1999 SENATE FINANCE AND TAXATION

SB 2385

1999 SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

BILL/RESOLUTION NO. SB2385

Senate Finance and Taxation Committee

☐ Conference Committee

Hearing Date February 1, 1999

Tape Number	Side A	Side B	Meter #		
1	X		1275-4568		
		/			
Committee Clerk Signature Shula Wald					

Minutes:

SENATOR URLACHER opened the hearing on SB2385: A BILL RELATING TO THE CORPORATE INCOME TAX; TO PROVIDE FOR APPLICATION; AND TO PROVIDE FOR EFFECTIVE DATE.

SENATOR SCHOBINGER testified on SB2385 and asked the committee to consider an amendment to the bill. (See attached testimony)

REP. BEN TOLLEFSON testified in support of SB2385 and stated how can we make up those funds that have been supplying many dollars to the budget and to the State of ND. What we need to do is bring greater opportunity to the State of ND. Smaller corporations contribute a great number of dollars to the fund. Corporate taxes are paid by many groups in the state, small and large. This bill is an important issue for the growth of enterprise within this state.

SENATOR REDLIN stated his concern for the bill when I find that the corporate income tax brings 102 million dollars per biennium into our general fund. 80% of the corporate tax comes from out-of-state corporations, whose stockholders are mostly out of state. I believe with the loss of corporate tax, it would mean an increase in many taxes right now to compensate for this tremendous loss. The sales tax increase would be about 15%, income tax increase 27%, vehicle excise tax increase 100%, to try to put together the kind of the things we are getting out of this form of tax. It would be a mistake to wipe out one of the fine sources of revenue because it is a legitimate way to help with our problems of maintaining schools, etc.

REP. THORPE testified and asked for a DO NOT PASS. North Dakota's total biannual corporate income tax collections are 102 million dollars. In 75%-85% of this amount collected is from corporations who operate in many states, not just ND. How can we make up the loss of revenue. ND would have to have an at least 90% increase in economic growth in order to make up that 102 million dollars. It would be difficult to accomplish this with our small population in the state.

SENATOR SCHOBINGER asked if there are other bills coming through the Legislature that are trying to reverse the trend regarding loss of population in ND.

REP. THORPE replied there is one bill coming up in IBL on the House side to do with some increases in minimum wage and indexing base wage. We are ranked 50th in the nation in how our people are paid on average.

SENATOR SCHOBINGER asked if the increase in the minimum wage have any real effect on the out migration of young people. REP. THORPE replied we have had only one raise in minimum wage in 10 years and it is nowhere near covering the poverty level of what it takes to make a living.

SENATOR STENEHJEM asked if it was the sales tax that we were going to address to fund this whole bill, what would our end sales tax have to be. Would it be 15% of sales or 5.7%.

REP. THORPE replied if we address sales tax only we have to raise it from 5% to 5 3/4%.

JOHN RISCH, Legislative Director for United Transportation Union testified in opposition to SB2385. (See attached testimony) It would make the budget situation dramatically worse in the ND. Our corporate income tax is a tax that only taxes profitable corporations. If a corporation is struggling or not making any money, they are free from paying corporate taxes. If this bill did pass, we could repeal the corporate income tax and not one new job would be created in the state because of it.

SENATOR SCHOBINGER asked what is the average salary at Menard's and Wal-Mart. Do you agree stock prices are directly related to earnings. Are corporations made up of individuals.

JOHN RISCH replied I suspect Wal-Mart and Menard's do what most businesses do in the state and pay as little as they possibly can to their employees. Stock prices profits have a direct effect on the price in value and how stock prices go up, but not always. Corporations are made up of individuals who have ownership in the corporation and buy stock, as well as individuals. If this bill passes the person that gains the most is the chairman of the board of the corporation.

SENATOR STENEHJEM asked who pays the corporate income taxes.

JOHN RISCH replied it comes out of the corporate treasury.

SENATOR STENEHJEM asked how the money got into the corporate treasury.

JOHN RISCH replied the money gets into the corporate treasury from profits.

