1	EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING ON PROPOSED TAX REFORM ACT OF
2	1986
3	TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1986
4	U.S. Senate
5	Committee on Finance
6	Washington, D.C.
7	The committee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:45 p.m. in
8	Room SD-215, Dirksen Senate Office Building, the Honorable
9	Bob Packwood (chairman) presiding.
10	Present: Senators Packwood, Danforth, Chafee,
11	Durenberger, Symms, Long, Matsunaga, Moynihan, and Bradley.
12	Also present: Roger Mentz, Assistant Secretary for Tax
13	Policy, Department of the Treasury.
14	Also present: Bill Diefenderfer, Chief of Staff; Bill
15	Wilkins, Minority Staff Director; John Colvin, Chief Counsel;
16	David Brockway, Chief of Staff, Joint Committee on Taxation;
17	Randy Weiss, Deputy Chief of Staff, Joint Committee on
18	Taxation; Lindy Paull, Tax Counsel, Majority; Barbara Groves,
19	Tax Counsel, Minority; and Susan Taylor, Executive Assistant.
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insurance. Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Strella and John, do you want 2 to lead us through it? Somebody will want to change Mr. 3 Santos' nameplate. 4 If it is all right, Mr. Chairman, I will Ms. Groves. 5 begin with it. 6 Oh, yes, I apologize. I forgot that you The Chairman. 7 were going to lead us on this one. That is my fault. Ι 8 knew that. You were all ready to go the other day, right up 9 to the moment when we changed. I apologize. You have this 10 whole section. 11 Ms. Groves. All right. 12 Beginning on page 107, on insurance product. Your 13 proposal, Mr. Chairman, does not adopt the Administration's 14 recommendation to tax the inside buildup on life insurance. 15 The Chairman. Nor does the House bill. 16 Ms. Groves. Nor does the House bill. 17 Also, your proposal retains current law with respect to 18 the treatment of policyholder loans. It does repeal a small 19 exclusion for life insurance proceeds left on deposit in case 20 of surviving spouses. 21 The Chairman. As did the House bill. 22 Ms. Groves. As did the House bill. 23 Your proposal does not adopt the House bill provision 24 that someone could not claim a casualty loss if they had 25

insurance and failed to file a claim. It retains present law
in that regard.

Your proposal does adopt the Administration's recommendation that alters the treatment of structured settlements, requiring that the full amount of the compensation paid to the assignee be included in the assignee's income, and then the assignee would be given an election of when they wanted to deduct the payments out.

9 Turning to page 109 and the treatment of life insurance 10 companies, your proposal, as did the House bill, does not 11 adopt the Administration's recommendation that life insurance 12 reserve deductions be limited to net surrender value. Rather, 13 it would retain current law where the deduction is the 14 greater of a Federally prescribed computed reserve, or the 15 net surrender value.

Your proposal would retain the present law small company deduction for life insurance companies, as would the House bill. However, both your proposal and the House bill would repeal the special life insurance company deduction.

Turning to page 110 --

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Senator Symms. Excuse me. Is that in the issue of
consolidation? I don't have my spreadsheet here with me.
Ms. Groves. No, I don't believe it would be part of the
consolidation issue. The special life insurance company
deduction was added in the 1984 Act. It allowed the life

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insurance company to take a deduction equal to 20 percent of i what is called "tentative life insurance taxable income." 2 The purpose of the provision, as I understand it, was to 3 ensure that life insurance companies' effective tax rate A would be at 36.8 percent. 5 I don't believe it would get pulled into the consolida-6 tion issue, Senator. 7 Senator Symms. Thank you. 8 Turning to page 110 and the treatment of Ms. Groves. 9 tax exempt organizations engaged in insurance activity, your 10 proposal, Mr. Chairman, would retain present law in that 11 regard. It would not adopt the House bill provision, which 12 would repeal the tax exemption for organizations if a 13 substantial part of their activities had to do with 14 commercial insurance. 15 Mr. Mentz. Mr. Chairman? 16 The Chairman. Mr. Secretary? 17 Mr. Mentz. Let me just note that the Internal Revenue 18 Service has some reservations whether under current law 19 Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and GIAA CLEFF are tax exempt. That 20 is kind of a continuing issue that is within the IRS. I am 21 not commenting on it, but I am just bringing it to your 22 attention. 23 The Chairman. Are you suggesting that if there is any 24 question and we want to keep them tax exempt, we had better 25

