OFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT

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COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

UNITED STATES SENATE

EXECUTIVE SESSION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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EXECUTIVE SESSION

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1980

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m. in room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Russell B. Long (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Talmadge, Bentsen, Baucus, Boren, Bradley, Dole, Packwood, Roth, Danforth, Chafee, Heinz, Wallop, Durenberger.

The Chairman. Let me call this meeting to order, if I may, please because time is going to run out on us. If you want a cup of coffee, you can have it brought to you while we have the meeting here.

I first of all want to know - we can discuss all three things but rather than start on top of the agenda - I would like to know what Senator Dole's view is with regard to the extension of the debt limit.

Senator Dole. Mr. Chairman, I talked with Secretary Miller and he feels very strongly that we should do something before we adjourn, or we are going to find ourselves in late December, early January, in a very bad position.

I have communicated that to whomever I could in the incoming Administration. I think they would agree that if we can work out some agreement to extend the limit at least up through May of next year, it would be very helpful. Senator Byrd did have a hearing.

The Chairman. Well, my reaction to it, just from looking at the Secretary's statement is, that ordinarily I would think the present Administration ought to be able to make it with the debt limit that they have until they turn over power to the new Administration. According to the figures the Secretary put in the record it seems to me as though he would have to go inside this so-called \$15 billion cushion that he likes to have there.

My thought would be, you still have \$12 billion to spare at the low figure, as I looked at it in the record.

We could be called back, if need be, if the nation had some sort of great emergency and spent a lot more money than necessary. But on the other hand, if the new Administration wanted us to put some more money in, in order so they would not be confronted with an immediate crisis, I would be willing to consider it on that basis.

My thought would be, though, if they wanted to increase the debt limit that we ought to give them enough so that they could take a look at the situation, but hopefully not so much that they would not have to act sometime soon because we on this Committee, I think, will want to move a tax-cut bill as soon as we can.

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One thing that the Ways and Means Committee has been doing to us is to sit around there and take about six months to ever send a bill over from the House to the Senate.

Senator Dole. Mr. Chairman, if we can just interrupt for a minute. We thought maybe this might be our last meeting this year, and we would like to take just a minute - we know it is a busy morning - to just present you with a little sustenance.

(Laughter.)

Senator Dole. It says, "Mr. Chairman, thank you." If you do not mind, we will have somebody cut it so we can all get a piece of it.

The Chairman. Maybe Senator Talmadge can share this with me.
You know, we have three outgoing chairmen here.

(Applause.)

The Chairman. I will make the first slice. Herman, how about you making the second slice? I thought we ought to get something for all the time we sat here.

(Laughter.)

Senator Talmadge. On behalf of some of our departing colleagues I just want to make one last plea. Do not repeal all the free things because some of us will be unemployed and might be looking for some of these benefits.

(Laughter.)

The Chairman. Senator Bentsen, take a little cut, you are an out-going chairman. I knew we would get something from the

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public but I did not realize it would be as pleasant as a piece of cake.

(Laughter.)

Senator Dole. We appreciate all your help, Mr. Chairman, and we are looking forward to long cooperation I am certain we will have on this committee come January.

I was riding over last night with Senator Bradley and I said, "You know, this may be our last meeting, we ought to have a little surprise for the chairman." I hope you like cake at a quarter to ten in the morning. In any event, you have it.

The Chairman. It is delicious cake.

Senator Dole. It is fresh, too.

(Laughter.)

Senator Dole. We still do business with Watergate, a lot of Republicans; that is where I bought the cake.

The Chairman. Ordinarily, I would think why, not extend them up until about April 1, if you want to suggest a figure. You see, if we do not extend it beyond that date, the House will have to send us a bill by that date.

Senator Dole. Right. The House passed the Debt Limit Resolution. They do theirs, I guess, in conjunction with the Second Budget Resolution. That would extend through September, But I guess if we want a smaller amount and a different date, I guess we can amend the House Resolution and send it back.

Mr. Shapiro. You actually have two resolutions before you

that the House has sent, Budget Resolutions. The first one has a limit of \$935.1 billion; the second one has \$978.1 billion. Both of those go through September 30.

So, I must say that one of the questions that you will have is whether or not when you send it back to the House, whether or not they will agree.

Remember, you are operating now under a new procedure under which the House does not pass debt ceilings specifically. What they do is, they include their debt ceiling as part of the budget. Once the budget is passed it is broken out into a separate resolution. The Senate just passes that resolution and it does not have to be voted on specifically by the House. That is because of the problem the House has had in passing a debt ceiling in the past.

So, when you agree to a new debt ceiling, you take one of these resolutions that are before you and send it back to the House, you run the risk that the House may not pass it and you are stuck with present law, which is a \$925 billion limit.

I would like to make a suggestion to you, that you take the second resolution, which is H.R. Resolution 636, which has the \$978 billion. Modify that one. Send it back to the House and see if they will pass it. If they do not, then you still have the option of taking the first resolution they sent here, which is \$935 billion, which is \$10 billion more than present law. All that you have to do for that one is to pass it, and it goes right

to the White House. So, I would keep that in reserve.

You may want to make a decision now to consider both of those or some means on the floor tomorrow, after the House acts, that if they refuse or reject the debt ceiling, rather than be stuck with the \$925 billion which will make it very tight in the middle of January, you can still act without House concurrence. All you need to do is take that resolution that is here, that first one that has \$935 billion, the Senate agrees to it, and it goes directly to the President. That will take you through, probably, sometime in the middle of February, which gives you a little more leeway next year, rather than being tight at the beginning of January.