SENATOR STENEHJEM asked where do the profits come from.

JOHN RISCH replied through people.

SENATOR STENEHJEM stated the corporate federal tax collections are going down and the individual taxes are going up. If you can take the tax and remove it from the people by 1 time they don't realize they are paying it. The corporations pass the tax through and every time there is another tax put on the corporation, when I go buy another stick of gum at the store it costs me more money because I am the consumer and I have to pay it. On the bottom end you charge more corporate income tax and it is reflected in the prices that every consumer pays for every product that he buys. Depending upon how the formula was worked in your example, if they calculate it the right way, my share of paying the taxes should go up all the time because I cannot pass it to anyone because I am the end consumer. In the end, it is the consumer that is going to pay.

JOHN RISCH replied often times when the corporation is making a profit, the taxes are paid out of the profits.

RUTH STEFONOWICZ, ND EDUCATION ASS'N testified in opposition to SB2385, stating that taking away corporate income taxes would not help the situation of salaried teachers in ND. SENATOR URLACHER closed the hearing on SB2385.

DISCUSSION 2-3-99 A MOTION TO PUT AMEND ON WAS MADE BY SEN STENEHJEM, AND SECONDED BY SEN. WARDNER. 7 Y 0 N FOR AMENDMENTS. A MOTION TO DO PASS AS AMENDED WAS MADE BY SEN STENHJEM AND SECONDED BY SEN SCHOBINGER. 4 Y 3 N CARRIER WILL BE SEN SCHOBINGER.

FISCAL NOTE

carri originar ar	d 14 copies)							
Bill/Resolution No.	:	A	mendment to	o:SI	B 2385			
Requested by Legis	slative Council		Date	of Reques	t: <u>2/11/99</u>			
school districts details to assis adequately add Narrative: If include the por	e the fiscal impact (i s. Please provide br t in the budget proceduress the fiscal impact enacted as amended tential positive impact fect in dollar amount	eakdowns, if appro- ess. In a word pro- et of the measure. I SB 2385 would a cts of economic de	opriate, show cessing form	ving salarie at, add line general fun	es and wages, ope es or space as nee	erating expenses, edded or attach a su	quipmen oplement	at, or other al sheet to
2. State fiscal ch		Biennium	1	999-2001	Biennium	2001-	03 Bieni	nium
	General Fund	Other Funds	Genera		Other Funds	General Fur		ther Funds
Revenues			-\$4.08	million		-\$38.76 milli	on	
Expenditures								
			ct for your a	gency of di	epartment:			
b. For c. For	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu	nnium:(Indicate to nium:(Indicate to nium:	the portion o	of this amo		the 1999-2001 e		
b. For c. For	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu	nnium:(Indicate to	the portion of	of this amo	ount included in	the 1999-2001 e		budget:)
b. For c. For	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu and school district 1997-99 Bienniu	(Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: fiscal effect in dolum) School	the portion of	of this amo	ount included in	2001-0	xecutive	budget:)
b. For c. For 4. County, city,	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu and school district 1997-99 Bienniu	(Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: fiscal effect in dolum) School	the portion of the po	of this amo	ount included in	2001-0	xecutive 3 Bienni	budget:) um School
b. For c. For 4. County, city, Count	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu and school district 1997-99 Bienniu	(Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: fiscal effect in dolum) School	the portion of the po	of this amo	ount included in ount included in nium School Districts d: Kalend	2001-0	3 Bienni	budget:) um School
b. For c. For 4. County, city, Count	the 1999-2001 bien the 2001-03 bienniu and school district 1997-99 Bienniu ies Cities nal space is needed	(Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: (Indicate of the inium: fiscal effect in dolum) School	the portion of the po	2001 Bien Cities Signed	ount included in ount included in nium School Districts d: Kalend	2001-0 Counties	3 Bienni	budget:) um School

