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## EXECUTIVE SESSION

THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1977

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

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:05 a.m. in room 2221, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell B. Long (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Talmadge, Ribicoff, Byrd, Bentsen, Matsunaga, Moynihan, Curtis, Dole, Laxalt and Danforth.

The Chairman. Mr. Stern, suppose you get busy and start explaining to us what some of the problems are, some of the problems we will discuss and also compared to what we did before. Suppose you go ahead, Mr. Stern.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, I might start with a chart as an introduction. The chart appears on the blackboard on the left. It is also before you.

This chart shows the three different kinds of unemployment benefits that now exist and how they match together.

The basic program is a program of regular benefits which generally speaking last for twenty-six weeks. They are paid for, 100 percent, out of state funds and are a feature of

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permanent law.

When we talk about state or Federal laws, we talk about employer taxes, to make that clear.

The regular benefits are paid for entirely out of state taxes on employers. That lasts for six months. The next three months, or thirteen weeks, Federal law provides for extended benefits. These benefits are paid, either nationally or in a state, if unemployment is higher, the theory being that you allow a worker six months to find another job, if he becomes involuntarily unemployed. If unemployment is particularly high, you give him three additional months to find a job.

The extended benefits are paid 50 percent by Federal employer taxes and 50 percent by state taxes. That is also a feature of permanent law.

Finally, under temporary legislation, there are the so-called Emergency Benefits. These are payable for twenty-six weeks for a maximum of sixty-five weeks of unemployment benefits in all under legislation due to expire at the end of this month.

The Emergency Benefits are 100 percent Federal, financed by Federal employer tax,

Senator Dole. How are they financed?

Mr. Stern. They are financed by an increase in the Federal employer tax and these benefits will take the worker

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up to 65 weeks until the end of this month. Ender the House bill they will be available for thirteen weeks for a total of 52 weeks of unemployment benefits for another year.

What this legislation does is this third block, the emergency benefits. When that program was last extended, the Congress wanted to find out what kinds of people received emergency benefits and referred the Labor Department to report. The information is capitalized on the other blackboard, namely if you look at all households receiving emergency benefits, the average total income of the households is \$10,420 of which the unemployment benefits account for \$2200 benefits.

If you look at husband-wife families that make up 60 percent of the beneficiaries, they are split about half and half. If it is the husband who is unemployed, the family income is about \$10,700 of which unemployment benefits account for \$2700 and other income, typically the spouses' earnings, account for \$8,000.

It is a similar story with the wife drawing benefits, namely the family income averages \$12,500 of which the unemployment benefits are \$1900 and the other income, typically the husband's income, from employment is \$10,600.

If you look at benefits as a percent of prior net
earnings, if you take the earnings at the last job and subtract
out taxes plus working expenses, in general the emergency

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benefits represent 65 percent of prior earnings. To use the jargon, 65 percent replacement rate.

In the case of husband-wife families where it is the husband who is drawing the benefits, it is 56 percent of his prior earnings. In the case of the wife, she is getting benefits equal to 77 percent of her prior earnings.

To show kind of a distribution in relation to the poverty level, overall 33 percent of the beneficiaries have a total family income of at least twice the poverty level, 45 percent is one and a half times the poverty level, and 58 percent is equal to poverty level.

If you look at the figures for husband-wife families, where it is the husband is unemployed, the figure is lower.

If you look at husband-wife families where the wife is the beneficiary, they are higher.

All of this is by way of introduction to the first staff recommendation which is that you make the emergency benefits needs tested. In other words, we wonder whether it is reasonable to presume that a spouse, for example, is actively engaged in seeking work after nine months if the family income is that high and the unemployment benefits themselves represent a fairly high proportion of net earnings from before, being employed.

Our recommendation is a fairly simple needs test -- simple from the administrative standpoint. Namely, as the ninth month

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draws to a close the Employment Service looks at the family income during that last three months from the seventh to the ninth month of unemployment without regard to unemployment benefits and simply relate that to a state by state poverty level. What we have picked is 40 percent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics low income level — I am sorry, 50 percent of the state median income that is available through the Census because that is roughly equal, on a national basis, to the poverty level. It would be a separate figure for each state and every different size of family.

Whatever state rules apply to earnings now would just apply after you calculate what the benefit level is. That would probably save something like 30 percent to 40 percent of the cost.

The Chairman. Why do you not give us an example of how that would work? How would it work in Louisiana? Do you have that there?

Senator Hathaway. Do you have it state by state?

Mr. Stern. We will give it to you in a minute.

In the case of Louisiana for a family of four it would be about \$5,600 so that any family whose total income was \$5,600 or less would receive the full unemployment benefit.

By the time ramily income reached \$11,200 -- in other words, twice that amount -- they would be eligible for no benefits, and the range in between, between \$5,600 and \$11,200

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the benefits would be scaled down.

The Chairman. How would you scale a benefit down?

Senator Hathaway. Is it dollar for dollar?

Mr. Stern. That is correct, dollar for dollar.

That is to say, if would be based on a percentage basis. To the extent that the excess of family income exceeds \$5,600 in Louisiana, you would take that as a percentage of \$5,600.

For example, if the family income was \$2,300 higher than \$5,600 that is 50 percent higher and the benefits would be reduced by 50 percent.

By the time family income is 100 percent higher, then this level of \$5,600 in Louisiana, the benefits would be down to zero.

The Chairman. What is the Administration's position in regard to that suggestion?

Mr. Stern. They are opposed to needs testing benefits. When the question was raised — the incident given in the hearing was that they would oppose it, but there were circumstances that maybe an emergency benefit program is somewhat different.

Mr. Ruben is here from the Labor Department.

Mr. Ruben. My name is Murray Ruben. I work for the Unemployment Insurance Service.

Our feeling was that we were reluctant to encumber a temporary extension with additional administrative problems

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that would ensue from the needs testing. I think that we would opt for a shorter duration of the extension rather than add to it this rather formidable overlay.

Senator Curtis. May I ask you a question? I got here a little bit late. Is the proposal under discussion one that would liberalize the payment of unemployment compensation or is it one that would tighten it up and lessen theppayments?

Mr. Ruben. It would reduce the payments considerably.

Senator Curtis. The Administration is opposed to it?

Mr. Ruben. Our feeling is we would oppose it in terms of this particular extension.

Senator Curtis. What is complicated about it?

Mr. Ruben. It would involve pursuing the income of the family, determining that. It would involve some inequities also.

As I understand the proposal, it would be a one-time thing. Once the family income was set, that would be established for the duration of the claim.

Mr. Stern. The benefits are payable up to thirteen weeks. You would just make a one-time determination based upon the prior thirteen weeks of family income.

Senator Curtis. How many determinations are required now?

Mr. Ruben. One determination of the individual's base period earnings.

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Senator Curtis. How would this change it?

Mr. Stern. As the end of the ninth month approaches the people in the Employment Security Office would determine what the family income is during the seventh, eighth and ninth month of unemployment. They would make that one determination that would set a benefit level for the following three months.

Senator Curtis. In other words, before the thirteen weeks were up, they would look at it again? Is that what you are proposing?

Mr. Stern. Mr. Ruben was referring to when the person comes in to apply for benefits in the first place. This will be one determination made after the ninth month.

The Chairman. If youllook at that board up there, it illustrates the percentages. If you look at the righthand column, for example, with regard to the beneficiaries, the average benefit there is listed as being \$1800 a year.

Other income, that is an average situation. Is that average?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

The Chairman. An average of \$10,640.

What you are really trying to move towards here is not the average situation. You are trying to look at those situations where on a needs basis the benefit is not justified. There is no insurance principle justifying paying the benefit. Is that not right? Ŧ.

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Mr. Stern. That is correct, although I should mention that the funding of the House bill is general revenue funding so you are asking all taxpayers to contribute to the support of these families.

The Chairman. Here is the kind of situation, as I understand it, that you are talking about.

I do not believe it is shown on the board. Maybe you should put the extreme situation on the board. Can you give us an extreme situation of this?

This is not an extreme situation. Mr. Stern. of every five emergency benefits recipients have household incomes in excess of \$15,000 so when you pay for that out of general revenues --

The Chairman. Here is the kind of thing I am talking about. How long does the housewife have to work in private employment before she is eligible for the benefits?

Mr. Ruben. The average requirement, as far as state laws are concerned, fifteen to twenty weeks to work, or the equivalent in dollars.

The Chairman. Let's take the extreme figures. Let us assume she works for twenty weeks, so she worked about five months. So after five months, she then goes back to her housework. That is not unproductive labor. After all, that saves a lot of expense because you do not have to pay somebody else to do it when the wife is preparing the meals,

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looking after house matters and doing things, many of which you would have to pay somebody to do for you.

Then she is drawing for that family the full benefits for more than a year. How many weeks?