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I	change the law to ensure that?
2	Mr. Mentz. I wouldn't propose to tell you which way to
3	go. But if that is the way you want to go, I think you ought
4	to do it explicitly. Yes, that is exactly what I meant.
5	The Chairman. Thank you.
6	Senator Matsunaga?
7	Senator Matsunaga. Mr. Secretary, you are raising a
8	question of whether or not they are tax exempt under the law
9	as it now reads?
10	Mr. Mentz. Correct.
11	Senator Matsunaga. I see.
12	Mr. Chairman, if this be the proper time, unless she is
13	not finished
14	The Chairman. No, don't hesitate to interrupt us as we
15	go along, Sparky.
16	Senator Matsunaga. I will be offering an amendment at
17	the appropriate time relative to the treatment of structured
18	settlements, which is item 2B on page 108.
19	The Chairman. Thank you.
20	Ms. Groves. Now, on page 111, Mr. Chairman, your
21	proposal adopts the House bill's provision concerning the
22	use of net operating losses when a company is insolvent or
23	liquidated and had releases from a policyholder surplus
24	account.
25	Turning to page 112 and the treatment of property and
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1 casualty insurance companies. As a first matter, Mr. Chairman, your proposal would include annually in income of a property 2 3 and casualty insurance company an amount equal to 20 percent of the unearned premium reserve. It would take current 4 5 unearned premium reserve when it goes into effect, and spread that, 20 percent of that amount, ratably income over 10 years. 6 That is similar to the House bill provision; although, as I 7 said, it would have a 10-year spread under the Chairman's 8 proposal and a five-year spread under the House bill. 9

With respect to holdings of tax exempt obligations, the House bill had a provision that property and casualty insurance companies' reserve deductions would be reduced up to a percentage of its tax exempt holdings. Your proposal, Mr. Chairman, does not adopt that provision nor one similar to it.

With respect to loss reserves, the House bill only had a study of loss reserves, and in its place put in what I think the industry affectionately called "the hammer." That would basically put a minimum tax beginning in 1988 equal to a percentage of its gain from operations shown on an annual statement.

Instead of that, Mr. Chairman, your proposal would adopt
 a simple discounting provision for loss reserves held by
 property and casualty insurance companies.

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Turning to page 113, there is a study, as I said, in the

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i House bill for loss reserves. Since your proposal, Mr. 2 Chairman, actually addresses the loss reserve issue, there is 3 no provision for a study, nor is there a provision for a 4 study of whether there should be a special treatment of 5 policyholder dividends of mutual property and casualty 6 insurance companies as there is in the life insurance area. 7 Mr. Mentz. Mr. Chairman, we are grateful any time you 8 delete a provision requiring the Treasury to make a study. 9 (Laughter) 10 Ms. Groves. Turning to page 114 on the protection against loss accounts, your proposal, Mr. Chairman, would 11 repeal those accounts, as would the House bill. 12 On the treatment of small companies, your proposal, 13 Mr. Chairman, would replace the current law myriad provisions 14 relating to small mutual insurance companies to a single 15 provision that would apply to both stock and mutual companies. 16 Senator Durenberger. Mr. Chairman? 17 The Chairman. Senator Durenberger? 18 Senator Durenberger. Can I inquire as to why your 19 proposal on this issue, the move from the House 500,000 20 threshhold down to 350 and from the 2 million threshhold to 21 1.2? 22 Ms. Groves. I would imagine, Senator, that it is just a 23 matter of where you draw the line, that if you are treating 24 small companies as being tax exempt, what is the proper level 25