FISCAL NOTE

	righter and r	1 copies)							
Bill/Reso	olution No.: _	SB 2385		An	nendment to	:			
Requeste	d by Legislati	ve Council		Da	te of Reques	st: <u>1/27/99</u>		_	
scho detai adeq Nar	ol districts. Fils to assist in quately addres rative: If enanues by \$71,6	e fiscal impact (in the budget process the fiscal impact coted, SB 2385 v 600,000 in the 99	reakdowns, if apess. In a word pot of the measure would repeal the 9-01 biennium.	opropriate, sho processing for re. e corporation i This fiscal in	mat, add line	es and wages, opes or space as ne eginning with tages a loss of appropriate the estate of the estate	erating expens eded or attach ex year 2000, ar eximately 70%	es, equipme a supplement and is expected of the antic	ent, or other ntal sheet to
		iennium, but doe		ne potential po	ositive effect	of economic dev	velopment that	may occur.	
2. Stat	e fiscal effect	in dollar amoun	ts: Biennium		1999-2001	Riannium	7/	001-03 Bie	nnium
	-	General Fund	Other Fur	nds Gene	ral Fund	Other Funds			Other Funds
					,600,000				
Revenu	1es		-		,,,,,,,,,,,				
Expend	litures								
				udget for your	agency or d	lepartment:			
	a. For resb. For thec. For the	of 1997-99 bies 1999-2001 bies 2001-03 bienni	nnium:(Indicannium:(Indicanum:	ate the portion	n of this am	lepartment: ount included i			-
	a. For resb. For thec. For the	of 1997-99 bien	nnium:(Indication in ium:(Indication ium:	ate the portion	n of this am n of this am	ount included i	n the 1999-20		e budget:)
	a. For resb. For thec. For the	of 1997-99 bies 1999-2001 bies 2001-03 biennis	nnium:(Indication in ium:(Indication ium:	ate the portion	n of this am	ount included i	n the 1999-20	01 executiv	e budget:)
	a. For resib. For the c. For the	of 1997-99 bies 1999-2001 bies 2001-03 biennis 1 school district 997-99 Bienniu	nnium:(Indication in ium:(Indication ium:	te the portion the the portion dollar amoun	n of this am n of this am ts: 9-2001 Bien	ount included i	200	01 executiv	re budget:)
4. Cou	a. For resib. For the c. For the nty, city, and Counties	of 1997-99 bies 1999-2001 bies 2001-03 biennis 1 school district 997-99 Bienniu	nnium:(Indication in ium:(Indication ium:	te the portion the the portion dollar amoun	n of this am ts: 9-2001 Bien Cities Type	nount included incount included incount included included incount	200	01 executive D1-03 Biens	re budget:)

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE BILL NO. 2385

Page 1, line 1, after "Act" insert "to create and enact a new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code, relating to annual reductions in corporate income tax liability;"

Page 1, line 6, remove "and"

Page 1, line 9, remove "to provide for application; and"

Page 1, line 10, after "date" insert "; and to provide an expiration date"

Page 9, after line 2, insert:

"SECTION 12. A new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code is created and enacted as follows:

<u>Phaseout of corporate income tax.</u> The income tax liability of a corporation as determined under this chapter must be reduced by:

- 1. Twenty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2000.
- 2. Forty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2001.
- 3. Sixty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002.
- 4. Eighty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2003."
- Page 16, line 14, replace "APPLICATION" with "EXPIRATION DATE", replace "This" with "Section 12 of this", and after "for" insert "the first four"
- Page 16, line 15, replace "1999, and for taxable years beginning before January 1," with "2000, and is thereafter ineffective. Sections 1 through 11 and 13 through 19 of this Act are effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004."