Mr. Stern. Sixty-five weeks under present law.

The Chairman. Sixty-five weeks.

weeks and the family then proceeds to draw this unemployment benefit for sixty-five weeks, so they are drawing over benefits over three times as long as she put into the fund and the benefits that the family is receiving from the mother's contribution in the home, it makes one wonder if they are not better off with the mother away from that job than she would be on it?

Mr. Ruben. May I add that the bill provides for a maximum of 52 weeks after the expiration. If we go further on FSB, it would be expended, the maximum payable to any individual, 13 weeks of FSB, not 26. Not every state provides for an individual who works even as much as 20 weeks the full 26 weeks of regular benefits. It may be as low as ten weeks and then the extended benefits would be five weeks and the FSB would be five weeks.

Mr. Stern. The figures on the board relate to people who, on the average, are getting benefits for 63 weeks.

Senator Hansen. Sixty-three weeks?

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Mr. Stern. These figures are not based on people who have that kind of short duration. The average person in the study on which those figures were based were 63 weeks.

Mr. Weatherford -- that is the Administrator -- just came in, and he would like to make some comment.

Senator Hathaway. How is the verification of the income made?

Mr. Stern. In the study?

Senator Hathaway. If a person comes in for the additional thirteen weeks, how do they determine whether or not they had that family income at a certain level? Do they do that by affidavit, or have an investigation, or what?

Mr. Stern. The question, Mr. Weatherford, is how the local office would determine the income.

Mr. Weatherford. It would require us to bring the claimants in some time during the claims series if they purchased and exhausted prior to going into the FSB. We would sit them down and go through a process of determining the household income that they would have in the household.

The claimant would give us that information and sign the form, from which we would make a general judgment about whether or not they qualified or not.

I am sorry to come in late, sir, but we are in the process of doing this with Title VI effort that the Secretary talked bout the day before yesterday to determine

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who of the FSB claimants meet the criteria that is required under the stimulus package.

We are in the process of doing it. I think we can do it.

Our basic concern is whether we want to get into this at this particular time on an extension of this program. We are hard at work — I know Mr. Stern and others are working on the task force of welfare reform to address this issue, to come forward with a comprehensive program and our position is it is really a question of whether we want to get into it, or whether you want to get into it at this point in time.

We think we can do it. We are in the process of gearing up for it.

The Chairman. What bothers me about it, I just do not think that it is fair for the Administration to let their programs get to be rip-offs where people are drawing all sorts of benefits of one name or the other and then come up here to Congress to extend those things and put the burden in the Congress to stop all of these rip-offs when, in my judgment, the duty is on the President and his Administration.

Everytime we turn around, if we turn up with something, usually they want to study it and think about it more. They are not ready, that type of thing.

I really think that the Administration ought to assume

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the burden of recommending to us that something that proves to be a rip-off should be changed. Like that situation of the people on the "60 Minutes" show with regard to the government traffic control operators having a deal where the so-called disability benefits are so attractive that everybody wants to be declared disabled. It is easy enough to do. He just says he is nervous, thereby he then proceeds to have a better arrangement regarding himself as disabled because of nervous strain.

The job, from his point of view, makes it such that he can no longer do it. It was no problem until the benefits were provided.

I think that the Administration ought to come in with a proposal to tighten up on these programs. I notice they want to tighten up on the water projects.

Senator Dole. The farm program.

The Chairman. The farm program.

How about these rip-offs here? It seems to me that they ought to be willing to measure up and recommend that we tighten up on those programs too.

Senator Hathaway. Mr. Chairman, I agree with you that there probably are rip-offs. I think we should wait until we have a broad review of the whole unemployment law as well as welfare reform, which is not too far in the future, before we tamper with this one.

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We recognize that unemployment has persisted longer than we anticipated. That is the purpose of the emergency benefits. They are only for thirteen extra weeks.

I think that we ought to allot the money on the same basis that the previous benefits have been allotted.

I do not think we should now get into this needs test which is going to take a considerable amount of figuring until we have an opportunity to go over the entire unemployment law. If there were rip-offs during the thirteen week period, a byiously there were rip-offs before.

I am in favor of straightening those out, because a lot of people are getting unemployment benefits who do not deserve them and are not actively looking for work. There are state laws that allow people not to travel any distance at all to get a new job. They require them to take only a job in their particular skill. A lot of that could be modified, but I do not think that this is the particular time to do it.

I think that we should let this one ride for the extra thirteen weeks on the same basis as the existing law is.

Mr. Stern. I should mention that the original law was enacted as a temporary law and it was extended in 1975. This is another extension. The fact that it is an extension does not mean that it will necessarily expire next year. You might get another request to have it extended again.

Senator Curtis. There is not anything complicated about

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that, is there?

Mr. Stern. We tried to make it as simple a needs test as possible. Since the benefit does only last for thirteen weeks, we are suggesting simply making one determination ... one time.

The purpose is to eliminate the relatively higher income families.

Senator Curtis. I think that there is a tremendous deficit, a cutback in other programs, and with the abuse of that goes on, known to anybody across the land, we should not only commend our staff for coming up with something, but this Committee should wholeheartedly support it because there is always a good reason for delay in something.

These things go on and on and the next time it is presented before a recess or something or other.

The Chairman. Mr. Laxalt?

Senator Laxalt. I agree with the concept of the needs test, but I have one reservation coming out of the states. The states would administer the needs test, would they not?

Mr. Stern. Yes.

Senator Laxalt. Should they not be consulted as to what kind of burden this would impose upon them?

Mr. Stern. This kind of determination is right now being made for CETA, is it not?

Mr. Weatherford. " It is a recent innovation. We have

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not done it in the past through state offices. The public services you added; last fall, half of those jobs come from the longterm unemployment claimants and WIN recipients, so we have gone into a process of identifying that in the local öffices.

I believe the state agencies -- did they testify on that yesterday or the day before? I think they would raise some question about it, Senator, but they have been responsive in doing the things we have told them to before.

Senator Laxalt. They are fully into it in : CETA already? Mr. Weatherford. Yes, sir.

Senator Danforth. What is the difference in savings? Mr. Stern. It depends on what else you do. Without regard to this question of area triggers that Senator Tahmadge wanted to bring up, the bill cost \$400 million. This would bringthe cost to \$240 million in fiscal year 1978.

Our recommendation would be you would not make it effective until July 1st. You have to allow some time.

Senator Laxalt. What is the net savings?

Mr. Stern. We would estimate it to be \$160 million.

Senator Danforth. \$160 million would be saved by implementing this needs test.

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

Senator Danforth. There is no such test for anything

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up to 39 weeks, right?

Mr. Stern. That is right. Of course, there is no test now. Our suggestion relates only to the last part.

It can also be related to the fact that you have a different source of funding. It is employer taxes for the first 39 weeks and for the emergency benefit period, ending in April, it will be paid out of general tax revenues.

Senator Danforth. The Administration's reason for opposing it again is what? That you do not think you are ready for this kind of program? You would rather put off your reform until some later date? You weel that this is shappy an emergency proposition now and you would rather do the emergency and then have the reform later?

- Mr. Weatherford. Yes.

I am very sensitive to what Senator Long said about our concern. We have expressed it on several occasions before the Committee, about being sure that those individuals who are on these benefits are entitlted to them.

When the economy did not improve, we had recommended prior to this not to extend the program. As Mr. Stern mentioned, we had to tack on two extensions because things did not get better as quickly as we hoped. We are caught in that kind of a situation.

With the next Administration coming in I think it is obviously to everybody that they are taking a hard look in

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connection with staff members on the Hill to try to get a reform package together.

Our position is that we ought to let that follow its course.

If I understand it, President Carter has indicated that he will come back shortly with a welfare reform proposal that will address those individuals who have run out of unemployment benefits.

Senator Laxalt. To what extent do you have a fix on this extended period being a disincentive for people working? Do we need this at all?

Do we need, at this point, an extended period at all?

An emergency period?

Mr. Weatherford. Senator, I think so. We still have some areas, some states and some areas in the country that are still hard-hit by this recession. I just believe that an individual where they have plant closings in the New England states and so forth, where they are shut down, not a matter of somebody being between jobs, -

Senator Laxalt. Can those areas not be isolated? This is broad stroke in this legislation.

Mr. Weatherford. I believe now, and I think the proposal brought forth in the Administration is a trigger mechanism which we will comment, and we have a lot of states triggered "on" now. By September there are going

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less states, primarily the hard hit states in the country,
New England, Pennsylvania and Michigan, that have high
enough levels of unemployment:

Down the road, we are going to have a lot of states that are going to trigger off where the benefits are not needed in that area. It is going to be targeted in those areas.

Senator Laxalt. You feel overall socially that we have not done more harm than good extending it to this length of time?