The Chairman. Well, my concern is that thus far between the Executive and the House they have fixed it up so that the Senate could not vote on what this committee has recommended.

Now, I have no doubt that, just as the Senate voted for the Roth Resolution which put us on record in favor of a tax cut next year, if offered the opportunity to vote, that the Senate would vote for a tax cut; I think it would.

Now, I would like to see us have the opportunity of voting on that sometime early next year. I would like to have some basis to assure that we will have an opportunity to legislate. All the House has to do in order to veto the Senate's right to legislate is simply not to send any revenue measure to us next year.

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That being the case, my thought is that if we are going to extend it, we should not extend it past April 1. That way at least they will have to send us something on the debt limit and give us a chance to legislate. Even if it is only something to extend debate, they would at least have to accord us an opportunity to legislate.

Mr. Shapiro. I am not saying anything contrary to what you are suggesting there, Mr. Chairman. All I am suggesting is that you have two vehicles here. With one vehicle you can do exactly what you said, on the vehicle that you tried to pass to change the date and send it back to the House.

If the House, however, cannot get a majority to pass the debt ceiling, then with no other change you are left with the \$925 billion ceiling which means that it would cut off, maybe, in mid-January before you even had a chance to organize the Congress.

The Chairman. That is just fine, then the President can call us back and the House would have made that necessary.

Mr. Shapiro. The second option allows you to have exactly what you want, as well as giving you a little more leeway: is to just take the other budget resolution that is here, the other resolution that has \$935 billion, pass it. In that case it does not need to go to the House and that would expire, probably, in the middle of February. In other words, it still gives you the short time period that you are looking for.

The Chairman. The \$935 billion expire in the middle of

February?

Mr. Shapiro. The present level is \$925 billion, and we think the \$935 billion may go somewhere in February.

Senator Dole. We could increase that to April 1.

Mr. Shapiro. Even though the date may say September 30, even the Secretary's figures when he came here showed that at February 28 you would be at \$943 billion, and on March 31 you would be at \$956 billion.

So, it is not the date that would be the limiting factor, it is the amount of the debt ceiling. The amount would be \$935 billion which looks like it would not even get you through February.

The Chairman. But it would get them to February.

Mr. Shapiro. It would get you, probably, mid-way through February at least.

The Chairman. You see, I just happen to believe that it will not take the Finance Committee up until February to decide what we want to do about a tax cut. I think we can make up our mind in a hurry. If they send us a debt limit bill over here, I think we can act.

So, you say if we just send them a \$935 resolution?

Mr. Shapiro. All you do, if you want to just agree to the first resolution the House does not have to act. It goes right to the President.

The Chairman. That is \$935 billion.

Mr. Shapiro. Now, the date is still September 30 but there is no way that would go past the middle of February, based on the projections we have now.

Senator Dole. So, we have another option. We really can eat our cake and have it, too.

Mr. Shapiro. That is correct.

The Chairman. That is a good expression.

Senator Dole. Why not do that, why not go to April?

Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman, that resolution is in committee, so it would involve the committee reporting it or being discharged, one of the two.

The Chairman. Let me suggest that we do what Mr. Shapiro is saying. Let me just explain it the way I understand it, the way he explained it to me.

The House thus far has tried to avoid voting on the debt limit. While I have no particular interest in saving the House the embarrassment of voting on a debt-limit bill, it does not give me any particular problem if we can simply say that we passed a \$935 billion debt limit up until September, knowing that that is not going to hold them. That is not going to hold the Administration; that is not going to hold them up until April.

Mr. Shapiro. It will not even go through February from all the projections we have now.

The Chairman. That means that we will have to act on a debt

limit bill early next year.

Mr. Shapiro. Correct.

The Chairman. Then, when we proceed to act on the debt-limit bill early next year, if we want to, that will give us the opportunity to add a tax-cut amendment if we want to. That is what I am looking for. That will give us an early opportunity to act on a tax cut.

Mr. Shapiro. Now, the House will have to send you a debt limit early next year.

The Chairman. I understand that. Frankly, one of these days somebody ought to just experiment with what happens when the debt limit expires. Let the public see what happens if you cannot pay anybody, you are broke. Here we are, a great, rich nation that is officially bankrupt by an act of Congress. At some point, I think, we are just going to have to see how it works. At that point, after a while, we will decide it is not a good idea to declare ourselves bankrupt.

But meanwhile we can solve this problem by just passing the lower figure and passing a resolution for the \$935 million; can we not? We can solve it between now and the time this Administration goes out.

Mr. Shapiro. That is correct. You can do that without any House action at all. Alternatively, you may want to try the first option, to go to April, to give you more time and to see if the House will pass it. If they take it, that gives you more time

for both your tax cut and the amount. But then, if the House does not pass it, you have the second option that you can do without House concurrence.

Senator Dole. What figure do we need to April 1st?

Mr. Shapiro. They have \$956 billion, is what the Administratic said yesterday. If you give \$956 billion, they say that will take them through March 31.

Senator Dole. We could do that. If they do not buy it, we still have the other option.

Mr. Shapiro. Did you want to go through March, or April?

The Chairman. I will say April, but March 31st is just as well.

Mr. Shapiro. April 1, \$956 billion will take you to the end of March. Those are the Administration's figures.

Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, why not do that? That gets us a tax bill back here. It gives us an opportunity to get on a tax bill early.