Page 16, remove lines 16 and 17

Renumber accordingly

Date:	2/3/99
Roll Call Vote #:	,

1999 SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 2385

Senate Senate Finance and Taxa	tion			Committee
Subcommittee on				
or				
Conference Committee				
Legislative Council Amendment N	lumber _			
Action Taken	Do	Pa	es be an	nended
Motion Made By Len Attne	hjem	Sec By	conded Sem Gel	rhinger
Senators	Yes	No	Senators	Yes No
SENATOR URLACHER		V		
SENATOR CHRISTMANN	V .			
SENATOR SCHOBINGER	V			
SENATOR STENEHJEM		1		
SENATOR WARDNER				
SENATOR KINNOIN	1			
SENATOR KROEPLIN				
	+			
	_			
Total (Yes)	4	No	3	
Absent				
Floor Assignment	n. Sa	hvh	inger	
If the victoric on an amendment hi	riefly indica	ate inten	t:	

Module No: SR-24-1994 Carrier: Schobinger Insert LC: 90502.0101 Title: .0200

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

SB 2385: Finance and Taxation Committee (Sen. Urlacher, Chairman) recommends AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS and when so amended, recommends DO PASS (4 YEAS, 3 NAYS, 0 ABSENT AND NOT VOTING). SB 2385 was placed on the Sixth order on the calendar.

Page 1, line 1, after "Act" insert "to create and enact a new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code, relating to annual reductions in corporate income tax liability;"

Page 1, line 6, remove "and"

Page 1, line 9, remove "to provide for application; and"

Page 1, line 10, after "date" insert "; and to provide an expiration date"

Page 9, after line 2, insert:

"SECTION 12. A new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code is created and enacted as follows:

<u>Phaseout of corporate income tax.</u> The income tax liability of a corporation as determined under this chapter must be reduced by:

- 1. Twenty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2000.
- 2. Forty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2001.
- 3. Sixty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002.
- 4. Eighty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2003."
- Page 16, line 14, replace "APPLICATION" with "EXPIRATION DATE", replace "This" with "Section 12 of this", and after "for" insert "the first four"
- Page 16, line 15, replace "1999, and for taxable years beginning before January 1," with "2000, and is thereafter ineffective. Sections 1 through 11 and 13 through 19 of this Act are effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004."

Page 16, remove lines 16 and 17

Renumber accordingly

Module No: SR-27-2465 Carrier: Schobinger

Insert LC: 90502.0101 Title: .0200

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

SB 2385: Finance and Taxation Committee (Sen. Urlacher, Chairman) recommends AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS and when so amended, recommends DO PASS (4 YEAS, 3 NAYS, 0 ABSENT AND NOT VOTING). SB 2385 was placed on the Sixth order on the calendar.

Page 1, line 1, after "Act" insert "to create and enact a new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code, relating to annual reductions in corporate income tax liability;"

Page 1, line 6, remove "and"

Page 1, line 9, remove "to provide for application; and"

Page 1, line 10, after "date" insert "; and to provide an expiration date"

Page 9, after line 2, insert:

"SECTION 12. A new section to chapter 57-38 of the North Dakota Century Code is created and enacted as follows:

Phaseout of corporate income tax. The income tax liability of a corporation as determined under this chapter must be reduced by:

- Twenty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 1. 2000.
- 2. Forty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2001.
- 3. Sixty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002.
- Eighty percent for the first taxable year beginning after December 31. 4. 2003.
- Page 16, line 14, replace "APPLICATION" with "EXPIRATION DATE", replace "This" with "Section 12 of this", and after "for" insert "the first four"
- Page 16, line 15, replace "1999, and for taxable years beginning before January 1," with "2000, and is thereafter ineffective. Sections 1 through 11 and 13 through 19 of this Act are effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2004."

Page 16, remove lines 16 and 17

Renumber accordingly

1999 TESTIMONY

SB 2385

TESTIMONY SENATE BILL 2385 PREPARED BY REPRESENTATIVE ELWOOD THORPE MONDAY - FEBRUARY 1, 1999

Chairman Urlacher and members of the committee. For the record my name is Elwood Thorpe from District 5.

I am here before you to alert you to some things that I believe are imperative to know before you can make a educated vote on this particular bill.

North Dakota's total biennial corporate income tax collections are \$102 million. 75-85 Percent of this \$102 million collected is from corporations who operate in many states, not just North Dakota.

Which of the following would you want to do to replace the lost revenue?

North Dakota would have to increase the sales tax from 5% to 5.67% to replace the lost revenue.

North Dakota would need to increase the income tax from 14% to 17.5% to replace the lost revenue.

