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96TH CONGRESS S. J. RES. 2

To require the Federal Government to end deficit financing.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. DECONCINI (for himself and Mr. GOLDWATER) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

To require the Federal Government to end deficit financing.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
- 8 seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:

But. But.

1 "ARTICLE — Bolton thangof have
2 "Section 1. In exercising its powers under article I of
3 the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and col-
4 lect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises and to enact laws
5 making appropriations, the Congress shall seek to assure that
6 the total outlays of the Government during any fiscal year do
7 not exceed the total receipts of the Government during such
8 fiscal year.
9 "SEC. 2. No later than the twentieth day after the close
10 of each fiscal year, the President shall—
11 "(1) ascertain the total receipts of the Govern-
ments during such fiscal year, not including any re-
ceipts derived from the issuance of bonds, notes, or
other obligations of the United states, and not includ-
15 ing any receipts from any income tax surtax imposed
16 sand under this article; then stoned and you bestoned
17 "(2) ascertain the total outlays of the Government
18 during such fiscal year, not including any outlays for
19 the redemption of bonds, notes, or other obligations of
20 and I the United States; and was asset being ent to not of
21 "(3) if the total receipts described in paragraph (1)
are less than the total outlays described in paragraph
23 (2), determine the percentage rate of income tax
surtax, to be imposed as provided in section 3, which
25 is necessary to provide an additional amount of reve-

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- 1 nue equal to the amount by which such total receipts
- 2 are less than such total outlays, and transmit to the
- 3 Congress, by special message, the rate of income tax
- 4 us lo surtax so determined. Obuloser dous diw assergne 0
- 5 do "Sec. 3. Subject to the provisions of section 4, an
- 6 income tax surtax, at the rate determined and transmitted by
- 7 the President under section 2—
- 8 "(1) shall be effective for the calendar year fol-
- 9 lowing the close of the fiscal year with respect to
- 10 which the determination was made, or for so much of
- 11 such calendar year for which such surtax is not sus-
- pended under section 4, and
- 13 "(2) shall apply, as an additional income tax for
- 14 the period for which it is in effect, with respect to the
- income tax liability of each taxpayer which is attributa-
- 16 ble to the portion or portions of such taxpayer's tax-
- able year or years which fall within such period.
- 18 The income tax liability attributable to a portion of a taxable
- 19 year falling within a period shall be based upon the ratio of
- 20 the number of days in the taxable year within such period to
- 21 the total number of days in the taxable year.
- 22 "Sec. 4. In the case of a grave national emergency
- 23 declared by Congress (including a state of war formally de-
- 24 clared by Congress), the income tax surtax which would
- 25 otherwise be in effect for a calendar year under section 3

- 1 may be suspended for such year, or a portion thereof, by a
- 2 concurrent resolution agreed to by a rollcall vote of two-
- 3 thirds of the Members present and voting of each House of
- 4 Congress, with such resolution providing the period of time,
- 5 if less than the whole calendar year, during which such
- 6 surtax is to be suspended.
- 7 "Sec. 5. This article shall apply with respect to the first
- 8 fiscal year beginning after the ratification of this article and
- 9 each succeeding fiscal year.
- 10 "Sec. 6. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
- 11 article by appropriate legislation.".

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# S. J. RES. 4

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to require that congressional resolutions setting forth levels of total budget outlays and Federal revenues must be agreed to by two-thirds vote of both Houses of the Congress if the level of outlays exceeds the level of revenues.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. LUGAR introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to require that congressional resolutions setting forth levels of total budget outlays and Federal revenues must be agreed to by two-thirds vote of both Houses of the Congress if the level of outlays exceeds the level of revenues.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of
- 5 the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and
- 6 purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the leg-

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- 1 islatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven
- 2 years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

3 "ARTICLES—

4 "On the question of agreeing, in either the House of 5 Representatives or the Senate, to a concurrent resolution of

6 the two Houses of the Congress which sets forth an appropri-

7 ate level of total budget outlays of the Federal Government

8 for a fiscal year and a recommended level of Federal rev-

9 enues for that fiscal year or of agreeing, in either the House

10 of Representatives or the Senate, to a report of a conference

11 committee on such a concurrent resolution, the affirmative

12 vote of two-thirds of Members present and voting (a quorum

13 being present), shall be required for agreeing to the question,

14 if the appropriate level of total budget outlays set forth in

15 such concurrent resolution or recommended in such confer-

16 ence report exceeds the recommended level of Federal rev-

17 enues set forth in such concurrent resolution or recommended

18 in such conference report.".

Resolved by the Senoe and House of Representatives of

the United States of America in Congress assembled (uno

thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following

article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of

5 the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and

purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the leg-

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96TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

## S. J. RES. 5

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide expenditures of the Government may not exceed the revenues of the Government during any fiscal year, and for limits on Federal spending and taxing.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. Dole introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide expenditures of the Government may not exceed the revenues of the Government during any fiscal year, and for limits on Federal spending and taxing.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of
- 5 the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and
- 6 purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the leg-
- 7 islatures of three-fourths of the several States:

2 "ARTICLE -1 2 "Section 1. Except as provided in section 2 of this article, the aggregate amount of expenditures made by the Government during any fiscal year shall not exceed the net 4 amount of revenue received by the Government during that 6 fiscal year. "Sec. 2. Congress may determine by a concurrent reso-7 lution agreed to by a rollcall vote of two-thirds of all the Members of each House of Congress that total outlays may exceed total receipts, but it shall not be in order in either the 10 House of Representatives or the Senate to consider any con-11 current resolution if for more than three fiscal years out of 12 13 the preceding eight fiscal years total budget outlays exceed total Federal revenues. If for any fiscal year total Budget outlays exceed Federal revenues, the succeeding four fiscal 15 years shall set forth an aggregate amount of appropriate sur-16 17 plus equal to the amount of such excess. 18

18 "Sec. 3. (a) Percentage of Gross National
19 Product.—Beginning with the third fiscal year after the en20 actment of this Resolution, and for each year thereafter, the
21 appropriate level of total budget outlays and the appropriate
22 level of Federal revenues set forth in any concurrent resolu23 tion on the budget for a fiscal year shall not exceed 18 per24 cent of the Gross National Product at the close of such fiscal
25 year as projected by the Director of the Congressional

- 1 Budget Office and reported by him, from time to time, to the
- 2 Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives
- 3 and Senate.
- 4 "(b) The provisions of subsection 3(a) shall not apply to
- 5 a concurrent resolution on the budget for a fiscal year upon
- 6 the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members of the
- 7 House of Representatives and the Senate present and voting,
- 8 by rollcall vote.
- 9 "Sec. 4. The Congress shall have power to carry this
- 10 article into effect by appropriate legislation.
- 11 "SEC. 5. This article shall take effect on the first day of
- 12 the second fiscal year which begins after the date of its ratifi-
- 13 cation.
- "Sec. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it is
- 15 ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legisla-
- 16 tures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years
- 17 from the date of its submission to the States by the Con-
- 18 gress.".

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## S. J. RES. 6

of person engrephical and the Congress shall seek to assure that

To require the Federal Government to end deficit financing.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. Stennis introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

To require the Federal Government to end deficit financing.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
- 8 seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:
- 9 "ARTICLE —
- "Section 1. In exercising its powers under article I of
- 11 the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and col-
- 12 lect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises and to enact laws

- making appropriations, the Congress shall seek to assure that
- 2 the total outlays of the Government during any fiscal year do
- not exceed the total receipts of the Government during such 3
- fiscal year.

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- 5 "Sec. 2. No later than the twentieth day after the close
- of each fiscal year, the President shall—

under this article;

- 7 "(1) ascertain the total receipts of the Govern-8 ments during such fiscal year, not including any receipts derived from the issuance of bonds, notes, or 10 other obligations of the United States, and not includ-11 ing any receipts from any income tax surtax imposed
- 13 "(2) ascertain the total outlays of the Government 14 during such fiscal year, not including any outlays for the redemption of bonds, notes, or other obligations of 15 the United States; and 16
- "(3) if the total receipts described in paragraph (1) are less than the total outlays described in paragraph (2), determine the percentage rate of income tax surtax, to be imposed as provided in section 3, which is necessary to provide an additional amount of reveits submission to the States for ratification: nue equal to the amount by which such total receipts are less than such total outlays, and transmit to the in exercising its powers under artic Congress, by special message, the rate of income tax the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay surtax so determined.

- "SEC. 3. Subject to the provisions of section 4, an
  - 2 income tax surtax, at the rate determined and transmitted by
- 3 the President under section 2—
- 4 "(1) shall be effective for the calendar year fol-
  - 5 lowing the close of the fiscal year with respect to
  - 6 which the determination was made, or for so much of
  - 7 such calendar year for which such surtax is not sus-
  - 8 pended under section 4, and
  - 9 "(2) shall apply, as an additional income tax for
- the period for which it is in effect, with respect to the
- income tax liability of each taxpayer which is attributa-
- ble to the portion or portions of such taxpayer's tax-
- able year or years which fall within such period.
- 14 The income tax liability attributable to a portion of a taxable
- 15 year falling within a period shall be based upon the ratio of
- 16 the number of days in the taxable year within such period to
- 17 the total number of days in the taxable year.
- 18 "Sec. 4. In the case of a grave national emergency
- 19 declared by Congress (including a state of war formally de-
- 20 clared by Congress), the income tax surtax which would oth-
- 21 erwise be in effect for a calendar year under section 3 may be
- 22 suspended for such year, or a portion thereof, by a concurrent
- 23 resolution, agreed to by a rollcall vote of three-fourths of all
- 24 Members of each House of Congress, with such resolution

- 1 providing the period of time, if less than the whole calendar
- 2 year, during which such surtax is to be suspended.
- 3 "SEC. 5. This article shall apply with respect to the first
- 4 fiscal year beginning after the ratification of this article and
- 5 each succeeding fiscal year.
- 6 "SEC. 6. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
  - 7 article by appropriate legislation.".