Mr. Shapiro. Now, what Mike is suggesting, since both those resolutions are in the committee, you may have to report out both. One with a modification, the second one clean, and act on the one that takes you to March 31. If the House does not agree to it, then you have the other one that you can just pass in the Senate and it goes directly to the White House.

The Chairman. You move, then, to report them both?

Senator Dole. Right, I move them both.

The Chairman. All right, amending one of them. Amending the one with the high figure, put the March 31 date on it.

All in favor say aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

The Chairman. Opposed, no.

(No response.)

The Chairman. The ayes have it, it is reported out.

Now, let me just take another one that is less controversial before we get to one that is most controversial.

I do not know of anybody who is opposed to extending the

International Coffee Agreement. Is anybody opposed to it?

Senator Dole. Is that something we need to act on this year?

Mr. Foster. Mr. Chairman, we do have some representatives

from the Administration here, maybe they can respond to that question from Senator Dole.

Mr. Phillips. We put a high priority on this bill. I would point out the fact that we have already ratified the International Coffee Agreement. So, it is not a question of extending the agreement, it is only a question of adopting the implementing legislation which will enable us to participate in the agreement.

Further, I would like to point out that there are no appropriations involved in this bill. The bill has already been thoroughly reviewed in the House. Our participation in the agreement and this particular bill do have a wide measure of support among the coffee industry and also among consumers. We

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have had the Consumers Union officially support this bill.

We feel that this bill and the Coffee Agreement, the operation of the Coffee Agreement itself, will have significant economic advantages for the U.S. It will help to avoid the boom-and-bust cycle that has characterized the coffee industry in recent years, and also it has significant foreign policy interests for us, our participation in it.

We feel, therefore, that it is very important that we pass this bill during this session. Thank you.

Senator Dole. Is that your understanding, Bob?

Mr. Lighthizer. Senator, it is our understanding that there is no particular reason to pass it in the next week, or the next couple of days. It is something that could be done in January or February, or early next year.

In addition, we have had not hearings in the Finance Committee.

It is somewhat of a dangerous precedent, it seems to us, to be passing things routinely that the Finance Committee has not had a look at.

Senator Dole. Have they had hearings on the House side?

Mr. Lighthizer. They did have hearings on the House side.

Senator Dole. Which subcommittee was that?

Mr. Lighthizer. I think it was the Trade Subcommittee.

Mr. Phillips. That is right.

The Chairman. How did they vote when the House voted on it?

Mr. Lighthizer. I do not know that there was any great

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controversy on it.

Mr. Foster. The House passed it on the Suspend Calendar without objection last Tuesday.

The Chairman. The House can pass it by unanimous consent after they hold hearings. It would not sound to me as though there is enough controversy on this for us to wait until next year.

As I understand it, is not this merely carrying out a treaty commitment of the United States?

Mr. Lang. Yes, sir, that is correct. The treaty itself was approved by 75 to zero votes in the Senate several years ago. Mr. Chairman, the treaty itself expires in 1982, so there would be an opportunity to review the matter.

Senator Dole. I would just move that we report it. If we have any objection, we just hold it on the floor.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see us get on with this. I spoke to Under Secretary Cooper this morning about it, he gave me a ring. It seems to me, it is just one more step of reinforcing our treaties with the actual legislation.

As I understand it, every nation that is part of the treaty has passed conforming legislation except us and one other nation.

I personally would like to see us get on with it.

The Chairman. Without objection, then, we will report this implementing agreement, the International Coffee Agreement Act. Without objection it is reported.

Incidentally, we do not want to file any report with this.

If we file a report, it has to lay over. The same thing is true of the others, we do not want to file any reports; that would have to lay over.

Now, let us talk about the number one item, the Presidential authorization for negotiating auto imports. What can you tell us about that, Mr. Foster?

Mr. Foster. On Tuesday, December 2, the House passed H.J. Res. 598, which is a resolution that would authorize the President to enter into negotiations with foreign governments to limit the importation of automobiles and trucks to the United States, or to require export limitations be placed on these vehicles.

The resolution came to the committee yesterday. There is a companion Senate Resolution, S. J. Res. 193, which is somewhat different than the House resolution but has the same objectives.

The resolution, basically, authorizes the President to negotiate an agreement. It would require the consent, if you will, of the foreign governments. It does not authorize the President unilaterally to impose any restraints, it requires him to engage in negotiation and reach an agreement with the foreign governments.

Probably the major other provision in the resolution would provide immunity from prosecution under the U.S. Antitrust Law and other unfair trade laws of the United States for the actions of any persons which are necessary to carry out any agreement that:

is negotiated, or any modification or renewal of such agreement.

There is a bit of background. On November 10 the International Trade Commission decided by a three to two vote that the U.S. automobile industry was not eligible for import relief, import restraints, under the Trade Act of 1974, the Import Relief provisions.

Under those provisions, if an industry indicates and establishes that increased imports are a substantial cause of serious injury, that would result in authorizing the President to impose some relief.

The three commissioners who voted in the negative found there were increased imports, and clearly found that the industry was being injured, but were not able to find that the "substantial cause" criteria had been met.

Basically, they found that there was at least one other cause that was more important than imports in explaining, if you will, the injury that is being suffered by the domestic industry.

Senator Bradley. What was that?

The Chairman. Let me ask, who is here that can reflect the Administration's point of view on this automobile import problem? Are you competent to do that, Mr. Lubick?

Mr. Lubick. No, sir.

(Laughter.)

The Chairman. I thought you were competent to do almost anything that had to do with money.

