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EXECUTIVE SESSION

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1979

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

The committee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:30 p.m., in Room 2221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, the Hon. Russell B. Long (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Long, Talmadge, Ribicoff, Nelson, Gravel, Byrd, Bentsen, Baucus, Bradley, Dole, Packwood, Danforth, Roth, Chafee, Heinz, Durenberger, Bören and Wallop.

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The Chairman. Can we get back to business? Maybe we can wrap this thing up.

Gentlemen, as far as I am concerned it is up to the committee members. What do you think, Mr. Shapiro, what do you want to know as a guide from the committee?

Mr. Shapiro. The committee having made tentative approval of the reconciliation list, I think what you are left to now are the items not on that list that the senators would like to bring up.

Senator Dole. We have a final vote on the --

Mr. Stern. The vote on Senator Dole's motion to extend

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1 to petroleum,cooke and pitch the 10 percent energy tax credit
2 through 1982 is now 11 to four, so the amendment is agreed to.

3 The Chairman. Senator Gravel, you might want to discuss
4 that item you think is very important.

5 Senator Gravel. We have one sheet prepared on Tax Exempt
6 Bonds. Essentially, what this sheet is, we contacted bond
7 counsel to try to get a feel as to what is happening in the
8 bond market. What we picked up is a variance from what Treasury
9 has been stating. I think you have to realize the bond market
10 in tax exempt has been ever-increasing and obviously the rates,
11 if anybody looks at it, will recognize they have not been going
12 up.

13 We have had two extremely large expansions in the tax
14 exempt bond area. One was for pollution-control equipment
15 which we are financing, that gargantuan undertaking; and the
16 other was with housing mortgage bonds, and that has been expand-
17 ed rapidly in the last couple of years. Neither one has had a
18 detrimental effect or has stopped people from financing schools
19 and what have you.

20 The second paragraph there -- I will read it: -- "The
21 tax exempt bond market has consistently expanded in volume year
22 by year, without affecting interest rates on the tax-exempt
23 bonds. The interest rates on tax-exempt bonds is not tied to
24 the volume of bonds issued, but to the cost of money generally.
25 Treasury and Federal Reserve System do more to affect the

1 interest rate on tax-exempt bonds than any content in the market
2 itself."

3 In the last paragraph, "The market for tax-exempt bonds is not
4 a close market with limited volume all its own, but it is a market
5 like other markets which interacts with markets for other financial
6 assets. The Treasury appears to view this market as closed
7 with a finite possible size in spite of historical effort to the
8 contrary."

9 So, I wanted to enter that into the record with respect to
10 the use of these tax-exempt bonds as a facility.

11 I would like to now -- Mr. Chairman -- just go to the chart
12 and explain something which I think is very critical, because it
13 involves a decision we made in Alaska.

14 Up until now, large hydro developments in the United States
15 have been funded by the Federal Government. In my capacity as
16 chairman on another committee, I initiated a new kind of proposal
17 to create revolving funds where, if a State felt it had a good
18 hydro program, why wait 30 or 40 years for a track record for the
19 Federal Government funding these projects--and it takes 30, 40,
20 50 yeasers to fund a large hydro?-- I want to set it up. If it
21 makes economic sense, why can't you go to the economic marketplace?

22 In this particular case we were able to pass into law,
23 Congress passed in 1976 a law creating a special kind of revolving
24 fund to do this right now. We will be making an announcement on
25 this shortly.

1 The State of Alaska is prepared to go for a private sale in
 2 this regard, to build one of the largest hydro developments in the
 3 country. They are about to go to this. The bond counsel we are
 4 dealing with tell us they can't do this if we don't have tax
 5 exempt; so it means that we won't be able to do it. We will have to
 6 come back through Treasury and every year compete with everybody
 7 else for an appropriation in order to get these bonds.

8 Why is it that we Alaskans are so bullish on hydro? For the
 9 same reason other States are. Senator Ribicoff knows from his own
 10 State, but there is a phenomenon that we have not experienced in
 11 the United States: We are two or three years away from the big dams
 12 this country built, of being paid off. When they are paid off we will
 13 have an interesting phenomenon. We will be charging rates for
 14 energy, and the TVA and in the Columbia River Basin area up
 15 here, but all of a sudden the bonds will be retired and you could
 16 drop it down to 10 percent, literally. Here is what happens: This
 17 column is Cost, \$1.2 billion, \$3 billion, \$4 billion. The next
 18 ten years in our particular project to build it -- it took ten
 19 years to build the project -- during that 10-year period of
 20 construction your line of inflation is constant, or relatively
 21 constant, and it goes up like that.

22 The moment you complete the facility, the construction period
 23 is completed and in place, then you now have your hydroelectric
 24 project producing power. The cost of that power almost remains
 25 constant, just slightly up, because the only thing that is

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1 affected by inflation at that point is the operational cost, and
 2 that is 10 percent of your total cost. So your operational cost
 3 follows inflation, but it is very minor. You have your debts you
 4 are paying, which is a constant. The minute you finish -- I used
 5 20 years, arbitrarily -- 10 years for construction, 20 for
 6 financing -- the minute you pay off your bonds, if you own the hydro-
 7 facility and you went out and financed it, your cost of energy
 8 comes down to 10 percent.

9 We see this constant phenomenon here in two places in the
 10 United States: the TVA area and the Northwest area, Oregon,
 11 Seattle, the State of Washington; they have considerably less energy
 12 cost than anybody else in the United States, and it is because
 13 they have experienced up to this point -- they have experienced
 14 the constant. It has been corrupted by nuclear, but it has been
 15 constant for hydro.

16 The rest of the nation has gone like this (indicating),
 17 following inflation. You want to compare this to other things we
 18 are doing in the bill.

19 We are going to create various types of conventional power
 20 facilities, whether gasification or what have you. The phenomenon
 21 that happens there is that you have a shorter construction period;
 22 but in the plant your debt is probably arbitrarily picked, 50
 23 percent. It could be a little less.

24 Let's say, if it is 50 percent, your debt remains constant
 25 for that period of time; it does not increase or suffer inflation,

1 but your operational cost, the cost of your fuel to fuel that
2 conventional plant, does follow the normal line of inflation.

3 So what happens up here, your operational cost expands; your
4 debt is carried forward and at the time that you retire your plant
5 that is not the dam -- the machines wear out, the process wears
6 out -- you still have to buy fuel to fuel the plant, but now you
7 have to build a new plant.

8 So I left the five-year margin, but you are building the new
9 plant up here at a new, highly inflated cost, which is probably
10 two or three times what the first plant cost.

11 Then you start the same cycle, marching on up with an increas-
12 ing operational cost and a constant debt for the next 20 or 25
13 year period.

14 So you see, once you make the investment in hydro, which is
15 made on a competitive basis, you have immediate benefit juxtaposed
16 to inflation, and then you have a windfall benefit to the consumers
17 who then, because this literally goes on for perpetuity, 100 years
18 or more.-- so that is the advantage of going hydro above all
19 other possibilities.

20 We asked somebody to do some computations. We are spending
21 \$2 billion or \$3 billion in other areas to put together a package
22 that I am suggesting here, which on hydro would probably be a
23 little less than \$2 billion. I would say it would do more good to
24 place this country on a sound competitive footing in the world
25 because if we could double -- here is the chart here -- we have

1 almost 600 geigewatts in total electrical production in the United
2 States; 49 of it comes from combustion engine turbines. This is
3 internal combustion engines, six; 54 from nuclear; 400 is from
4 fossil fuels, coal, oil and gas; 10 -- 54 is hydro, presently.

5 Now, the Corps of Engineers tells us we have a capacity to
6 expand hydro by 153. You can take all of hydro, all of nuclear
7 and probably all of combustion and you can now produce all that
8 for hydro. So that if we do that, make that decision now, whenever
9 we retire these bonds, and we are producing our product in this
10 country and competing with other parts of the world who are not
11 blessed with hydro, we have an advantage, because our people are
12 buying energy at generically a cheaper rate than anybody in the
13 world.

14 This obviously is our motivation in Alaska. We have two
15 projects that have been approved by the Congress; they will fly
16 privately if we get tax exempt; if we don't get tax exempt, we
17 will come to Treasury and wait in line for the next 20 years to get
18 them on line, to get them built, is what it will take.

19 So, to us, this seems logical: give us tax exempt; we will go
20 finance them in the public market, build them right now and begin
21 to enjoy the benefits.

22 Alaska is one of the most high-cost energy areas in the United
23 States; it will always be because we are so far from the market.
24 We have people that are 100 miles from Prudhoe Bay that pay \$2.50
25 for a gallon fuel oil. Then a bottle of propane is \$126 for the

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1 first bottle of propane. This is over 100 miles from Prudhoe Bay.

2 This can be overcome.

3 One project in Alaska will provide us with 70 to 80 percent of
4 all our power. That means then our oil and gas which is shipped
5 out of the South 48 forces out what we don't consume. So it is still
6 a net plus to the national economy and we are building it where
7 the hydro is best built. The low-lead hydro and the concern of
8 Senator Ribicoff -- Senator Nelson, rather -- he just has hydro
9 on existing sites. That does cover most of it, but there are
10 a lot of possible new sites, and the reason why these are not
11 brought into the picture is because it offends some environmentalists,
12 and that is unfortunate, because there is a formula that
13 guarantees there will be very little adverse environmental impact.
14 you cannot build a small hydroelectric plant, 25 megawatts or
15 less, further than 25 miles away, the formula is that. So if it
16 it is 10 megawatts, normally the economics would require it has to
17 be within 10 miles of the community.

18 In places like Connecticut and Rhode Island, where you have a
19 grid system, you have a very dense population, so if you have a
20 nine feet you can build a five megawatt hydro plant with nine feet
21 of water.

22 So, if you can spot these areas without being very offensive,
23 you build these off-the-shelf hydro facilities. They plug right
24 into the existing infrastructural lines that are there, and you
25 just add more hydro to capacity.

1 The New England area is suffering from high cost of imported
2 fuel to power diesel. They are not as good as Alaska, but they
3 are about as good in the country as any other hydro facility.