Mr. Weatherford. I am of the opinion that this country meeded this for the past two years. We have never had as many people lose their jobs as we have had in the last two years.

I indicated the day before yesterday a million people came into our offices in one week. It is a tough situation; I think we are coming out of it.

I am hopeful that the stimulus package is going to take us out of some of these high levels.

The Chairman. I want to make this clear. I think that the staff is right about this, but I really feel -- I do not believe that we can make it stick on the Floor now. My gaess is that if we do this, it will be knocked out on the Floor or the House will not take it.

If I thought that we could do this and make it law, I

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think I would vote for it. But with the Administration recommending against it, I do not think we can make it stick.

Senator Hansen?

Senator Hansen. Let me make two points. I have heard a lot of conflicting ideas about jobs in this country. I have read the statistics on the number of people out of work. I have gained the impression that perhaps an inordinate number of people out of work come from two classes: one, those between the ages of 16 and 20, fellows who have never had a job of any long period of time; and women in the work force.

Obviously, a married woman who has some responsibilities at home may not have the kind of time availability that fits into a job situation.

I thought, overall, the numbers of jobs in this country had been on the increase. I do not think it is accurate to say a lot of people are out of work now working a year or two ago. I do not get that feeling.

I am concerned also about the statistics that staff
has presented here. When you look at the number of people in
these different groups who are still receiving incomes
totalling an amount in excess of the poverty level, when
you consider the fact also, as Mr. Stern has pointed out,
that when someone has been drawing unemloyment compensation

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for nine months, I think that it is reasonable to ask yourself the question, is there not a built-in disincentive of the payment of compensation in the amounts that has been indicated here?

My final point is that I have to think, with all due appreciation for the good arguments that can be made in favor of giving the President a clean slate on which to write his proposals, I can find little or no justification for saying we should not take a step now that seems, at least to me, to make good sense. I do not think that is going to jeopardize the President's clout in coming ap with a better program.

For Heavens sakes, I, for one, do not want to sit here and say we will not do anything despite we see that this part of the house is on fire until we get the right type of fire truck here to handle a bigger fire. I think it makes awfully good sense to me to take a step here now.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Let me make it clear that if the program is going to be continued I think this reform is well-justified. Even though I would be willing to lead the battle and the charge, I do not think that we can make this one stick.

If the Committee wants to do it, I think someone else ought to lead the charge for it. I, for one, do not think we can make it stick.

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Mr. Moynihan?

Senator Moynihan. Thank you.

Two points. Unemployment insurance, as I am sure Mr.

Weatherford would agree, has been social insurance in our

country since it was established. It was paid for by

employer contributions. It is not, in any sense, charity. It

is an earned benefit that comes from work and we have gone

through the worst recession since the Great Depression in the

1930 \*\*sin\*\* which this program began and we have found it

useful and necessary to accept the benefit.

But, sir, to introduce into social insurance a needs test principle I think would be repugnant to many of us who have been associated with it. I think the Department would find it very difficult. Is that not the case?

Mr. Weatherford. Yes.

Senator Curtis. Let me ask a question.

Is the proposal to eject this means test into the regular program, or is it only to the Federally-financed part that is no relation?

Senator Moynihan. May I say to my most respected and very senior colleague, when a python begins swallowing a calf, it only goes into the first part of the python, but it tends to go through the whole thing eventually.

The second thing, sir, there are, in fact regions -
I am sorry to keep at this, but there is no way to avoid it --

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where the recession has not turned up at all. In my state, for example, the level of total employment hassoone downr Continuously since the presence of this recession. bottom of the recession was June of '75 and we have gone down from June of '75. It is as though it has not changed. Is that not right, sir? The Chairman . I suggest that we vote on this one. Let's call the roll on it. Senator Byrd. State the issue. The Chairman. The issue is whether we should apply a needs test to these extended benefits beyond the 39th week. Is that it? Mr. Stern. That is correct. Senator Byrd. It does not affect the first 39 weeks? The Chairman. No. Mr. WStern. Mr. Talmadge?

Senator Talmadge. No.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Ribicoff?

(No response)

Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd?

Senator Byrd. Aye.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson?

(No response)

Mr. Stern. Mr. Gravel?

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Senator Danforth.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. No.

There are seven yeas and eight nays.

Let's go on to the next point.

Mr. Stern. The next point relates to the duration of the extension.

The House bill extends the program exactly for one year, meaning even if a person is only in the second or third week drawing benefits from a year from now, there is a total cutoff on March 31, 1978.

The Administration recommended that the program be extended for twelve months, but that new dlaims only be taken for nine months to allow for a tail-out for the last three months.

We would think that it is quite important to have that kind of phase-out. We would recommend, however, that a better time to phase out would be six months from now rather than nine months from now, because that is the time that unemployment is at its seasonal lowest.

If you really have in mind phasing out the program, the best time to do it is when the least number of states are still triggered into the program.

Our recommendation would be extending the program for nine months, of which the last three months would only be

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those people who had already begun to drop out.

The Chairman. Is there any discussion, gentlemen?
All in favor, say aye?

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Mr. Stern. The next matter is one that Senator Talmadge asked to be brought up.

The House bill pays benefits both if state unemployment is above 5 percent and also introduces a concept of a labor market area trigger, so that even though unemployment in the state as a whole is below 5 percent, if a particular area it is below, then in that area you would pay benefits.

This was not proposed by the Administration. They do oppose the area triggers, the State Administrators oppose the area triggers.

Senator Talmadge. May I be heard on that?
The Chairman. Senator Talmadge.

Senator Talmadge. It was first called to my attention by the Unemployment Security Office in Georgia that this would be an administrative nightmare. They pointed out a situation that follows.

You have two people living side by side in Gainsville, Georgia, one of them works in the Atlanta area. He is

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unemployed. The other one works in the Gainsville area; he likewise is unemployed.

Under the triggering device that came over from the House, the one who worked in Gainsville, Georgia would be covered; the one who worked in Atlanta, Georgia would not be covered.

The Assistant Secretary of Labor, Mr. Green, testified very strongly against a state triggering device.

The Representative from Massachusetts -- who I thought made a very impressive presentation-- also testified very strongly in opposition to a triggering device within states.

In a mobile society like we live in, there is no way on earth you could enforce unemployment compensation within a given state where two people living side by side, unemployed for the same duration, could be administered where one would be entitled to it and the other one would not.

The Chairman. How would it be that one person would be entitled and the other would not?

Senator Talmadge. Because one worked fifty miles away from the other. He goes by automobile to and from his place of employment. The other one works locally.

The Chairman. If one of them had a job in Gainsville and the other one had a job down the road, one would be entitled to a benefit and the other would not, even though they lived next door to each other?

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Senator Talmadge. Even though they lived side by side?

Senator Byrd. Why would one be entitled and the other would not?

Senator Talmadge. Because there is a triggering device within given areas.

Mr. Stern. It depends upon where you work rather than where you live. If you have two people who live in the same town, the one works in the area that is triggered and the other one does not work in the area that is triggered, even though they live next to each other.

Senator Curtis. I think Senator Talmadge's position makes sense. I think we should adopt it.

The Chairman. Is that also the Administration's position?

Mr. Stern. Yes.

The Chairman. Also a staff position?

Mr. Stern. Yes.

The Chairman. That is a House amendment which has no support on this side, is that what it amounts to? Where did it get in that bill?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

The Chairman. Then I take it that Senator Talmadge would suggest --

Senator Talmadge. Move to strike the state triggering device.

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The Chairman. All in favor, say ave?

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

The next point?

Mr. Stern. The next major question relates to general revenue financing. The program up to now has been financed by increasing the employer tax, the Federal tax, by .2 percent and the House bill says beginning on April 1st it would be financed out of general funds in the Treasury.

The basic argument for that is the notion that after 39 weeks it should not be considered an employer responsibility any more that a particular employee is unemployed.

The Administration would prefer not to have any general revenue financing prospective as well as retroactive and business groups who testified would prefer to have foregiveness be retroactive.

The practical effect is, at what point is the employer tax reduced? The employer is going to say it is .7 percent rather than .5 percent until advances from the general fund to the trust fund are repaid.

Since that extra .2 percent is worth roughly \$1 billion a year, it means that the employer taxes will remain .2 percent higher for five years longer, under the House bill,

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or present law.

Senator Moynihan. Just to repay it?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

The Chairman. It seems to me that this is one of these areas where the Administration has not yet learned to think in consistent economic terms. I am sure they will after awhile, but they have not learned yet.

When you are going out here advocating that you have a tax cut for everybody to try to stimulate the economy, knowing this is going to increase your deficit, then at that point it does not make much senge to add a tax burden on business when you are trying to help those same businesses get going with a tax cut.

Senator Hansen?