I would suggest that you pass the word along that they send somebody up here to talk about this automobile thing because I would like to get some idea of what the Administration thinks about matters. I do not know about automobiles. Anything they can tell us would be appreciated.

Mr. Foster. We have not been able to find a definitive Administration position on this particular resolution.

The Chairman. That is what I have been trying to find out, what is their position.

Mr. Foster. Right. We have not been able to discover it. Ambassador Ascew(?) did testify on the House side that he would not like to see a resolution as narrowly drawn as this, that is, covering only automobiles. That he thought some consideration should be given to the general problem of whether the President ought to have this sort of authority to enter into voluntary restraint agreements. He thought it was appropriate under given limitations.

But he never indicated what would be the Administration's stance.

Senator Talmadge. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question? I thought in the last Trade Act that we passed we made it broad enough for the President to impose quotas, raise tariffs, or initiate restraints upon foreign countries at will. Is that not correct?

Mr. Foster. In the Import Relief provision, Senator

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Talmadge, we did provide that. But that required that the International Trade Commission find the industry eligible for relief What happened in this case is that they did not find them eligible for relief.

So, that precondition was not met.

The Chairman. Mr. Roth?

Mr. Chairman, has it not been true that Senator Roth. additionally it was thought that the President had this authority? In fact, there is a somewhat divided point of view on that issue currently. One of the problems being that many of the companies are concerned that if they agree, that there might be a later time when they might be caught in antitrust litigation.

So, that is a very real way. What this legislation does is confirm what many people think the President already has, but removes it from any controversy.

Because of the serious plight of the industry right now, it seems to me highly desirable that we ensure that the President does have this authority. Am I correct on that?

Mr. Foster. There is divided opinion on the question of whether he has the authority and, as you point out, if it is ultimately decided he does not have the authority, then that gives rise to questions of antitrust liability.

Many of the foreign companies, in particular, are very reluctant to enter into any arrangement unless they feel that they would be insulated from antitrust suits.

Senator Roth. So, in effect you are removing the doubt, or the cloud on that authority that has heretofore been thought to exist.

Mr. Foster. That would certainly be the attempt of the language, to try to remove that doubt.

Senator Roth. It is not mandatory, it merely permits it; is that correct?

Mr. Foster. It does not require a negotiation or an agreement, nor could the President unilaterally impose restraints.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a bad piece of legislation. What we are doing here is running around the ITC. The ITC made a decision which was three to two, and the industry, a big industry, a powerful industry, is now seeking to get around it.

I think we would make a great mistake, Mr. Chairman, to support this resolution and to report it out at all. As was pointed out, as Senator Talmadge noted, there is a method for dealing with it. If the ITC finds that there has been damange through imports, then there is a way to proceed. The President has certain powers.

But here specifically, after considering it for what, ten months?

Mr. Foster. Not quite, I think about five months.

Senator Chafee. All right, five months, and hearing all kinds of testimony, and going into it great depth, they found

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that the principal cause of the automobile companies' problems did not come from the imports.

Now, every one of us represents industries that would like to come here and get this type of relief. My State has a lot of jewelry industry and they would be delighted in here and run around the ITC. As a matter of fact, the ITC did make a decision, three in favor of the leather apparels industry. Some Senators in this committee spoke out very strongly that the ITC had made this decision and thus the President should proceed under his power. In other words, reinforcing the importance of the ITC decision.

I think if we approve this resolution we will just be undermining our trade policies, and I think we would be doing great damage.

The Chairman. Senator Heinz?

Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, I believe that the President already has the authority to negotiate voluntary restraint agreements. That authority was used by President Nixon, it was tested in the courts, and he was found, ultimately, to have the right to do so.

But in a more perfect circumstance I would probably feel the same way as many of my colleagues, such as Senator Chafee. But on the issue of the resolution I think it would be a very serious sign were we in the Finance Committee, or we on the floor to defeat this resolution or one similar to it. It would send a very bad signal to the Japanese.

I am very concerned about the reports I have heard of the Europeans, in particular, going to the Japanese over the last months or so and, in effect, negotiating hidden voluntary restraint agreements that will inevitably damage us. We will become the continual and increased dumping ground for the Japanese.

They make a pretty good product and they sell it at an awfully fair price - unfortunate for our automakers.

However, as the resolution is now drafted I believe that it is seriously flawed, and that is because while we talk about automobiles and trucks, we do not mention a very serious problem in a lot of our industrial States, which is the import of automobile and truck parts.

So I move to amend the resolution by inserting after the words "automobiles and trucks" wherever they occur, the words, "and the parts used in assembling them."

It profits us nothing to say that we are going to stop or get some kind of restraint on whole automobiles and trucks if they can come in in two pieces, be bolted together, and be driven right out the back door. I think we have to make sure that if we are going to do something, if we are going to give the President some authority, that we give him some meaningful authority, otherwise we are going to find out what we have done is worse than nothing.

Senator Bradley. Will the Senator yield? Perhaps the staff or the Senator could give me some idea how big a problem is the

parts import, and where it is primarily concentrated.

Senator Heinz. It is concentrated in many States, Bill. In Cleveland, Ohio, there are some 1,200 workers whose jobs are threatened at a Ford plant there because of the importation of engines, an engine-making plant.

In Pennsylvania we have numerous part suppliers who are slowly being replaced.

Senator Bradley. What is a part, is it a bolt? Is it a chassis? I mean, what is the part? Are we saying here that we are going to put up the barriers for all the manufacturers of bolts and screws, and fenders?