4 Senator Ribicoff. I think the problem, Mr. Chairman, that
5 you have here is while we are using the tax mechanism, we are
6 really talking about energy. We are not the Energy Committee,
7 but in many ways you are doing more for energy in this committee
8 than the Energy Committee is doing.

9 The problem that has been raised here, you are dealing with
10 the method of developing energy that we know about, we have had
11 experience about. We are talking about exquisite types of energy,
12 like solar and wind and tides, that we have had no experience with
13 on a massive, large-scale basis.

14 To me, I think the least important factor of what we are
15 doing is cost. The most important factor is, how do we produce
16 energy for the basic future of our society? I am not concerned
17 whether Alaska is going to get a benefit, or Louisiana is going
18 to get a benefit. I think the basic objective is what decisions
19 are we making that will help the energy problem anywhere in this
20 nation, that either in conservation or production.

21 The proposal we have adopted, the Nelson proposal on existing
22 dams, my understanding is there are about 3,000 additional sites
23 in this country that can be used for new dams that will produce
24 energy and save about again as much as the Nelson proposal. That
25 is worth doing.

1 To the extent that you are using hydro in Alaska, to that
 2 extent the oil and gas produced in Alaska can be sent to other
 3 places in the United States, so we have to look at this country as
 4 one vast pool, and I want whatever we can develop anywhere in
 5 the United States to be used for the benefit of all the people in
 6 the United States. I think this makes a lot of sense and we in the
 7 Committee from where we sit ought to encourage the development of
 8 more energy.

9 I can't get excited about the doubts raised by the Treasury
 10 Department. If there is a limited amount of available tax exempt
 11 bonds, then we are going to have to make the decision in the States
 12 and in the Country which is the most important priority, and today
 13 the most important priority is energy; and if that is the most
 14 important priority, I would just as soon have tax exempt bonds be
 15 used for that purpose, because without our economy going and doing
 16 some cushioning on inflation, I am sure the studies are being
 17 made by the senator from Texas who is chairman of the Joint Economic
 18 Committee, and the work that I do on the International Trade
 19 Subcommittee, indicates that the greatest cause facing us today in
 20 inflation is the high cost of oil.

21 So that is a problem we are facing today, and I think our
 22 decision is a very important one, and I hope we would go along with
 23 the proposal to use industrial development bonds for the development
 24 of new sites.

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The Chairman. How much additional cost would it take to vote this amendment? How much would that cost?

Mr. Shapiro. 1.7 billion above what the committee agreed to this morning with regard to the Nelson proposal. The Nelson amendment allowed the use of industrial development bonds for the hydro facilities to the extent it was limited to 25 megawatts and also existing dams. Senator Gravel would expand that to allow it to be used for all hydro not limited to 25 megawatts.

Senator Gravel. May I explain that. What I would propose would be that we would take what the committee had done with the Nelson proposal and I thought as a result of the committee's action we were down to \$1 billion in cost for the Nelson proposal. That is 25 metawatts.

Mr. Shapiro. 1.4 was the Nelson proposal.

Senator Gravel. We could add to that all new small hydro which would be anything 25 megawatts or less. The figure I have, cost of that is 100 million. Then added on to that would be the, for the two Alaska dams, three large dams, would be 300 million so that would be 1.4 plus 300 that would be 1.8 is the figure I would come up with. I think it should be noted they had most of the large hydros, all of them that were built in the Tennessee Valley area and also in the Northwest were prior to '72. It was in '72 that the Treasury switched signals on us and as a result of that switch of signals is why we can't build our hydro with tax exempt bonds.

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1 This is government. We have created a power authority
2 in Alaska to do this. So this is government. This is not the
3 private sector.

4 Mr. Shapiro. As I understand it and I did not realize you
5 changed your proposal, the dams under 25 megawatts, new dams,
6 the Nelson amendment allotted for existing dams. The new
7 dams would cost 100 million. Second, proposing to allow the
8 use of industrial development bonds for two dams in Alaska that
9 we understand would cost approximately \$300 million for the use
10 of IDB's with those two dams so it is increased to 400 million
11 above the Nelson proposal.

12 The Chairman. Are you now talking about something that
13 would increase 400 million over the Nelson?

14 Mr. Shapiro. Four hundred million above what the com-
15 mittee agreed to this morning.

16 Senator Gravel. That was gobbled up, that 150 megawatts
17 of potential, that is in the nation.

18 Senator Bentsen. If you talk about using industrial
19 tax free bonds for these two dams in Alaska, are you also talking
20 about the ten percent nonrefundable energy credit? Is that
21 involved in this?

22 Mr. Shapiro. No. They would get whatever they can get
23 under present law and they would not get that. We are talking
24 about here only the use of industrial development bonds for the
25 two dams in Alaska.

1 Senator Bentsen. Let me ask you this, these bonds, these
2 dams are not going to be built in that period of time, is that
3 correct? By 1990?

4 Senator Gravel. We assumed this could be under construc-
5 tion.

6 Senator Bentsen. If we don't have the industrial bonds?

7 Senator Gravel. That is right. We will be coming back
8 to the government for an appropriation is what we will be invol-
9 ved with.

10 Senator Dole. Does Treasury support this? I wouldnot
11 think so.

12 Mr. Lubick. You are correct. We are concerned about the
13 expansion. Once you start breaking these lines it is going to
14 be impossible to hold them and they are there for very good
15 reaons. Essentially I think, Senator Ribicoff, you remember
16 back in 1969 the growth of industrial development bonds was
17 imperiling the state and local government in their ability to
18 finance their normal governmental activities. Their normal
19 state and local activities, police, sewer, and education.

20 Senator Ribicoff. I would say between 1969 and 1979 you
21 have a new world and a new United States of America with alto-
22 gether different problems. The problems that we had in 1969
23 were the halcyon days in comparison. Now we are up against the
24 wall on what we do for energy and I think to start being con-
25 fined to a theory is out of the window. I think all theories

1 have to be redone and we have to rethink it and we have to do
2 different kinds of proposals.

3 The Chairman. Let me see if it might be some possibility
4 of trying to come together, maybe compromise on this. Now, you
5 say that it cost \$100 million to do the part that would, that
6 involves the small locations around the country?

7 Mr. Shapiro. Under 25 megawatts.

8 Senator Ribicoff. There are some 3,000 of those available,
9 Mr. Chairman.

10 The Chairman. If we take that part and then suppose we
11 take now, if we take that and I assume Alaska will be eligible
12 for that along with everybody else, if we take that and let
13 Alaska have one of these new dams ---

14 Senator Dole. There should be a limit on what we do for
15 Alaska. I have been going along with thirty or forty billion
16 but there should be a limit somewhere.

17 Senator Gravel. What have you done for Alaska?

18 Senator Dole. I don't see anything wrong with the first
19 part. That compromise.

20 Senator Gravel. You are slightly misled, Senator, because
21 what you did for Alaska on oil was no more than what you did
22 for Kansas and of course it is more expensive to operate in
23 Alaska so you really have not done anything for Alaska on that
24 so I hope you are not of the view you have done anything special
25 for Alaska.

1 Senator Dole. Tax exempt financing for all generating
2 facilities. We might be able to burn wheat straw in Kansas.

3 The Chairman. I suggest we do this in two parts. One let
4 us set \$100 million for small dams. Will all those in favor ---

5 Mr. Lubick. If I could suggest one thing. And Senator
6 Gravel had asked me because I had mentioned that there are
7 more efficient ways to subsidize these things and I talked
8 with Senator Nelson about that too rather than tax exemptions
9 because as we indicated about 29 cents out of every dollar is,
10 just does not go for the project and if you really want to sub-
11 sidize these things it can be done through the granting of a tax
12 credit for a portion of the interest cost on a taxable bond
13 that is issued and even if it is issued by a municipality it
14 can be made a refundable credit. So you can have it for both
15 taxable and tax exempt issuers and all of the money that you
16 are devoting to this particular subsidy will go to the person
17 issuing the bonds, none of it will be siphoned off into the
18 hands of wealthy taxpayers that are investors.

19 But all of it will go for reducing the interest cost to,
20 cost to that issuer and that means that you can accomplish
21 exactly the same purpose at a cost that is perhaps 25 percent
22 less than this route.

23 The Chairman. Did we ever put that into effect? You
24 have been advocating that for years but has it ever become
25 law?

1 Mr. Lubick, That is something different. This is not the
2 taxable bond option. This is a credit for the interest. Not
3 a taxable bond with an optional benefit refund either to the
4 borrower, to the lender the way Senator Danforth proposed.

5 The Chairman. I will ask the same question, have we ever
6 done what you are asking? Is that a part of existing law?

7 Mr. Lubick. It has been done in the housing area, Senator
8 Long.

9 The Chairman. Do you find appeal in that, Senator Ribicoff?

10 Senator Ribicoff. I think we should follow the Nelson
11 formula for existing dams and use the same formula for new
12 sites. I think it gets complicated and I think it is cleaner
13 and the private sector is involved in it and private investors,
14 we should encourage it instead of just continuing with grants
15 from the government.

16 The Chairman. Let me ask the committee if we can vote. Let
17 us vote on the \$100 million item. Small dam sites. It would
18 cost 100 million for the life of the program.

19 Senator Nelson. Let me say a word. I did say yesterday
20 to Mr. Lubick that if they would show me a proposal, I would like
21 to check it with the people who designed the proposal I intro-
22 duced saying they felt this is what it would take to get them
23 going. If it covers the same amount of money or less and all
24 work, I would be happy to offer it as an amendment on the floor.
25 We are all agreed upon it which the Chairman could take and we

1 could resolve it that way. On this one point.

2 Senator Dole. You would have a budget problem. You may
3 have a budget problem on the floor.

4 Senator Nelson. Why?

5 Senator Bentsen. It would be subject to a point of order
6 on loss of income.

7 Mr. Lubick. It would seem to me it would not be because
8 it would be replacing a more expensive method of financing the
9 same thing. It seems to me it should be a cheaper way to do
10 it.

11 Senator Dole. Is there something in the budget for it?
12 To replace something in the bill?

13 Mr. Lubick. An amendment to the bill to substitute a
14 credit for the tax exempt financing. Presumably it would be
15 cheaper in the net cost of the bill.