Or North Dakota would have to have a 9% increase in economic growth in order to make up this \$102 million lost revenue.

Chairman and members of the committee I ask you for a DO NOT PASS on Senate Bill 2385.

united transportation union



750 Augsburg Avenue Bismarck, ND 58504 Office: 701-223-0061 Fax: 701-223-0061 E-mail: JohnRisch@aol.com

Testimony of John Risch
Before the Senate Committee on
Finance a Taxation
Opposing Senate Bill 2385
February 1, 1999

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is John Risch. I am the North Dakota Legislative Director of the United Transportation Union. The UTU is the largest rail labor union in North America. Our membership includes conductors, engineers, switchmen, trainmen and yardmasters.

The UTU opposes this bill for several reasons:

IOHN RISCH

egislative Director

DAKOTA LEGISLATIVE BOARD

- 1. If this bill passes it will make North Dakota's budget problems worse. Show graph.
- 2. This bill would grant total income tax relief only to "profitable" corporations. Struggling corporations would not benefit. The beauty of our current income tax is, profitable businesses pay and unprofitable ones don't.
- 3. The bill is bad public policy. It grants tax breaks to established businesses that have no obligation to reinvest any of it in our state. One could argue that this bill will simply take corporate North Dakota off the income tax roles and not one new job will be created. Discuss BNSF. 3290
- 4. Corporations already can get some of their income tax rebated through income tax credits for job training and other corporate welfare programs.
- 5. Businesses are not paying their historical share of taxes now. Show chart.

When you think about the current condition of North Dakota's economy there are segments that are in trouble.

Certainly our state's farmers need help, but do Monsanto and Cargill need new tax breaks?

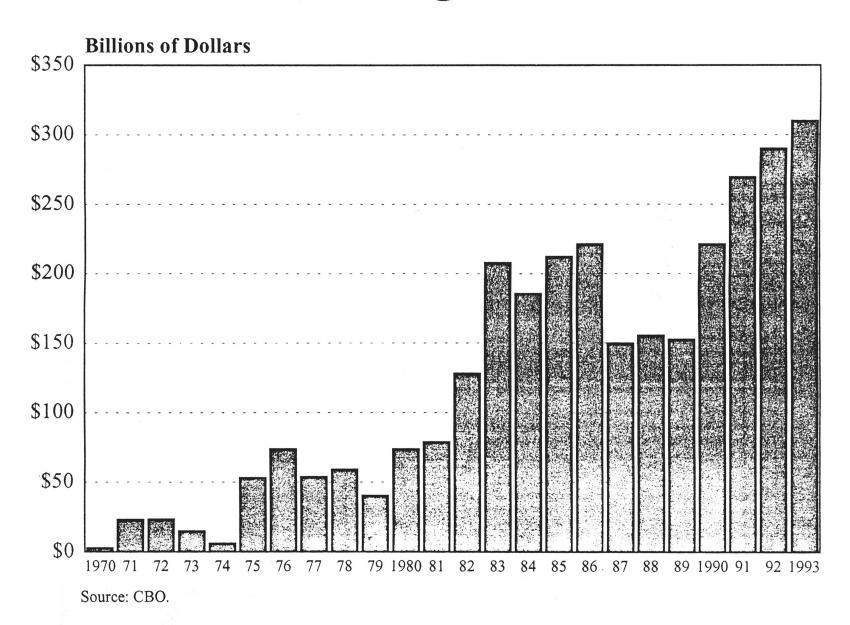
Certainly low-paid workers need help, but do Walmart and Menards need to be taken off the income tax roles?

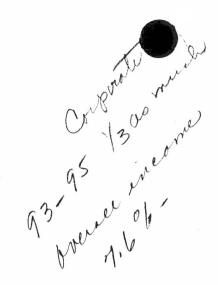
I've been visiting with my membership about this bill and the probability that if it passes taxes on them will need to be raised to cover the cost. It's an understatement to say they are less than supportive of the bill.

The fundamental issue of this proposal is tax fairness. Is it fair to take the most prosperous off the tax roles, at the expense of the/of us?

