

OUTLINE OF REMARKS

CONGRESSMAN TALLON'S ECONOMIC POLICY CONFERENCE

April 6, 1983--9:00 a.m.--EF-100 Cap

I. The President and the New Congress

A. In his State of the Union message, President Reagan made clear that he and the 98th Congress must work together to deal with an active agenda. That means action on the deficit, on unemployment, on social security, and attention to the shifting patterns of industry and job creation in our economy. At the same time we have to realize there will be major areas where we will not agree. No one is going to compromise away the gains won towards restraining the growth of spending, controlling the tax burden, and beating back inflation. The American people still overwhelmingly support those goals.

B. The President, the House leadership, and the Senate leadership will have to work together to forge a consensus on major decisions if we are to get the job done. On some issues we simply cannot afford to have a legislative stalemate: social security is one of these, and the President and the Speaker have shown a statesmanlike regard for the public interest in supporting the bipartisan social security package, and in agreeing on the basic of a \$4 billion-plus jobs package.

C. The President still sets the agenda. On taxes, spending, deficits, employment, and trade the President proposes, and Congress must dispose. Those of us who have ideas of our own will work with the White House to get things done--but leadership still must come from the President. That is why we are unlikely to see any major departure from the principles of government Ronald Reagan has espoused in his first two years in office.

D. There is no coherent alternative to Republican leadership. The people still recognize that our economic problems were a long time in the making, and that the cure will take time too. According to CBS/New York Times voter exit polls in the last election, voters by a 5 to 4 margin blamed our economic problems on past Democratic policies rather than on President Reagan.

II. The Economy

A. Prognosis. We have to realistically assess the state of the economy and the prospects for the next few years. The fact is that the groundwork has been laid for a stable and lasting recovery, without renewed inflation. It is absolutely crucial that we proceed with care at this point, and not throw away the gains already made.

No one should doubt that we are making progress. In January the index of leading economic indicators jumped 3.6 percent--the biggest one-month rise since 1950, and the ninth increase in the last 10 months. In addition, the "concurrent indicators" of current economic performance rose .6 percent in January, showing we are in recovery.

1. Inflation was cut to 3.9 percent in 1982, from 12.4 percent in 1980. This is the lowest inflation rate since 1972. And the trend is continuing: consumer prices dropped 0.2 percent in February.

2. Interest rates are down and still falling. The prime rate is down to 10 1/2 percent, way down from the 21 percent that prevailed when President Reagan took office. Home mortgage rates are down 3 points since last year. Long-term rates for business loans are off 3 to 4 points from a year ago.

3. Government spending growth rate is down to 11.2 percent this year from 17.4 percent in 1980. The 1983 budget resolution projects the growth rate of government to fall to 7.5 percent by 1985.

4. Lower taxes with major improvements in tax equity will help buoy the recovery, both on the consumer side and on the investment side. The combined effect of the 1981 and 1982 tax bills has been to lower individual taxes over 3 years by \$344 billion, as well as improve compliance and tax fairness. Lower individual rates boost personal income and restore incentive, while favorable capital cost recovery rules should spur investment.

5. In January, industrial production was up 0.9 percent; housing starts were up 36 percent; the stock market is up 300+ points over last August. These are tangible evidence of recovery.

B. Unemployment. The January drop in unemployment to 10.4 percent is major good news, and the decline has not been reversed, although there may be a few "blips" upward. Unemployment, of course, remains the major negative in the economic picture. High unemployment has to come down and stay down without inflationary stimulus--that is what we have failed to do in the past.

o Clearly there is a bipartisan consensus for more jobs. But resuming the inflationary policies of the past will not create lasting jobs, just an illusion of prosperity that leaves us worse off the next time we try to get "off the wagon."

o That means the most important thing we must do is judge carefully the degree of stimulus the economy can and should

take, consistent with a firm anti-inflation policy. The Federal Reserve will play a key role, and has already shown a willingness to adjust its short-term goals based on an assessment of the weakness of the economy. We will not allow the recession to continue, but we will not reflate the economy, either.

o While the main emphasis must remain on the long-term goals of growth with low inflation, there are steps we can take in the short term to deal with the plight of the unemployed. Many things have already been done:

- A new Federal supplemental unemployment compensation program was passed with the 1982 tax bill, providing additional unemployment benefits to about 2 million workers in 38 States. The House and Senate have agreed to extend this program through September 30.