16 Senator Nelson. Let us leave it this way. I would like
17 to look at whatever suggestion Mr. Lubick has. And he will
18 check it with the Parliamentarian and if it costs less or the
19 same amount I would be glad to offer it. If it is subject to
20 a point of order I won't offer it. I am talking about my
21 proposal. I am not talking about anything else.

22 The Chairman. Let us vote first on the \$100 million for
23 all small dam sites across the country.

24 Senator Gravel. Could I explain one thing on that?
25 Since we have such a sparse population we won't get the

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1 have anything against Alaska. I voted with Alaska and other
2 states when they voted to exempt state royalties from the tax
3 and I urged at that time, one of the arguments made was to use
4 to build an industrial base for an undeveloped state. That
5 is why they did not want to tax those royalties. I think what
6 some of us question is whether or not this is, whatever the
7 intent may be, whether we are not really helping somebody
8 shelter some income and helping those who want to get into the
9 private utility development and I don't know why we have to
10 single out one plant in the state of any state.

11 We are working on a project in Kansas for wheat straw com-
12 bustion and it probably, we could probably benefit, we could
13 probably find some private developers if they could use tax
14 exempt financing it would displace oil and with relatively
15 clean and renewable energy source, so if that is the argument
16 we should put all nonoil generating facilities should be tax
17 exempt financed, put them all in there and then we really
18 adress the problem but of course the revenue cost might go out
19 of sight.

20 If money is no object, then that would not be an important
21 factor. We are already having as I understand it some hearings
22 on the house side on tax exempt housing bonds. I think there
23 is a bill in to try to bring that into line with Ullman and
24 Conable I believe. That might be a time to consider whether or
25 not we should really get into more tax exempt financing rather

1 one already has government appropriations flowing to it right
2 this very second and the big one we already spent Federal monies
3 on the core drilling and will continue to appropriate it if
4 we don't go this way.

5 All I am saying is if we get tax exempt, the state legis-
6 lature has already authorized the state to go forward to sell
7 private bonds to do the Phase 1, \$25, \$30 million. They will
8 do it now.

9 The Chairman. The state has been authorized to do it?

10 Senator Gravel. Right, and our bond counsel tells us
11 we can't do it unless we have tax exempt. If we don't have
12 tax exempt we couldn't do it.

13 The Chairman. If the state builds a dam and sells power
14 are those bonds taxable?

15 Mr. Lubick. If the state sells the bonds for public use,
16 they are already exempt but if a single nonexempt person agrees
17 to take more than 25 percent of the electricity then it is not
18 for public use and it is not exempt.

19 Senator Gravel. What he means there, Mr. Chairman, is you
20 cannot sell it to the power companies and therefore you can't
21 use tax exempt. It is just the issue we went through with
22 Senator Byrd. If the government itself consumes it, fine, but
23 if the government turns around and sells it to other public --
24 and in our case we have co-ops in addition to municipally-owned
25 power companies ---

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The Chairman. Can you tell me what you estimate the cost to be if you limit this to one dam in Alaska?

Mr. Shapiro. There is one large dam.

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1 is going on in Alaska.

2 Senator Chafee. It seems to me a peculiar way we are going
3 about our business, to suddenly plunge into this new situation
4 which is greatly enlarged over what we were talking about with the
5 Nelson situation. None of us are opposed to doing what is good for
6 the country. I think we all agree on that, but we just have no
7 concept of what this really means. It is sketched out here; it
8 looks like a marvelous thing, no floors to it. If it is so good as
9 all that, I can't understand why they need tax-exempt bonds to carry
10 it on. Tax-free bonds, it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, with the
11 effect it is going to have on the revenues, with the whole
12 question of the tax-exempt bonds under some fire, certainly --
13 I believe it should be under fire likewise -- I just don't think we
14 should get into a very broadening of the tax-exempt bonds situation
15 at this time without really knowing what we are doing.

16 The Chairman. Let's call the roll.

17 Senator Dole. Can we find out how much Federal money has gone
18 into this dam in the first place?

19 Senator Gravel. We authorized, or appropriated, \$5 million.
20 About \$3 million of that has been spent, over \$3 million.
21 Bradley Lake -- I forget -- it is less than \$1 million. Bradley
22 Lake is authorized for construction and will probably be under con-
23 struction in 16 months, for Phase I. If it has to go all the way, it would
24 would be under construction in 1983-84, probably '84, so that is
25 the Federal money that has been spent already.

1 What will happen if we go ahead and do not provide tax-exempt
2 status, of course, they can't sell the bonds to go do it, so the
3 Treasury -- this year our appropriation will be somewhere around
4 \$25 million or \$30 million.

5 The Chairman. What do you estimate it will cost to build a big
6 dam?

7 Senator Gravel. \$2.9 billion, \$2.6 billion. The Corps'
8 estimates now with Bradley Lake is \$176 million. So this year's
9 appropriation from our Appropriations Committee, our tax dollars
10 from Louisiana and elsewhere, is going to be somewhere around
11 \$25 million or \$30 million.

12 Senator Ribicoff. Suppose this is voted, then we don't have to
13 appropriate any money from the Treasury?

14 Senator Gravel. No, because you see we are going to make a
15 public announcement shortly, the 24th of next month, at our
16 port authority meeting.

17 Senator Ribicoff. Are we talking, Mr. Lubick, of \$400 million
18 cost as against the eventual Federal expenditure of \$2.5 billion;
19 is this what we are talking about? If they started the appropriation
20 process with an ultimate price tag of \$2.5 billion, and now it will
21 be built with tax-exempt, without any appropriation, at a revenue
22 loss to Treasury of \$400 million, it would seem to me we are getting
23 a pretty good deal here.

24 Senator Gravel. That is what I am pleading for, to let us do
25 it privately. We are not building dams in this country because we

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1 have not been able to get the appropriations, and because of environ-
 2 mental quarrels. We solved the environmental quarrels by and large
 3 because we have good environmental laws. What we are saying is,
 4 rather than appropriate the tax dollars from everybody else -- and
 5 you are right, if it is such a good deal, you should be able to go
 6 out and finance it -- that is what we are saying: We can finance
 7 this privately; all we need is tax-exempt to be able to finance it.

8 This is what counsel tells us. If I could do it without asking
 9 you for one vote on this, I would love to do it.

10 Senator Bentsen. Who tells you you can sell \$2.5 billion worth
 11 of revenue bonds?

12 Senator Gravel. A company out of Texas, First Southwest, who
 13 are our financial advisers organization, a very reputable firm.

14 Senator Bentsen. That is quite a lot of money, \$2.5 billion.

15 Senator Gravel. There is no question; but, of course, it
 16 is there; it is an unusual site.

17 Senator Bentzen. If you did not sell them, we have not lost
 18 any revenue.

19 Senator Gravel. It does not cost you anything; it is the
 20 finest site left in the United States for this megawattage you
 21 are talking about; two dams in place, one a 600-foot arch concrete
 22 dam, the other is gravel with concrete faced dam, but the flooding,
 23 because it is such a narrow gorge, you are only flooding one lake,
 24 as created it is 26 miles long, 1,000 feet deep and only a mile
 25 wide; and the other one is a little larger than that, so the impact

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1 compromised back to accommodate, and now I am hit by you gentlemen
2 on the compromise. If you want to swap, fine.

3 Senator Dole. Give us how many sites there are by tomorrow
4 morning and what it would cost, and what other facilities, non-
5 oil-generating facilities, we could include.

6 Senator Gravel. We can do that. Let me give an example of
7 why that would be important. I would support that. We have right
8 now -- these are figures I am reading off the sheet; there may be
9 changes -- we are subsidizing coal to about \$1 billion; we are
10 subsidizing gasahol for \$2 billion; geopressurized gas for \$1.5
11 billion; tar-sands for \$200 million.

12 I asked for some quick computation. This is only one part of
13 the subsidy, the \$3 production credit that we have, and comparing
14 that just to shale and translating that into electricity, so you
15 get: shale, .5.6 mils per kilowat; and hydro would be 5.4 mils
16 watts per kilowat. That is hydro. That is probably there next
17 to perpetuity, and when it is paid off you come down to almost
18 nothing, and this would follow on that other line, so it is cheaper
19 just coming out the box to do this.

20 The Chairman. It seems to me we can have a good debate, and
21 everybody can make a lot of good debating points, but I don't
22 think it will change any votes.

23 I would like to suggest we go ahead and vote on the matter
24 and let the chips fall where they may. It is a long way from the
25 Senate Finance Committee to a bill being on the President's desk,

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1 and I am beginning to feel like the distance is getting longer,
2 rather than shorter, so I would just like to vote on it.

3 Senator Baucus. As far as I am concerned, I personally do
4 need more information. I don't know what is going on. I can't
5 understand, if we give Alaska, why we don't do it for every other
6 more than five megawatt sites in the country, and if we are losing
7 fewer federal dollars under this approach than by the appropriations
8 process, I don't understand why Treasury does not support it, and
9 obviously they are not, so something doesn't mesh with me.

10 The Chairman. I am not trying to argue anybody out of a vote;
11 but I would like to vote to just see where we stand.

12 Call the roll.

13 Mr. Stern. Senator Talmadge?

14 (No response.)

15 Mr. Stern. Senator Ribicoff?

16 Senator Ribicoff. Aye.

17 Mr. Stern. Senator Byrd?

18 (No response.)

19 Mr. Stern. Senator Nelson?

20 (No response.)