We say no and oppose the bill for that reason. Saved:2385

Annual Budget Deficit





GENERAL FUND REVENUES (In Millions)

			•	, ,	
	ACTUAL	ACTUAL	ESTIMATE	ESTIMATE	
REVENUE SOURCE	<u> 1993-95</u>	1995-97	<u> 1997-99</u>	1999-01	
					ن
Sales and Use Taxes	\$ 551.5 \$	605.6	673.1	\$ 754.1	7
Individual IncomerTax	279.8	315.5	355.9	381.0	+
Corporate Income Tax	94.8	99.3	115.2	102.3	-
Cigarette and Tobacco Tax	44.8	45.0	44.8	44.7	
Oil Taxes	52:9	55.0∻⊧	44.9	43.7	
Coal Taxes	46.8	46.4	46.2	46.9	
Insurance Premium Tax	32.1	36.9	34.8	35.8	
Departmental Collections	22.1	28.7	32.3	32.3	
Interest Income	13.6	15.6	18.6	15.0	
Bank of North Dakota Profits	14.1	50.3	29.6	60.0	
Mill and Elevator Profits		1:0	3.0	3.0	
Other Revenue	46.6	43.7	48.1	45.7	
Transfers	50.1	38.4	36.9	3.0	
TOTAL REVENUES	\$ 1,249.2 \$	1,381.4	\$ 1,483.4	\$ 1,567.5	

Other revenue includes business privilege tax, wholesale liquor tax, gaming tax, mineral leasing fees and gas tax administration transfers.

MONEY MATTERS

Published by
The North Dakota Office of
Management and Budget

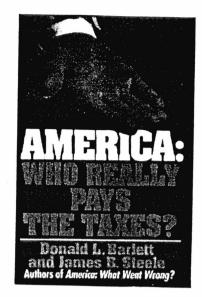
Rod Backman, Director Pam Sharp, Deputy Director

Copies of this publication
may be obtained by
referring requests to:
Office of Management and Budget
600 East Boulevard Ave., Dept. 110
Bismarck, ND 58505-0400
(701)328-4904
http://www.state.nd.us

America: Who Really Pays The Taxes By Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994)

A Book Summary for Busy People

This is an important book. America: Who Really Pays The Taxes is the sequel to America: What Went Wrong which looked at the disastrous impact of 1980s public policies on jobs. This book is full of great examples and anecdotes. This summary tries to give the busy reader an accounting of the main points and lessons.



Corp. Fayers

Main Arguments

The U.S. has a two-tier, two-class tax system: one for the wealthy ("Privileged Person's Tax Law") and one for everyone else ("Common Person's Tax Law"). When Congress pushes for progressive tax reforms it's called "class warfare" -- when the tax burden is shifted onto the middle class and poor, it's labeled "tax reform." (Quote p. 65)

Over the last 30 years, the tax burden has been transferred:

- * From the wealthy to the middle class and poor;
- * From corporations to individuals;
- * From foreign corporations to domestic corporations;
- * From foreign investors to U.S. workers;
- * From multinational corporations to medium sized and small businesses;
- * From the federal government to state and local government whose taxes are the "most unfair of all."

Chapter 4 - Why Corporations Pay Less

Soaring deductions! "If corporations in 1994 paid taxes at the same rate as corporations did through the 1950s, the U.S. treasury would collect an extra \$250 billion a year" (p. 140).

Tax burden Shift: Percent of total federal tax collections

total led	cial lax	collections
From corporations	From	Individuals
1940s 33%		44%
1950s 31%		49%
1960s 27%		
1970s 21%		57%
1980s/90s 15%		66% (Av.\$178 billion a yr.)
post 86 18%		73%
		82% (\$550 billion a yr.)
excise taxes and other revenues make	e up the	difference to 100%

(excise taxes and other revenues make up the difference to 100%)

Corporate taxes have declined as a result of foreign deductions, net operating loss deductions), bloated executive salaries, runaway interest payments (on leveraged buyout debt). "Money that once went to the U.S. Treasury in taxes now goes to the people and institutions that own the corporate debt" (p. 150). Case study of "natural resource partnerships and special treatment (pp. 158-163).