- The President signed into law the new Job Training Partnership Act, which emphasizes training for permanent employment rather than make-work jobs. New initiatives outlined by the President focus on the long-term unemployed, youth, and on training or relocating displaced workers who lost jobs due to plant closures or force reductions

- The targeted jobs tax credit, which was extended for 2 years by the 1982 tax bill, gives employers a real incentive to hire the disadvantaged--about 600,000 workers are certified under the program

- The administration's enterprise zone legislation, reported last fall by the Finance Committee, can provide us with an experiment in private-sector job creation in depressed areas, through a combination of Federal tax incentives and State and local efforts to target an area for development with regulatory and tax relief, neighborhood participation, and capital and other improvements

- The 5¢ per gallon gas tax increase can create over 300,000 jobs by funding much needed repairs and construction of the Federal highway system.

C. The Deficit and Interest Rates.

1. All our economic difficulties are, of course, related--high interest rates and slow growth boost the deficit, and higher deficits create greater uncertainty in the business community as to our future course; will there be more inflation, or less credit available for business expansion?

2. Because of this, it makes sense first of all to chart a path that is most likely to bring stable growth without inflation. Higher growth boosts revenues and cuts unemployment

costs, thereby reducing the deficit as well: already, upward revisions of growth estimates are being made in light of the economic indicators.

3. In the short term, as the President urges, it makes sense to continue to review every part of the Federal budget in an effort to bring the deficit down. This means both defense and entitlements must be under scrutiny to maximize the efficiency of every dollar spent. A balanced deficit reduction program is still our goal: the Budget Committee will produce a budget resolution in the next few weeks.

4. Continued efforts to restrain the deficit by controlling Federal spending will give the Federal Reserve a bit more room to accommodate the potential for real growth that exists in the economy without inflationary pump-priming. But restraint in both fiscal and monetary policy is crucial if we want to maintain long-term confidence in the economic program. That means long-range goals must be carefully reconciled with efforts to respond to particular weaknesses in the economy. Radical attempts to reverse course would be self-defeating and must be resisted.

III. The Budget: The House and the President

A. We all know that developing a credible, deficit-reducing budget for 1984 and beyond is going to take a lot of hard work and give and take on all sides, Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative. The President has made his proposal, and the House has adopted a radically different alternative. We are likely to end up with something in between, but we ought to consider for a moment who is closer to the mark in terms of the vital needs of our economy and in terms of national priorities.

B. House resolution. The House-passed budget resolution, engineered by the Democratic leadership, simply is not a credible plan for meeting our priorities and achieving sustained economic growth. The House recommends a \$30 billion tax increase in FY 1984 alone. That is not only an unreasonable increase in the tax burden as we come out of a recession, it can only mean that House Democrats want to repeal the third year of the tax cut for the working people. Reneging on promises is no way to run the government, and that proposal must be rejected. Even the members of the House Ways and Means committee have expressed strong doubts that any more than \$8 billion in revenue can or should be raised in 1984.

C. Defense spending. The President has recommended a 10 percent real increase in defense spending, and the House recommends a mere 4 percent increase. We all know that defense, like every area of the budget, will have to assume a fair share of the burden of deficit reduction. But surely we ought to take

more seriously the President's concern about our national strength vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. We can and probably will have to modify the President's defense request, and the President will have to deal with both the Senate and the House leadership if we are to get agreement. We do have to get more out of each defense dollar spent. But the House-proposed increase is not wise, reasonable, or in the national interest.

D. Domestic spending. There is widespread agreement that we cannot let the burden of deficit reduction continue to fall on benefits for lower-income Americans. But that does not mean domestic spending is untouchable--it can and must be reduced, something the Democratic budget fails to acknowledge. The House resolution provides \$25 billion more for nonmilitary spending than does the President's budget. \$6 billion of that difference is in the health area: and certainly we have reached the point where we should acknowledge that Federal health program costs are not under control, and that changes to control costs are very much in order. The American people do want to share the cost of reducing the deficit in a fair way. But they do not want national security risked, or the tax burden on individuals raised to an unconscionable degree, just because some members of Congress do not want to reexamine programs that may have outlived their usefulness or have become grossly inefficient. Instead, let us work together, and with the President, to reach a bipartisan agreement like that worked out on social security.