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1	at which you decide that a company should or should not pav
2	tax?
3	Senator Durenberger. There is no particular policy or
4	reason that would prevent my amendment to adopt the House
5	language at some point, which I intend to do?
6	The Chairman. That is correct.
7	Senator Durenberger. Thank you.
8	The Chairman. That completes the section. You have a
9	very calming effect on this committee; are there any other
10	sections you would like to do?
11	(Laughter)
12	Senator Symms. Mr. Chairman, are we through? I wanted
13	to bring up this question about consolidation and find out
14	how the law treats it, whenever we are ready.
15	The Chairman. In this section right here? Which
16	consolidation are you talking about?
17	Senator Symms. Well, I want to know how an insurance
18	company is treated if they own 80 percent of the stock of
19	another insurance company, and if they can deduct the losses
20	from the gains. Say, a life insurance company owning a
21	property and casualty company, for an example.
22	Ms. Groves. I think what the thing is, that if a life
23	insurance company owns a property and casualty insurance
24	company now, they could file consolidated returns.
25	Some persons have raised concerns that, given the losses
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in property and casualty insurance companies, that that has 1 allowed an improper use of those losses. 2 I think the Chairman's proposal addresses that issue, not 3 by denying consolidation but by attempting to reach a manner Δ of taxing property and casualty insurance companies that would 5 ensure that their economic income is being taxed, and thus, 6 the consolidation issue would not be any different for that 7 industry than it would be for any other industry. 8 Senator Symms. So, it would be the same in the 9 Chairman's proposal? 10 Ms. Groves. As under current law, yes. 11 How much more does this increase the Senator Symms. 12 taxes on property and casualty companies? 13 The revenue that would be raised by it, Ms. Groves. 14 I believe, is 5.9 billion over the five-year period. 15 Senator Symms. So, it is like a billion a year, 16 approximately? More. 17 Ms. Groves. Yes. 18 In taxation of property and casualty Senator Symms. 19 companies? 20 Ms. Groves. Yes. 21 Senator Symms. And how much were the profits of the 22 property and casualty companies in the last five-year period, 23 say? 24 I don't know that figure. Ms. Groves. 25 Moffitt Reporting Associates

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1 Senator Symms. What I am trying to find out is, how 2 big of a hit are they taking in this proposition? That is 3 what I mean. Δ Ms. Groves. Well, on an industrywide basis, as I said, 5 the revenue raising would be 5.9 billion. I imagine the specific effect would be on a company-by-company basis. 6 7 Senator Symms. Well, how much taxes would they pay under current law, and how much taxes would they pay under the 8 Chairman's proposal. I'll put it that way, then. I know it 9 is 5.9 billion more, but how many dollars are we talking 10 about? 11 Ms. Groves. I don't know. Perhaps the Joint Committee 12 13 would have those figures. Mr. Weiss. Senator Symms, I don't have it right here, 14 I believe, the projections for the future. We do have some 15 statistics on the 10-year period 1975 to 1984, if that would 16 be helpful to you. Over that period the net gain on a book 17 basis was about \$75 billion, and the net Federal income tax 18 was actually a small refund. So, during that period the 19 companies had a substantial amount of income and essentially 20 did not have a tax liability. 21 Senator Symms. Are you telling me, then, they are going 22 from paying no taxes to paying a billion dollars a year? 23 How many revenue bonds do they own that would be paying local 24 taxes, or so to speak, subsidizing local projects? 25

Mr. Weiss. What I am not sure is, what the particular profit projections we have are for the 1987 to 1991 period. and whether we are projecting zero tax and then \$5.6 billion more, or whether it is going from some small tax to some bigger tax.

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6 Senator Durenberger. Could we explore that as a question 7 of history? A couple of years ago we went through life insurance and we gave them a dollar figure, and we let them restructure the Tax Code. Is that what we are doing in 10 property and casualty, Mr. Chairman?

11 The Chairman. That is roughly it. They didn't like what 12 the House did, and the House put in what was called "the 13 hammer." They were frightened to death that we might do 14 exactly what the House did. So, we have more or less reached 15 an agreement with them that comes with a figure which is not 16 far off the House figure, but they like the way we have gone 17 about it much better than the House.

