss of the contract, namely, decrease 6 in sales and production and separation of workers. By this 7 means, firms that, in all likelihood would be eligible for 8 economic assistance under this program would be able to receive 9 that assistance more promptly by having been helped in 10 preparing the application materials in advance.

Senator Moynihan: May I say, Mr. Chairman, that seems to 12 me -- I know of comparable situations in my state and --

13 The Chairman: What is the administration's attitude 14 towards that?

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Mr. Williams: Mr. Chairman, this is the first we have heard of this but on the surface it appears to us to be highly reculative. A firm that is very prosperous that lost one contract could come in under this provision for trade adjustment assistance and it would be very, very difficult for us to make the determiantion --

21 Senator Heinz: I do not think you understand the 22 proposal. It is not your fault; I am not saying that 23 accusatorily. This does not grant adjustment assistance. What 24 it does do is get things processed early.

25 Mr. Williams: We are processing things very quickly now.

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1 It is just a question of receiving the petiiton. They would be 2 covered under the threatened provision that is in the law 3 right now. You would not need that.

4 Senator Heinz: The problem is that these contract sales 5 situations are such long lead times and they deal with future 6 production as opposed to selling from inventory. I think we 7 would all be much more --

8 The problem is that somebody comes in and says we think we 9 are going to be eligible for adjustment assistance. We have 10 just lost a big contract of light railcar vehicles from 11 Boeing-Bertahl or General Electric. AMTRAK has bought them 12 from the French, or the Atlanta Mass Transit Authority has 13 bought them from the French, and we anticipate that in nine 14 nonths we will be out of business and we want to get ready for 15 this now.

16 Mr. Williams: As I understand it --

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17 Senator Heinz: Indeed, those two firms are out of 18 business --

19 Mr. Williams: As I understand it --

20 Senator Heinz: We do not want them to be turned away by 21 the Commerce Department because they cannot demonstrate that 22 the import has not yet occurred.

23 Mr. Williams: As I understand it, the amendment that has 24 just been adopted by this committee, which is in the House 25 bill, that would be covered because there would be a threatened

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1 decline in production or sales and we could then go ahead and 2 do it under the way the House bill is now written.

3 Senator Heinz: It may, but I would be more comfortable if 4 this were in. This does not change the law. It simply gives 5 you guidelines.

6 Mr. Williams: We would have no problems.

7 The Chairman: All in favor say aye?

8 (A chorus of ayes)

9 The Chairman: Opposed, no.

10 (No response)

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Senator Heinz: Mr. Chairman, the second issue concerns the treatment of subdivisions of firms where the subdivisions produce related or interim goods which have not experienced the increased imports where the firm as a whole is no longer viable because of import competition.

My concern is based on the history of a firm in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the Heppenstahl Company, which ceased operations No December of 1978.

Most of the workers of Heppenstahl were certified eligible for trade adjustment assistance because they worked on products which had suffered a direct increase in imports. However, the employees of the materials handling division because imports of the particular product they had worked on had not increased, when the firm went out of business in 1978.

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1 So they lost their jobs because of imports but were denied 2 adjustment assistance because of the Catch-22 situation. The 3 particular product they worked on were not, per se, impact 4 related.

. .

5 It seems to me that the Labor Department made a very 6 tortured reading of the statute. I am told that the Labor 7 Department evaluated the eligibility of this division 8 separately because of the statutory provision that there must 9 have been an increase of imports of articles like or directly 10 competitive articles produced by the firm or an appropriate 11 subdivision.

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I think it should be clear that, in this instance, the materials handling division was an integral part of Heppenstahl and its economic viability was damaged by the increased is imports.

16 To remedy this, I recommend that appropriate language be 17 included in the report to clarify the meaning and significance 18 of the term appropriate subdivision. That language should 19 include consideration of the extent of legal and financial 20 integration of the division into the firm as well as the nature 21 of the product it manufacturers. It should make clear that 22 workers of a particular subdivision shall not be denied 23 adjustment assistance simply because they produce a different 24 product when the subdivision is an integral part of the firm 25 that goes out of business because of imports.

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 Senator Moynihan: May I endorse that proposal?
 The Chairman: Does that give you any problem over in the 3 admnistration part of it?

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4 Mr. Fooks: I am afraid it will, Mr. Chairman. Again, we 5 are in an area where imports are not a direct cause of the 6 unemployment problem. If we could be confident that it would 7 only be a half a dozen employees involved in every case, the 8 cost implications would not be that serious but we just do not 9 know. Conceivably, you could double the case load in a given 10 situation.