IV. The Budget: Tax Issues

A. There are lots of ways to raise revenue, but our job is to choose ways that are fair and consistent with good tax policy. We should resist the temptation to undo the progress that has been made in providing greater incentives for savings, work, and investment: those incentives will become more important as recovery proceeds. There are many base-broadening measures still to be considered that would improve the equity and efficiency of the tax code.

B. Indexing. The House budget assumes repeal of the tax indexing provision of the 1981 tax act, which takes effect in 1985. We all know that we have to compromise to get things done, but this is one area that we ought to leave alone if we are interested in sound tax policy and honesty in government. We can raise revenues--but why resort once again to back-door revenue increases generated by inflation? Tampering with indexing further risks sending a signal that we are prepared to reinflate the economy and generate revenues through bracket creep to deal with the deficit. That would mean undoing all the progress we have made over the past two years, and it would be a tremendous mistake.

C. Outyear tax increases. The President's budget recommends a contingency tax to raise \$46 billion in FY 1986, consisting of a 5% surcharge and an oil tax, to be triggered if the deficit remains too high despite adoption of major spending cuts. It is not clear why we would need to use a "trigger" device to raise taxes based on deficit levels. It seems unlikely that a "trigger" mechanism would create the kind of reassurance on the deficit that the country is looking for.

If growth and revenues turn out better than now projected, we can always reduce taxes to the extent that becomes fiscally desirable. One possibility is to enact some additional base-broadening measures--improvements in equity and eliminating tax provisions that are economically inefficient--then provide for further rate reductions if the deficit is brought under control more rapidly than is now expected. This would maintain the momentum for a lower-rate, broader-based tax system that has been built over the last two years. It is also consistent with the administration's consideration of a streamlined and simplified tax structure with lower rates.

V. Tax Issues of Continuing Concern

A number of issues that have been around for some time may receive attention from the 98th Congress.

1. 6-month holding period. Efforts to reduce the capital gains holding period to 6 months will continue. There is very strong support for this change, because it can give a boost to capital markets at a time when greater savings and investment is vitally important to sustained economic recovery. This change was approved by the House in 1981 and by the Senate on three separate occasions in 1982, so it is time to get it enacted into law.

2. Withholding on Interest and Dividends. The withholding repeal campaign has to be resisted, and the President has indicated he will resist it. Withholding is an equitable compliance measure, not a new tax--without the \$4 billion per year from withholding, we will have to raise someone else's taxes. On a \$1,000 account, withholding would mean only a 50-cent loss each year on compounding--and banks can help people avoid that by opting for annual withholding.

3. Tuition Tax Credits. Although the Finance Committee fashioned a compromise tuition tax credit proposal last year after extensive consideration, the bill received no further action last year. But the Committee's efforts could form the basis for legislation in the 98th Congress. Legislation, S. 528, was introduced February 17.

4. Enterprise Zones. The Finance Committee reported out a modified version of the administration's enterprise zone proposal last September, but no further action was taken. New legislation has been sent up by the President, and the proposal is likely to come up again in connection with discussion of job-creation and economic development proposals, and possibly could be acted on with further refinements. A major question is whether the House will take an interest in the idea, which they did not in the 97th Congress.

5. DISC. While no specific DISC proposal was made in the 97th Congress, the issue was extensively discussed-- particularly the question of legality under the GATT. The search is clearly on for an alternative way to encourage exports, and the administration is likely to be active.

VI. Social Security

A. The National Commission developed a bipartisan package that deserves support. It is not perfect, and everyone had to swallow hard on some items: that is the cost of reaching agreement.

B. The work of the Commission made clear that we had to confront the crisis in social security. The Commission agreed that \$150-\$200 billion is needed between 1983 and 1989 to ensure the solvency of the system through 1990. This means providing about a 15 percent reserve ratio by 1990 under the pessimistic--some would say realistic--assumptions.

C. The bipartisan package, includes a 6-month delay in cost-of-living adjustments, partial acceleration of scheduled payroll tax increases, coverage of new Federal workers and non-profit organizations, and partial taxation of benefits for higher-income beneficiaries.