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24 Mondans of sect Source of Congress, with such resolution

## S. J. RES. 7 Many thank second

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that appropriations made by the United States shall not exceed its revenues, except in time of war or national emergency; and to provide for the systematic paying back of the national debt.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 15, 1979

Mr. Armstrong introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that appropriations made by the United States shall not exceed its revenues, except in time of war or national emergency; and to provide for the systematic paying back of the national debt.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of
- 5 the United States, to be valid only if ratified by the legisla-
- 6 tures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years
- 7 after the date of final passage of this joint resolution:

"ARTICLE —

- 2 "Section 1. Except as provided in section 2, the Con-
- 3 gress shall make no appropriation for any fiscal year if the
- 4 resulting total of appropriations for such fiscal year would
- 5 exceed the total estimated revenues of the United States for
- 6 such fiscal year.

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- 7 "Sec. 2. In time of war or national emergency, as de-
- 8 clared by the Congress, the application of section 1 may be
- 9 suspended by a concurrent resolution which has passed the
- 10 Senate and the House of Representatives by an affirmative
- 11 vote of three-fourths of the authorized membership of each
- 12 such House. Such suspension shall be effective only for the
- 13 two-year term of the Congress which passes such resolution.
- "Sec. 3. There shall be no increase in the national debt
- 15 and such debt, as it exists on the date on which this article is
- 16 ratified, shall be repaid during the one-hundred-year period
- 17 beginning with the first fiscal year which begins after the
- 18 date on which this article is ratified. The rate of repayment
- 19 shall be such that one-tenth of such debt shall be repaid
- 20 during each ten-year interval of such one-hundred-year
- 21 period.
- 22 "Sec. 4. This article shall apply only with respect to
- 23 fiscal years which begin more than six months after the date
- 24 on which this article is ratified.". To adjust so your ?

## S. J. RES. 9

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide that appropriations made by the United States shall not exceed 33½ per centum of the average national income of the prior three calendar years, except as specified during war or national emergency.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. McClure introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

resolution agreed to by a rolleall you of three-fourths of

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide that appropriations made by the United States shall not exceed 33½ per centum of the average national income of the prior three calendar years, except as specified during war or national emergency.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by

- legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
- 2 seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:
- 3 "Section 1. In exercising its powers under article I of
- the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and col-
- lect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises and to enact laws
- making appropriations, the Congress shall assure that the
- total outlays of the Government during any fiscal year
- (except for repayment of debt) do not exceed thirty-three and
- one third percent of the average national income for the three
- prior calendar years. 10
- "SEC. 2. In case of national emergency or war, the limit 11
- 12 may be exceeded but all expenditures in excess of thirty-
- three and one third percent must be approved by a concur-
- rent resolution agreed to by a rollcall vote of three-fourths of
- 15 all the Members of each House of Congress. The limitation
- may be exceeded only in that fiscal year in which such a vote
- 17 was taken.". selet hotinU adt yd ebem anoitgingengs

38 Vs per centure of the 1O rage national income of the prior

shall apply with respect to the first fiscal year beginning after

he ratification of this article and each succeeding fiscal year

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96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

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S. J. RES. 10

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. McClure introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein) that the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourth of the several States within seven
- 8 years after its submission to the States for ratification, and

- 1 shall apply with respect to the first fiscal year beginning after
- 2 the ratification of this article and each succeeding fiscal year:
- 3 "ARTICLE—
- 4 "Section 1. Except when Congress shall determine to
- 5 the contrary for a period not to exceed one year by two-
- 6 thirds of the votes of both Houses thereof, the Congress shall
- 7 assure that the total outlays of the Government during any
- 8 fiscal year (not including any outlays for the redemption of
- 9 bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States) do not
- 10 exceed the total receipts of the Government during such
- 11 fiscal year (not including any receipts derived from the issu-
- 12 ance of bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United
- 13 States).".

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-strings of each House concurring therein) that the following a strick is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourth of the several States within seven States after its submission to the States for ratification, and

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96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

## S. J. RES. 10

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. McClure introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein) that the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourth of the several States within seven
- 8 years after its submission to the States for ratification, and

- 1 shall apply with respect to the first fiscal year beginning after
- 2 the ratification of this article and each succeeding fiscal year:
- 3 "ARTICLE—
- 4 "Section 1. Except when Congress shall determine to
- 5 the contrary for a period not to exceed one year by two-
- 6 thirds of the votes of both Houses thereof, the Congress shall
- 7 assure that the total outlays of the Government during any
- 8 fiscal year (not including any outlays for the redemption of
- 9 bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States) do not
- 10 exceed the total receipts of the Government during such
- 11 fiscal year (not including any receipts derived from the issu-
- 12 ance of bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United
- 13 States).".

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## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of

2 the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-

3 thirds of each House concurring therein) that the following

4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-

5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents

6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the

7 legislatures of three-fourth of the several States within seven

8 years after its submission to the States for ratification, and

## S. J. RES. 11

To amend the Constitution relating to a balanced budget.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. Talmadge (for himself and Mr. Nunn) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution relating to a balanced budget.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
  - 4 article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of
- 5 the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and
  - 6 purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the leg-
- 7 islatures of three-fourths of the several States:
- 8 idea ati lo otab adi totta "ARTICLE may lacan tati adi
  - 9 "Section 1. Except as provided in section 2 of this
- 10 article, the aggregate amount of expenditures made by the

- 1 Government during any fiscal year shall not exceed the net
- 2 amount of revenue received by the Government during that
- 3 fiscal year.
- 4 "Sec. 2. The provisions of section 1 shall not apply to
- 5 any fiscal year—
- 6 "(1) if at any time during that fiscal year the
- 7 United States is in a state of war declared by the Con-
- 8 gress pursuant to section 8 of article I of this Constitu-
- 9 tion, or
- 10 "(2) if, with respect to that fiscal year, the Senate
- and the House of Representatives agree to a concur-
- rent resolution stating, in substance, that a national
- economic emergency requires the suspension of the ap-
- 14 plication of section I for that fiscal year.
- 15 In exercising its power under paragraph (2) of this section,
- 16 the Senate and House of Representatives shall take into con-
- 17 sideration the extent and rate of industrial activity, unem-
- 18 ployment, and inflation, and such other factors as they deem
- 19 appropriate. It of thembers as a besogning it eloites 4
- 20 "Sec. 3. The Congress shall have power to carry this
- 21 article into effect by appropriate legislation.
- 22 "Sec. 4. This article shall take effect on the first day of
- 23 the first fiscal year which begins after the date of its ratifica-
- 24 tion. doitose at belivorq as trees. I Morroal?"

- 1 "Sec. 5. This article shall be inoperative unless it is
- 2 ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legisla-
- 3 tures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years
- 4 from the date of its submission to the States by the Con-

5 gress.".

0

## S. J. RES. 13

To amend the Constitution of the United States.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

6 fiscal year (not including any receipts derived from the issu-

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. Helms introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

### JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution of the United States.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled
- 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-
- 4 lowing article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the
- 5 Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all
- 6 intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified
- 7 by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States
- 8 within seven years after its submission to the States for
- 9 ratification:
- 10 "Article —
- "Section 1. Except when Congress shall determine,
- 12 by three-fourths of the votes of both Houses thereof, that a

- 1 grave national emergency exists, the Congress shall assure
- 2 that the total outlays of the Government during any fiscal
- 3 year (not including any outlays for the redemption of bonds,
- 4 notes, or other obligations of the United States) do not
- 5 exceed the total receipts of the Government during such
- 6 fiscal year (not including any receipts derived from the issu-
- 7 ance of bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United
- 8 States).".

Mr. HELMS introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Coonities on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution of the United States.

- Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled
- 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-
- 4 lowing article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the
- 5 Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all
- 6 intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified
- 7 by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States
- 8 within seven years after its submission to the States for
  - enoiteation:

#### - STOLLSTV.,

- "SECTION 1. Except when Congress shall determine,
- 12 by three-fourths of the votes of both Houses thereof, that a

# S. J. RES. 16

3 the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and col-

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide for balanced budgets and elimination of the Federal indebtedness.

