# STATES <u>CAN</u> FIX THE DEBT

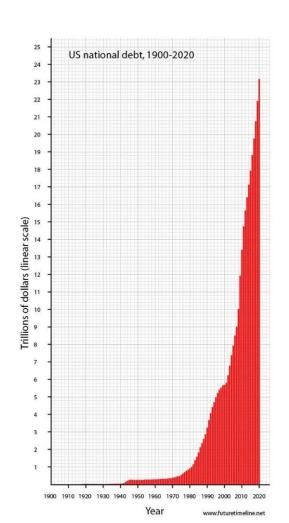
Reforming Washington with the Compact for a Balanced Budget

Nick Dranias

Constitutional Policy Director

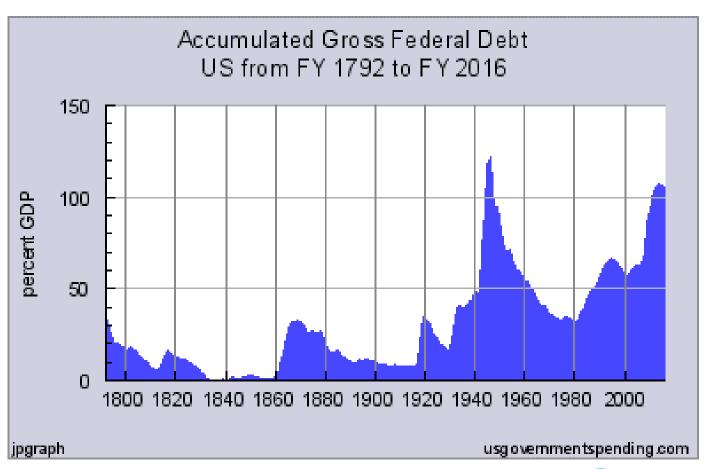


## Welcome to the Desert of the Real





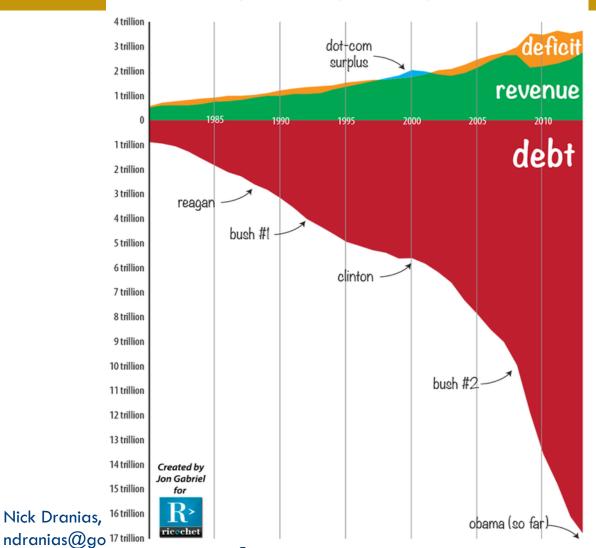
#### Your Future is at Stake





# It Isn't Getting Better

#### america's finances





# Default is Not a Safe Option



The Real Story Of How A Hedge Fund Detained A Vessel In Ghana And Even Went For Argentina's 'Air Force One'



In their drive to extract full compensation from the Argentine government, a hardnosed bunch of distressed debt investors have gone to impressive lengths. They've pursued the country's assets around the globe, attempting to seize the presidential plane and menacing the Argentine booth at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

MARKETS | 10/05/2012 @ 6:50PM | 15,020 views

Now they have a big and bizarre fish on the hook: an Argentine naval vessel. NML



The Fragata Libertad in the distance -Photo credit: El coleccionista



# Washington Won't Tie its Own Hands





### Concentrated Power is the Problem.





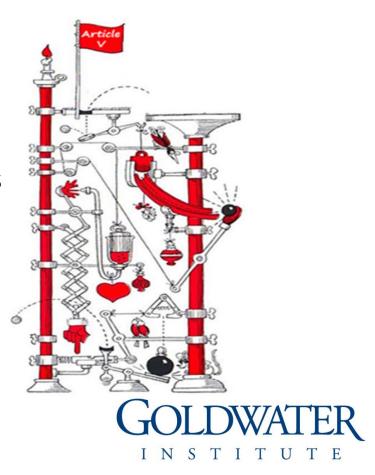
# Article V: One Amendment Power, Initiated Two Ways