D. We cannot forget that the payroll tax burden is already heavy and scheduled to increase, and the confidence of young people is critically low. The long-term deficit can be reduced considerably by very gradually slowing the growth of the system as people come on to the rolls in the future. The bill raises the retirement age to 67, again very gradually, for people retiring some 20 or 30 years from now. Ample time is available for people to adjust their savings and retirement decisions.

VII. Trade

A. Trade deficit is too large. The size of our trade deficit (which is now projected at \$75 billion in merchandise trade and \$30 billion in current account) alone means Congress will continue to look hard for ways to reform our trade policy. The system of multilateral arrangements has been called into

serious question as many believe it fails to meet our needs. Many voters and members of Congress will want to see us approach more of our trade problems on a bilateral basis. The average American simply does not understand why Japanese cars and TV's sell well here but American cigarettes, beef, baseball bats, and cosmetics cannot be sold in Japan. Remedies for this type of situation are certain to be a major focus of attention in the new Congress.

B. Export issues. Unfortunately, the GATT ministerial failed to make progress on the question of foreign subsidies for agricultural exports. This will continue if pressure from Congress to resolve this situation through negotiation or for other export promotion actions like the recent wheat flour sale to Egypt. I will be introducing legislation which will facilitate such activities in the future. This does not mean trade war, but does mean seeking to expand East-West trade, developing a viable substitute for DISC, utilizing Ex-Im Bank resources more adeptly, and moving the trade reciprocity bill that the Finance Committee approved in 1982. Fair access to markets must be a two-way street, and Congress will be under considerable pressure to see that that is so.

C. Import issues. As you know, the House passed "local content" legislation at the end of the last Congress. That is a drastic proposal and likely to be counterproductive in the long run if our goal is to increase access to markets and to gain maximum benefit from the mutual advantages of international trade. There may be other areas, however, where we might make adjustments: in considering extension of the Generalized System of Preferences, there may be an interest on the part of some members of the Finance Committee to restrict the program, particularly in light of the failure of the GATT ministers to agree on a new round of negotiations between developed and developing countries concerning tariffs. Similarly, there may be some objection to the trade provisions of the CBI proposal, and it may be difficult to extend the President's authority to negotiate tariff reductions on a limited basis. It is a good sign that the Japanese have agreed to continue to voluntarily restrain their automobile imports to this market for a third year until the domestic industry has had an adequate time to get back on its feet.

D. Clearly the heat is on when it comes to seeing that American producers get fair treatment under our system of international trade. If we choose our battles carefully to secure an appropriate response from our trading partners, we have an opportunity to making trade freer and fairer, to the advantage of everyone. But we must avoid the two extremes of allowing the world to think only the U.S. will play by the rules of free trade, regardless of disadvantage to our citizens; or, on the other hand, taking extreme unilateral actions that may look good

politically but that, in the long run, will provoke severe reaction and deprive us of market opportunities. We need just the right amount of leverage to open more doors, not have them slammed in our face.

VI. Conclusion

The months and years ahead must not be dominated by rigid ideologies on either side--but neither can the President or the Republican leadership be expected to cast aside the principles of Government the American people so soundly endorsed in 1980. Those principles--a more restrained Government, a freer economy, greater accountability to the American people--are as valid today as they ever were, and there is no indication that the people have changed their commitment to these same principles. Guided by these principles, we will try to work together to build on the sound foundation for recovery that has already been laid.

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April 5, 1983

TO: Senator Dole
FROM: George Pieler
SUBJECT: Talk to Robin Tallon group

With regard to the talk you have agreed to give to Congressman Tallon's Economic Policy Conference on Wednesday, April 6, his office indicates they are interested in the usual overview of economic and tax issues.

They also indicated that Congressman Gephardt is scheduled to follow you on the program and will talk about the Bradley-Gephardt so-called "Fair Tax." Attached is a brief description of Bradley-Gephardt as introduced in the last Congress, plus talking points on the flat tax, as well as the Outline of Remarks.