21 Mr. Stern. Senator Gravel?

22 Senator Gravel. Aye.

23 Mr. Stern. Senator Bentzen?

24 Senator Bentsen. Aye.

25 Mr. Stern. Senator Matsunaga?

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- 1 (No response.)
- 2 Mr. Stern. Senator Moynihan?
- 3 (No response.)
- 4 Mr. Stern. Senator Baucus?
- 5 Senator Baucus. No.
- 6 Mr. Stern. Senator Boren?
- 7 (No response.)
- 8 Mr. Stern. Senator Bradley?
- 9 (No response.)
- 10 Mr. Stern. Senator Dole?
- 11 Senator Dole. No.
- 12 Mr. Stern. Senator Packwood?
- 13 (No response.)
- 14 Mr. Stern. Senator Roth?
- 15 (No response.)
- 16 Mr. Stern. Senator Danforth?
- 17 (No response.)
- 18 Mr. Stern. Senator Chafee?
- 19 Senator Chafee. No.
- 20 Mr. Stern. Senator Heinz?
- 21 (No response.)
- 22 Mr. Stern. Senator Wallop?
- 23 (No response.)
- 24 Mr. Stern. Senator Durenberger?
- 25 Senator Durenberger. No.

1 want an energy credit for it, an additional energy credit.

2 The revenue effect of that is, it is a residential credit
3 rather than business, and it would be eligible for the additional
4 15 percent credit. Fiscal Year 1980, it has a revenue effect of
5 approximately \$19 million, and for the entire period its revenue
6 effect is \$381 million through 1985, which is the period in which
7 the residential credits apply. But it was agreed to by the Senate
8 last year on the Senate floor, but it was dropped in conference.

9 The Chairman. I am told that the cost until 1982 would be
10 \$166 million.

11 Mr. Shapiro. \$166 million, but if you make it available for
12 the entire period that the residential credits apply, it would be
13 \$381 million.

14 The Chairman. That is why I think if we want to vote, I
15 think we should make it to 1982 and give them -- Mr. Lubick?

16 Mr. Lubick. It sounds like an air-conditioner to me. I find
17 it hard to see why we should be voting credits for an air-
18 conditioner.

19 The Chairman. Evaporative cooler, very effective, "S. 157
20 includes evaporative cooler, very effective energy saving device
21 among those items for which the residential credit is now allowed."

22 Now, do we have anybody here who really understands this device
23 and how it works? Senator DeConcini asked me that we consider
24 this.

25 Senator Bentsen. You use this in dry climates where they

1 drip water through them. Is that what we are talking about?

2 Mr. Shapiro. We understand it is.

3 The Chairman. Is it supposed to be much more efficient than
4 the ordinary cooler?

5 Mr. Shapiro. One of the major concerns that the conference
6 had when you dealt with it last year was that it was more for air-
7 conditioning, that it was rotated with the heating, and that is one
8 of the reasons it was dropped, because of the additional revenue
9 consideration, and it was not a heating device; it was a cooling
10 device.

11 Mr. Lighthizer. Jack Nutter has some ideas.

12 Mr. Nutter. It is a large metal box that fits on the top of
13 an individual's house, a big metal box. It has straw pads on it
14 and that is water that goes down under the pads, and a big fan
15 inside the box blows the cool air into the house. Because in dry
16 climates the water evaporates off the pad and cools it, and it is
17 used in the summertime in lieu of an air-conditioning unit.

18 Mr. Lubick. These are generally devices that are used because
19 people will pay the price. It seems to me you are just subsidizing
20 through the credit things that people would be buying anyway.

21 Senator Heinz. I was called to the phone. I gather we just
22 had a vote on Senator Gravel's amendment. Is that just on one dam
23 in Alaska? Would the clerk record me as voting "no"?

24 Mr. Shapiro. This is for the 15 percent residential credit.
25

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Senator Bentsen. How much would it cost us?

Mr. Shapiro. Nineteen million for the first fiscal year you make it eligible for this entire period of the residential credits -- Congress passed the Act last year. You made the 15 percent residential credit available through 1985. If you make this item available for the entire period, it would be 381 million. If you would get an early cutoff, 1982, it would be 166 million.

The Chairman. I will withhold that amendment. I might want to offer it. I will withhold it at this point.

Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, could I call up other amendments? If so, Mr. Chairman, I would like to reoffer a revised version of the stripper oil exemption for retailers that we discussed this morning. The amendment is the same except we have reduced the 50,000 barrels to 25,000 barrels. I understand the revenue loss is very, very small.

Does that solve everybody's problem?

The Chairman. What is the estimated revenue loss for this, if you do it that way?

Senator Heinz. The maximum it could be if you assume there are only 12 people, 12 retailers in this position, it would be in the neighborhood of \$13 million a year. That is the maximum. That assumes they all have maximum production. I only know of 11 small producers, small integrated retailers that are in that situation.

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1 Senator Bentsen. Would the Senator elaborate on what
2 he is trying to accomplish here?

3 Senator Heinz. Lloyd, because of the way we referenced
4 the independent stripper exemption which you supported, there
5 is independely produced stripper oil which is sold by, for
6 example, the Quaker State Refining Company in Pennsylvania,
7 which does not qualify because they own some retail outlets.
8 If they did not have the retail outlets they would be entitled
9 to the one thousand barrel per day independent stripper exemp-
10 tion but because they have some retail outlets, some filling
11 stations, they don't. I am told there are a total of all of
12 ll people like that that will be cut out of the independent
13 stripper exemption.

14 The reason they are cut out because of the referencing
15 is we had reference to the ---

16 Senator Bentsen. Refer to the definition.

17 Senator Heinz. Yes.

18 Mr. Chairman, is there any objection to that?

19 The Chairman. Now how do you feel about that, Lloyd?
20 All in favor, say aye.

21 (Chorus of ayes.)

22 The Chairman. Opposed, no.

23 (Chorus of nays.)

24 The Chairman. I guess we will have to have a roll call

25 Mr. Stern. Senator Bradley.

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- 1 (No response.)
- 2 Mr. Stern. Senator Boren.
- 3 (No response.)
- 4 Mr. Stern. Senator Baucus.
- 5 Senator Baucus. Aye.
- 6 Mr. Stern. Senator Bentsen.
- 7 Senator Bentsen. Aye.
- 8 Mr. Stern. Senator Gravel.
- 9 (No response.)
- 10 Mr. Stern. Senator Nelson.
- 11 Senator Nelson. Nay.
- 12 Mr. Stern. Senator Byrd.
- 13 (No response.)
- 14 Mr. Stern. Senator Ribicoff.
- 15 Voice. No, by proxy.
- 16 Mr. Stern. Senator Talmadge.
- 17 (No response.)
- 18 Mr. Stern. The Chairman.
- 19 The Chairman. Nay.
- 20 Mr. Stern. Senator Dole.
- 21 Senator Dole. Aye.
- 22 Mr. Stern. Senator Packwood.
- 23 (No response.)
- 24 Mr. Stern. Senator Roth.
- 25 Senator Roth. Aye.

1 Mr. Stern. Senator Danforth.

2 (No response.)

3 Mr. Stern. Senator Chafee.

4 Senator Chafee. Nay.

5 Mr. Stern. Senator Heinz.

6 Senator Heinz. Aye.

7 Mr. Stern. Senator Wallop.

8 Voice. Aye, by proxy.

9 Mr. Stern. Senator Durenberger.

10 (No response.)

11 The Chairman. In any event we have six ayes and four
12 nays. We will have to hear from the absentees. It is agreed
13 to but let the absentees record themselves.

14 Now, Senator Roth wanted to bring up a matter.

15 Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, for the past four weeks we
16 have been concentrating this committee, this committee has been
17 concentrating on big oil independents, conservation tax credits,
18 and the poor. The one major group that has gotten very little
19 attention is the working people of this country. I must say
20 I am one that feels that the working people, the one who pays
21 the bill, should not be left out in the cold.

22 They are facing increased heating bills, they are facing
23 higher gas prices, they are facing inflation, and they are also
24 facing very massive tax increases. So oil price decontrol will
25 produce two types of windfalls. I think it is important to

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1 recognize that, one for the producers, one for the Federal
2 government.

3 The windfall profits tax addresses the oil producers wind-
4 fall but unless we act, unless we act to help the working
5 people, the Federal government will gain billions of dollars
6 in windfall profits from the increased revenue resulting soley
7 from decontrol.

8 So I propose, Mr. Chairman, that we ought to delay the already
9 high social security taxes that are scheduled to increase sub-
10 stantially in 1981. As you well know, the tax rate will go up
11 from 6.13 percent to 6.65 percent. The wage base will jump to
12 \$29,700. My am endment is a very simple one. It would freeze
13 the tax rate at 6.13 percent and the wage base at \$25,900
14 reducing the social security tax by \$387.

15 Mr. Chairman, I would like to quote a CBO study that sup-
16 ports a payroll tax cut. It says since the inflationary
17 effects in the increased burden on low income households are two
18 of the most critical costs of decontrol, it is important to
19 consider alternatives that might offset them. One such option
20 would be to use the additional tax revenue from decontrol to
21 reduce such taxes.

22 A reduction in social security taxes would be relatively
23 easy to implement and would lead to lower rate of price
24 increases. I might point out, Mr. Chairman, Doctor Heller, on
25 numerour occasions but again today in effect said that the

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1 payroll tax cuts are tailor-made to fit the needs of an economy
 2 badgered by both inflation and recession. For that reason, I
 3 think we should give serious serious consideration to freezing
 4 the social security taxes that otherwise would go into effect
 5 in 1981.

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1 The Chairman. Let us hear what Treasury's reaction to that
2 matter is. I was aware the Senator was going to offer this amend-
3 ment but I have not had a chance to focus on it and there are
4 people I want to consult with about the matter before --

5 Mr. Lubick. Mr. Chairman, I think the President has already
6 stated that at the present time he is opposed to general tax cuts
7 and that at an appropriate time one of the areas he would want to
8 look at as a primary source of study is the social security sys-
9 tem, also that it involves more than simply cutting the rates of
10 tax because we have the whole problem of the integrity of the
11 trust fund.

12 Remember that the legislation that was enacted was designed
13 to maintain that integrity, and it seems to us it is not appropri-
14 ate at this time in this bill to go into these questions.

15 The Chairman. Let me suggest, Senator, that I would like to
16 discuss the matter with Senator Muskie, also Senator Nelson, who,
17 I believe, at the time we put this tax up there, was the one who
18 said we should keep the social security fund sound and that we
19 should provide the money with the payroll tax to pay for it.