Senator Heinz. I think the Senator recognizes that this merely grants the President authority to negotiate. It does not tell him that he has to; it does not tell him that he has to cover every single part. It just gives him the authority to do it.

Therefore, it seems to me fairly important that we understand that this is a grant of opportunity, not an instruction to him to cover every nut and bolt.

Senator Bradley. Well, by that argument, I mean, you might as well forget the ITC and forget the process, and just give the President the full authority in any industry that he deems to be in serious danger.

I do not know if it is such a wise idea to broaden the authority without a very clear definition of what parts are.

Senator Heinz. I think there is a good "common sense"

definition, and I think we ought to grant the Executive Branch the discretion to decide what they want to do. That is all my addition does.

The Chairman. Here is what I want to suggest. It really does not make any difference what we do about the fine points of this measure if we do not get it out of committee because it cannot be called up even out there on the floor. We are aware of the fact that there is opposition, Mr. Chafee has indicated opposition. Mr. Stevenson told me he is strongly opposed to it. I would not be surprised if an effort is to call this up, that even the motion to proceed might be debated, just as it is on the Fair Housing Bill.

But if it stays inside the committee then we know nothing is going to happen.

Senator Dole. But they can offer it as an amendment.

The Chairman. Of course, it could be offered as an amendment to something else. But I would just suggest that we accept Mr. Heinz's amendment and that we just vote on it so the country can know how the Finance Committee reacted to it.

Frankly, I am not optimistic about the chance of it passing the United States Senate, but at least as far as the Finance Committee is concerned we could give them an answer in this committee, how we think about it. I suspect that is the best they are going to get, by the way, Mr. Heinz.

Is that all right with the committee, just to vote on it?

Senator Danforth. Mr. Chairman, if I could just proceed for

one minute.

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I think it is clear from talking to a number of Members of the Senate, particularly members of the Finance Committee, that there are many of us who are not happy about this resolution. consider ourselves philosophically to be committed to free trade and we realize that any time barriers are erected it is not a free lunch, there are minuses, there are liabilities that are incurred at the same time for the country.

That is certainly the case with respect to automobiles. ever, this is the vehicle that is before us right now. the resolution that is before us. Really, the issue is, "Well, what do we want to do about it, do we vote for or against it?"

I think we are now in a position where we have to vote for it. I think that it is important to send to the Japanese a message that Congress simply will not tolerate a situation in which an industry as important as the automobile industry, goes down the drain.

However, I think it is also important as we do it to indicate to the automobile industry that this is in essence a life-support system, and it is an expensive life-support system for the rest of the country; and that eventually the patient is going to have to get well and is going to have to be able to walk on its own feet without being sustained artificially by government in what amounts to a subsidy, which is what the protection system is all about.

Therefore, I think it is incumbent for all of us to focus on the long-term problems of the automobile industry, and in the next Congress to pay special attention to what the problems are and what is necessary to get that industry back on its feet so that the artificial support system does not have to maintain it forever.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, I do not agree with the procedure here. I do not think there is all this rush. As I understand from the newspaper announcements, this Administration has indicated it does not intend to proceed under this legislation, if passed. That the incumbent President would not do anything about it.

So therefore, we get to the next year, the new Administration. If we then wish to pass it, all right, fine. But here we are passing very significant legislation. We never had any hearings on it. The legislation has been before this committee for four months, as I understand, and no one has taken it up. If anybody has asked for a hearing, I do not know about it. We have not been all that busy in the last few months.

I just think it is a great mistake to rush ahead with this that is not going to be used, as indicated.

Now, Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary question. You indicated you did not want any reports with this legislation. How is that determined, what are my rights? Suppose I would like to have a report?

The Chairman. It would take a majority vote. Let me just suggest this, Senator: I think I know something about your capabilities and also those of Mr. Stevenson. I will tell you right now that I do not have any doubt that if you two would determine that this measure should not pass, it is not going to pass.

All I want to do, I personally would like to just record myself, and I think the others would also like to record themselves on the issue. Those who favor it, they could offer this as an amendment to anything. They could offer it on an appropriations bill; they could offer it on any of our tax bills, or even that coffee agreement.

So, in other words, it is not within your power to prevent somebody from trying to pass that through the United States

Senate. I suspect, and I honestly believe that it is within your power, particularly if Senator Stevenson feels as strongly about it as he seems to feel, among those of you opposing it, I think it is within your power to prevent this thing from passing in any form in this Congress in the few days that are left.

But I do think that we, the committee, ought to just vote on it. I would like to vote. Is there any objection to the Heinz amendment? I have no objection to it.

Without objection, it is agreed to.

Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, if I could have just one minute.

The Chairman. Yes, sir. Senator Bentsen.

Senator Bentsen. I would like to comment on the fact that John Heinz made, and he made a good one about what is happening to the increased production in Japan. They have a substantial, major increased capacity to produce additional automobiles in Japan, and they will be coming onstream next year and the year after.

I just returned from England where I know they have just entered into a voluntary restraint agreement with the Japanese to limit the export of Japanese cars into England. I know that members of the Common Market are working towards the same end with informal agreements today. That means that excess production has to head for the Unites States.

I have been a free trader all my life, and I am just as uncomfortable as Senator Danforth is in this position. But I believe that you have to have something to be able to trade with the Japanese, and at least say you have the muscle to react when we saw what they did in their communications industry and their telephone industry, and they would not do quid pro quo with us. They finally said they would let us sell them some telephone poles, as I recall. But insofar as any of the high technology manufacturing capacity we have for export, we could not utilize it for that purpose.