Senator Hansen. Mr. Chairman, I agree with you completely.

The Senators will recall that the unemployment tax just doubled, is that not right, about the 1st of January?

I think we went from a .5 percent tax on an upper limit of income of \$4200 a year to a .7 percent tax on \$6000.

That went from \$2100 to \$4200.

Senator Moynihan. On the average worker?

Senator Hansen. Whatever it is, it is double.

I think we ought to keep that in mind. We are working in the wrong direction. We are trying to stimulate business.

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We are talking about increasing the investment tax credit, then we double the tax charged on the employers.

I know one thing, if I were an employer and I did not support that 65 weeks extension anyway -- I know Senator Javits thought that was a great idea; I still do not -- I just dognot see the rationale in saying, it seems to me to fly in the face of the facts.

The Chairman. The only thing you can say for it, I imagine, is that it would make some of the employers eligible for the \$50.

Mr. Laxalt?

Senator Laxalt. Has the Unemployment Compensation Fund

historically ever been subsidized by general revenues? Is

this unprecedented?

Senator Curtis. I think it is.

Mr. Stern. I do not believe so. Of course; advances are made from general funds.

Senator Curtis. Under the present system.

Senator Laxalt. Are we establishing some harmful precedent that could be carried over to the principle of Social Security?

Senator Moynihan. Did not this Committee recommend general funding of Supplemental Benefits in April, 1975?

Mr. Stern. Yes.

Senator Hansen. We made some mistakes. We have some

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new members on board and we can take a fresher look.

Senator Curtis. I would like to ask the staff a question.

Under the present system of financing, is there any incentive for employers to help police the program?

Mr. Stern. I think that occurs in the basic program, because an employer is experience-rated as to how many of h is employees draw benefits.

It is thought to be something to be adversary to the extent an employer would not want an employee credited against him if he was not a bona fide involuntary employeed.

Senator Curtis. I think that that is one thing to consider, because the distinguished Senator from New York just convinced me, if you start something, it is apt to grow.

Mr. Stern. What we are talking about is already the tenth month, the tenth to the fifteenth month. I do not think there is any more effect one way or the other. The question is whether the person gets on the unemployment rolls in the first place, and it gets credited against a particular employer.

Senator Curtis. These payroll taxes are particularly high and the Work Incentive Program, too, the Social Security tax of the individual, and here we are moving in the direction of taking the unemployment tax off. I know

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that it is very burdensome. My sympathy is with the people who have to pay it. They are getting money from the Federal Treasury.

Senator Hansen. Those figures, Mr. Chairman, are \$210 to \$420 annually, is the way that figures out.

The Chairman. It seems that we have recommended this before. In my judgment, I think we should finance it out of general revenues. Basically, what you are doing, to use my expression, you are financing it out of the deficit.

In times of recession, I think it is generally agreed that the government vall run a deficit. It will have to, and some of the emergency things you do, you will pay for it out of that deficit. You hope to make it back some other time.

It does not trouble me that this is one thing you are going to have to pay out of the deficit you are running.

You are going to have to borrow the money to pay for this.

Senator Laxalt. Respectfully, Mr. Chairman, is not the method by which we should offer release through the businesses is through a tax cut rather than this, and establish here a very dangerous precedent?

The Chairman. As I understand it, we will not impair any funds with this.

Mr. Stern. The question only relates to the method by which the repayment is made. I would point out that the House

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bill does, in fact, move to general revenue financing for these benefits on April 1st. I was simply saying it was a compromise position.

The business groups wanted it to be general revenues, financed retroactively, so they would not have to pay back, the Administration would rather not either. They would rather have the payroll tax pay for the whole thing.

The House bill is prospective only.

The Chairman. This proposal here is that we finance from general funds what now?

Mr. Stern. The House bill says prospectively only the last period of benefits, the emergency benefits, beginning April 1st.

The Chairman. Is that what we are voting on right now?

Mr. Stern. If you do not vote, you just accept the

House bill which is prospective only. Since it was an issue
almost every witness raised, we thought we should discuss
it here.

Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, at one point I would like to propose that we not only accept the House provision about prospective financing, but that there be a retroactive financing as well, so that we knock this tax off, which we can do without budgetary impact. The budget office says so -- when you are ready for that.

The Chariman. Now is the logical time to do it.

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Senator Byrd. May I ask this question?

How can you make it retroactive without budget impact?

Senator Moynihan. Because the money has been spent.

It has been spent in past budgets. This is a situation —and Mr. Stern, help me if I slip up here — these funds have been paid into the unemployment compensation, the extended unemployment compensation account which has a total debt now of \$8.8 billion of which \$5.3 billion has been extended from general revenues by the Treasury to the account to pay these extended benefits, and this money has to be repaid by a tax on employers, this extra .2 percent which Mr. Hansen spoke of, which is 2 percent on a higher base.

So it is quite a big jump. It doubled, in effect, in the dollar amount for the average worker in the plant.

Under this system, in order to repay the fund, this extra tax on employers will be in effect until 1982 and it seems to some of us that this is a tax on employing people that we just do not need and the House has said, take the tax off with respect to the additional benefits that will go on from March 31.

But the tax itself will continue for another six years -- five years, Mr. Chairman, for what has already been ppent.

We could get rid of that tax on employers, a tax which is on a higher base now so it is a more serious tax simply by

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cancelling and the Budget Committee's Counsel's Office has assured us that this amendment would pose no point of order problem. It is simply in effect forgiving an obligation that was incurred in the course of the worst recession we have had.

Senator Talmadge. If the Senator would yield, would not the net effect of it be to forgive loans that have been made to these states that have had high unemployment, that have borrowed heavily against the fund?

Senator Moynihan. That would be one of the effects, yes, sir.

Senator Talmadge. The principal effect?

Senator Moynihan. But those states will repay their loans through this tax.

Senator Talmadge. What are you doing, eliminating the tax and forgiving the loan simultaneously?

Senator Moynihan. In effect.

Senator Laxalt. If the Senator would yield, is not the net effect to add some \$5 million to the debt?

Senator Moynihan. It would not add anything. It would have eventually. It is a question of what comes in.

Senator Laxalt. We are converting a loan to a grant. It has to reflect somewhere.

Senator Moynihan. It is a reduction in taxes, not an increase in expenditure. The reduction of taxes goes  $\epsilon$ 

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on employers to hire people and for whom, now that we are going out of the recession, we are asking them to continue paying for the recession.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, if I may comment on two points, one is a matter that Senator Talmadge referred to. There are two separate loans. One is a loan that is really just the regular state benefits. Those outstanding loans are \$4 billion. Those are loans made simply to pay to states --

Senator Moynihan. I misspoke.

If I may say to my colleagues, the state loan is a separate matter and would not be affected by this.

Mr. Stern. The other question that was raised earlier, it does have a budgetary impact; why does it not require a budget waiver?

The impact occurs several years from now.

Senator Byrd. But there will be a budget impact.

Mr. Stern. That is correct. That is the amount of money that has so far been advanced to pay emergency benefits.

In addition to that, there is more than \$3 billion that has been an advance to pay extended benefits. That is the second column there.

Senator Byrd. Is that in addition to the \$5.4?

Mr. Stern. That is correct, a total of \$8.8 billion.

If you did nothing -- or, let me say, if you adopted

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Senator Moynihan's amendment, it would take several years anyway of having a higher employer tax to repay that \$3 billion for the extended benefits. But beginning in about fiscal year '81 or '82, somewhere in there, that is where the employers, under your amendment, would have their taxes lowered instead of keeping their taxes at .7 percent, their taxes would be lowered to .5 percent for five years.

The budgetary impact would be felt in the 1980's to the tune of \$5.5 billion. It does not have an immediate effect. Indeed, you are correct that the money has been paid out through these general funds. Eventually, beginning several years down the road, there would be, over a period of about five years, there would be a \$5.5 billion impact. The Federal government would take in \$5.5 billion less.

Senator Moynihan. It comes to a question, if you want to pay for the recession of the 1970's way into the 1980's. To many of us, it seems to us a good idea to pay this tax now.

Senator Byrd. The government is going to be paying for it into the 1980's even if business is not paying for it.

Senator Moynihan. It is in respect to the specific burden on an employer who are of this matter.

Senator Hansen. Mr. Chairman, one of the mosft oftenexpressed concerns I have heard about our raising our wages without actually taking a vote on it was simply that

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that we were addressing the problems of inflation as they affected the Congress of the United States and a few, very highly paid bureaucrats, that we ignored the overriding impact that inflation had on everybody else and selfishly we addressed our own problem ignoring that of everyone else.

I submit that there is no way the Budget Committee can come up with to avoid the impact of just writing something off into the Treasury and adding something to the deficit.

It will impact upon us later down the road.