18 Now, if you were to ask them, "Would you rather have 19 neither?" the answer is Yes.

Senator Durenberger. But the dollar amount is the same 20 in both the House and the Senate? 21

The Chairman. I am trying to remember; it isn't that 22 far off, is it, in terms of the total? 23

Ms. Groves. Under the House bill, based on the different 24 five-year period, it would be 4.8. And under the Chairman's 25

1 proposal it is 5.9. 2 The Chairman. Bearing in mind it is one year off. They 3 are both five-year periods, but theirs is a one year prior 4 five-year period. 5 Senator Symms. What you are saying is that 4.9 billion would be paid under current law, and 5.9 billion under the 6 Chairman's? 7 No, 4.8 under the House bill, Senator, and 8 Ms. Groves. 9 5.9 under the Chairman's proposal. 10 Senator Symms. And how about current law? Senator Durenberger. We don't know that. 11 Ms. Groves. That, again, is the guestion. I don't know 12 exactly what the revenue raised from that industry is under 13 current law. 14 Mr. Weiss. Senator Symms, I believe our projections 15 would show that there would be some net amount of Federal 16 income tax paid, even if the industry as a whole had a loss, 17 because there would be some companies with profits and some 18 companies with losses, and during this period the companies 19 with profits may well pay some tax, while the companies with 20 losses would pay no tax. 21 I am not sure, even if there is a net loss for the 22 industry as a whole. So, it is likely that there would be 23 some tax paid during this period from the subset of companies 24 that have profits. 25

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1	The Chairman. Mr. Secretary?
2	Mr. Mentz. Mr. Chairman, just to give a little perspec-
3	tive to the issue of taxation of property and casualty
4	insurance companies, property and casualty companies were not
5	really affected very much at all by the 1982 or 1984
6	legislation. And under current law they enjoy a very
7	favorable tax regime, in that they are entitled to a full
8	reserve deduction for the anticipated amount of a loss that
9	will occur in the future, undiscounted. In other words, if
10	the loss is going to be \$100, they would take a deduction now
11	for \$100, even though, clearly, you would not need to set
12	aside \$100 because it is going to grow with investment income
13	by the time the loss is payable.
14	That problem has been raised by Treasury; it has been
15	raised by GAO; it is acknowledged by the industry. And as
16	you indicated, the industry basically came forward after the
17	House bill, and the Chairman's package represents a
18	negotiated arrangement with which the industry participated,
19	recognizing that current law was extremely favorable.
20	Senator Symms. Is the issue over the time value of
21	money?
22	Mr. Mentz. The issue is whether the current deductions
23	for the reserve are overstated. And I think it is acknow-
24	ledged that they are. That is the issue.

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Senator Symms. Thank you.

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The Chairman. Further discussion on this section? Senator Bentsen?

Senator Bentsen. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

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4 I have had some people in the title insurance companies 5 approach me saying that in H.R. 3838, where direction was 6 taken to try to see that the fire and casualty companies pay 7 a larger share of taxes, that the feeling apparently on the 8 House side was that they were not paying a proportionate 9 share, but that the legislation was drafted so broadly that 10 it included title insurance companies. And they allege that because of the difference in the business -- and there is a 11 very major difference in the business -- they shouldn't be 12 under the same category, and that in turn that they pay a 13 substantially higher percent of the tax. 14

I would like Ms. Groves to comment on it; I think she is familiar with the issue.

Ms. Groves. As I understand it, Senator Bentsen, their
primary problem has to do with the provision in the Chairman's
proposal concerning the unearned premium reserves, and the
20 percent pays. They have recently supplied the staff with
quite a few materials explaining the industry, and the staff
is in the process of going through those.

It appears that their problem might be that, since they
put a higher proportion of their premiums and unearned premium
reserve than would usually be the case in a property/casualty

company, that the 20 percent might overstate the acquisition 2 expense capitalization issue which the unearned premium 3 reserve disallowance piece is aimed at. So, we are currently going through this material and 5 looking at what they have submitted. 6 The Chairman. Any other discussion on this section? 7 Senator Symms. Mr. Chairman, if I could ask one more 8 question, in this discounting is there going to be an interest 9 rate charge on that? 10 The way the discounting proposal would Ms. Groves. Yes. 11 work, it would begin generally for all lines of business of a 12 property/casualty insurance company and would start with the Then it would be discounted, based on an 13 gross amount. 14 interest rate, a payout period, and a time period. 15 The Chairman's proposal states that it would be a five 16 percent rate adjusted to an appropriate rate. What is 17 envisioned by that is beginning --Senator Symms. A five percent based on a what? 18 Ms. Groves. Five percent. Beginning at five percent. 19 Senator Symms. For how long? 20 What is envisioned is that in 1987, which Ms. Groves. 21 would be the first year in effect, it would be at five percent 22 For 1988 it would move to a number which is a percentage of 23 That percentage would be the ratio which five the AFR. 24 percent bears to the AFR at January 1, 1987. If you use the 25