6 total outlays of the Government during any family year do no

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 18 (legislative day, JANUARY 15), 1979

Mr. Wallop (for himself, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Thurmond) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide for balanced budgets and elimination of the Federal indebtedness.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within three
- 8 years after its submission to the States for ratification:

"Section 1. In exercising its powers under article I of

ARTICLE —
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2

3	the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and col-
4	lect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises and to enact laws
5	making appropriations, the Congress shall assure that the
6	total outlays of the Government during any fiscal year do not
7	exceed the total receipts of the Government during such
8	fiscal year and that the Federal indebtedness is eliminated.
9	"SEC. 2. During the first fiscal year beginning after the
10	ratification of this article, the total receipts of the Govern-
11	ment, not including receipts derived from the issuance of
12	bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States, shall
13	not be less than 95 per centum of the total outlays, not in-
14	cluding any outlays for the redemption of bonds, notes, or
15	other obligations of the United States. During the second
16	fiscal year, the total receipts shall not be less than 98 per
17	centum of the total outlays.
18	"SEC. 3. During the third fiscal year beginning after the
19	ratification of this article, and for each succeeding year there-
20	after, total outlays shall not exceed total receipts.
21	"SEC. 4. In the case of a national emergency, Congress
22	may determine by a concurrent resolution agreed to by a
23	rollcall vote of two-thirds of all the Members of each House
24	of Congress, that total outlays may exceed total receipts:
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- 1 Provided, however, That outlays shall never exceed receipts
- 2 by more than 10 per centum.
- 3 "Sec. 5. During the fourth fiscal year beginning after
- 4 the ratification of this article and for the next nineteen suc-
- 5 ceeding fiscal years thereafter, the total receipts of the Gov-
- 6 ernment shall exceed outlays by an amount equal to 5 per
- 7 centum of the Federal indebtedness at the beginning of the
- 8 fourth fiscal year. The President shall, not later than the thir-
- 9 tieth day after the close of the fourth fiscal year, ascertain
- 10 the total Federal indebtedness and transmit said total to the
- 11 Congress by special message.
- 12 "Sec. 6. Thereafter, whenever the Congress determines
- 13 under section 4 that an emergency exists and authorizes out-
- 14 lays to exceed receipts, any indebtedness ensuing therefrom
- 15 shall be extinguished within three fiscal years of being in-
- 16 curred.
- "Sec. 7. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
- 18 article by appropriate legislation.".

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## S. J. RES. 18

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to balancing of the budget and reducing the public debt.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 18 (legislative day, JANUARY 15), 1979

Mr. Thurmond (for himself, Mr. Goldwater, and Mr. Wallop) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to balancing of the budget and reducing the public debt.

- 1 Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

1 "ARTICLE —

2	"Section 1. On or before the fifteenth day after the
3	beginning of each regular session of the Congress, the Presi-
4	dent shall transmit to the Congress a budget which shall set
5	forth his estimates of the receipts of the Government, other
6	than receipts of trust funds, during the ensuing fiscal year
7	under the laws then existing and his recommendations with
8	respect to total outlays to be made, other than outlays from
9	trust funds, during such ensuing fiscal year, which shall not
10	exceed the estimated receipts that will be available to defray
11	outlays after the application of section 2 of this article. The
12	President in transmitting such budget may recommend meas-
13	ures for raising additional revenue and his recommendations
14	for the expenditure of such additional revenue. The Congress,
15	in the exercise of its powers, shall not authorize outlays to be
16	made during such ensuing fiscal year in excess of the estimat-
17	ed receipts that will be available to defray outlays after the
18	application of section 2 of this article.
19	"SEC. 2. Beginning with the fifth fiscal year after the
20	effective date of this article, and for each of the next twenty
21	fiscal years thereafter so long as there remains any public
22	debt of the United States, 5 per centum of the receipts of the
23	Government, not including receipts of trust funds, shall be
24	available only to reduce the public debt. If during any of such
25	fiscal years the public debt is less than 5 per centum of re-

- 1 ceipts, so much of such receipts as is necessary to eliminate
- 2 the public debt shall be available only for that purpose.
- 3 "Sec. 3. In case of war or other grave national emer-
- 4 gency, the Congress upon vote of three-fourths of all the
- 5 Members of each House may suspend the provisions of sec-
- 6 tions 1 and 2 of this article for periods, either successive or
- 7 otherwise, not exceeding one year each.
- 8 "Sec. 4. This article shall take effect on the first day of
- 9 the calendar year next following its ratification: Provided,
- 10 however, That this article shall be inoperative unless it shall
- 11 have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by
- 12 the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
- 13 seven years from the date of its submission to the States by
- 14 the Congress.".

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I That title III of the Congressional Budget are used by

3 The following the sections: In case of the present of the section of the sectio

LARGURY ON TOTAL RUDGET OUTLAYS AND PEDERAL

96TH CONGRESS S 13

To amend the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to impose limits on the amounts of total budget outlays and Federal revenues set forth in concurrent resolutions on the budget, to require a two-thirds vote for agreeing to concurrent resolutions on the budget which set forth a deficit, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

lo legoud sell no assille January 15, 1979 of smil mon min 41

Mr. Dole introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred jointly, pursuant to the order of August 4, 1977; to the Committees on the Budget and Governmental Affairs

### A BILL

- To amend the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to impose limits on the amounts of total budget outlays and Federal revenues set forth in concurrent resolutions on the budget, to require a two-thirds vote for agreeing to concurrent resolutions on the budget which set forth a deficit, and for other purposes.
  - 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
  - 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

- 1 That title III of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (31
- 2 U.S.C. 1321-1332) is amended by inserting after section 301
- 3 the following new sections:
- 4 "LIMITATIONS ON TOTAL BUDGET OUTLAYS AND FEDERAL
- 5 REVENUES
- 6 "Sec. 301A. (a) Percentage of Gross National
- 7 PRODUCT.—Beginning with the fiscal year ending on Sep-
- 8 tember 30, 1980, the appropriate level of total budget out-
- 9 lays and the appropriate level of Federal revenues set forth in
- 10 any concurrent resolution on the budget for a fiscal year shall
- 11 not exceed the following percentages of the gross national
- 12 product at the close of such fiscal year as projected by the
- 13 Director of the Congressional Budget Office and reported by
- 14 him, from time to time, to the Committees on the Budget of
- 15 the House of Representatives and the Senate:
- 16 "(1) 21 percent, for the fiscal year ending on Sep-
- 17 tember 30, 1980,
- 18 "(2) 19½ percent, for the fiscal year ending on
- 19 September 30, 1981, and
- 20 "(3) 18 percent, for the fiscal year ending on Sep-
- 21 tember 30, 1982, and for each fiscal year thereafter.
- 22 "(b) NATIONAL EMERGENCIES.—The provisions of
- 23 subsection (a) shall not apply to a concurrent resolution on
- 24 the budget for a fiscal year if such concurrent resolution con-
- 25 tains a section stating the existence of a national emergency

- 1 necessitating the waiver of such provisions, but on the ques-
- 2 tion of agreeing, in either the House of Representatives or
- 3 the Senate, to any such concurrent resolution, or to the
- 4 report of a conference committee on any such concurrent res-
- 5 olution, the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members
- 6 present and voting, by rollcall vote, shall be required.
- 7 "BUDGET DEFICITS"
- 8 "Sec. 301A. (a) Two-thirds Vote Required.—Be-
- 9 ginning with the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1980, if
- 10 the concurrent resolution on the budget for a fiscal year re-
- 11 quired by section 301, and any succeeding concurrent resolu-
- 12 tion on the budget for the same fiscal year, sets forth a deficit
- 13 in the budget as appropriate, or the report of a conference
- 14 committee on any such concurrent resolution recommends a
- 15 deficit in the budget as appropriate, on the question of agree-
- 16 ing, in either the House of Representatives or the Senate, to
- 17 such concurrent resolution or such conference report the
- 18 affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Members present and
- 19 voting, by rollcall vote, shall be required.
- 20 "(b) NOT MORE THAN TWO DEFICITS IN 5 YEARS.—
- 21 Beginning with the fiscal year ending on September 30,
- 22 1980, it shall not be in order in either the House of Repre-
- 23 sentatives or the Senate to consider any concurrent resolu-
- 24 tion on the budget for a fiscal year which sets forth a deficit
- 25 as appropriate, or the report of a conference committee on

	1 any concurrent resolution on the budget which recommends a
	2 deficit as appropriate, if, for more than 1 fiscal year out of
	3 the preceding 4 fiscal years, total budget outlays exceeded
1000000	4 total Federal revenues. In the case of a concurrent resolution
tambét es, co	5 on the budget for a fiscal year which is being considered
	6 before the close of the preceding fiscal year, the amount of
	7 total budget outlays and Federal revenues for such preceding
	8 fiscal year shall be based on estimates made by the Director
	9 of the Congressional Budget Office and furnished by him,
	10 from time to time, to the Committees on the Budget of the
	11 House of Representatives and the Senate.
	12 "(c) Deficits Must Be Made Up in 2 Years.—If
	13 for any fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending on
	14 September 30, 1980, total budget outlays exceed total Fed-
	15 eral revenues— no starquage as teghud edi ni tisileh di
	16 "(1) the concurrent resolution on the budget for
	17 the succeeding fiscal year (or, if necessary, the suc-
	ceeding 2 fiscal years) shall set forth an amount of ap-
	propriate surplus equal to the amount of such excess;
	20 and and out of the fiscal was entire of 20 and and out of the part of the p
	21 "(2) it shall not be in order, in either the House
	of Representatives or the Senate, to consider any con-
	23 current resolution on the budget for the second suc-
	24 ceeding fiscal year unless such concurrent resolution
	25 sets forth an amount of appropriate surplus equal to

- the amount of such excess, reduced by the amount by
- which total Federal revenues exceeded total budget
- 3 outlays for the first succeeding fiscal year.
- 4 For purposes of paragraph (2), in the case of a concurrent
- 5 resolution on the budget for the second succeeding fiscal year
- 6 which is being considered before the close of the first suc-
- 7 ceeding fiscal year, the amount of total budget outlays and
- 8 Federal revenues for the first succeeding fiscal year shall be
- 9 based on estimates made by the Director of the Congres-
- 10 sional Budget Office and furnished by him, from time to time,
- 11 to the Committees on the Budget of the Senate and the
- 12 House of Representatives.".
- 13 Sec. 2. Section 904(b) of the Congressional Budget Act
- 14 of 1974 is amended by striking out "title III or IV" and
- 15 inserting in lieu thereof "title III (except sections 301A and
- 16 301B) or title IV".