So, I think you need something to trade with, I think, probably the toughest traders in the world, and some of the most

astute, and the most effective. That means that the President of the United States has to have some additional weapons.

Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, could I just make one quick comment along the lines of what Senator Bentsen just said?

I think there is one reason to distinguish this industry from some of the other problems because in this industry we do have a commitment of the major manufacturers to spend billions of dollars to modernize. They are not just coming in and saying, "We need help." They are pledged to trying to modernize and be a competitive force.

But what is necessary is some time. I would just point out that our competitors do not hesitate to use protection when you are talking about oranges, or beef, or some of these other things.

I would also point out that these other countries are depending upon the United States for security, and that it is absolutely essential that these vital companies like the automobile be permitted to modernize and become competitive again.

The Chairman. If I might, I would like to recognize Senator Durenberger, he has had his hand up for some time.

Senator Durenberger. Just briefly, Mr. Chairman. I intend to vote against the proposal, and a lot of the arguments have been made. I just wanted to add to this discussion of free trade the impression I have had from two years on this committee, the commitment of the members of this committee who have been here longer than I, to the subject of free trade.

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I have been impressed by that. I have been impressed by the brief research on the 201 issue of how carefully this committee since 1962 had dealt with this whole problem of injury. I think to me the law, while there may be some disagreement about the President's authority, the law is fairly clear - there were repeated hearings and repeated legislation in this committee - that it was not our intent to politicize this whole business of imports and tariffs.

I think the process has worked its way. There was a three to two vote. There is recourse to the auto industry and related industries through the court. I think there is time available. We are all concerned. The message went out to the automobile industry a year and-a-half ago. It went out again in August when we passed the tax bill. We do not have to do anything to send them any messages.

I am very comfortable with the process that this committee has designed in the past to handle these situations, and intend to stick with it.

The Chairman. Senator Wallop, do you want to say something?

Senator Wallop. Mr. Chairman, I just have to say that

while I agree in some principle with what both Senators Chafee

and Durenberger are saying, the fact is that Senator Bentsen has

said, and others, that there is no quid pro quo.

It is one thing to be a leader in the free trade movement if somebody will follow it. But there is no point in going over

the hill without some troops behind you. The Japanese simply have been unwilling to lower any of the restrictive barriers, the restrictive accesses to their markets, just token stuff, a hundred-thousand pounds of beef; odd little things that do not mean anything in the overall scheme.

I think that it is time. We have not only an industry that is in trouble, but we have all the support industry that surrounds that, the dealers in the country that are in trouble, those dealers who sell American automobiles.

I agree with you that in all likelihood this is not going to go any farther than out of this committee and onto the floor, but it is a good message and it is one that I intend to help with.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. Yes, sir.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, I think there are some pretty serious charges being made around here as far as the trade policies of the United States and how we are being "had".

Now, if we are being had to the extent it is being alleged here, then we are really led down the primrose path in approving the trade agreement that we just approved two years ago, and in our whole trade policy.

So, very wide doors are being opened with these accusations. If that is so, then we ought to have a very thorough review of the whole trade policy of the United States vis-a-vis Japan; should we remain in GATT, and all those matters which I thought

we had covered in the past.

All of a sudden the Japanese are way ahead of us, are keeping us out, are pouring their stuff in here. Now, if that is so, I think we ought to have some extensive hearings next year and get into this whole problem.

The Chairman. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. I was on the telephone earlier. Does the Administration support the resolution? Is anybody here to speak?

Mr. Foster. There is no one here from the Administration to speak to it, and we have not been able to find an Administration position definitively in opposition or in support of it.

The Chairman. Mr. Riegel(?) ought to have a chance to be heard, he is sitting back there, he is very much interested. Stand up there, Mr. Riegel, let us take a look at you. Do you want to say something? We would be delighted to let you have a word in here.

Mr. Riegel. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to try to barge into this discussion on this specific question that was raised. I do not know that the Administration has given a signal one way or the other. They have been quiet on this issue, especially since the elections.

I think the only definitive thing that I have heard is that they would feel if this authority were created in a modified form as has been suggested here, that would be something that they would not intend to act on. That would be something they would leave

to the next President. Of course, it is voluntary, so they could use it, or not.

Senator Dole. Is there any limit on the President's authority? I mean, can he take action immediately or is there a waiting period between the date of the ITC decision? Is there a six-month waiting period before the President can act? Would there be public hearings?

Mr. Foster. The authority or any agreement would expire on July 1, 1983. There is no beginning waiting period. However, he does have to consider that automobiles and trucks are causing serious injury or a threat thereof, to the domestic industry. If he considers they are, that is necessary.

Senator Wallop. Are you talking about under the resolution?
Mr. Foster. The resolution, yes.

Senator Wallop. Or under the present authority?

Mr. Foster. Under the resolution.

Senator Dole. Under the resolution.

Mr. Foster. So, he has to consider that. Then he has to be satisfied that the domestic industry has exhausted available remedies under Section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974. It is not clear how far that extends, whether it means they have to exhaust judicial remedies, or merely the administrative procedures. But he would have to consider that and be satisfied.

The agreement would have to expire on July 1, 1983, but it should not exceed the time necessary to allow orderly adjustment

to import competition. And he would have to consult with members of the private sector before he entered into the agreement with respect to negotiating it. This would include representatives of consumers.

Those are essentially the procedural steps. But there is no absolute time limit that must be observed before he can complete these steps. So, presumably it could occur very quickly if he were satisfied of the injury and the causation requirements and had done some consultation.