11 The problem arises because the intial injury test 12 contribute importantly test, that we apply to import-impacted 13 workers is a minimal test. So it may be true, unfortunately, 14 that workers who are producing an unimport-impacted product 15 become displaced, because a plant just goes out of business in 16 one major area. But the initial impact on imports should not 17 be assumed to be the major cause, as it was in the Trade 18 Expansion Act or anything more than an important cause which 19 does not necessarily, under the legislation, have to be a very 20 significant impact.

21 So we have problems with that.

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22 The Chairman: Can somebody give me a concrete example so 23 I could understand what we are talking about.

24 Senator Heinz: Yes. I will give you the example from 25 Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where I live.

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1 The Heppenstahl Company manufactured a range of products 2 including some products and controls from their materiels 3 handling division which was a small part of their operation. 4 They had one big plant.

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5 They went out of business and were found to have gone out 6 of business because of import competition. All the employees 7 in that plant save the employees in the materiels handling 8 division ---I do not have the exact number of employees -- are 9 now getting trade adjustment assistance because they lost their 10 job because of imports.

11 The few employees in the materiels handling division who 12 lost their jobs at exactly the same time as all the others --13 because the firm closed. It went out of business. That is it. 14 Goodbye. They are just as out of work as the other 80 or 90 15 percent of the other employees. They are out of work for 16 exactly the same reason.

17 The only difference is that they are not getting18 adjustment assistance benefits.

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19 The Chairman: Why is it they are not getting the 20 benefits?

21 Senator Heinz: Because there is a provision in the 22 present law, or an interpretation of the present law, that 23 says unless the particular product line you are working on is 24 in fact a line that was impacted by imports, you cannot get --25 The Chairman: What were they working on?

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Senator Heinz: They were working on the products produced by the materiels handling division. Exactly what the materiels handling division makes -- oh. They made little vehicles that carried all the other stuff in the plant around.

5 Mr. Fooks: If that was the case ---and I am not saying it 6 is not the case -- we would have covered them. But if we 7 denied them, that is not the case.

8 Senator Heinz: What happened was that there was an 9 unofficial opinion given by the Labor Department. It was not 10 a written opinion; it was not an official opinion; but it 11 discouraged the company from applying.

12 The Chairman: Are you asking for an amendment to the
13 bill, or are you --

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14 Senator Heinz: No, I am asking for report language to 15 qualify this and I think staff has the actual language, do you 16 not?

17 Mr. Foster: We understand what your concept is.

18 Senator Moynihan: Do I not understand the Department of 19 Labor to say that they would agree with you in such a case and 20 therefore --

21 Senator Heinz: Actually, I have heard two things. I have 22 heard that they disagree and that they agree.

23 Senator Moynihan: You have to have selective hearing in 24 caes like that. The Department could accept such language, 25 could you not?

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Mr. Fooks: We could accept it if --

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2 Senator Heinz: It does not change the law. It just tries
3 to get your legal department on the stick.

Mr. Fooks: The problem that we are afraid of is that the 5 language could be used to apply to a situation, say the 6 Hemtranic plant in Detroit which produced several different 7 types of vehicles and employed thousands and thousands of 8 workers and I believe we have made a finding in that case that 9 one production line was injured, was producing an intermediate 10 type care and two or three other production lines were not 11 injured.

12 Now, I am not sure with the language you are proposing 13 whether we would have any grounds for denying certification to 14 the other three production lines.

15 Senator Heinz: I understand your concern. My goal is not 16 to qualify 90 percent of the production when a division 17 accounting for 10 percent of it is lost to imports. That would 18 be as tortured a construction of what I believe the Labor 19 Department did in this instance.

I think what happened is that you had an inexperienced or too zealous lawyer saying, do not bother to apply on this. Here is what the law says. Do not bother us with these details. Just go after those product lines where there were import impacts and that clearly is not what you believe is fight, either.

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1 The Chairman: It seems to me as though if you want to 2 spell it out in the language that where some minor aspect of a 3 firm is not producing an import-competitive article but the 4 overall operation is that when the whole firm shuts down those 5 who produce that minor aspect of the overall operation would 6 not be denied it just because that part of it was not import 7 competitive.

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8 Senator Heinz: Mr. Chairman, we will work out language 9 which meets, I think, what we all agree on.

10 The idea is not to qualify the body for adjustment 11 assistance if a hand or arms is lost. But if the head and the 12 trunk are separated, we would like the remaining digits to 13 qualify.

14 The Chairman: All right. That is fair.

15 All right. Without objection, agreed.

16 All in favor of reporting the bill, say aye?

17 (A chorus of ayes)

18 The Chairman: Opposed, no.

19 (No response)

20 The Chairman: The ayes have it.

21 Senator Heinz: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m. the Committee recessed to23 reconvene at 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, October 24, 1979.)

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