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### Calendar No. 13

96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 28

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 25 (legislative day, January 15), 1979 Mr. Bayh introduced the following joint resolution; which was read the first time

February 22, 1979
Read the second time and placed on the calendar

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled
- 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-
- 4 lowing article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the

- 1 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within
- 2 seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:
- 3 "Article —
- 4 "Section 1. The people of the several States and the
- 5 District constituting the seat of government of the United
- 6 States shall elect the President and Vice President. Each
- 7 elector shall cast a single vote for two persons who shall
- 8 have consented to the joining of their names as candidates for
- 9 the offices of President and Vice President. No candidate
- 10 shall consent to the joinder of his name with that or more
- 11 than one other person.
- "Sec. 2. The electors of President and Vice President
- 13 in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for elec-
- 14 tors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature,
- 15 except that for electors of President and Vice President the
- 16 legislature of any State may prescribe less restrictive resi-
- 17 dence qualifications and for electors of President and Vice
- 18 President the Congress may establish uniform residence
- 19 qualifications.
- 20 "Sec. 3. The persons joined as candidates for President
- 21 and Vice President having the greatest number of votes shall
- 22 be elected President and Vice President, if such number be at
- 23 least 40 per centum of the whole number of votes cast.
- 24 "If, after any such election, none of the persons joined
- 25 as candidates for President and Vice President is elected pur-

- 1 suant to the preceding paragraph, a runoff election shall be
- 2 held in which the choice of President and Vice President
- 3 shall be made from the two pairs of persons joined as candi-
- 4 dates for President and Vice President who received the
- 5 highest numbers of votes cast in the election. The pair of
- 6 persons joined as candidates for President and Vice President
- 7 receiving the greater number of votes in such runoff election
- 8 shall be elected President and Vice President.
- 9 "Sec. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding such
- 10 elections and entitlement to inclusion on the ballot shall be
- 11 prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the
- 12 Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regula-
- 13 tions. The days for such elections shall be determined by
- 14 Congress and shall be uniform throughout the United States.
- 15 The Congress shall prescribed by law the times, places, and
- 16 manner in which the results of such elections shall be ascer-
- 17 tained and declared. No such election, other than a runoff
- 18 election, shall be held later than the first Tuesday after the
- 19 first Monday in November, and the results thereof shall be
- 20 declared no later than the thirtieth day after the date on
- 21 which the election occurs.
- 22 "Sec. 5. The Congress may by law provide for the case
- 23 of the death, inability, or withdrawal of any candidate for
- 24 President or Vice President before a President and Vice

- President have been elected, and for the case of the death of
- both the President-elect and Vice-President-elect.
- "Sec. 6. Sections 1 through 4 of this article shall take
- effect two years after the ratification of this article.
- 5 "Sec. 7. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
- 6 article by appropriate legislation.".

96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

January 25 (legislative day, January 15),

February 22, 1979

Read the second time and placed on the calendar

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96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. J. RES. 172

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide for balanced budgets.

If may determine by a concurrent resolution serced to by a

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 31, 1979

Mr. FINDLEY introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution of the United States to provide for balanced budgets.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of
- 2 the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-
- 3 thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following
- 4 article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
- 5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents
- 6 and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the
- 7 legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within three
- 8 years after its submission to the States for ratification:

1	"A DETECT D
1	"ARTICLE —

- 2 "Section 1. During the fiscal year beginning after the
- 3 ratification of this article, total outlays of the Government
- 4 shall not exceed total estimated receipts by more than 50 per
- 5 centum of any excess of outlays over receipts in the preced-
- 6 ing fiscal year. For each succeeding year, total outlays of the
- 7 Government shall not exceed total receipts.
- 8 "Sec. 2. In the case of a national emergency, Congress
- 9 may determine by a concurrent resolution agreed to by a
- 10 rollcall vote of three-fourths of all the Members of each
- 11 House of Congress, that total outlays may exceed total re-
- 12 ceipts.
- 13 "SEC. 3. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
- 14 article by appropriate legislation.".

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birds of each Louse concurring thereins, That the following

and purposes as part of the Constitution wires ratified by the

logislatures of three-fourths of the several Status within these

roun after its sometiment with States for radification.

96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

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# S. J. RES. 36

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit appropriations for a fiscal year which would cause the total appropriations to exceed estimated receipts for such fiscal year.

# IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

February 7 (legislative day, January 15), 1979

Mr. Ĥeflin introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit appropriations for a fiscal year which would cause the total appropriations to exceed estimated receipts for such fiscal year.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled
- 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-
- 4 lowing article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the
- 5 Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all
  - 6 intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified
  - 7 by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States

- 1 within seven years after its submission to the States for rati-
- 2 fication:
- 3 "ARTICLE —
- 4 "Section 1. The Congress shall make no appropriation
- 5 for any fiscal year if the resulting total of appropriations for
- 6 such fiscal year would exceed the total estimated receipts of
- 7 the United States for such fiscal year.
- 8 "Sec. 2. (a) In case of a national emergency (including
- 9 a state of war formally declared by the Congress), the provi-
- 10 sions of section 1 may be suspended for a fiscal year, or
- 11 portion thereof, by a concurrent resolution or a joint resolu-
- 12 tion, agreed to in each House by a rollcall vote by 55 percent
- 13 of all Members, with such resolution providing the period of
- 14 time of suspension.
- 15 "(b) A concurrent resolution referred to in subsection (a)
- 16 may be recommended by the President in a special message
- 17 to Congress delivered to both Houses of Congress while in
- 18 session on the same date. Within thirty days after the receipt
- 19 of such a special message, the House of Representatives shall
- 20 complete its action on the concurrent resolution recommend-
- 21 ed by the President. Within thirty days after such concurrent
- 22 resolution is agreed to by the House of Representatives, the
- 23 Senate shall complete its action on such concurrent
- 24 resolution. (indiamol) and to may an associate bas sined if

- 1 "(c) A joint resolution referred to in subsection (a) may
- 2 be introduced in either the House or Senate. If a joint resolu-
- 3 tion is sponsored by at least 25 percent of all Members of the
- 4 House in which it originates then within thirty calendar days
- 5 after the introduction of such a joint resolution, the House in
- 6 which it originates shall complete its action on such joint
- 7 resolution. Within thirty calendar days after such joint reso-
- 8 lution sponsored by 25 percent of the Members is agreed to
- 9 by the House in which it originates, the other House of Con-
- 10 gress shall complete its action on such joint resolution.
- 11 "SEC. 3. This article shall apply with respect to the
- 12 second fiscal year beginning after the ratification of this arti-
- 13 cle and each succeeding fiscal year.
- "Sec. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this
- 15 article by appropriate legislation.".

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96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# S. J. RES. 38 mm garden 3

To amend the Constitution of the United States to mandate a balanced budget.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 8 (legislative day, JANUARY 15), 1979

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, Jr. (for himself and Mr. Helms) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To amend the Constitution of the United States to mandate a balanced budget.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled
- 3 (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-
- 4 lowing article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the
- 5 Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid for all
- 6 intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified
- 7 by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States
- 8 within three years after its submission to the States for ratifi-
- 9 cation:

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"ARTICLE —
ARTICLE —

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"Section 1. In exercising its powers under article I of the Constitution, and in particular its powers to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises and to enact laws making appropriations, the Congress shall assure that the total outlays of the Government during any fiscal year do not exceed the total receipts of the Government during such fiscal year.

"SEC. 2. During the first fiscal year beginning after the ratification of this article, the total outlays of the Government, not including any outlays for the redemption of bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States, shall not exceed total receipts, not including receipts derived from the issuance of bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States.