□ The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress;

# Patrick Henry had a point...

□ 100+ legislative acts required

- □ 34 state applications
- 1 congressional call
- □ > 26 delegate appointments
- 1 congressional referral
- □ 38 ratifications



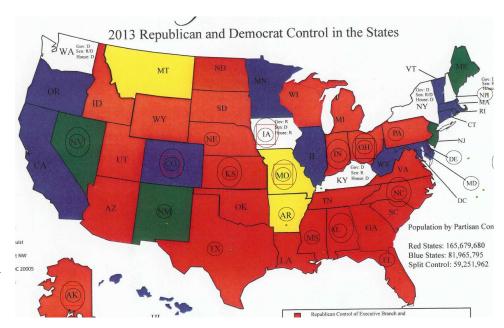
# Legitimate questions

- □ Front End: How long before hitting 34?
  - Friedman/Reagan BBA started in 1970s, still 14 short (at least)
- Middle: What is the amendment?
- Back End: Ratification time?
  - 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment (congressional pay hikes) took 202 years,
     7 months, 12 days.
  - 26<sup>th</sup> Amendment (voting age) was ratified in 3 months 8 days.
  - Seven amendments took less than one year.
  - Fifteen amendments took between one and four years.
  - Average of non-outliers is just over 2 years.



# 20 BBA Applications?

- 5 seeking any kind of BBA.
- 5 seeking BBA with exceptions for national emergencies
- 6 seeking BBA
   contingent on congress
   failing to propose a BBA
- □ 4 seeking specific BBAs





# The Compact Approach to Article V

#### **State Compact**

- A2 Proposed amendment
- A4 Compact Commission
- **A5** Application to Congress
- A6 Delegate appointment
- A7 Convention rules
- **A8** Scope limitations
- A9 Ratification

COMPACT FOR AMERICA

# Congressional Resolution

- s<sub>1</sub> Call
- **52** Ratification referral





#### The Compact Approach to Article V is Realistic

- Reduces lobbying requirements by 60%.
  - Cuts number of enactments down to 39 from 100+
- Legislators more familiar with compacts than Article V itself.
  - 200+ compacts are currently in existence.
  - Average state a party to 20+ compacts.
- Governors provide leadership.
- Informed citizens favor 2 to 1.



## A Compact Can Find the Hole in the Line



- Not just a stack of paper.A Compact is an institution.
- Fills all voids before Congress can.
- Congressional resolution requires no more than simple majorities.
- Can be run at any time and needs to be run just once.



# A Compact Resolves All Uncertainty

#### **Questions**

- What are the logistics?
- Who decides logistics?
- What keeps the convention on target?

#### **CBB** Answers

- All are specified.
- States and Congress.
- □ SIXTEEN safeguards



# **Sixteen** Safeguards

- Safeguard #1: Overwhelming Political Will.
- Safeguard #2: Convention Processes and Logistics are Fully Codified and Regulated.
- Safeguard #3: The CFA is Constitutionally-Protected Binding State and Federal Law.
- Safeguard #4: Political Ambition of Aspiring Governors.
- Safeguard #5: Convention Cannot Proceed
   Unless Agenda Limited to BBA.
- Safeguard #6: Nullification of Unauthorized
   Delegate and Member State Actions.
- Safeguard #7: Automatic Recall of Rogue Delegates.
- Safeguard #8: Automatic Disqualification of Rogue States.

- Safeguard #9: State Legislatures Can Recall Rogue Delegates.
- Safeguard #10: Time Limited Convention.
- Safeguard #11: Prohibition on Advancing Unauthorized Proposals.
- Safeguard #12: Nullification of Unauthorized Convention Proposals.
- Safeguard #13: Prohibition on
   Ratification of Unauthorized Proposals.
- Safeguard #14: Mandatory Compact
   Enforcement by State Attorney Generals.
- Safeguard #15: Competent Venue
   Selected for Compact Litigation.
- □ Safeguard #16: Commission Intervention.