- * Estimates of revenue from corporations disastrously low.
- * The interest deduction once served a purpose: now very destructive.
- * Case study of Chapter S Corp. loopholes (pp.167-173)



Corporate Tax Politics

ON APRIL 15, 1994, while millions of U.S. citizens struggled with Byzantine forms and rising tax rates, the chieftains of the largest U.S. corporations enjoyed what is for them an increasingly benevolent Tax Code.

The tax burden on corporations, particularly large corporations, is declining while it gets tougher each year for average U.S. families to meet their tax obligations.

Individuals in 1993 have paid up to 40 percent of their income to the federal government. When combined with rising local and state taxes, for many citizens this will have meant handing over 50 percent of their income to the government. And this does not even include user fees — the hidden taxes politicians have been quietly hiking for the last decade for services such as driver's license renewals, marriage certificates or emergency medical care. The rise in these fees has greatly outpaced the rate of inflation in recent years.

Corporations, in contrast, will officially be required to pay only 35 percent of their income in federal taxes, making the U.S. corporate tax rate among the lowest in the industrial world. Many European countries impose a 40 percent corporate tax rate; and Germany taxes corporations at a 50 percent rate.

But the percentage rate itself belies the true corporate taxation rate, because in practice corporations almost never pay the full rate, thanks to myriad loopholes unavailable to individuals. Companies can deduct rent, repairs and the infamous "business lunch." Corporations can reincorporate or move overseas to escape tax liability; they can hide assets; and it is well documented that multinational corporations frequently underreport the amount of income earned in the United States.

The Washington, D.C.-based Tax Foundation estimates that when all deductions and loopholes are accounted for, the effective federal corporate income tax rate is only 23 percent. And the corporate share of the federal government's general tax fund collection fell from 33 percent in the 1940s to 15 percent in the 1980s, where it remains today, according to Philadelphia Inquirer reporters Donald Barlett and James Steele's new book, America: Who Really Pays the Taxes?

"If corporations in 1994 paid taxes at the same rate as corporations did through the 1950s, the U.S. Treasury would collect an extra \$250 billion a year," Barlett and Steele write. "That's two and one half times as much money as corporations presently pay in taxes."

Individuals increasingly bear the burden of federal, state and local taxation because big business lobbyists have rigged the entire structure of taxation to benefit large corporations. These lobbyists swarm Capitol Hill daily, pressuring policymakers for special tax treatment for cigarette advertising, savings and loan operators and agribusiness. Each loophole adds another layer of complexity, benefiting big business at the expense of individuals and turning the Tax Code into what President George Bush's Tax Commissioner called "a virtually impenetrable maze." Congress has compounded the problem by enacting 10 major revisions to the Tax Code since 1981, further diminishing respect for the system and undermining the willingness of even the most law-abiding taxpayers to properly calculate their tax burden.

When Jimmy Carter called the Tax Code "a disgrace to the human race," even he didn't foresee the expansion and extension of corporate tax loopholes. An illuminating example is Section 936 of the Tax Code, a \$3 billion a year tax break for corporations that operate in the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico that allows them to take a tax credit for the amount of profit they make in that country [See "Losing Jobs to 936," Multinational Monitor, July/August 1993]. Giant U.S. pharmaceutical corporations are the principal beneficiaries of this largesse. The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, found that the tax savings of the pharmaceutical company Pfizer was roughly \$156,000 per worker, or six times the average compensation for workers at Pfizer's Puerto Rican operations. This tax dodge, while draining the Treasury, is in no way linked to the number of jobs corporations create for the depressed Puerto Rican economy.

With a multi-million dollar lobbying effort, the drug industry convinced the Clinton Administration to retain its Puerto Rican subsidy. In the battle to defend this corporate subsidy, the industry enlisted lobbying firms, law firms, former members of Congress and other wheeler-dealers. And Section 936 is only one example: the Office of Management and Budget estimates that in 1994 taxpayers will have to make up for \$53.3 billion in tax breaks for corporations.