My point is, it is pretty darned discouraging for people who are working and whose wages are raised and get into higher tax brackets as a consequence of the efforts of employers to hold them even, and they find they actually wind up, as many have, with less purchasing power after a wage increase when you consider the impact of inflation, and I justice to thinke that either the country.

That is the one thing. That and jobs are the two overriding concerns, I believe, that most Americans have. It seems to me that saying that we are not going to pay for this over \$5 billion expenditure, we are just going to add it to the deficit and it is going to be of minimal impact I think denies the fact that is so clear to every taxpayer.

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. 24 25 The Chairman. Shall we vote on it?

Call the roll.

Senator Byrd. You had better state the issue, so we will fully understand what we are voting on.

Mr. Stern. The advances that have been made of \$5.5 billion to pay for emergency benefits up until this point would retroactively be general revenue funded which would have the effect of reducing employer taxes .2 percent in the 1980's, about five years earlier than otherwise would occur.

The Chairman. Let me ask this question and get this straight in my own mind.

Would that make any difference in the tax they are paying this year?

Mr. Stern. It would make no difference for at least three or four years because there already is an outstanding advance for extended benefits of something more than \$3 billion. It would take three insufour years to pay that back.

The effect of this would not be felt for four or five years.

The Chairman. Let me just say that my thought about this is that I might be persuaded to vote for it, but I would like to know more about it.

At this time, I feel that if this is something we ought

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to have a chance to vote for it later on. As of now, it would not make any immediate difference, I do not think. You would still have the same tax.

I would like to know a lot more about it. I would like to study the figures -- not just see them, but study them, as to how it will work out. There is a lot of merit to it.

I am not in a position to vote for it now.

I would like to make it clear to the Senator that at a future point, I would vote for it.

Senator Moynihan. That is a very generous way to put it. If that is the case, if we can have an understanding that we will raise this question at an appropriate time, then I would like to withdraw the amendment.

The Chairman. Fine. Suppose we do that, then.

I might very well be able to support this, but I could not vote for it at this point.

Senator Ribicoff. Mr. Chairman, my apologies for being late. I have been trying to juggle the energy bill and this at the same time. I had to get someone to come in and relieve me up there.

I just want to record myself voting "no" on the needs test, and also, Mr. Chairman I understand there was a voice vote on extending the emergency program to September 1st with a tail-out to December 31st.

I would like to reopen that and just ask for a roll call

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vote on a substitute to extend the emergency benefit program through to December 31st, 1977 with a three-month tail out until March 31st, 1978.

I understand the Administration is for it, and thirty administrators in the country are for that program. I would like a roll call vote on my substitute.

Senator Talmadge. Tsathere any discussion?

Senator Curtis. I would like an explanation of this.

Mr. Stern. What you tentatively agreed to was a nine month extension of the program. During the last three months, you would not take any new applications.

What Senator Ribicoff is proposing is a twelve month extension and during the last three months you would not take any new applications.

The difference in cost is about \$120 million. The reason for the staff recommendation was that September 31st is just about the low point in the unemployment cycle. If your meally had in mind phasing out the program, this would phase it out at a time when the least number of states would be already in the program.

If you do it at the end of December, as the Administration proposed, you will have more states in the program.

Senator Ribicoff. I think the objective of the leadership is to adjourn by October 8th. It was reiterated by the White House last Tuesday that this was the objective and

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President Carter said he would like to see Congress adjourn by October 8th, too.

If you are going to end this on September 1st, you are really in a tough position of what do you do in the last month if this runs out and you still have heavy unemployment.

I think it does not make any sense if unemployment continues to remain as high as it is. The states ought to have this assurance and so should the people unemployed. It is a question of another three months.

Senator Talmadge. Is there any discussion?

Senator Moynihan. I would like to support Senator Ribicoff on that, and as I said earlier, Senator Ribicoff, there are whole economic regions of this country where the recession has not ended, it just has not ended. That is why the needs test was such an attractive thought. There are other Senators who share this view.

Senator Curtis. Mr. Chairman?

Senator Talmadge. Senator Curtis?

Senator Curtis. We were told here that there would be changes in recommendations and so on. That was advanced as an argument for not imposing a tighter restriction right now. If we vote for a year instead of a nine-month extension, we would just delay that much longer any basic, corrective action in the program.

As much as I respect my colleague from Connecticut, 1 I cannot support him. 2 Senator Hansen. Let us vote. 3 The Chairman. Call the roll. 4 Senator Byrd. State the issue. Are we voting on an 5 amendment by Senator Ribicoff? 6 Senator Ribicoff. A substitute. 7 Mr. Stern. It would make it a twelve-month extension 8 instead of a nine-month extension, the last three months 9 being phased out. 143 10 Mr. Talmadge? . 11 Senator Talmadge. No. 12 Mr. Stern. Mr. Ribicoff? 13 Senator Ribicoff. Aye. 14 £ ... Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd? 15 Senator Byrd. No. 16 Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson? 17 Senator Moynihan. Aye. 18 Mr. Stern. Mr. Gravel? 19 (No response) 20 Mr. Stern. Mr. Bentsen? 21 (No response) 22 Mr. Stern. Mr. Hathaway? 23 Senator Moyniham. Aye. \_ 24 Mr. Stern. Mr. Haskell? 25

			Senator Moynihan. Aye.
	-1		Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunaga?
g <sub>i</sub> e		;	Senator Matsunaga. Aye.
		4	Mr. Stern. Mr. Moynihan?
		5	Senator Moynihan. Aye.
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	£***	16	Mr. Stern. Mr. Laxalt?
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•		18	Mr. Stern. Mr. Danforth?
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		20	Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?
		21	The Chairman. No.
		22	Six yeas, ten nays.
	:	23	What is the next point?
	. 2	24	Mr. Stern. In the
7	25	5	Mr. Stern. In the general revenue financing we have
			raise. The House bill authorizes an appropriation.

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believe that you could draft this so as not to require a new appropriation. Money is appropriated in the first instance, when the money is against the trust fund, so there is an appropriations process.

If you do not make this change, you would be out of order under the Budget Act, because you would have a new entitlement program beginning before October of this year.

I would suggest this change, which is essentially a change so as not to be in violation of the Budget Act.

The Chairman. All in favor, say aye?

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Mr. Stern. The next matter relates to the question of suitable work requirement. If you look at this document that was put in front of you, the long mimeograph sheet, if you look at page 7 of that you will see a comparison of the way the House bill --

Senator Hansen. Let me interrupt. Are you talking about the one dated March 18th, extension of the emergency unemployment?

Mr. Stern. That is correct. If you look at page 7 of that document, you will see a comparison between the suitable work requirement in the House bill as it came over

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and the Senate bill in 1975, that particular provision was dropped in conference. Basically, the 1975 Senate bill said that after you have been unemployed for nine months you could not refuse a job as unsuitable on the grounds of the amount that the job paid or your prior training or work experience.

You could refuse it if it involved joining a company union or refraining from joining a labor union or if the job was too far away, if it was a risk to health, safety or morals or if you were already in a training program. But you could not refuse it on the grounds of the amount of pay or your prior work experience.

The House bill is rather more complicated procedurally.

The job offer would have to be in writing, offered through
the State Employment Service. They do have a standard that
if the job paid less than 120 percent of unemployment benefits
plus any supplemental benefits from the union or employer
it could be refused.

It could be refused if the individual did not have training or experience for a particular job, unless the employer provided the training.

Any job involving lower pay or lesser skill than the person's usual employment could not be refused unless the state determined the individual had poor prospects --

Senator Hansen. How do you determine that? On the

length of time he has been unemployed?

Mr. Stern. There is no standard in the bill. Our suggestion would be that you use the suitable work test that you approved and the Senate approved in 1975 instead of the House procedure.

The House procedure may, in fact, be a test that makes it easier to refuse a job than some states already do.

Senator Curtis. I think we did a good job in working this out. I would like to see us retain the '75 work requirements. I think they are reasonable.

There is one point that the House enacted, that we could well add. There is a provision that the applicant must actively seek work.

You are aware of that, are you not?

Mr. Stern. I am sorry?

Senator Curtis. The House has an additional provision that the applicant must actively seek employment.

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Senator Curtis. You find no fault with that, do you?

Senator Laxalt. Is that any more restrictive than the

Senate language?

Mr. Stern. I do not think so.

Senator Laxalt. The '75 Act, the language is just about the same.

Senator Curtis. I had David Swope do some work on this

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and you recommended the 1975 standards action plus the one provision that the House has. What is that one provision and why do you favor it?

Mr. Swope. Yes, sir.

The House provision in H.R. 4800 does have a requirement for an active job search which it is my understanding that there is no comparable provision to that in the 1975 Senate passed bill, and therefore you may wish to consider picking up that one provision in the House bill.