"Sec. 3. In the case of a national emergency, Congress may determine by a concurrent resolution agreed to by a rollcall vote of two-thirds of all the Members of each House of Congress, that total outlays may exceed total receipts.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

5 Constitution of the Unit States, which shall be valid for all

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### 96TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H.R.1

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for financing of general election campaigns for the House of Representatives.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 15, 1979

Mr. Mikva (for himself, Mr. Anderson of Illinois, Mr. Foley, Mr. Conable, Mr. Udall, Mr. Wirth, Mr. Akaka, Mr. Albosta, Mr. Ashley, Mr. ATKINSON, Mr. AUCOIN, Mr. BARNES, Mr. BEDELL, Mr. BEILENSON, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BLANCHARD, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BOLLING, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. Brodhead, Mr. Brown of California, Mrs. Chisholm, Mr. Conte, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. CORRADA, Mr. D'AMOURS, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. Dellums, Mr. Dicks, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Donnelly, Mr. Dougherty, Mr. Downey, Mr. Drinan, Mr. Eckhardt, Mr. Edgar, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. FAZIO, Mrs. FENWICK, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. GARCIA, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. GIAIMO, Mr. GLICKMAN, Mr. GORE, Mr. GREEN, Mr. GUDGER, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HEFTEL, Mr. HOLLENBECK, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. JENRETTE, Mr. KOGOVSEK, Mr. KOSTMAYER, Mr. LEACH of Iowa, Mr. Lehman, Mr. Leland, Mr. Lowry, Mr. Luken, Mr. Lun-DINE, Mr. McCloskey, Mr. McHugh, Mr. Maguire, Mr. Markey, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. MAVROULES, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. MINETA, Mr. MITCHELL of New York, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. MOFFETT, Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania, Mr. MOTTL, Mr. MURPHY of Pennsylvania, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Nolan, Mr. Oberstar, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. PATTERSON, Mr. PEASE, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. PEYSER, Mr. PREYER, Mr. PRICE, Mr. PRITCHARD, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RATCHFORD, Mr. REUSS, Mr. RICHMOND, Mr. RINALDO, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. SABO, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. SCHEUER, Mrs. Schroeder, Mr. Seiberling, Mr. Shannon, Mr. Simon, Mr. Solarz, Mrs. Spellman, Mr. St Germain, Mr. Stockman, Mr. Studds, Mr. SWIFT, Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. VAN DEERLIN, Mr. VANIK, Mr. VENTO, Mr.

WALGREN, Mr. WEAVER, Mr. WEISS, Mr. WILLIAMS of Montana, Mr. WOLPE, Mr. WON PAT, and Mr. YATES), introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for financing of general election campaigns for the House of Representatives.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (herein-
- 4 after in this Act referred to as the "Act" is amended by
- 5 adding at the end thereof the following new title:
- 6 "TITLE V—FINANCING OR GENERAL ELECTION
- 7 CAMPAIGNS FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRE-
- 8 SENTATIVES
- 9 "DEFINITIONS
- "Sec. 501. When used in this title—
- 11 "(1) The term 'Account' means the House of
- Representatives Campaign Account established in sec-
- 13 tion 507(a).

1	"(2) The term 'authorized committee' means, with
2	respect to any candidate for election to the office of
3	Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commis-
4	sioner to, the Congress, any political committee which
5	is authorized by such candidate to accept contributions
6	or make expenditures on behalf of such candidate to
7	further the election of such candidate.
8	"(3) The term 'eligible candidate' means a candi-
9	date who is eligible under section 502 for payments
10	under sction 504.
11	"(4) The term 'election' means any regularly
12	schedules, special, or runoff election which directly re-
13	sults in the election of a person to the office of Repre-
14	sentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
15	the Congress.
16	"(5) The term 'immediate family' means a candi-
17	date's spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent,
18	brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sister of the candi-
19	date, and the spouses of such individuals.
20	"ELIGIBILITY TO RECEIVE PAYMENTS
21	"Sec. 502. (a) To be eligible to receive payments under
22	section 507, a candidate shall, with respect to an election, in

1	such form and manner as the Commission may prescribe by
.2	regulation, and within 10 days after such candidate qualifies
3	for the election ballot under the law of the State involved or
4	by August 1, 1980, whichever is later—
5	"(1) agree—
6	"(A) to furnish campaign records, evidence of
7	contributions and expenditures, and other appro-
8	priate information to the Commission;
9	"(B) to cooperate in the case of any audit
10	and examination conducted by the Commission
11	under section 508;
12	"(C) that such candidate and his authorized
13	committees will not accept any contribution in
14	violation of section 320(a);
15	"(D) that such candidate and his authorized
16	committees will not make any expenditure which
17	exceeds the limitation established in section
18	320(b)(2); and
19	"(E) that such candidate will comply with
20	the limitation on expenditures of personal funds
21	established in section 503;
22	"(2) certify to the Commission that such candidate
23	and the authorized committees of such candidate have
24	received contributions aggregating not less than
25	\$1,000; and

1	"(3) apply to the Commission for the initial
2	matching payment of \$1,000 referred to in section
3	504(a)(1)(A).
4	"(b) For purposes of subsection (a)(2) and section
5	504(a), in determining the amount of contributions received
6	by a candidate and his authorized committees—
7	"(1) no contribution received as a subscription
8	loan, advance, or deposit, or as a contribution of prod
9	ucts or services, shall be taken into account;
10	"(2) no contribution received from any person
11	other than an individual shall be taken into account
12	and no contribution received from an individual shall be
13	taken into account to the extent that such contribution
14	exceeds \$100 when added to the amount of all other
15	contributions made by such individual to or for the
16	benefit of such candidate during the applicable period
17	specified in paragraph (3); and
18	"(3) in the case of a general election, no contribu-
19	tion received before January 1 of the year in which
20	such election is held, or received after the date or
21	which such election is held shall be taken into account
22	and in the case of a special or runoff election, no con-
23	tribution received more than 90 days before such elec-
24	tion or received after the date on which such election
25	is held shall be taken into account.

1	DIMITATION ON EXPENDITURES OF PERSONAL FUNDS
2	"Sec. 503. No candidate who is eligible under section
3	502 to receive payments under section 507 shall make ex
4	penditures from the personal funds of such candidate, or the
5	funds of any member of the immediate family of such candi
6	date, aggregating in excess of \$25,000, with respect to the
7	election involved.
8	"ENTITLEMENT OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO MATCHING
9	PAYMENTS
10	"Sec. 504. (a)(1) Subject to section 502(b), any eligible
11	candidate shall be entitled to—
12	"(A) an initial payment under section 507 o
13	\$1,000 to match the contributions certified under sec-
14	tion 502(a)(2);
15	"(B) additional matching payments not to exceed
16	40 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable to
17	such candidate under section 320(b), to be paid in-
18	"(i) multiples of \$10,000 under section 507
19	if, with respect to each such payment, the eligible
20	candidate and his authorized committees have re-
21	ceived contributions aggregating \$10,000, which
22	have not been matched under this section; and
23	"(ii) a final matching payment under section
24	507 (designated as such by the candidate in-
25	volved) of the balance of the entitlement of the

		_
· .		candidate which has not been matched under this
> . · :	2	section; and
	3	"(C) in the case of an eligible candidate for whom
	4	the limitation on expenditures established in section
	5	320(b) is made inapplicable under section 505(a), addi-
	6	tional matching payments not to exceed 40 percent of
	7	the expenditure limitation applicable to such candidate
	8	under section 320(b), to be paid in the manner pre-
	9	scribed in subparagraph (B), except that any contribu-
	10	tion which is received after the date on which the limi-
	11	tation on expenditures is made inapplicable shall be
	12	matchable under this subparagraph, whether or not the
	- 13	individual making such contribution has made any con-
	14	tribution that has been matched under subparagraph
	15	(A) or subparagraph (B).
	16	"(2) No payment shall be made under paragraph (1)(B)
	17	or paragraph (1)(C) with respect to an election unless—
	18	"(A) at least two candidates have qualified for the
	19	election ballot under the law of the State involved; and
	20	"(B) the candidate seeking such payment certifies
	21	to the Commission that the conditions for such pay-
	22	ment described in paragraph (1) and in subparagraph
	23	(A) have been met.
	24	"(3) No contribution received from any individual who
	25	resides in a State other than the State in which the election

- 1 is held shall be matched under paragraph (1)(B) to the extent
- 2 that such contribution when added to all other contributions
- 3 received from such individuals exceeds 20 percent of the ag-
- 4 gregate of contributions otherwise matchable under para-
- 5 graph (1)(B).
- 6 "(4) The aggregate payments to all candidates in an
- 7 election shall not exceed three times the maximum amount
- 8 payable in matching funds under paragraph (1)(B).
- 9 "(5) All payments received under this section shall be
- 10 deposited at a national or State bank in a separate checking
- 11 account which shall contain only funds so received. No ex-
- 12 penditures of funds received under this section shall be made
- 13 except by checks drawn on such account.
- 14 "(b) Payments received under this section shall be used
- 15 only to defray election campaign expenses incurred with re-
- 16 spect to the period beginning on the day after the date on
- 17 which the candidate qualifies for the election ballot under the
- 18 law of the State involved and ending on the date of the elec-
- 19 tion, or the date on which the candidate withdraws from the
- 20 campaign or otherwise ceases actively to seek election,
- 21 whichever occurs first. Such payments shall not be used (1)
- 22 to repay any loan to any person, or (2) to make any pay-
- 23 ments, directly or indirectly, to such candidate or to any
- 24 member of the immediate family of such candidate.