Hundreds of big companies in a broad range of industries have manipulated the tax system to extreme advantage. Barlett and Steele document some major taxscamming corporations that have managed to keep their U.S. tax rate in the single digits and their overall tax burden below 15 percent:

- Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines takes in about \$1 billion in gross receipts annually. and earns tens of millions in profits — but it doesn't pay a cent of U.S. income tax. Although the company and its ships are based in Miami, it is incorporated in Liberia and registers its ships in the Bahamas, Liberia and Norway. The beneficiaries of this creative scheme are two super-rich family investors in the cruise line: the Wilhelmsens of Norway, and the Pritzkers of Chicago.
- In 1991 and 1992, Chase Manhattan Bank reported income before taxes of \$1.5 billion. On this sum, it paid \$25 million in U.S. income taxes, a rate of 1.7 percent. Chase did pay \$170 million in foreign taxes - bringing its overall tax rate to 13.3 percent.
- For 1991 and 1992, Texaco reported income before taxes of \$2.7 billion. It paid \$237 million in U.S. income taxes, a rate of 8.8 percent, and an additional \$103 million in foreign taxes, for a total global tax rate of just 12.6 percent.

And so the great corporate tax loophole machine just keeps rolling on, unchanged under an administration allegedly committed to, in the words of President Clinton, "breaking the stranglehold ... the lobbyists have on our government." Despite promises of tax reform, the so-called "Tax Freedom" day for individuals keeps moving back, meaning that if an average middle income taxpayer's 1993 salary, starting from January 1, went solely to pay taxes, it would have taken until May 3 for that taxpayer to meet all the federal, state and local payments due. By comparison, Tax Freedom day was March 8 in 1940, and it would have been sometime in April before the 1980s.

- Carl Mayer Carl Mayer is a law professor at Hofstra College.

SENATE BILL 2385

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate finance and tax committee. My name is Randy Schobinger and I am the state senator representing District 3.

North Dakota has three extremely valuable exports. Two we want to enhance and one we don't. Exports of agricultural products and energy resources benefit our great state. The third and fastest growing export is -- unfortunately -- our young people.

The purpose of SENATE BILL 2385, which eliminates the corporate income tax, is to take a first and major step to reduce the export of North Dakota's youth. To do this we must provide opportunities here in North Dakota. That will happen only if new industry chooses to locate here.

I understand there are those who oppose this bill. Some believe we can not afford it. I don't think we can afford not to. Some argue business must pay its "fair share". I believe providing opportunities so our children can remain here is worth a "fair share". Still others ask who else is doing it? I say who cares? We must do what is best for North Dakota and if that means going where others have not; I'm willing to go.

1440

North Dakota has a very diverse educational system yet our economy is not so diverse. The natural result of this is our young people receiving their degrees in North Dakota and finding jobs that fit those degrees in others states. This is unacceptable to me.

This Bill will force us to seriously embark on a path leading us toward a positive future. A future we can forge for ourselves. Failure to do this will leave us adrift with no direction and no plan for the future.

Many towns and cities in our state are desperately trying to impact their future. They can not do it without legislative leadership. They can not set state policy. They can not send the message that North Dakota – THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA – means business. We can and we can begin today by sending a message to the full Senate that this Committee is serious and means business.

If we don't do it, who will? If it isn't done soon, when will it be? If we aren't willing to step out and lead, who is?

Sending this to the full Senate with a DO PASS could very well be the most important message that is sent by this committee this year. We were not sent here to maintain the status quo. I urge us to consider the future of our state. I urge us to ask if we want our youth to have the opportunity to stay here. If our answer is yes – then let's vote YES and send this bill to the rest of our colleagues with a firm vote of approval.

Mr. chairman; I would also like the committee to consider an amendment to this bill. It's a simple amendment. My amendment would make the effective date of this bill in 2001. This will allow for the next governor of North Dakota to write his or her budget based on expected revenues and impact of this bill.

Thanks you Mr. Chairman and I'll try to answer any questions I can at this time.