Attachments

Bradley-Gephardt "Fair Tax" Proposal

- Drops individual tax rates to a range of 14% to 28%.
- 14% rate would apply to singles with incomes \$25,000 and up, couples \$40,000 and up.
- Eliminates most credits, deductions, exclusions for individual taxpayers, with key exceptions, such as:
 - charitable deduction
 - mortgage interest
 - medical expense
 - State and local income and property taxes
 - Social security and veterans' benefits
 - Tax exempt interest
- Maintains present-law distribution of the tax burden by income class, except for a few modest shifts.
- Designed to be revenue-neutral (raises the same amount as the present system).
- Does not propose conforming changes in the corporate tax (but Bradley and Gephardt are working on that).

Flat Rate Tax

The Corporate Tax

There has been a lot of interest in President Reagan's off-the-cuff remarks about the corporate income tax. What the American people seem most concerned about is ensuring that everyone--individuals and businesses--pays their fair share of tax. If it can be demonstrated that the corporate income tax is simply passed on to consumers and shareholders, then it might make sense to modify or eliminate it. But that proposition is very difficult to prove or disprove, and it has been debated for many years. For that reason, absent a wholly-new approach to taxation, it would be difficult to generate a popular consensus for eliminating the corporate tax. But any move to a flat-rate or low-rate, simplified tax system would have to involve an overhaul of the corporate tax--that would provide an opportunity to answer some of these basic questions about the corporate tax.

Flat-Rate Tax

- A. When people talk about the "flat-rate tax" they are really talking about a variety of proposals to overhaul and simplify our income tax system. Some of these proposals work from the present tax structure and greatly reduce rates while eliminating many deductions, credits, etc. that now exist. Other proposals would go much farther, and impose a single, lower rate on all income while eliminating most or all credits, deductions, exemptions, or other forms of preferential treatment now in the tax code. Still others would effectively change the nature of what we are taxing by excluding from tax income that goes into savings or investment: really a form of the so-called consumption tax that many economists favor in the interest of long-run economic growth.
- B. In each case people are trying to achieve several different tax objectives at the same time. The problem is that not all these objectives are necessarily compatible with one another. Let's take a look at just what these goals are:
 1. **Simplicity.** Most taxpayers think the present system is too complex, that it requires too much recordkeeping, legal and accounting advice, and is basically inefficient. A lot of the resources that go into figuring out how to comply with the tax laws might be put to more productive use, for the benefit of the economy.
 2. **Equity.** Many taxpayers feel that the present system, even though it has progressive rates (those with more should pay more), is slanted in favor of the well-to-do. That is because the kind of sophisticated tax

planning the wealthy use to shelter income (and minimize tax liability) is out of reach to the average taxpayer. When people read stories about millionaires who paid or wealthy corporations that paid no tax, they feel that it is too easy for the rich to 'game' the system in their favor. And if you believe that, you tend to prefer a system with no provisions that can be manipulated for special advantage, with everyone paying the same share of income in tax.

3. Balance. This is an area where people disagree very strongly, and it is probably one of the major stumbling blocks to a thorough overhaul of the income tax. For years we have relied on tax breaks and incentives to encourage different types of behavior; charitable giving is one of the more obvious examples, but so are home ownership, capital investment, child care, and many, many others. What we need to do is strike a balance in our tax system between the basic goal of revenue-raising and the independent goals of encouraging certain types of social and economic behavior through tax differentials of various kinds. Flat-tax advocates want to focus on revenue-raising and the economic efficiency of the overall system, and let 'tinkering' with other policy matters through the tax code go by the boards. Because existing tax preferences have strong constituencies, this is a major point of dispute.

- C. Why is this issue alive now? The tax bills of 1981 and 1982 give us a clue. In 1981 we lowered tax rates and 'froze' them in place with the indexing provision that takes effect in 1985. At the same time we added a number of new preference items and specialized tax breaks to the law. In 1982, when we were forced to raise revenues, the logical thing to do in many people's minds was to try to limit preferential treatment in the tax law and get more revenue out of the present system by improving compliance. Taken together, then, these two tax bills lower tax rates and broaden the tax base: exactly the direction in which flat-tax advocates want to move.

The movement towards a flat or simplified tax could be seen, then, as in part a response to the fiscal problems of the U.S. government, and a reaction to the proliferation of special tax breaks over the years.