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.1	 		 TATTO	TON
1			 LIMITA	LITION

- 3 "Sec. 505. (a)(1) If any candidate who is not eligible to
- 4 receive payments under section 502 makes expenditures from
- 5 his personal funds or from the personal funds of any member
- 6 of the immediate family of such candidate aggregating in
- 7 excess of \$25,000, receives total contributions aggregating in
- 8 excess of \$75,000, or makes total expenditures aggregating
- 9 in excess of \$75,000, the limitation on expenditures estab-
- 10 lished in section 320(b)(2) shall not apply to any eligible can-
- 11 didate in the election involved.
- 12 "(2) Any candidate who is not eligible to receive pay-
- 13 ments under section 502, and who exceed any amount speci-
- 14 fied in paragraph (1) relating to personal expenditures, total
- 15 contributions, or total expenditures, shall so notify the Com-
- 16 mission not later than 48 hours after the amount involved is
- 17 exceeded. The Commission may determine upon its own ini-
- 18 tiative, or upon the request of any candidate in an election,
- 19 whether any such amount has been exceeded.
- 20 "(b)(1) If, with respect to an election, independent ex-
- 21 penditures, as defined in section 301(p), are made, or costs of
- 22 communication, required to be reported under section
- 23 301(f)(4)(C), are incurred, aggregating more than \$50,000,
- 24 the Commission shall, with respect to such election, suspend
- 25 the limitation on expenditures established in section 320(b)(2)

request of any candidate in such election who is eligible to receive payments under section 502, and who has received the benefit of no more than one-third of such independent expenditures or costs of communication. "(2) Any person who makes independent expenditures, 5 as defined in section 301(p), or incurs costs of communica-6 7 tion, required to be reported under section 301(f)(4)(C), shall notify the Commission not later than 48 hours after such 8 person first makes such independent expenditures or incurs such costs of communication aggregating more than \$5,000 and thereafter shall so notify the Commission each time such person makes any additional independent expenditure, or incurs any additional such cost of communication, aggregating \$2,500 or more. "CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION 15 16 "Sec. 506. (a) No later than 48 hours after a candidate files a request with the Commission to receive payments under section 504, the Commission shall certify such eligibility to the Secretary of the Treasury (hereinafter in this title referred to as the 'Secretary') for payment in full of the amount to which such candidate is entitled. The request referred to in the preceding sentence shall contain— "(1) such information, and be made in accordance 23 24with such procedures, as the Commission may provide

25

by regulation; and

1	11 "(2) a verification signed by the candidate and the
	treasurer of the principal campaign committee of sucl
3	candidate stating that the information furnished in sup
4	port of the request, to the best of their knowledge, is
5	correct and fully satisfies the requirements of this title
6	"(b) Initial certifications by the Commission under sub
7	section (a) and all determinations made by the Commission
8	under this title, shall be final and conclusive, except to the
9	extent that they are subject to examination and audit by the
10	Commission under section 508 and judicial review under sec
11	tion 511.
12	"(c) Any candidate who submits false information to the
13	Commission under this section shall be subject to section
14	329.
15	"ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNT; PAYMENTS TO ELIGIBLE
16	CANDIDATES
17	"SEC. 507. (a) The Secretary shall maintain in the
18	Presidential Election Campaign Fund, established by section
19	9006(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, in addition to
20	any other accounts maintained under such section, a separate
21	account to be known as the House of Representatives Elec-
22	tion Campaign Account. The Secretary shall deposit, into the
23	Account, for use by candidates eligible to receive payments
24	under this title, the amount available after the Secretary de-
25	termines that the amounts to be available for the fund will be

12 1 adequate to meet the payments under subtitle H of such 2 Code (relating to financing of presidential election campaigns) except that, in a biennial general election year, other than a presidential election year, the Secretary shall deposit into the Account no later than May 15 for use by candidates eligible to receive payments under this title, the amount available after the Secretary determines that the total amount to be available in the fund by the end of such year will equal 60 percent of the payments made during the past presidential election under such subtitle. With respect to candidates who are eligible for payments in 1980, the May 15 deadline shall not apply and the Secretary shall make available to the Account from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund such amounts as may be necessary, and shall, from the moneys paid into the fund in 1981 and 1982, reimburse the fund for the amounts made available in 1980 to the Account. The moneys in the Account shall remain available without fiscal 17 year limitation. 18 (b) Not later than May 15 of each biennial general elec-19 tion year except 1980, the Secretary shall notify the Com-20 21 mission of the amount to be available in the Account for payments with respect to such year. Within 30 days after such 22notification, the Commission shall determine whether such 23

amount will be sufficient to satisfy the estimated full entitle-24ments of eligible candidates for such year. If the Commission 25

- 1 determines that such amount will not be sufficient, the Com-
- 2 mission shall transmit to the Secretary, not later than June
- 3 15 of such year, a formula for the ratable adjustment of such
- 4 entitlements. The Commission shall make such changes in
- 5 the ratable adjustment formula as may be necessary during
- 6 the year and shall notify each eligible candidate by registered
- 7 mail of any adjustment in entitlement of such candidate under
- 8 this subsection.
- 9 "(c) Upon receipt of a certification from the Commission
- 10 under section 506, but not earlier than the date on which the
- 11 candidate involved has qualified under the law of the State
- 12 involved to have his name on the election ballot in a general
- 13 election or the 60th day before a special or runoff election,
- 14 the Secretary shall pay the amount certified by the Commis-
- 15 sion to the candidate, subject to any ratable adjustment for-
- 16 mula, established under subsection (b).
- 17 "EXAMINATION AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS
- 18 "Sec. 508. (a) (1) After each general election, the Com-
- 19 mission shall conduct an examination and audit of the cam-
- 20 paign accounts of 10 percent of the eligible candidates as
- 21 designated by the Commission through the use of an appro-
- 22 priate statistical method of random selection to determine
- 23 whether the contributions certified for matching payments
- 24 and the expenditures made from such matching payments
- 25 complied with this title.

- 1 "(2) After each special election or runoff election the
- 2 Commission shall conduct such an examination and audit of
- 3 the campaign accounts of each eligible candidate in such elec-
- 4 tion.
- 5 "(3) Before any general election, special election, or
- 6 runoff election, the Commission may conduct such an exami-
- 7 nation and audit of the campaign accounts of any eligible
- 8 candidate in such election if the Commission, by an affirma-
- 9 tive vote of 4 members, determines that there exists reason
- 10 to believe that such candidate has violated any provision of
- 11 this title.
- 12 "(b)(1)(A) If the Commission determines that any por-
- 13 tion of the payments made to an eligible candidate under sec-
- 14 tion 507 was in excess of the aggregate amount of the pay-
- 15 ments to which such candidate was entitled, the Commission
- 16 shall so notify such candidate, and such candidate shall pay
- 17 to the Secretary an amount equal to such excess amount.
- 18 "(B) If the Commission determines that any portion of
- 19 the payments made to a candidate under section 507 was not
- 20 used in compliance with section 504(b), the Commission shall
- 21 so notify such candidate and such candidate shall pay to the
- 22 Secretary an amount equal to 200 percent of the amount of
- 23 the misused funds.
- 24 "(C) Any amount received by an eligible candidate may
- 25 be retained for a period not exceeding 60 days after the date

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		of the election for the liquidation of all obligations to pay election campaign expenses incurred during the period speci-
	3	fied in section 504(b). At the end of such 60-day period that
	4	portion of any unexpended balance remaining in the accounts
	5	of the candidate's authorized committees which bears the
	6	same ratio to the total unexpended balance as the total
	7	amount received from the Account bears to the total of all
	8	deposits made into the accounts of the candidate's authorized
	9	committees shall be promptly repaid to the Secretary.
and the second	10	"(c) All repayments received by the Secretary under
Arts (Britanes)	11	subsection (b) shall be deposited in the Account.
	12	"REPORTS TO CONGRESS
	13	"Sec. 509. Not more than 6 months after the end of
	14	each calendar year, the Commission shall submit to the
	15	House of Representatives a report setting forth for such cal-
	16	endar year—
	17	"(1) the expenditures made by eligible candidates,
	18	and their authorized committees, receiving payments
	19	under section 507;
	20	"(2) the amounts certified by the Commission
	21	under section 506 with respect to such candidates;
	22	"(3) the amounts of repayments, if any, required
	23	from such candidates under section 508, and the rea-
	24	sons for each payment required; and

	(4) the balance in (A) the Presidential Election Campaign Fund, and (B) each account maintained in
3	such fund, at the end of such calendar year.
4	Each report submitted under this section shall be printed as a
5	House document.
6	"PARTICIPATION BY COMMISSION IN JUDICIAL
7	PROCEEDINGS
8	"Sec. 510. (a) The Commission may appear in and
9	defend against any action filed under this title, either by at-
10	torneys employed in its office or by counsel whom it may
11	appoint without regard to the provisons of title 5, United
12	States Code, concerning appointments in the competitive
13	service, and whose compensation the Commission may fix
14	without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and sub-
15	chapter III of chapter 53 of such title.
16	"(b) The Commission may appear, through attorneys
17	and counsel described in subsection (a), in the district courts
18	of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts deter-
19	mined to be payable to the Secretary as a result of any exam-
20	ination and audit made under section 508.
21	"(c) The Commission may petition, through attorneys
22	and counsel described in subsection (a), the courts of the
23	United States for declaratory or injunctive relief concerning
24	any civil matter arising under this title. Upon application of
25	the Commission, an action brought under this subsection