Senator Curtis. Does it reach this point that the longer unemployment persists there is maybe in some instances a lesser chance that that pemployer would call him back?

This would add a provision that within reason they should look around and see if there is something else.

Mr. Swope. Yes, sir.

Senator Curtis. Is that a fair statement?
Mr. Swope. Yes, sir.

Senator Curtis. I am glad to see us do what we did in '75, plus that one point.

The Chairman. We had some debate on these '75 requirements in the Senate bill but the Senate sustained this as I recall.

Is that right?

Mr. Stern. That is right.

The amount that some people were unhappy with it and

wanted to make some slight changes in some of the provisions.

The Chairman. What it said, for the emergency benefits, by that time you ought to be able to reduce your sights and accept any job, with these exceptions. If the individual would have to join a company union or refrain from joining any bona fide union, you could turn it down. That gives you both sides of the union issue.

If the job is located at an unusual distance or the job involves risk to health, safety or morals, or the applicant is in an approved training program or any job involving wages or other conditions that are substantially less favorable than those provisions for similar work in the locality.

Explain that, if you would.

Mr. Stern. That was kind of a protection that you could not force somebody to take a job that would simply exploit the fact that the person was required to take a job.

The Chairman. Say that again?

Mr. Stern. The idea was that it had to be a job that paid -- it could not pay substantially less than that kind of job paid in that locality. You could not simply exploit the fact that the person was required to take a job and pay completely substandard wages for that job.

That was a protection.

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destrict Successive Senator Hansen. Say a bricklayer earns \$10 an hour and that is sort of the going wage in the area, someone would not be forced to take a job of \$7 an hour of laying bricks next to someone — even though it would be above the minimum wage?

Mr. Stern. That is correct.

Senator Curtis. That was in the '75 Act? Mr. Stern. Yes.

This 1975 Senate bill was the bill that was worked out after some changes were made for some concerns that Senators had. What you see here is a version that everybody agreed on. It was not challenged in the Senate.

The Chairman. In other words, you say for similar work, if a man had a job where he had been previously employed as a machinist and he was making \$7 an hour and if he was offered a job at much less than that, \$4 an hour, whether he would be required to take the \$4 an hour job would sort of depend, for that type of work was \$4 a fair price to pay.

Mr. Stern. If this was a \$4 an hour job in that area, he would have to take the job; if it was locally a \$7 an hour job, he would not have to take it paying \$4.

If it is a different job, if he cannot get a \$7 job and they have a \$4 job, after he has been unemployed for nine months he would have to take the \$4 job if that is what the

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Mr. Stern. Maybe Mr. Weatherford would comment.

Mr. Weatherford. If an individual only went to one employer, the same employer each week, that would not constitute an active search for work. It wouldnot under the current law that we have in the United States that requires them to actively seek work.

The best way to say it is what a normal individual would do to find a job; going to one point or one firm every week would not constitute it. "Most states would deny benefits.

Senator Matsunaga. Do you have guidelines laid down by past experience?

Mr. Weatherford. The Federal government -- there is no Federal requirement in this area. The states do that.

Senator Matsunaga. The Federal government generally sets the minimum standards. Have you set the minimum standards?

Mr. Weatherford. Not in this area, sir. We have i ssued, as I indicated to Senator Long, after the '75 amendments that did not come through the House, we issued instructions to the states that parallels the bill that you are talking about, that did not go quite that far as you were talking about here.

We do not have standards.

Senator Matsunaga. I can foresee some problems, because

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the standards are going to differ from agent to agent in the Unemployment Office.

Senator Danforth. May I inquire, are these requirements administratively practical?

Mr. Weatherford. Senator, we are concerned about them. We worked with the House to try to get their bill in. That is one of the reasons we tried to get some indication in the legislation that would say that the employer would have to give us some indication about the job offer. We found ourselves in a local employment office. The claims taker finds himself in the position of having to make a judgment whether the refusal of that job is reasonable or not, or whether he had reason to refuse that job.

In order to do that, he has to have a wage.

As you indicated a while ago, you have to find out whether it is the prevailing wage in the state.

We worked with the House. It also required -- you would not require him to refuse a job less than the unemployment amount.

The Chairman. Let me make one suggestion here. We can make it more definite in the Committee Report.

Where we talk about if the job is located at an unreasonable distance, it seems to me it is not so much the distance that should be the determination but the time it takes you to get there. My thought would be if you think

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in terms of how long it is going to take the average man in the community to get to his place of work, if it is construction labor, for example, how long does it take a worker to get to a construction project going on in that area?

Ordinarily I would think about 20 or 22 minutes is the normal time it would take -- no, maybe 15 minutes is the average time. It would seem to me if he is asked to go a greater distance, I think perhaps an additional one-half hour travelling time back and forth would be justified after he had been out of work for a solid year drawing benefits.

In other words, where 45 minutes would not be an unreasonable travel time for going back and forth to work if the man had been out of work for awhile. You need some kind of standard to go by and that is one that would appear logical to me.

I think an hour travelling down the road, an hour going to work is too much, but I do not think forty-five minutes would be too unreasonable.

Senator Talmadge. In my state we have many people spending more than an hour going each way daily. Take Lockheed Aircraft in Marieta, Georgia. We have people travelling distances round trip of over 150 miles a day to work there.

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The Chairman. That is a guy who really wants to work.

Senator Talmadge. That is right; that is correct.

The Chairman. We are not talking about those who really want to work; we are talking about those who want to work, period.

Senator Talmadge. Those are good jobs up in the rural mountain areas of north Georgia we do not have many good industrial jobs.

Those people, many of them have driven from the Tennessee line to Marieta to work.

The Chairman. Senator Moynihan?

Senator Moynihan. I think the Department of Labor keeps a tab on what the average time it takes to get to work is and I believe it is a case that the time has not changed in this century. It is about the same today as it was in 1900.

I would like to note Mr. Weatherford's point that the Administration of which he is Director would never require s omeone to take a job at wages lower than they would receive as unemployment benefits.

That is your view? That would continue under this arrangement?

Mr. Weatherford. I believe so.

The Chairman. Under this amendment, would that be the case?

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Mr. Stern. That is not the standard that was in the '75 Senate bill.

The Chairman. I think we ought to consider that.

That does become crucial. How close to those wages do we get when we are talking about what a person would be able to get from unemployment benefits and what he could get otherwise.

What would that be?

Mr. Stern. It would depend on what kind of allowance you are willing to make for taking off taxes.

The Chairman. We are not talking about taxes. We are not talking about taxes. That is one point, the unemployment benefit -- I know it is not taxable. I do not think Senator Moynihan has that in mind, either.

For example, we are talking about if a man is drawing a benefit, how high do the benefits go, for example?

Mr. Stern. For example, average benefits --

Senator Hansen. What page?

Mr. Stern. This is the blue book, "Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act," page 28.

The Chairman. All right.

Mr. Stern. The maximum weekly benefit amount per state shows in the second column -- for example, in Alabama it is \$90; Louisiana, \$90; Wyoming, \$95 and so on. The average benefit in fiscal year 1976 is shown in the

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following column.

In New York State, the maximum benefit is \$95.

The Chairman. I think that is reasonable, frankly. I do not have anything to quarrel about that.

Mind you, he might be making -- when you take taxes into consideration, he might be making less, but if we say --I think maybe we should put it into the Committee Report. We do not expect him to take a job that pays less than he would draw in unemployment benefits, but we are not considering taxes on that, because the unemployment benefit is not taxable.

You are just saying you would not expect him to take a job paying less than he would make on unemployment benefits.

Mr. Stern. Comparing the unemployment benefits with t he gross wages, Mr. Chairman? Not making a deduction for taxes?

The Chairman. Looking at the two gross figures. is what you are looking for.

All in favor, say aye.

(A chorus of ayes.)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

I would suggest then, travel time, that you might check into it. It seems to me if he can get to the job in one

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hour from where he is by the way the average person would go there, that he could get there in an hour, that would not be regarded as too far away.

Mr. Stern. Maybe you could put something in the Committee Report that looks at travel time in the same way as you look at wages for a particular type of job.

Look at what is typical in the community. If you are in an area like New York City where travel time might be expected to be higher, you have a higher threshold than in a place where travel time is low.

The Chairman. In those terms you could add a half an hour to it. What a person could be expected to do in that area, plus a half hour.

Mr. Stern. We will put that in the Committee Report.

Senator Curtis. Mr. Chairman, when the other amendments are through, I have two brief ones I would like to call up at the request of Senator Griffin from Michigan.

Mr. Stern. We have three more amendments we want to bring up. They are fairly brief.

The first one relates to the duration of the emergency benefit period. Under the present law where the benefits last for twenty-six weeks, once the state triggers into the emergency benefit program, an emergency benefit period has to be for at least twenty-six weeks.