# It doesn't get much safer...



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#### A BBA that Divides Power is the First Payload

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Section 1. Belanced Budget Requirement. Total autleys of the government of the United States for any fiscal year may not and shall not exceed total receipts of the government of the United States for that fiscal year, unless the excess of outlays over receipts in that fiscal year is financed by public debt issued in strict conformity with this article.

Section 2. Debt Limit. Outstanding public debt may not and shall not exceed authorized public debt, which initially shall be an amount equal to 105 percent of the outstanding public debt on the effective date of ratification of the proposed emergement establishing this article. Authorized public debt may be reduced and thereafter increased up to its aforesaid initial amount as provided by law; however, authorized public debt may not and shall not be increased above its aforesaid initial amount unless such increase is first approved by the legislatures of the several states as provided in Section 3.

Section 3. State Approval Requirement. From time to time, as Congress deems necessary, Congress may increase authorized public debt to an ampaint in excess of the initial amount set by Section 2 only if it first publicly refers to the legislatures of the several states an unconditional, single subject measure proposing the amount of such increase, in such form as provided by law, and the measure is thereafter publicly and unconditionally approved by a simple majority of the total of the legislatures of the several states, in such form as provided respectively by state law, provided that no inducement of pecuniary value shall be demanded, offered, accepted, paid or gifted as a quid pro quo for such approval. If such approval is not obtained within sixty (60) calendar days after referral then the measure shall be deemed disapproved and the authorized public debt shall thereby remain unchanged.

Section 4. Required Impoundments. When the outstanding public debt is above 98 percent of the authorized public debt as determined by the debt limit set by Section 2 at any time during any fiscal year, and should the President determine that expenditures appropriated by law will necessitate borrowing in excess of said limit, the President shall impound any expenditures as necessary and expedient to remain within said limit, impounding expenditures that do not serve core functions of the government of the United States first. The failure of the President to make impounds as provided hereunder shall be considered an imposensible misdemeanor offense.

Section 5. Required Roll Cell Vote for Tax Rate Increases. No bill that provides for a new fee or tax levy or an increase to any existing fee or tax levy, either on a per unit basis or a tax rate percentage basis, shall become law unless approved by a two-thirds roll cell vote of the whole number of each House of Congress. For purposes of this section, a bill that provides for a reduction or elimination of a deduction used to calculate theses upon which a tax rate percentage is applied, a reduction or elimination of a credit applied to the calculated tax, or a new or increased fee charged to defray the cost of services rendered at the recipient's voluntary request shall not be subject to the foregoing roll cell vote requirement.

Section 6. Definitions. For purposes of this article, "public debt" means obligations backed by the full faith and credit of the government of the United States; "outstanding public debt" means all public debt held in government accounts or by the public at any single point in time; "authorized public debt" means the total amount of public debt that may be lawfully issued and outstanding at any single point in time under this article; "total outlays of the government of the United States" means all expenditures of the government of the United States from any source; and "total receipts of the government of the United States" means all tax receipts and other income of the government of the United States, excluding proceeds from the issuance of public debt and proceeds from the incurrence of monetary liabilities by the government of the United States.

Non-gameable, cash flow based restriction of outlays to receipts

Limited revolving line of credit gives Congress another year to get the budget deficit under control.

Debt limit cannot be further lifted without State legislative approval.

The Buck Stops Before the Debt Limit.

- President must propose impoundments
- Congress may override.

Supermajority vote of Congress required for tax rate increases . . .

except for replacement of income tax with sales tax; and elimination of deductions, credits and loopholes.



# Why the CBB is Uniquely Powerful

- Imposes scarcity on debt.
  - Limitless debt is the cause of limitless government.
- Restores a lost check and balance.
  - States regain a portion of their original power before 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment.
- Provides flexibility without loopholes.
  - State approval of debt limit increases can handle any crisis.
- Ensures accountability without playing chicken.
  - Impoundment is a balanced enforcement measure.
- Incentivizes better tax policy.
  - Will bring us closer to fair or flat tax.