- 1 shall be heard and determined by a court of 3 judges in ac-
- 2 cordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28,
- 3 United States Code, and any appeal from the determination
- 4 of such court shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the
- 5 duty of the judges designated to hear the case to assign the
- 6 case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate
- 7 in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the
- 8 case to be in every way expedited.
- 9 "(d) The Commission may, on behalf of the United
- 10 States, appeal from, and petition the Supreme Court of the
- 11 United States for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees
- 12 entered with respect to actions in which the Commission ap-
- 13 pears under the authority provided in this section.
- 14 "JUDICIAL REVIEW
- 15 "Sec. 511. (a) Any certification, determination, or other
- 16 action by the Commission made or taken under this title shall
- 17 be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals
- 18 for the District of Columbia upon petition filed in such court
- 19 by any interested person. Any petition under this section
- 20 shall be filed within 30 days after such certification, determi-
- 21 nation, or other action involved.
- 22 "(b) (1) The Commission, the national committee of any
- 23 political party, and any individual eligible to vote for any
- 24 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
- 25 the Congress, are authorized to institute any action under

- 1 this section, including an action for declaratory judgment or
- 2 injunctive relief, as may be appropriate to implement or con-
- 3 strue any provision of this title.
- 4 "(2) The district courts of the United States shall have
- 5 jurisdiction of proceedings instituted under this subsection
- 6 and shall exercise such jurisdiction without regard to whether
- 7 a person asserting rights under the provisions of this subsec-
- 8 tion shall have exhausted administrative or other remedies
- 9 provided by law. Such proceedings shall be heard and deter-
- 10 mined by a court of 3 judges in accordance with the provi-
- 11 sions of section 2284 of title 28, United States Code, and any
- 12 appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of
- 13 the judges designated to hear the case to assign the case for
- 14 hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the
- 15 hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to
- 16 be in every way expedited.
- 17 "PARTIAL INVALIDITY
- 18 "Sec. 512. If any provision of this title, or the applica-
- 19 tion thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid,
- 20 the validity of the remainder of the title and the application of
- 21 such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not
- 22 be affected thereby.

.1	"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS	
2	"SEC. 513. There are authorized to be appropriated to	
3	the Commission, for the purpose of carrying out its functions	
4	under this title, such sums as may be necessary.".	
5	SEC. 2. (a) Section 320(b) of the Act is amended by	
6	redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3) and inserting	
7	after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:	
8	"(2) Except as otherwise provided in section 505(b)(1)	
9	no candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate	
10	or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who establishes	
11	eligibility under section 502 to receive payments from the	
12	Secretary under section 507 may make expenditures in	
13	excess of \$150,000, in the case of a campaign for election to	
14	such office.".	
15	(b) Section 320(c)(2)(B) of the Act is amended by insert-	
16	ing after "calendar year 1974" the following: ", except that,	
17	with respect to the limitation established in subsection (b)(2),	
18	such term means the calendar year 1978".	
19	(c) Section 301 of the Act is amended by striking out	
20	"SEC. 301. When used in this title and title IV of this	
21	Act—" and inserting in lieu thereof "Sec. 301. Except as	
22	provided in section 501, when used in this Act—".	
23	(d) Section 301(f)(4) of the Act is amended by-	
24	(1) striking out "or" at the end of clause (J);	

)	(2) inserting "or" after the semicolon at the end
<b>2</b>	of clause (K); and
3	(3) adding at the end thereof the following new
4	matter:
5	(L) with respect to an eligible candidate
6	within the meaning of section 501(3), any
7	costs (not in excess of 10 percent of the ex-
8	penditure limitation applicable to such candi-
9	date under section 320(b)) incurred by such
10	candidate in connection with one distribution
. 11	of campaign material through the United
12	States mail to recipients in the congressional
13	district involved at least two weeks before
14	the election involved, but all such costs shall
15	be reported in accordance with section
16	304(b).".
17	SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply
18	to any election to the office of Representative in, or Delegate
19	or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress held after the
20	date of the enactment of this Act, except that no payments
21	under this title shall be distributed under section 507 prior to
99	A



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January 30, 1979

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William Craig Stubblebine (Professor of Economics, Claremont College)

General A. C. Wedemeyer (U.S. Army, Retired) In July 1978, The National Tax Limitation Committee asked several distinguished Americans to join together in an effort to prepare an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that would limit spending by the Government of the United States and get at the root cause of inflation.

The Committee has prepared and now offers this Constitutional Spending Limit Amendment to interested Members of Congress and other citizens. We believe that this Amendment design offers a responsible method for dealing with our fiscal and monetary problems.

6mg. Rickenbacker

WILLIAM P. RICKENBACKER Chairman

LEWIS K. UHLER,

President

### A PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO LIMIT FEDERAL SPENDING

Prepared by the Federal Amendment Drafting Committee W. C. Stubblebine, Chairman Convened by The National Tax Limitation Committee William F. Rickenbacker, Chairman Lewis K. Uhler, President

- Section 1. To protect the people against excessive governmental burdens and to promote sound fiscal and monetary policies, total outlays of the Government of the United States shall be limited.
- (a) Total outlays in any fiscal year shall not increase by a percentage greater than the percentage increase in nominal gross national product in the last calendar year ending prior to the beginning of said fiscal year. Total outlays shall include budget and off-budget outlays, and exclude redemptions of the public debt and emergency outlays.
- (b) If inflation for the last calendar year ending prior to the beginning of any fiscal year is more than three per cent, the permissible percentage increase in total outlays for that fiscal year shall be reduced by one-fourth of the excess of inflation over three per cent. Inflation shall be measured by the difference between the percentage increase in nominal gross national product and the percentage increase in real gross national product.
- Section 2. When, for any fiscal year, total revenues received by the Government of the United States exceed total outlays, the surplus shall be used to reduce the public debt of the United States until such debt is eliminated.
- Section 3. Following declaration of an emergency by the President, Congress may authorize, by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, a specified amount of emergency outlays in excess of the limit for the current fiscal year.
- Section 4. The limit on total outlays may be changed by a specified amount by a three-fourths vote of both Houses of Congress when approved by the Legislatures of a majority of the several States. The change shall become effective for the fiscal year following approval.
- Section 5. For each of the first six fiscal years after ratification of this article, total grants to States and local governments shall not be a smaller fraction of total outlays than in the three fiscal years prior to the ratification of this article. Thereafter, if grants are less than that fraction of total outlays, the limit on total outlays shall be decreased by an equivalent amount.
- Section 6. The Government of the United States shall not require, directly or indirectly, that States or local governments engage in additional or expanded activities without compensation equal to the necessary additional costs.
- Section 7. This article may be enforced by one or more members of the Congress in an action brought in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and by no other persons. The action shall name as defendant the Treasurer of the United States, who shall have authority over outlays by any unit or agency of the Government of the United States when required by a court order enforcing the provisions of this article. The order of the court shall not specify the particular outlays to be made or reduced. Changes in outlays necessary to comply with the order of the court shall be made no later than the end of the third full fiscal year following the court order.

#### A PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO LIMIT FEDERAL SPENDING

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#### DISCUSSION

#### SECTION 1. THE BASIC LIMIT.

The basic limit on federal outlays has two parts. One part applies whenever inflation is three per cent or less, the other part whenever inflation is more than three per cent.

Inflation Three Per Cent or Less. If inflation is three per cent or less, the Federal Government cannot increase its share of gross national product. If, for example, gross national product increases by five per cent from one year to the next, then government spending cannot increase by more than five per cent. Even if government spending increases by the maximum allowed -- in this case five per cent -- its product merely remains constant.

An important feature of the limit is that it is a linked limit in which each year's limit depends on actual spending of the preceding year. This is the mechanism that permits the Congress gradually to reduce the government's share of the gross national product.

If, in any year, the Congress spends at a slower rate than the limit allows, that sets a new and lower base for future years.

Another important feature is the time difference between the fiscal year and the calendar year. Gross national product for any year is not available until some months after the end of the year. The difference in timing makes it possible to calculate the limit in ample time for the necessary budget process. For example, fiscal year 1980 starts in October 1979. The spending limit for that fiscal year would be based on the rate of economic growth during 1978. These data become available early in 1979, just at the moment the federal budgeting process for fiscal year 1980 is getting under way.

The time difference also has a countercyclical advantage. Gross national product increases most rapidly during a boom. This amendment permits the most rapid increase in government spending when the economy is generally over the boom and in a recession -- i.e., 21 months beyond the boom peak (21 months is the interval between the start of a calendar year and the start of the succeeding fiscal year). And gross national product increases most slowly during a recession. That brings about a slower increase in government spending

21 months later, when the economy is likely to be past the recession and entering the most rapid phase of the ensuing recovery.

Government spending is defined in this amendment as "total outlays" in order to cover as fully as possible all spending by the government other than debt redemption. Because emergency outlays are excluded, the emergency provision in Section 3 cannot be used to raise the limit for years following the emergency period.

Inflation More Than Three Per Cent. If inflation is more than three per cent, spending still may rise, but the rate of growth will not be quite so fast as the rate of growth in nominal gross national product. Congress, therefore, will have a strong incentive to reduce inflation, to hold down spending, and to cut any deficit. The three per cent cushion provides ample room for unavoidable zigzags in inflation from year to year, and for errors in statistical measurement. At the same time, the inflation penalty in this section establishes a strong pressure for responsible management of the federal budget while not depriving Congress of the necessary flexibility in adjusting to changing conditions. A reduction in the government's share of gross national product should be achieved gradually, to permit an orderly adjustment by employees,

employers, consumers, and investors. This is why the spending limit is reduced gently -- but steadily. Also: the higher the inflation rate, the greater the incentive for Congress to reduce inflation. For example, if real gross national product goes up by four per cent per year and the nominal gross national product goes up by 11 per cent, inflation is seven per cent. The permitted maximum increase in government spending would be ten per cent instead of 11 per cent -- a reduction of one-tenth. If nominal gross national product goes up by 15 per cent, inflation is 11 per cent. The permitted maximum increase in government spending would be 13 per cent, instead of 15 per cent, a reduction of slightly more than one-eighth.