Senator Dole. As I understand, we could still, without delaying it any further in the committee, if we report it, it is still open for amendment on the Senate floor. I think we should have - if we are going to pass it at all in the Senate - some additional language.

I am willing to report it to the Senate floor, I may not be willing to do anything else. Maybe we can just vote.

The Chairman. I would like to do that. Why not just call the roll because it is obvious it is not going to be unanimous.

Mr. Stern. This is a vote to report the resolution.

The Chairman. To report the resolution as amended by Senator Heinz.

Senator Danforth. The Senate, or the House resolution?

The Chairman. The House resolution amended by Mr. Heinz.

Mr. Stern. That is right, H.J. Res. 598 as amended. Mr.

Talmadge?

Senator Talmadge. Aye.

2 Mr. Stern. Mr. Ribicoff, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Gravel, 3 Mr. Bentsen? 4 Senator Bentsen. Aye. 5 Mr. Stern. Mr. Matsunage, Mr. Moynihan? Senator Bradley. Aye by proxy. 7 Mr. Stern. Mr. Baucus? 8 Senator Baucus. Aye. Mr. Stern. Mr. Boren, Mr. Bradley? 10 Senator Bradley. Aye. 11 Mr. Stern. Mr. Dole? 12 Senator Dole. Aye. 13 Mr. Stern. Mr. Packwood, Mr. Roth? 14 Senator Roth. Aye. 15 Mr. Stern. Mr. Danforth? 16 Senator Danforth. Aye. 17 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chafee? 18 Senator Chafee. No. 19 Mr. Stern. Mr. Heinz? 20 Senator Dole. Heinz votes aye. 21 Mr. Stern. Mr. Wallop? 22 Senator Wallop. Aye. 23 Mr. Stern. Mr. Durenberger? 24 Senator Durenberger. 25 Mr. Stern. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. Aye.

As usual, we will record the absentees when they let us know their wishes. The vote is eleven ayes and two nays. Mr. Dole?

Mr. Stern. Would this also be reported without a filed report?

The Chairman. Yes, we just report it.

Senator Chafee. Well, what are my choices on a report?

Senator Dole. You can file minority views.

The Chairman. If we file a report the bill has to lay over three days, does it not?

Mr. Stern. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Look, we are supposed to go out on tomorrow, so there would be no hope, absolutely no hope that we will call it up. As little hope as it had, if it had any hope, it would be at end tomorrow.

Now, Senator, if you want to filibuster this bill, just get your name on the list because you have to stand in line to filibuster. There are already two filibusters going on and there will be a third one on some other matter before this thing is over with. So, you will be lucky if you can get a word in edgewise to filibuster a bill between now and the time we go out anyway.

But anyway, if we move it as far as the calendar we would at least have taken a position on it, and that is all we are really achieving here, Senator Chafee. But if you want to make

your views known, all right, we probably could content with that. We just do not want to put ourselves in the position that the bill could not conceivably be called up between now and the time we get through.

Senator Chafee. Do I have to get a majority vote here if I want to file a report?

The Chairman. I would think if we elect not to file a report, that only takes a majority vote. I would propose that we not file a report.

Senator Dole. Put out a press release.

(Laughter.)

The Chairman. Those in favor of not filing a report say aye.

(Chorus of ayes.)

The Chairman. Opposed, no.

(Chorus of noes.)

The Chairman. Those who want to file a report, let us just call the roll and see how many it is that want to file a report. If you file a report, that means it cannot be called up.

Senator Dole. It can by unanimous consent.

The Chairman. What chance do you have of getting unanimous consent? That man right there tells you he is opposed to it. Call the roll.

Senator Chafee. Wait a minute, Mr. Chairman, I just want to ask a question. Are you saying that for me to file a report I have to get a majority vote in this committee?

The Chairman. Senator, you can do whatever you want to do.

All I am saying is that for this committee to file a report it means that the bill cannot be called up for three days, except by unanimous consent.

Senator Chafee. We all understand that, that is no secret.

But I mean for a report to come out of this committee we have to have a vote?

The Chairman. The rule does not say that we have a to file a report. We do not have to file a report, do we?

Mr. Stern. No, the rules do not require that a report be filed, they relate to the question of the lay-over when you do file a report.

Senator Chafee. But suppose somebody wants to file a report, do they have to get the approval of the committee?

Mr. Stern. I will read from the rules. They seem to be designed for the case where there is a report. They say the following, "If at the time of approval of the measure or matter by any committee any member of the committee gives notice of intention to file supplemental minority or additional views, that member shall be entitled to not less than three calendar days in which to file such views in writing with the clerk of the committee."

Senator Chafee. That is pretty clear. I wish to file a report.

The Chairman. Well, you cannot file any supplemental views if we do not have any views.

(Laughter.)

(Laughter.)

The Chairman. You cannot supplement something that does not exist.

Senator Dole. File a minority view.

Senator Chafee. I will let you supplement my view.

The Chairman. Well, Senator, I believe you are going to find that it is all a distinction without a difference.

Senator Chafee. I think there is a great, big difference.

One means that the bill lays for three days, and the other does

not. I think that is a big difference.

The Chairman. Would you pass me that thing?

Let me just suggest that we go on to other matters. We voted to report the bill. I do not believe it is going to be called up anyway, so we will just leave it that way.

Senator Dole. I believe Senators Roth and Durenberger have a matter.

Mr. Stern. I was reading, Mr. Chairman, Item No. 10 - what I read was 10(c) on page 4.