Under the House bill, the period of emergency benefits

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is reduced to thirteen weeks, but the minimum duration in the states stays at twenty-six weeks. We would suggest that you conform one to the other and also say that once the state triggers in the emergency benefit period would be only thirteen weeks, the same as the length of the benefits.

That would be comparable.

Senator Curtis. That is your recommendation? Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. All in favor, say aye?

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Mr. Stern. I will let Mr. Humphreys explain the last two.

Mr. Humphreys. When the emergency program was enacted in 1974, it was expected to be a temporary program. provision was made in there as to how long from the time a person worked he could still continue drawing benefits if he had interruptions in there.

For example, if someone became unemployed and drew benefits for a couple of weeks and then went to school or something like that when he was not even claiming the benefit, he can then subsequently come back and draw his benefits.

the states to keep their records open for an indefinite period of time as long as this program is in operation.

What we are suggesting is that you insert a rule that says, no benefits will be payable under this program to any individual beyond a point which is two years after the end of the period in which he could get regular benefits under the state law.

The state law has a benefit year and you work, you become unemployed, you draw benefits, but not beyond the end of a specified benefit year.

What we are suggesting for this emergency benefit program is that you cannot go around two years from that point, even if you are in and out of the labor force.

The Chairman. Is there any discussion?

All in favor, say aye. 🐪

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Mr. Humphreys. The next point, the general unemployment amendments enacted last year included a provision --

The Chairman. What page?

Mr. Humphreys. Page 8 under the heading "Illegal Aliens."

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Last year's general unemployment amendments included a provision that intended to deny benefits to illegal alients. It was phrased in terms of requiring people to be permanent residents, legal permanent residents in order to get benefits.

There was a problem because of certain agreements,

particularly with Canada, where people are not permanent

residents but legally do come in and work and under agreements,

cooperative agreements, could draw unemployment benefits.

The House made a technical amendment to correct that, but

we think that there is a technical problem with their

technical amendment in that it relates to whether the person

was permitted to be in this country for working purposes

at the time he was drawing benefits.

We think that it should be amended to say that it is all right to pay benefits if he were permitted to be working here at the time that he was working here.

Senator Bentsen. Do you mean he was legally here when he developed his eligibility?

Mr. Humphreys. That is what we are suggesting. It is essentially a technical change.

Senator Hansen. What are you suggesting?

Mr. Humphreys. The suggestion is to make this House provision read so that it allows for benefits to be paid if the individual was legally present for working purposes in

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this country at the time that he was working here rather than at the time that he was drawing benefits.

Senator Curtis. In other words, it has to be based on legal work?

Mr. Humphreys. That is right.

Senator Ribicoff. What happens if that person could get a job by going back to Canada or Mexico? He does not have to do that?

Mr. Humphreys. He would still be subject to all the other rules of having to be seeking work and availble for work.

Senator Ribicoff. How do you work it? Say somebody crosses over and is working in Michigan. Then they go back and work in Toronto in an automobile plant across the river, across the lake.

How do they check? It is hard enough to check in this country. How do you check about whether there was a job available in Canada or Mexico for them?

Mr. Humphneys. There are some cooperative agreements.

I do not know the details.

Mr. Ruben, can you explain how that works where we are paying benefits to Canadian nationals, how they guarantee that they are seeking employment?

Mr. Ruben. We have a reciprocal agreement with Canada for which Canada, for the purposes of unemployment insurance

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is treated in effect the same way we would treat claimants with respect to a state.

An individual may not be denied by reason for filing a claim for Canada or for residing in Canada. It is to ease the movement between the borders that this was established.

Senator Bentsen. By that, you mean if we had a United States citizen on that side and he is out of work, he can apply for Canadian unemployment compensation? It is a reciprocal deal?

Mr. Ruben. Yes.

Senator Bentsen. If you have a green card carrier on either side?

Mr. Ruben. That is my understanding.

Senator Ribicoff. Are there any statistics of how many Americans work in Canada or Mexico legally or how many Mexicans and Canadians work in the United States? Any figures on that?

Mr Ruben. I do not have detailed figures with me.

There are many more Canadians who work in the United States
than Americans who work in Canada.

Senator Ribicoff. Many more Canadians?

Senator Bentsen. The same would be true on the Mexican border. Many more Mexicans would be working legally in this country than U.S. Citizens would be working in

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The Chairman. It seems to me that we are going to pay them, these illegal aliens, unemployment benefits, we ought to make a condition that they go back and receive it in the country where they came from. They do not have jobs here.

Senator Moynihan?

Senator Moynihan. One of the important aspects of the Canadian-American border, it is quite porous economically. The economic regions across the border, and people move back and forth in a way that I think is important to our relations and is good for everybody involved.

There is no suggestion, I think, that the Canadians have ever sought to abuse this arrangement. Their unemployment benefits are good; they are comparable to ours. They talk the same language.

The Chairman. Does this involve the situation down in Mexico? It seems to me that if they are going to be drawing the benefits, they should go back to Mexico where they came from and draw the benefits. Whether it serves our purpose where we have a tight labor market to encourage the people to stay here, illegal There in competing for jobs.

Senator Bentsen. We are talking about legal aliens. The Chairman. I see.

Senator Hansen. Do I understand, Mr. Ruben, the test

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that is applied is to ask the legal alien if his country, say Canada, reciprocates -- and I gather from what you say that Canada and the United States have rather reciprocal laws -- this would not be true vis-a-vis of the U.S. and Mexico.

Would I be right about that?

Mr. Ruben. An individual, a Mexican national who worked in the United States, could not file a claim in Mexico because we do not have the same reciprocity with Mexico that we have with Canada.

Senator Hansen. My next question is, would an legal alien from Canada, in so far as unemployment compensation goes, be treated differently than a legal alien from Mexico?

Mr. Ruben. To the extent that the Canadian may file a claim in Canada on the basis of his work in the United States and collect benefits, a Mexican may not file a claim in Mexico on the basis of his work in the United States.

If he files a claim in Texas, he resides in Texas, he would be eligible and traditionally Texas has paid Mexican citizens who have worked elsewhere in the country as well as in Texas.

Senator Bentsen. I do not see the equity. We do not have the same agreement with Mexico?

Mr. Ruben. No. sir.

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Mr. Ruben. Yes, sir.

Senator Bentsen. Yet, if we have a green card carrier in Texas who is a legal alien working in our country and we have the kind of unemployment rate we have in our country today, if he happens to get out of work, who would be paying the compensation?

Mr. Ruben. If he is residing in the United States, not Mexico.

Senator Bentsen. I understand. A green card carrier Mr. Ruben. He would be eligible.

Senator Bentsen. I do not see the justice in that. We have unemployment in this country -- I know they have it in Mexico today. We have no reciprocal agreement, then we turn around and we have this green card carrier in this country and then he gets out of work and we pay him unemployment compensation.

The Chairman. Do we do that now?

Senator Bentsen. That is what we are doing.

Mr. Ruben. If he is residing in Mexico, no. He could not be eligible for benefits.

The Chairman. If he were in Mexico, he could not be? Mr. Ruben. He could not file a claim in Mexico against the United States.

The Chairman. If he is residing here, he would be? Is that correct? .

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The Chairman. It seems to me it ought to be, if he is not legally in the United States.

Senator Bentsen. He is a legal alien.

The Chairman. He is legally in the United States.

Senator Talmadge. With a permit to work in the United States. You have to have two of them.

Senator Curtis. What are the civil rights of a legal, resident alien? The same as a citizen?

Senator Banforth. Yes.

ThenChairman. It seems to me, if he is legally in the United States and out of work, we really should not get involved in trying to do something about that, before we do something about all of these who are illegally in here looking for jobs.

It seems to me, by way of taking first things first, I would think we would be well-advised to see what we can do about the illegal ones first, which my point of view would be to say to try to solve that problem, I think we are going to need some way to help find some jobs down there, frankly, to put those people to work back in their own country.

If you are going to move them out, how about those who are legally here? Is that what you are talking about?

Mr. Humphreys. Legal aliens. The House bill said it was okay if they were legally here at the time they are

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claiming benefits. They really meant to say, if the work that qualified them for benefits was done while they were legally permitted to do the work. We are just suggesting that you make that change, to say that the thing to be looked at is whether they were legally here at the time that they were doing the work, because they may be back in Canada getting these benefits through these reciprocal agreements at the time the benefits are paid.

The Chairman. All in favor, say aye?
(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?
Senator Bentsen. No.

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

Senator Curtis. I have a couple of small amendments from Senator Griffin. One pertains to Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Nevada, and New Hampshire.

Last year when we extended unemployment compensation, local and state officials -- it included school employees. We specifically took out summertime, that they did not draw unemployment during the summer.

We failed to have that language included customary vacation periods and holiday recesses. That is the one amendment.