For simplicity, inflation is defined as the difference between the percentage increase in the current dollar value of the gross national product and the percentage increase in the real gross national product. This is arithmetically slightly different from the usual definition of inflation as the rate of change of the implicit price index. (See "Appendix A".)

#### SECTION 2. HANDLING OF SURPLUS.

This section simply makes explicit that any surplus must be used to reduce the debt of the United States.

The section is fully consistent with current practices

regarding management of the public debt. Once the debt is eliminated, this would permit further reductions in taxes.

### SECTION 3. EMERGENCY PROVISION.

Any workable limitation on spending must provide for emergency situations, of which the obvious and the most extreme would be the outbreak of a major war. This amendment provides for such situations by building on present practice, under which the President declares an emergency and the Congress may then authorize expenditures in excess of the limit to meet the emergency. In order to deter the use of this provision to thwart the intent of the amendment, the amount of emergency outlays must be specified, the authority must expire at the end of each fiscal year and must be renewed if the need for emergency funds continues, and the emergency outlays may not be included in the base for calculating the spending limit for future years.

#### SECTION 4. PERMANENT CHANGE.

Because of the year-to-year "linkage" in the limit mechanism, a change in the limit for any single year will affect subsequent years. Such a change should be made only when it has widespread public support. This section, therefore, requires a three-fourths vote of both Houses of
Congress plus approval by the Legislatures of a majority
of the States.

Though a "change" may, of course, be either an increase or a decrease, this section has to do primarily with increases. The reason is that a decrease for any current fiscal year can be achieved by a simple majority of both Houses of Congress voting total outlays below the permissible limit. However, this section makes it possible for a Congress to ask the States to approve decreases that will apply to one or more future years.

# SECTION 5. PROTECTION OF GRANTS TO STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

This section guarantees State and local governments their current share of federal spending for six years. Thereafter, it permits reductions in their share to take place but only if that reduces total federal spending dollar for dollar. It thus avoids any incentive for further concentration of spending in Washington at the expense of the States and local units of government.

# SECTION 6. PROTECTION OF STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AGAINST IMPOSED COSTS.

This section prevents the Federal Government from imposing costs on State and local governments without compensating them. This closes a loophole by which the limit on federal spending might be circumvented.

### SECTION 7. METHOD OF ENFORCEMENT.

The public needs assurance that the spending limit will be enforced. The Judiciary is the established agency of the Government for enforcing the Constitution. At the same time, it is desirable not to abuse the courts with a multitude of nuisance suits. This section allows only Members of Congress to have standing to sue and concentrates these suits in the District of Columbia. Though citizens cannot sue individually, as would be desirable in principle, any of their representatives has standing to do so.

The Treasurer of the United States already is entrusted with the legal responsibility for disbursing federal monies. The Treasurer is now personally responsible for debts exceeding the debt limit. Hence, the Treasurer

clearly seems to be the appropriate officer to be named as a defendant and to be charged with the responsibility of carrying out any resulting court order.

This section prohibits the court from specifying the particular outlays to be made or reduced. Such fiscal management is and should continue to be a legislative and executive responsibility. Congress may legislate which outlays the Treasurer shall reduce and by how much. Permitting any correction to be made over a three-year period provides more than enough flexibility.

## APPENDIX A

For example, if the dollar value of gross national product goes up by 11 per cent and real gross national product goes up by four per cent, the rate of change of the implicit price index would be calculated by dividing 1.11 by 1.04, giving an inflation rate of 6.73 per cent, rather than subtracting 1.04 from 1.11, giving an inflation rate of seven per cent. As this example indicates, the two measures of inflation differ by a percentage equal to the rate of real growth. For four per cent real growth, the inflation rate of three per cent used in the amendment amounts to a rate of change of the implicit price index of 2.88 per cent.

# SIMULATION OF OPERATION OF LIMIT OVER TEN-YEAR PERIOD WITH STABLE INFLATION OF 8%

# Assumptions:

Growth in real gross national product 3.0% Growth in nominal gross national product 11% Spending assumed always equal to outlay limit

### PERCENTAGE INCREASE

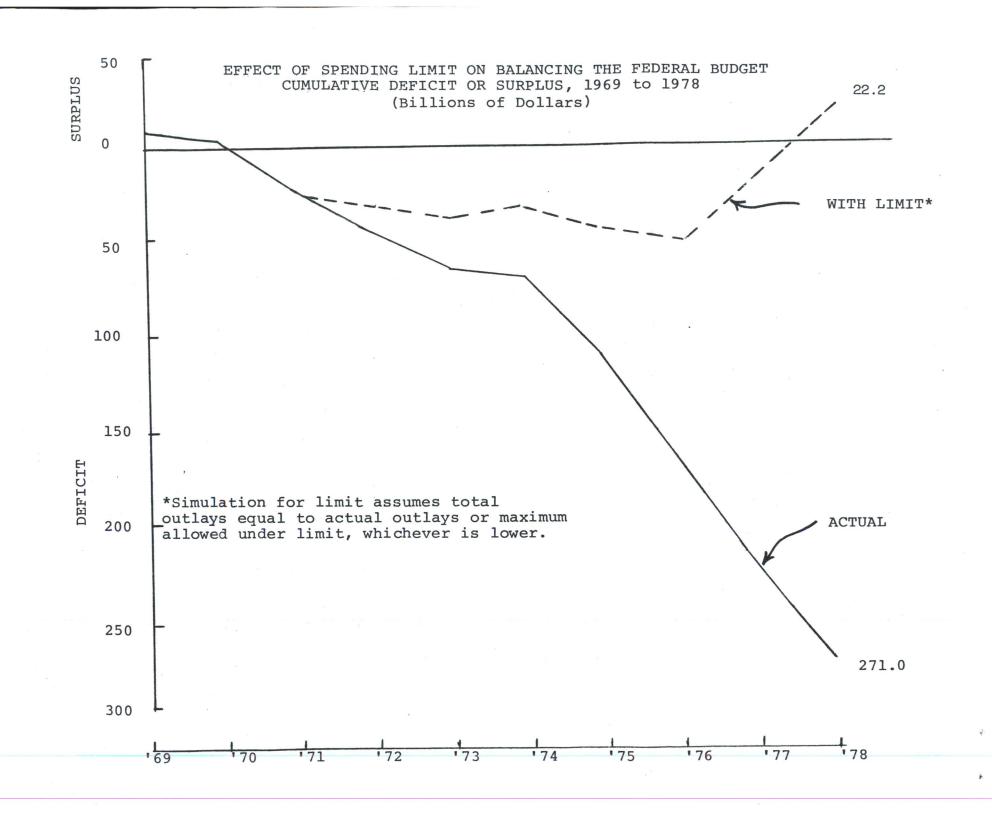
	Nominal GNP	Spending Limit	Spending as Per Cent of GNP
1	11.0%	9.75%	21.3%
2	11.0%	9.75%	21.1%
3	11.0%	9.75%	20.9%
4	11.0%	9.75%	20.6%
5	11.0%	9.75%	20.4%
6	11.0%	9.75%	20.2%
7	11.0%	9.75%	19.9%
8	11.0%	9.75%	19.7%
9	11.0%	9.75%	19.5%
10	11.0%	9.75%	19.3%

### SIMULATION OF OPERATION OF PROPOSED LIMITATION FOR 1969 TO 1978

(Simulation for limit assumes total outlays equal to actual outlays or maximum allowed under limit, whichever is lower; assumes receipts equal to actual receipts; assumes gross national product equal to actual gross national product.)

				DEFICIT Billions of \$				
	Billions of \$		Percentage Increase			Per Cent of GNP		
	Actual	Limit	Actual	Limit	Actual	Limit	Actual	Limit
1969	\$184.5	\$184.5	3.2%	3.2%	20.4%	20.4%	-\$ 3.3*	-\$ 3.3*
1970	196.6	196.6	6.6	6.6	20.5	20.5	2.9	2.9
1971	211.4	210.8	7.5	7.2	20.7	20.7	23.0	22.4
1972	232.0	220.1	9.7	4.4	20.9	19.8	23.4	11.5
1973	247.1	237.0	6.5	7.7	20.0	19.2	14.9	4.8
1974	271.1	260.2	9.7	9.8	19.9	19.1	4.7	- 4.7*
1975	334.2	288.4	23.3	10.8	22.9	19.8	45.2	7.4
1976	373.7	307.1	11.8	6.5	23.1	18.9	66.4	7.1
1977	411.4	327.4	10.1	6.6	22.5	17.9	45.0	-30.4*
1978	461.2	362.1	12.1	10.6	22.6	17.7	48.8	-39.9*
				Cumula	tive Defic	cit 1969-78	271.0	-22.2

<sup>\*</sup>Surplus



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