20 I think Senator Nelson might have made a suggestion, at the
21 time, that we avoid putting the tax up this high. I would like to
22 talk to him and to Senator Muskie, and maybe I could have some of
23 the Democrats meet with me and we could focus on this.

24 I am glad to see that Senator Nelson is here. I would like
25 an opportunity to at least think about this matter and to talk

1 and it might be a good idea to help those referred to by Senator
2 Roth.

3 The Chairman. Let me ask how much tax reduction this would
4 be if we voted this Roth amendment. That is, in 1981 what will be
5 the difference in cost?

6 Mr. Shapiro. I have not checked with Senator Roth but our
7 figure is approximately \$11 billion for the fiscal effect to main-
8 tain both the base and the rate in 1981.

9 Senator Roth. Mr. Chairman, I would point out that the CBO
10 said the net effect of it would be 8.6. I understand that the
11 joint committee is working some figures based upon \$30 oil, which
12 is the realistic price, also with respect to 2-percent or higher
13 increases. I would hope that for the purposes of the debate those
14 would be ready no later than tomorrow morning.

15 The Chairman. I have discussed this with the Senator
16 briefly. I would suggest that we defer voting on this matter
17 until we meet tomorrow, and frankly I would like a chance to talk
18 it over with some of the people who are concerned, such as Sena-
19 tor Muskie, on the Budget Committee, and Senator Nelson and vote
20 on this sometime tomorrow.

21 Is there something else to bring up at this point?

22 Senator Heinz. I would like to bring up an amendment which,
23 I believe, the committee adopted the year before last. That is,
24 there would be a 10 cents per gallon refundable income tax
25 credit, the same way we had a 40 cents per gallon credit for

1 alcohol produced from coal and mixed with gasoline.

2 My understanding is that this was something the Senate agreed
3 to either in committee or on the floor in the last energy bill
4 and it got dropped in Congress. It preserves, in effect, the
5 one-to-four ratio that, I believe, the committee was sympathetic
6 to previously.

7 The 10-year revenue loss on this, \$140 million through 1990,
8 is not a lot of money and it partially addresses what I believe to
9 be a rather serious inequity when it comes to the rather substan-
10 tial biomass gasohol tax that the committee voted yesterday.

11 Senator Dole. That would apply the same treatment we applied
12 the last time it passed this committee --

13 Senator Heinz. That is correct.

14 Senator Dole. -- on the suggestion of Senator Ribicoff at
15 that time.

16 Senator Heinz. That is correct.

17 Senator Dole. So you would not have that \$15 a barrel
18 subsidy; it would be reduced by --

19 Senator Heinz. It would be reduced by 75 percent.

20 Senator Gravel. What would be the subsidy in this case?

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Senator Heinz. A ten cent per gallon refundable income tax credit on gasahol made from coal. We voted yesterday, Mike, I think you may have been here but I don't know for sure, a 40 cent per gallon refundable tax credit for gasahol made from biomass, both wood and nonwood and everybody is in agreement that we should encourage gasahol.

The problem is that gasahol from coal of which we have a great deal will be I think overly penalized by being totally left out. It is cheaper to produce gasahol from coal but I don't think anybody can overcome the \$16 a barrel refundable tax credit that was voted yesterday so I am trying to narrow the spread a little bit.

Senator Gravel. We voted yesterday a \$16 a barrle.

Senator Heinz. \$16 a barrel refundable tax credit for gasahol made from ---

Mr. Shapiro. T he estimate is approximately 140 million from 1980 to 1990. What happened with the committee decision on the energy bill last Congress was that you did not make this credit available for any gasahol made from gas. You included coal. On the Senate floor, Senator Percy proposed an amendment to delete that provision from the committee bill and the argu- ment that he made was he did not want gasahol made from any nonrenewable resource so the committee excused oil and gas and the Senate floor excluded coal so the committee did agree to it and the Senate floor eliminated it from the bill.

1 The Chairman. The Senate floor eliminated it on the idea
2 that it is a nonrenewable resource.

3 Mr. Shapiro. That is right.

4 Senator Heinz. I think most of us recognize, Mr. Chairman,
5 that we have a very abundant supply of coal. Technically it
6 is nonrenewable but neither are we.

7 The Chairman. One thing I don't think we want to do here
8 is to make such an attractive proposition on alcohol made from
9 coal that it kills off the proposal that is in the bill for
10 alcohol made from biomass and from farm products and things of
11 that sort. I think we have as many farmers as we have coal
12 miners and I don't think we want to vote to have one exclude
13 the other.

14 Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, it still leaves a \$12 a
15 barrel advantage to alcohol made from gasahol made from biomass.

16 Senator Dole. It is the same formula we used two years
17 ago in reprting similar amendments.

18 Senator Gravel. Is that the one that is consting \$2 billion?
19 Is that the whole gasahol deal, 40 cents? It is interesting
20 if what you are saying is if I buy a gallon of gasahol I can
21 then file for a 40 cents per gallon refundable credit?

22 Senator Heinz. That is right.

23 Senator Gravel. So if I live in Kansas and I buy some
24 of his gasahol I can get 40 cents back on that?

25 Senator Heinz. That is right.

1 it takes coal and it transforms it into a very important fuel,
2 two in fact, coke and coal gas that comes off from the coke
3 oven.

4 To the extent we don't produce coal we either import coke
5 or we import fuel oil to burn the blast furnances in lieu of
6 coke and indeed a lot of fuel oil is being burned in blast fur-
7 naces in Pittsburgh and a lot of other steel places around the
8 United States because it has become very expensive to build coke
9 ovens and it has become expensive to build coke ovens prin-
10 cipally because of environmental reasons.

11 The result is that coke ovens are going out of service and
12 we are producing roughly six million tons less of coke I
13 believe it is -- I don't have the figures with me -- which repre-
14 sents on an annual basis a tremendous amount of imported energy.

15 If the idea of the energy investment tax credit is to
16 increase the substitution of domestic fuels for imported oil
17 it would seem to me logical that we would include coke ovens in
18 this, hopefully get some built rather than having them con-
19 tinually taken out of service. That is the other amendment.
20 The cost is roughly about \$170 million a year for over ten years,
21 1.7 billion over ten years.

22 Senator Gravel. What was the other cost? Was that a one-
23 shot deal or was that per year?

24 Senator Heinz. That was total. 140 million.

25 Senator Dole. For five years or ten?

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1 Senator Heinz. Ten.

2 The Chairman. What is the Treasury position on the coke
3 oven?

4 Mr. Lubick. Mr. Chairman, in last year's energy act you
5 made a specific and conscious decision to exclude this from
6 eligibility for the credit. As I understand it, there are no
7 energy savings as a result of this. It is simply some relief
8 for the steel industry. I think Mr. Blum is here and can explain
9 why there are no energy savings from it.

10 Mr. Blum. It is my understanding from talking with exten-
11 sively in the industry that most, that it would not construct
12 a coke oven today as a new way of gasifying or otherwise
13 liquifying coal, you would use existing coke ovens which have
14 not been designed to produce a product that has energy value.

15 My understanding is the reason that was excluded in the
16 1978 Tax Act and there is language that says exempt coke ovens
17 is that they are really not terribly useful for energy per se.

18 They have been designed to produce metalurgical coke or
19 steel. Now that some of them are becoming obsolete for that use
20 there are people who would like to use them to produce gas
21 and other products in the hope they might be useful for some
22 energy but it is not clear that is an efficient way of using
23 the coal for trying to produce a product for energy.

24 Senator Heinz. Perhaps you could answer a few questions.
25 Is it not true that if you don't produce coke domestically you

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1 either are using a blast furnace -- you use the imported coke
2 or you use fuel oil? Is that not true?

3 Mr. Blum. It is a question of the steel economics. The
4 dominate economics in a coke oven is whether or not you want
5 the coke. Your energy byproducts, the gases and tars that come
6 out of the coke oven are secondary byproducts, they come out
7 of the steelmaking operation. If the economics of the steel
8 operation is shifted so it is no longer attractive to use those
9 ovens to make coke, does not appear it is a good justification
10 in the hope that the gas and tars that are produced may have
11 energy value. I am not an expert on steel.

12 Senator Heinz. What you are saying is that coke may be a
13 relatively high cost method of supplying energy for making
14 steel. That is certainly true in part because to build a
15 sufficiently pollution-free coke oven is extremely expensive
16 by virtue of a regulation. That to me is neither here nor
17 there for the purposes of the discussion. It is also true
18 that building a syn-fuel plant is extremely expensive way to
19 provide energy.

20 What is the different? My contention is if in fact coke
21 from a coke oven or gas from a coke oven, both of which do
22 come from coke ovens, substitute for imported fuels particularly
23 oil but I would also include imported coke, then it is to our
24 advantage to have coke oven producing coke and coal and gas from
25 those ovens. Now would you answer the question before that I

1 asked earlier. Is it not true to the extent we manufacture
2 coke that we do substitute for imports?

3 Mr. Blum. Insofar as the coke is a key ingredient of the
4 steelmaking operation, the coke itself serve both chemical and
5 energy roles. It serves as a reducing agent to take the oxygen
6 out of the iron ore as well as to provide energy. If you
7 want to get coal gas as a source of energy in the steel indus-
8 try or any other industry, modern coal gas fire is what you
9 would build rather than a traditional coal oven in part because
10 of the pollution reasons and in part because you get a higher
11 quality gas at a lower price.

12 The coke oven was designed to produce metallurgical coke,
13 the other products are byproducts. It was never designed to
14 produce those as a primary product.

15 Senator Heinz. That may all be correct. I am trying to
16 get a yes or no answer to a question. To the extent that we
17 produce coke -- I am not quarreling with anything you said --
18 but to me the extent we produce domestic coke is it or is it
19 not true that the reality of the fact that we have a steel
20 industry and enbody else who uses coke as far as I know there
21 may be but I don't know of anybody in particular -- but is it
22 or is it not true that that displaces imports? Yes or no?