Senator Dole. Mr. Shapiro does not have the language prepared.

The Chairman. Do you want to give notice of your desire to

file minority views, Senator?

Senator Chafee. I do.

The Chairman. That is duly noted, that will protect your rights. Now, let us go on to the next matter.

Mr. Shapiro. During the course of the consideration of the

budget resolution yesterday there was some discussion about modifications to the Mortgage Subsidy Bond provision between Senator Williams and other Senators with respect to potential burdens with regard to the program - not necessarily the essential features of it, but with regard to some of the administrative provisions.

As of right now we have not as yet had an opportunity to work out the specific language or some of the specific provisions. However, there does seem to be some reception to alleviating any of the particular administrative burdens to the extent they can be worked out.

What I think that some of the Senators would like to be done is to have the staff work out these administrative burdens that are brought to our attention, see if it can be worked out. Have the committee agree to an amendment, have a committee amendment once these are worked out, and possibly have it offered through one of the committee bills.

Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. Senator Roth.

Senator Roth. I would just like to speak out in support of what Mr. Shapiro has just said. As you well know, through the unusual procedure of the reconciliation we in effect are adopting legislation to limit the use of mortgage bonds, tax free, for purposes of housing.

I think one of the problems all of us had, that there were no hearings and few of us really understood in depth what we were

doing. As a result some of the action we have taken, we have been contacted by our Governors and other people from home who are responsible for this program, that it is unworkable.

So, I would urge that we proceed along the lines that have been suggested so that we continue to make this program feasible. We did agree in conference that as much as \$200 million could be provided for housing, and we want to make certain that the administrative details are feasible.

For that reason I support what he is saying.

Mr. Shapiro. That is right. I will say that one of the things I should put out in the record, that was discussed by the conferees more so in the sessions that it was in the public, that it should be worthwhile to bring into the record, is that a major concern that the Senate Conferees had was that with the House bill you had two problems that were major issues.

One was the arbitrar's limit, and second was the market share, how many bonds would be available. The major focus that the Senate Conferees wanted to make was that there be more mortgage bonds available. Therefore, where the House bill had a limit of \$50 million per State, or five percent, whichever is greater, the Senate was able to convince the House to increase that significantly to have the \$50 million go to \$200 million, and have the five percent market share go to nine percent.

So, the Senate was able to get the House to go along with a significant increase in the number of bonds that could be available,

and tried to encourage them to reduce costs to come within those limits.

Senator Dole. As I understand it, you are going to try to draft language that is not going to open up the can of worms again.

Mr. Shapiro. Only the administrative burdens which may be there. I should point out that this is a whole new program in the sense of this legislation. It is very complicated, we will do the best we can in the short time. It may very well be that next year you may hear some things that we were not able to deal with, only because we are not familiar with it, or they have brought to our attention that we are not familiar.

But let me assure you, we will do the best we can in the short period of time to alleviate the burdens that we are aware of.

The Chairman. Might I suggest that we just put this on some vehicle? The best I could think of off-hand was that coffee agreement that was reported out. We need a vehicle, we need a horse on which to put the rider. Something that the House would accept.

Senator Roth. Yes.

The Chairman. Can you suggest some better vehicle to move this?

Mr. Shapiro. What you may want to do is keep that in reserve because you have a number of bills that are pending right now, that we believe need to be worked out. Possibly there will be

some type of an agreement, or attempt to get an agreement to deal with the committee bills that are on the calendar right now.

The Chairman. Anything we can put it on.

Mr. Shapiro. What you might want to decide to do is some time later try to put it on anything that you think is appropriate.

The Chairman. Is that all right with the committee? We will say we approved it, and whatever vehicle they let us put it on, we will add it.

Senator Roth. I think that is satisfactory. I would only request that it is something that the House will act upon.

Senator Wallop. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the procedure, but I would not want it to be thought that merely because we do this, the issue is dead for the next time because there are some significant problems that occur in my State that simply cannot be dealt with by any Federal program that now exists.

So, I intend to come back to it, regardless of what we do.

Mr. Lubick. Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that what you are trying to solve here are simply the administrative problems of measuring a given amount of arbitrage, and that in no way are you suggesting that there should be any change in the arbitrage limits that were set in the bill. I think this is merely a procedural mechanism, and to the extent that there is a problem, we would gladly cooperate because anything that makes the administrability simpler and more manageable, we are in favor of.

To the extent we can accomplish it through regulations, we would also cooperate in that regard.

We would be glad to work with the committee as we have, and with the staff, to accomplish this as an administrative change.

Senator Dole. We are not going to change the arbitrage figure.

Mr. Shapiro. No, these are just administrative burdens that we will be looking at.

Senator Roth. I thought the Williams amendment provided for I and $l\left(a\right)$.

Mr. Shapiro. He modified that.

Senator Roth. He did modify it?

Mr. Shapiro. At the end of his discussions he modified it just to deal with certain of these administrative burdens that he was focusing on at the end.

Senator Dole. We have a vote.

The Chairman. Do we agree on that? Without objection, it is agreed.

Senator Chafee. Mr. Chairman, we had some hearings regarding the GSP. I would like to get the committee's approval for the ITC to make a 90-day study under the authority of Section 332 of the Trade Agreements Act to determine the economic impact on the domestic jewelry industry as a result of the subdivisions under GSP. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. No objection. Without objection, agreed.

Senator Chafee. Thank you very much.

The Chairman. Anything else?

The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10;40 a.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the chair.)