I am told that that cost Michigan \$15 million last year.

There are eight states involved. We have already taken action

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that the teachers cannot draw unemployment compensation in the summer months and this would apply the same rule to customary vacation periods and holiday recesses.

Senator Moynihan. With great respect to Senator

Griffin and to the ranking Minority Senator, I would like
to say that this is not a technical change. We feel that
this is a substantive change and one for which there ought
to be hearings, or it might be referred to the National
Commission on Unemployment Compensation; if it is the wish
of the Committee to go ahead and do so, but to do so to the
great distress of the National Education Association, the
American Federation of Teachers that asked for a hearing
on the matter.

Senator Curtis. Mr. Pritts, have I stated it correctly?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Mr. Pritts. You stated it correctly.

Senator Curtis. It seems to me that if we make a policy decision that they were not to get it for summer recesses, that it would follow that their contention that this was an oversight, we did not include customary periods or holiday recesses --

The Chairman. I would be glad to hear them. This seems to me like a lot of other things. When it is offered on the Floor we have to vote for it one way or the other, whether you like it or not.

I do not believe I will change my view, but I will be happy to hear them. It might change my view.

Senator Ribicoff. Is not the difference in this thing,

Senator Moynihan -- this is my first impression -- if a

teacher is legitimately out of work so that it is not like

a teacher who has her pay from September until Christmas

and then she does not get paid for the Christmas period -
or they do. I guess they get paid for the Christmas

period or the Easter recess or the spring recess.

A person who is out of work has nothing to go back on, so they need that money during the continuation of the normal year. I would go along with Senator Moynihan.

The Chairman. Let me explain the way I look at it.

We in Louisiana go before these schoolteachers and make

speeches hoping that we will pick up a few votes. I want

you to know I am in favor of paying the teachers on a year
round basis; they ought to have a year's salary. If they

want to, they can go out and get some work during the

summertime; that is not required.

They make a salary on an annual basis where they can devote themselves exclusively to being a school teacher.

You cannot fault the ambitious, industrious up and coming types who insist on working through the summer or take courses during the summer to improve their skills.

More power to them.

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But on the other hand, the job was such that they have a vacation as a part of it. You can either pay them a salary month by month that takes care of it, or you can pay them on an annual basis. But we had solved this problem, I thought, in last year's bill by saying that if a teacher teachers for nine months and they are out for three months vacation with the reasonable expectation they will be working on that job again come the fall, then they are not out of work.

Now you are talking bout the same problem with regard to, let us say, a lengthy Christmas recess or lengthy Easter recess or between two semesters, or something of that sort. I do not think that makes any difference in Louisiana, but I would think that if the states take the view that they are paying them a salary adequate for the whole year that the vacation, which is basically sort of the like a vacation with pay, the pay is adequate to take care of the year.

I do not think the program should require unemployment insurance during a long recess.

Senator Ribicoff. I do not think that is the problem involved. I will say that the problem involved, seeing New York's financial difficulties, they have had to cut back on the number of teachers that they have so it is not a question of a teacher being out from June to September.

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The teacher has no job beginning in September.

Normally I think the Griffin Amendment will prevent that teacher for getting on Unemployment Compensation from December 15th to January 6th -- is that not what the Griffin Amendment would do?

Mr. Stern. The Griffin Amendment would not do that, where a teacher really does not have a job. I believe it arises from a situation where the teacher's contract reads in terms of teaching a certain number of days a year, so the teacher takes a position that during the Christmas vacation that not being a day that he is hired for, he is out of work for that day and therefore during the Christmas vacation, he has no work for that week.

This is the kind of situation that the Griffin Amendment is dealing with.

The Chairman. Mr. Pritts?

Mr. Pritts. The Griffin Americant is identical to the situation in the summer if a teacher has an expectation of teaching in the fall -- the same with the Christmas recess -- if he has an expectation of teaching in January, the Griffin Amendment would cover that situation.

If he is unemployed in December, he would be entitled to the unemployment compensation.

The Chairman. It seems to me that we in Louisiana are not asking the Federal government to help us pay for

Christmas recesses for our teachers. I would be willing to agree that any state, if they want to, could pay their teachers unemployment for the Christmas recess, but they ought to pay for it.

If New York wants to pay them for the Christmas recess, it seems to me that New York ought to pay for that.

Senator Ribicoff. That is different.

Do I understand from the staff that this is where a teacher is working and has a job all year round. If they do not work for a month's period when schools are closed normally, Christmas, Easter recess, they put in for unemployment compensation during the normal recess period?

Mr. Pritts. Yes.

Senator Ribicoff. That is different. I did not understand it that way.

Senator Curtis. If the Committee wants to adopt it and make any further inquiry on it?

Senator Hansen. I would like to vote on it.

The Chairman. I think we ought to agree on this.

Senator Curtis. It involves Alabama, Connecticutt, Kentucky, Michigan, Maryland, Nevada and New Hampshire.

The Chairman. It does not involve Louisiana.

All in favor, say aye.

(A chorus of ayes)

The Chairman. Opposed, no?

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(No response)

The Chairman. The ayes have it.

What is the next point?

Senator Curtis. The next one is that they are asking if they have a substitute teacher that the benefits not be extended, but it has a limit there. If somebody is a regular substitute teacher and they were out, they would not be affected for a substitute teacher who would qualify for coverage, they would have to work forty-five days out of the year.

Is that correct?

Mr. Pritts. Yes, sir.

Senator Curtis. Do you have any further explanation?

Mr. Pritts. It is intended to reach a substitute

teacher who teaches less than forty-five days a year. They

would not be entitled for unemployment compensation. Any

substitute teacher who was employed more than forty-five

days out of a 185-day school year would continue to be

entitled to compensation.

Senator Curtis. Someone teaching less than forty-five days a year would have the same rules as casual employment, would not have employee rights?

Mr. Pritts. That is true.

Senator Ribicoff. Would that be put definitely in the report, because there are some substitute teachers who

are employed for practically the full year. They skip from 1 school to school. You are not affecting those teachers? 2 Mrs Pritts: No. 199 3 Senator Curtis. I think the report should include it. 4 It is a narrow group, when they teach less than forty-five 5 days out of the year. 6 The Chairman. Without objection, agreed. 7 Are you ready to vote on the bill? 8 Those in favor of reporting the bill, say aye? 9 (A chorus of ayes) 10 The Chairman. Opposed, no? 11 (No response) 12 The Chairman. The bill is accepted. 13 Senator Curtis. I ask that the absentees be recorded. 14 The Chairman. Why do we not call the roll on reporting 15 the bill? Anyone we do not know about can record himself 16 subsequently. 17 Mr. Stern. Mr. Talmadge? 18 Senator Talmadge. Aye. 19 Mr. Stern. Mr. /Ribicoff? 20 Senator Ribicoff. Aye. 21 Mr. Stern. Mr. Byrd? 22 Senator Byrd. Aye. 23 Mr. Stern. Mr. Nelson? 24 The Chairman. Aye. 25

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1	Mr. Stern. Mr. Gravel?
2	(No response)
3	Mr. Stern. Mr. Bentsen?
4	(No response)
5	Mr. Stern. Mr. Hathaway?
6	Senator Moynihan. Aye.
7	Mr. Stern. Mr. Haskell?
8	Senator Moynihan. Aye.
9	Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunaga?
10	Senator Moynihan. Aye.
11	Mr. Stern. Mr. Moynihan?
12	Senator Moynihan. Aye.
13	Mr. Stern. Mr. Curtis?
14	Senator Curtis. No.
15	Mr. Stern. Mr. Hansen?
16	Senator Hansen. No.
17	Mr. Stern. Mr. Dole?
18	Nostesponse) and respected
19	Mr. Stern. Mr. Packwood?
20	(No response)
21	Mr. Stern. Mr. Roth?
22	(No response)
23	Mr. Stern. Mr. Laxalt?
24	(No response)
25	Mr. Stern. Mr. Danforth?

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Senator Danforth. Aye.

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. Aye.

The vote is ten ayes and two nays. I will ask that the absentees be contacted and be put on the record.

Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, may I make one thirty second comment for the record in case this transcript is read by the members of the National Commission?

I hope they will address themselves as to what the nature of this program is. Is it really an insurance program? To what extent is it a transfer of payments?

I voted against the needs test; I would have voted against Senator Moynihan's proposal for financing out of general revenue on the theory that both of those would be indicia of a transfer kind of payment program. I am not willing to concede, at this point, that that is what unemployment compensation should be.

Maybe it is what it should be, but I think that the issue should be faced squarely.

Senator Moynihan. That is a fair point.

The Chairman. There being no further business, we will stand in recess until the next scheduled meeting, or at the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, at 11:00 a.m. the Committee recessed to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)