23 Mr. Blum. It comes back to the question of what the coke
24 is being used for.

25 Senator Heinz. Let us assume it is being used in a blast

1 Senator Heinz. Why are we importing six million tons of
2 coke? Why aren't fuel furnaces using oil?

3 Mr. Blum. I would assume it must be the economics; that is
4 generally the reason.

5 Senator Heinz. Surely, it is economics, but if we are import-
6 ing coke, which is used in the furnaces, and if we are using
7 oil, why is it that if we produce more coke, and assume nobody is
8 so stupid as to produce coke that is not going to used, why will
9 it not displace the imported coke, an equivalent amount of
10 imported oil?

11 Please explain that to me.

12 Mr. Blum. I am not enough of an expert in the steel industry
13 to be able to answer that.

14 Senator Heinz. Mr. Chairman, I give up.

15 It seems self-evident to me, but I am missing something.

16 Senator Dole. What is the cost of that last amendment?

17 Senator Heinz. It would be \$1.7 billion over the 10 year
18 period through 1990.

19 Mr. Shapiro. The energy credit that is generally in the law
20 expires 1982, so if you make that the same category as the other,
21 it would be \$1 billion for 1982.

22 Senator Heinz. Put it through for the same period.

23 The Chairman. What would it cost?

24 Mr. Shapiro. The credits that are in the law today expire
25 in 1982, and add this proposal to the existing credits, which

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1 would make it a cost of \$1 billion.

2 Senator Heinz. That is enough. I questioned that figure,
3 that it would be that high in just two years. s there really
4 a feeling that we would stimulate the building of that many more
5 coke ovens that way?

6 Mr. Shapiro. The estimate has been high in the last Congress,
7 too, when we were dealing with it. There is a general feeling that
8 they are doing it, not that it would stimulate that much more,
9 but the analysts say the credit would be available for a lot of
10 what is being done anyway.

11 Senator Heinz. If that is true, why is coke production going
12 down? Maybe we should get the justification for that \$1 billion.
13 It may be right, but it sounds high.

14 Mr. Shapiro. Another thing is, it also would include --
15 all these estimates now include the amendment that Senator Wallop
16 proposed earlier; they met some of the contract rules on December
17 30, 1982, to be covered.

18 Senator Heinz. This, in effect, would cover a lot of facilities
19 that would not come on line?

20 Mr. Shapiro. Right.

21 Senator Heinz. That makes it more understandable as to the
22 cost. Let's make it applicable like anything else, Mr. Chairman.
23 That is the package, Mr. Chairman.

24 Senator Dole. Can we vote on them separately?

25 The Chairman. Why don't we vote on the \$1 billion item first?

1 Do you want to call the roll on it?

2 Senator Dole. Can we accept the other small one before we vote
3 down the other?

4 Senator Heinz. Are we okay on the other?

5 The Chairman. Would you be willing to split the difference,
6 Senator? Would you be willing to drop the \$1 billion one if we take
7 the other one?

8 Senator Heinz. Yes, for now, reserving my right on the floor.

9 Senator Gravel. I am not sure what we are voting on, Mr.
10 Chairman.

11 The Chairman. I suggested the senator has two amendments;
12 one has to do with making alcohol and the other has to do with
13 coke, and the one that has the least burden on the cost is the one
14 having to do with alcohol. The estimated cost is \$140 million.

15 From the point of view of the budget, if the senator is willing
16 to settle for \$140 million, he can offer the other on the floor.
17 I think that would be a very good proposition.

18 I suggest we go along with it.

19 All in favor say "aye". (Chorus of ayes.)

20 Senator Gravel. I have one question: I would like to get a
21 breakdown as to how that alcohol works from the biomass area,
22 the wheat area, and the various areas. I think for \$2 billion we
23 ought to at least know how it breaks out.

24 The Chairman. We will try to get you that.

25 Senator Gravel. Mr. Shapiro, do you have that?

1 Mr. Shaprio. \$140 million, not \$2 billion.

2 Senator Gravel. It goes into \$2 billion, \$2,142,000,000, as
3 I read the figure.

4 Senator Dole. Remember, we will give you that along with the
5 hydro information.

6 Senator Gravel. That is why I want to get that information
7 together. I would like to be able to focus on this intelligently,
8 so I can see where everything is going. Do you have that infor-
9 mation?

10 Mr. Shapiro. I don't have it here. I will see if we can't
11 get it.

12 (The information follows:)

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1 Senator Bentsen. If I could proceed, I would like unanimous
 2 consent to change my vote on the Heinz amendment. I did not know,
 3 and it did not come up as I was listening to the debate, the
 4 question of refineries being used; and I am concerned about the
 5 definition that we arrived at in 1975 of the independents, so if
 6 there is no objection, I would like to change my vote.

7 The Chairman. You can change your vote.

8 Senator Gravel. I would change mine, too, then. I maybe
 9 misunderstood it.

10 Mr. Stern. Senator Heinz' amendment -- I did not have you
 11 recorded, Senator Gravel. Do you vote no?

12 Senator Gravel. No.

13 Senator Wallop. If we are done with that, I was going to
 14 bring up another issue.

15 Senator Heinz. Was there discussion about that retail exten-
 16 sion?

17 Senator Bentzen. Yes, sir.

18 Senator Heinz. What is the problem?

19 Senator Bentsen. The problem is one I took a look at; I
 20 realized it is a variation from the amendment it was a part of in
 21 1975, and I am working out the compromise, and what the interpre-
 22 tation was, and definition of "independent" is, and therefore I
 23 want to stay with the one I worked on in '75.

24 The Chairman. Why don't you discuss it with the senator after
 25 we quit here? You can reach a better understanding now, and when

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1 we come back tomorrow.

2 Senator Wallop?

3 Senator Wallop. Mr. Chairman, there is a provision we have
4 not talked about in the House that I think we should bring up, a
5 matter of some importance.

6 In the House bill, percentage depletion deduction is allowed,
7 not in the House bill but presently a percentage depletion allowance
8 is allowed by the Internal Revenue Code with respect to income
9 from domestic oil and gas production for independent producers
10 who have no retail and refining operations.

11 The percentage depletion deduction is limited to income from a
12 limited quantity of oil and gas production in 1980 and future years
13 to 1,000 barrels of oil or 6,000 million cubic feet of natural gas.

14 Under the House bill this income tax deduction would be denied
15 with respect to that portion of oil production income which
16 constitutes windfall profits as defined in the bill.

17 The effect of this provision is to increase the income tax on
18 independent producers; royalty owners, plus the pay on a portion
19 of their oil and gas income on windfall profits tax which would also
20 be imposed on this portion of the income.

21 So, in effect, what we are doing is providing one segment of
22 the industry with a double tax. We have dealt with them. All our
23 figures to date are based on assumptions without that, and the fact
24 is that using the Joint Tax Committee's projected 1980 margin,
25 market price of \$23.85 a barrel, the denial of depletion on that

1 part of the ceiling price above \$16. as provided in the House bill
2 reduces the typical independent's cash flow for the producer. To
3 have the same ability to finance drilling of new wells would
4 require an increase in his wellhead price of \$31.50. It seems to
5 me it is counterproductive and something which we have not talked
6 about.

7 There is some effect that can be demonstrated on this, on
8 any negative action on depletion allowances, by looking at the
9 prior changes it would have. In late 1969 the percentage
10 depletion rate was cut from 27.5 percent to 22 percent. Following
11 the year 1970 there was a drop of 21 percent in the number of well-
12 heads drilled in the United States, the largest drilling history
13 in a single year in this country.

14 Now, there is already another scheduled drop which is in
15 there, I believe, down to 16 percent. It seems to me in this
16 instance we don't want to provide one segment of the industry,
17 one segment. We have actually been trying to help and have not
18 been successful. In this instance we would be applying a double
19 tax to them and I don't think that there is any legitimate reason
20 for us to do that, and there is a negative response to doing it.

21 The bill we came up with would not have the same provisions
22 that the House bill has.

23 The Chairman. What is your position on that, Mr. Lubick?

24 Mr. Lubick. First, Mr. Chairman, the revenue effect of it
25 would be \$1.9 billion. We are very concerned about the revenue

1 from all these exemption, but basically on the equity side we
2 made this recommendation because we felt it was inappropriate and
3 unnecessary to have the percentage depletion kicker, as you will,
4 for that which is windfall.

5 It seems to us it is a question of fundamental equity. The
6 percentage depletion is not essential; it is an extra incentive
7 when you talk about windfall. I don't believe it is a double
8 tax. You are simply getting a full income tax without the special
9 deduction on the windfall element. In the exempt categories
10 where you no longer have windfall, the percentage depletion
11 would be allowed in full. If you put in an exemption for
12 incremental, tertiary, and newly discovered, taking that out of
13 windfall category but you classify that as windfall, we see no
14 justification for giving an extra income tax benefit in that
15 situation.

16 The Chairman. Let me ask you, was this recommendation in your
17 original transmittal to the Ways and Means committee?

18 Mr. Lubick. Yes, this was recommended by the Administration
19 in April. It was accepted by the Ways and Means Committee.

20 Senator Wallop. I would like to point out in the equity
21 connection the independents are already facing a 32 percent increase
22 in their tax burden, disregarding windfall profits tax; 32 percent
23 increase in their tax burden over the next four years, resulting
24 from the scheduled reduction in the depletion rate from the 22
25 percent down to the 15 percent. That is a fairly impressive

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1 increase in your taxation, just on the scheduled base, without
 2 adding the double burden of the windfall profits tax and the exemp-
 3 tion from that portion of the raise.

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1 new oil and the incremental tertiary and ---

2 Mr. Lubick. Just the Tier I and Tier II.

3 Senator Dole. It amounts to that much?

4 Mr. Lubick. That is what I am informed.

5 Senator Wallop. That is not a revenue effect that has
6 anything to do with the figures that have been under consider-
7 ation by this committee to date. Ours has been on the tax that
8 we have imposed in the scheduled categories.

9 Mr. Lubick. We may be in error, Senator Dole. The com-
10 mittee estimates it at two billion.

11 Senator Dole. Instead of 1.9.

12 Senator Wallop. That was prior to other exemptions.

13 Mr. Shapiro. It was as high as \$4 billion. That brought
14 it down to 1.9, in the two billion area for percentage depletion.
15 This has no effect -- in other words the newly discovered oil,
16 incremental, tertiary strippers. All these exempt categories
17 will get full depletion so 1.9 only applies to the windfall
18 element of the tax.

19 The Chairman. Senator Chafee asked if we could put this
20 matter over to tomorrow. In view of the fact I am sure someone
21 would like to be heard in opposition, you would like to communi-
22 cate with some members of the committee before they vote on the
23 matter, in any event I think it is fair that we vote on it
24 tomorrow. If it is all the same I would suggest that when we
25 come in tomorrow that I hope we can agree we will vote without

1 much debate, just five or ten minutes on each side.

2 I don't think you will change your votes but I think if
3 the Administration wants to communicate with Senators, they can.
4 I think everybody knows how they will vote but I think it would
5 be best to wait until tomorrow.

6 Senator Dole. I am not certain I understand. We have
7 what we referred to as cumulative deficiencies under the price
8 control regulations. Once a property has produced an amount
9 of oil above its so-called adjusted base production control
10 level if it thereafter produces an amount of oil below the
11 level of its adjusted base production control level, the dif-
12 ference between this reduced amount and the adjusted base pro-
13 duction control level results in a cumulative deficiency.

14 Now, I don't know if there is any revenue impact -- I
15 would disregard cumulated deficiencies for the purpose of
16 determining the volume of oil taxable in Tier I. I think the
17 staff is familiar that effective June 1st, 1979, the new price
18 control regulations eliminated all existing cumulated
19 deficiencies for pricing purposes but they could be built up
20 in the future and produce the amount of oil eligible for the
21 upper tier price.

22 I don't know if Mr. Shapiro has any information on that
23 or not.

24 Mr. Shapiro. Under the price controls before you had
25 windfall profit tax consideration, there is a system called

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1 cumulated deficiency that Senator Dole is referring to that
 2 said if you went below your production level, so therefore you
 3 had deficiencies you had to pick those up before your increased
 4 production could get a higher price.

5 The reason for that is this if for pricing purposes. You
 6 had a certain decline curve and if you went above that decline
 7 curve you get a higher price and a figure below the decline
 8 curve, you get the control price and apparently the concern was
 9 that some producer may hold back production so he would go
 10 below the decline curve and then have all the oil come out
 11 later so he would go above it, and therefore get a higher
 12 price and the cumulative deficiency means you have to make up
 13 the difference below the decline curve before you can get a
 14 higher price for any production above the decline curve.

15 When the Administration has a phased decontrol program,
 16 they eliminated the cumulative deficiency for the past and
 17 established a new cumulative deficiency starting from zero.
 18 As I understand Senator Dole's proposal, it would be to dis-
 19 regard any cumulative deficiency for tax purposes. What the
 20 House bill does is assume the cumulative deficiency would be the
 21 same for price purposes and tax purposes.

22 One, the committee can either follow the Dole proposal
 23 which is to disregard the cumulative deficiency if there is a
 24 cumulative deficiency as a result of unforeseen circumstances
 25 which are strikes, acts of God, whatever it may be that causes

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1 a shutdown that results in cumulative deficiencies and it is not
2 someone holding back, in that case you disregard it. That
3 is a compromise.

4 I am not sure if you are trying to disregard cumulative
5 deficiencies or in the case of special unforeseen circumstances
6 ---

7 The Chairman. What is the Administration's position on
8 that?

9 Senator Dole. What are we talking about revenue-wise?

10 Mr. Shapiro. It is hard to tell because we don't know
11 what the cumulative deficiency would amount to. You don't
12 know what would happen with the producer. If there is a strike
13 or hurricane or something that causes a shutdown for a period
14 of time, then you have cumulative deficiency. It just helps
15 to anticipate -- is hard to anticipate what would occur.

16 Mr. Lubick. We did not originally propose a cumulative
17 deficiency rule on the grounds of complexity. It was added by
18 the Ways and Means Committee to deal with possibilities of tax
19 avoidance. If you have a number of producers from the same
20 reservoir I suppose it is unlikely you would have people fooling
21 around deliberately holding down production so one solution
22 that we thought of it you don't like the cumulative deficiency
23 rule is simply to put in a tax avoidance rule that might deny
24 the higher tier treatment to the old oil, if it is determined
25 that the reduction is for purpose of avoiding tax. You

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1 have done that in other areas.

2 Senator Dole. If they are going to withhold it to avoid
3 tax.

4 The Chairman. Would you be willing to settle for that,
5 Mr. Lubick?

6 Mr. Lubick. That would be in line with our original posi-
7 tion, Mr. Chairman.

8 The Chairman. Could I take it then that there would be no
9 revenue loss? That it would be revenue neutral?

10 Mr. Shapiro. We can't attach any significant revenue to
11 that at all now. If you tax unforeseen circumstances we
12 don't know what it is right now and we can't anticipate. So
13 I can't imagine us making any revenue effect.

14 The Chairman. We are talking about an amendment where --
15 you might explain the amendment again, Mr. Lubick.

16 Mr. Lubick. To the extent that a producer suppresses pro-
17 duction for the purpose of avoidance of tax you would deny the
18 upper tier treatment to the later production.

19 The Chairman. All in favor say aye.

20 (Chorus of ayes.)

21 The Chairman. Opposed, no.

22 The ayes have it.

23 Senator Dole. I want to bring up one other and that was
24 501-C3. I think one day when I was absent Senator Bentsen
25 brought it up in a specific area. We now exempted from the

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1 tax monies accruing to states and subdivisions and this would
2 exempt all 501-C3 organizations from the tax. I have asked
3 the Joint Committee for revenue estimates. This is a broader
4 amendment than the amendment of the Senator from Texas. If
5 it is a nonprofit organization it seems to me they should not
6 be subject to windfall profits tax. I don't know what the
7 revenue estimates are.

8 Mr. Shapiro. We have no way of knowing all the producers
9 in tax exempt organizations we cover. We are aware of one
10 case that was brought before the committee earlier. In looking
11 into that particular case it is 150 million over the 11-year
12 period 1980 to 1990. We don't know if that is just a very
13 large one or if there are many in that category. But that
14 is just the basis of one case and we have no way of determining
15 who owns the oil.

16 Senator Dole. We are talking about private schools, Prince-
17 ton, Baylor, Shrine hospitals, they are all nonprofit as far
18 as I understand. I don't include private foundations.

19 Senator Bentsen. If I might on that. I originally spoke
20 of this for the Hospital for Crippled Children in Dallas which
21 provides free health care on a nondiscriminatory basis for
22 children with serious ailments. Any reduction in their earnings
23 just means that much less health care that will be available.
24 I think the point was well made, if you do it for them how
25 can you deny doing it for other charitable institutions? I

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1 frankly can't argue against that point of view. What we are
2 trying to do is to try to stop the private sector from ahving
3 a windfall and this obviously is not that. This is instutions
4 that use it for charitable purposes. So I very strongly
5 support what the Senator has stated.

6 I know we passed one for the oil holdings of Indian tribes
7 to exclude them from it. I certainly think this is fully
8 worthy and I would strongly support what he is doing. Senator
9 Heinz brought up a point I think is a valid one. He said
10 there would be the possibility of people then selling their
11 properties, oil properties to such institutions and that we
12 ought to preclude that from future transactions or we ought to
13 grandfather this and say that is on current holdings.

14 I think that that is a fair criticism of what we are trying
15 to do.

16 The Chairman. What is your suggestion?

17 Mr. Lubick. Mr. Chairman, we think this amendment ought
18 to be adopted because here again you have an element of pure
19 windfall. What you have not is an area where you are going to
20 get any particular energy advantage by the exemption as in the
21 case of the newly discovered or incremental tertiary. These
22 are not persons who are going to increase production if freed
23 from tax and in your illustrations you showed us some situations
24 where you had both an income tax and an excise tax on the
25 windfall. There is a situation where you do not have an income

1 tax on the windfall.

2 So the consumers of oil are being asked to transfer some
3 of their wealth in the form of higher prices resulting in these
4 windfall benefits to the owners but the owners are not paying
5 even the underlying income tax in this situation. So we think
6 it is especially appropriate in this case to impose the wind-
7 fall tax even though recognizably the owners are devoting their
8 income to charity, nevertheless they are realizing much greater
9 income as a result of decontrol to the extent of the windfalls
10 than they ever anticipated and it is appropriate for some
11 of that to be shared with the American people in the form of the
12 programs that you have been providing for energy, mass transit
13 and relief for the poor.

14 Senator Bentsen. Once again this is a situation where
15 we are trying to stop a windfall to the private sector and
16 we are not talking about the private sector here, we are talking
17 about institutions that are going to try to do good for the
18 people and this particular one is one that takes care of crippled
19 children and does an absolutely outstanding job and does it on
20 a nondiscriminatory basis. To the extent you put the tax on
21 you deny that much more help here and I am sure that is repeated
22 time and time again with other charitable institutions but
23 if Senator Dole would not object I would like to put something
24 on to meet the objection that Senator Heinz had and I think
25 the Chairman mentioned it. That this would apply only to currently

1 held properties so there would not be the situation you referred
2 to, Senator.

3 In fact, I think this was your solution to it. Where
4 people would be trying to sell oil producing properties to
5 charitable institutions and perhaps getting a higher price for
6 them.

7 Mr. Lubick. It seems to us we don't simply have as our
8 objective the elimination of windfalls for the private sector
9 but really for the, generally speaking, for the owners of oil
10 and if it is desired to send from these American people additional
11 money for these charitable purposes then Congress ought to do
12 it generally somehow through charitable contribution deductions
13 or otherwise rather than selective additional appropriations to
14 those charitable holders of royalty interests in windfall.

15 Senator Dole. They don't pay any tax now. If they have
16 to pay a windfall tax ---

17 Mr. Lubick. They are getting windfall revenues of very
18 substantial amounts from the consumers of oil. Now we are
19 suggesting that they keep a good portion of that but not all of
20 it. They are much better off as a result of decontrol than
21 they were before decontrol. To the extent of the windfalls.
22 Now to the extent the tax applies, they will give up part of
23 those windfalls but they don't also pay an income tax on those
24 windfalls as the private owners do.

25 So they are still considerably better off than the private
producers.

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1 Senator Dole. Won't they give it all? They don't
2 have anything to deduct?

3 Mr. Lubick. They don't pay income tax. Sure, they don't
4 get the income tax offset but if you add up the figures that
5 Senator Long puts on the blackboard that are on the other
6 side there that Mr. Cohen got up -- you got into some illus-
7 trations of some very high rates of taxation. That is not the
8 case in this group.

9 Senator Dole. A state school gets the money without any
10 problem, right?

11 Mr. Lubick. That involves questions of intergovernmental
12 immunity that I think presents very different problems from
13 the tax exempt organizations.

14 Senator Dole. Or state hospitals?

15 Mr. Lubick. States have functions to perform that are
16 governmental functions. They have to perform them. When you
17 are dealing with the charitable sector you are outside the con-
18 trol of government and you have in effect private appropriations
19 of money for good and desirable purposes.

20 Senator Dole. I think probably if we could do the same
21 with this amendment in the morning and maybe have five minutes
22 of discussion and then vote, because we don't have a quorum
23 present now that would give us an opportunity to discuss it
24 tomorrow and a chance for Treasury to communicate by mail with
25 those of us who are not here.

1 The Chairman. I suggest we do that.

2 Senator Danforth. Before we quite this noon we went over
3 those formulas for distribution to the lower income people and
4 I don't know what your desire is in connection with that. Are
5 they working on revised formulas or where do we stand?

6 The Chairman. I am told there are some revised formulas
7 being proposed and I am not, I don't have the details or
8 know precisely who but I know Senator Dole's ---

9 Senator Danforth. We will consider it tomorrow.

10 The Chairman. Yes.

11 Senator Bentsen. If we do that, I think we should recon-
12 sider the whole 2.4 billion or three billion, whatever we
13 are talking about. I think the Administration's proposal
14 ought to at least be considered. I don't think it has been
15 considered here yet. The Administration's proposal for
16 relief for the poor on the problems of energy costs. They
17 have had a proposal and I don't think it has been presented.

18 The Chairman. I would suggest that we get with that
19 tomorrow. We don't have a quorum here and if we try to round
20 them up we will lose members by the time we try to get others
21 in the room. Maybe the witness from HEW can tell us something
22 that occurred.

23 The Chairman. Maybe you have later information or
24 some later suggestion to make about the proposal for the poor.
25 Do you?

1 Ms. Amedi. Yes, Senator, we have been approached by a
 2 number of people. With the suggestion that perhaps it would
 3 be helpful if we could provide a greater degree of flexibility
 4 to the states in the way the low income energy assistance
 5 would be provided and we continue to feel very strongly that
 6 the SSI recipient should get a direct payment through the Fed-
 7 eral government through our Social Security Administration
 8 and we would continue to like to see that \$400 million that
 9 we expected to have for that purpose go out directly to those
 10 SSI recipients and we share with you the formulae we would
 11 have used and we have done some extra computer runs based on
 12 what the committee here already discussed.

13 In addition, we would continue to feel that the most
 14 effective and simplest way to provide additional assistance
 15 would be by giving grants directly to AFDC recipients as this
 16 committee has discussed. But it has been presented to us that
 17 a number of states, perhaps not many, perhaps only a few, but
 18 a number of states may be in a position to devise and mount
 19 programs of their own this year and so we are now of the mind
 20 that we should permit an option for those states which can make
 21 a showing to the Federal government that they are equipped and
 22 are able to provide assistance to people below 125 percent
 23 of the poverty line, if they can make that known to us speedily
 24 and show us how they mean to do it, we would permit them to take
 25 their share of the money that would have been available for

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1 Ms. Amedi. We were discussing the new charts. These charts
2 do not represent a new formula devised by the Administration; they
3 are simply the computer runs we were asked to do as a result of the
4 conversations that went on earlier before the committee.

5 I think I will give you some idea of what happens when the
6 various things that have been discussed are taken into account,
7 when we have a \$120 minimum payment factored in, or what happens
8 if you go to a formula that is strictly based on degree days, or
9 when you have a formula that makes a differentiation between,
10 or makes payments that differentiate between, single-person
11 households and households of more than one person, and takes into
12 account a minimum payment.

13 Senator Bentsen. Do you take into account the fact tax credit
14 is using up approximately one-third, as we were considering it
15 here -- the tax credit was using up about a third of the money, as
16 I recall. So the formula we are talking about here, the Nelson
17 formula, would actually be applicable only to the remaining two-
18 thirds, as I understand it.

19 Senator Chafee. I was told to use \$2 billion, based upon \$3
20 billion total. If it were smaller, everything would be prorated
21 down.

22 The Chairman. Looking at page 3 formulas, help me with
23 this: Table No. 1 is the Nelson formula, weighted by transfer
24 units. Can you give me a little more detail on that?

25 Mr. Stern. That is a technical term. The actual Nelson formula

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1 that has been tentatively agreed to by the committee was based on
2 two parts: One part was heating degree days weighted by low-income
3 population over all; and the other part was the residential use of
4 energy, which essentially would be replaced by total use of energy
5 by poor people. That particular formula Senator Chafee raised the
6 question about because it is not related to the number of actual
7 welfare and food stamp recipients; therefore, if two States have
8 comparable residential use of energy but one has rather more
9 welfare recipients, then the other payment, per recipient, tends
10 to be rather lower.

11 So the first table here, Table 1, is a table similar to the
12 table on the Mimeographed form, but this time, instead of weighting
13 the heating degree days by the number of low-income people, general-
14 ly in a State it weights it by the number of actual welfare and
15 food stamp recipients.

16 That is Table No. 1.

17 The Chairman. Say that again.

18 Mr. Stern. Under that table, both the heating degree day
19 factor -- that is to say, the factor of the coldness of the State
20 and also the residential use of energy -- both factors are weighted
21 by number of actual welfare and food stamp recipients.

22 The Chairman. Residential use and heating degree day?

23 Mr. Stern. That is correct; both factors are weighted by the
24 number of actual recipients rather than just the extent of
25 poverty in the State.

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1 Senator Dole. What is the percentage?

2 Senator Heinz. Which one is weighted by the actual number of
3 recipients?

4 Mr. Stern. Table 1 of the separate sheets.

5 The Chairman. Residential energy use rate?

6 Mr. Stern. That is correct.

7 For example, if you look at Rhode Island versus Connecticut,
8 instead of Rhode Island getting \$276 per recipient and Connecticut
9 \$359, Rhode Island gets \$273, about the same, but Connecticut comes
10 down to \$285.

11 The second table does the same thing with one characteristic
12 difference: Instead of saying that all individuals and families
13 are -- or individuals and more than one individual households
14 get the same benefit, Table No. 2 says give the family one and a
15 half times what the individual gets, except that there would be a
16 minimum benefit in any case of \$120.

17 So, except for the States affected by the minimum, that would
18 give you 50 percent more in column 2 family benefit than individual
19 benefits.

20 Other than that, however, the distribution of funds among the
21 States is based on the same criteria as Table No. 1.

22 Finally, Table No. 3 leave out the factor of residential use
23 of energy and looks only at heating degree days, weighted by the
24 number of people on welfare or receiving food stamps, and here in
25 all three of these tables there is a minimum benefit, so that is what

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1 Senator Dole. What the credit will be.

2 Senator Bentsen. Surely. That is one-third of the factor we
3 should know, how we are affected.

4 Mr. Stern. What you will find, I think, is that it is about
5 \$600 million, and it is distributed in particular States, since
6 other States don't have heating oil.

7 Senator Bentzen. I can see that.

8 Let's see just how we are affected. Is it \$600 million,
9 or is it \$1 billion?

10 Mr. Stern. The first year it is \$600 million, and I believe it
11 goes up over the period.

12 Senator Dole. We can discuss that in the morning.

13 Mr. Stern. I hope to have information for you in the
14 morning.

15 The Chairman. You might put your imagination to work. It
16 just occurs to me it might work out more fairly to all concerned
17 if you did somewhat like you did with the revenue sharing formula,
18 where in Connecticut we adopted, we had a House formula and a
19 Senate formula and in Connecticut we agreed that people could take
20 their choice of which formula they thought was the best for them;
21 and by doing that you might put one of them on heating degree
22 days and one of them on overall energy use.

23 Now, our suggestion about the Nelson formula was that
24 starting after HEW had a year to make a study, and on the income
25 use that that would not go on residential energy use but it would

1 go on total energy consumption, so that you would take all energy
2 use into effect and that is probably the fairest of them all.

3 Now, if you give States a choice as to which one they would
4 come under, it may be that they might -- as we did with the revenue
5 sharing formula -- take whichever formula works out best to your
6 advantage, that might provide a better answer than we have had yet,
7 and would make more people happy, and less people unhappy.

8 So why don't you see if you could work out something along that
9 line? For starters, I guess you had better look at total residen-
10 tial energy, but I would think if we did that we would want a
11 second year for that, to go to total energy used.

12 Ms. Amedi. We do also, of course, have the original
13 proposal that the Administration had, which was a very simple two-
14 part formula, half of it uniformly distributed across the States
15 according to expected participation in the programs, and half of
16 it according to degree days. and we do have copies of charts that
17 would show how that would work out, which I can make available.

18 One of the considerations that we had in mind, and I think is
19 going to be important in this, as long as the discussion lasts, is
20 that we need a formula that is going to be easily replicated by
21 people across the country, easily verified information, so that
22 the States themselves can come up with their own estimates of what
23 they are going to be entitled to, and so we won't have a lot of
24 confusion over the numbers and the allocations.

25 The Chairman. I must say though that having tried to struggle

1 with these things, I think we have had more satisfaction and less
 2 complaint about the revenue sharing formula than any of them; and
 3 that is because they gave them their choice between two formulas,
 4 one composed by the House and the other composed by the Senate,
 5 and the result was they are reasonably well satisfied. So, let's
 6 see what we can come up with.

7 I suggest we meet again tomorrow. We will come in here at
 8 9:30.

9 (Whereupon, at 5:10 p.m., the committee was adjourned, to
 10 reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Friday, October 19, 1979.)

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