i	current mid-term AFR which just came out in the last few days,
2	at 7.43, that would put the 1983 interest rate used in
3	discounting at 67, approximately 67 percent of the AFR.
4	Then, for 1989 it would move up to a higher percentage
5	of the AFR, somewhere between the 1988 level and 100 percent.
6	Then at 1990 it would go at 100 percent of the AFR, the
7	rationale being that the AFR, being a conservative investment
8	rate, that a company could always invest its assets at at
9	least that rate, and that that would be the discount rate that
10	should be used, because they could always get at least that
11	much money on their assets.
12	The Chairman. Further questions?
13	(No response)
14	The Chairman. If not, good job. Thank you.
15	Let us move on to the capital gain section, one of the
16	relatively simpler sections, and hope we can move through it
17	relatively fast.
18	Mr. Colvin. That begins on page 30, Mr. Chairman.
19	The Chairman. Page what, John?
20	Mr. Colvin. Page 30.
21	The Chairman. Thank you.
22	Mr. Colvin. On page 30, the Chairman's proposal would
23	retain the top capital gains rate of 20 percent for
24	individuals and 28 percent for corporations. And at the
25	bottom of page 30, the Chairman's proposal with respect to
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incentive stock options would repeal the sequencing rule. It
changes the \$100,000 limit from application to grants to
exercise, and also limits incentive stock options to companies
with gross profits of \$100 million or less.

On page 31, the Chairman's proposal includes the small
business participating debenture proposal, which has been
reflected in legislation introduced over the last several
years by Senator Weicker and many other Senators.

9 The proposal would create a hybrid investment instrument 10 for small business, under which the business could deduct 11 interest paid on the small business participating debenture, 12 the lender would report as income the interest up to a 13 guaranteed level that would treat as capital gains interest 14 above the guaranteed level. The purpose of the proposal is 15 to help small business raise capital.

On page 32, the proposal includes a provision relating to straddles, and would treat as short-term capital gain gain received under tax straddles, and as a result the applicable highest rate would be 35 percent; whereas, under current law the highest rate would be 32 percent, and under the workings of the House bill the highest rate would be 28.4 percent.

23 Senator Symms. Hold on that point, John.
 24 Now, you call it "straddles," but aren't you talking
 25 about commodities?

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Mr. Colvin. That is correct.

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Senator Symms. But is there any other place in the Tax
Code where we tax somebody for unrealized gain, other than
this?

5 Mr. Colvin. The market-to-market system is limited to
6 these rules.

Senator Symms. 7 But see, I thought there had been an agreement made in 1981 that, since the market-to-market 8 9 taxation is an exception to ordinary tax law, whereas, people are taxed on unrealized gain -- in other words, they may 10 close out the transaction and lose money on the transaction, . 11 but at year end they are taxed on what their basis was, 12 whether ahead or behind. And we are talking about raising 13 them, is that it? 14

Mr. Colvin. The effect of the proposal would be to raise them from the 32 to 38, under the theory that they are more in the nature of short-term capital gains. If there were no provision, the effect would be --

Senator Symms. Thirty-two to 38? Or 35?

Mr. Mentz. We are not up to 38 yet.

Mr. Colvin. From 32 to 35. I apologize.

Senator Symms. Thirty-five. Well, what about if a person had commodity trades and was not in the income bracket to be at the 35 percentile? Would they then be at 15? Mr. Colvin. That is just the maximum rate, and so lower

rates would apply in those cases. 1

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For shorthand purposes I was giving the highest applicable rate, but if they were in the 15 or 25% percent bracket those would be the rates that would apply.

Senator Symms. I guess what I was trying to get at is, by having gone to mark-to-market where this is a very high risk enterprise anyway, and we have the 32 percent rate, is there any reason to think that that isn't working fairly well now at that rate?

Mr. Colvin. If there were no provision in the Chairman's 10 bill, the effect of the top capital gains rate of 20 percent 11 and the top individual rate for ordinary income of 35 percent 12 would be to reduce this figure to 26 percent. So, that would 13 be the effect if there were no provision. 14

Senator Symms. And if there is no provision -- now, say 15 that again. 16

Mr. Colvin. You see, the House had no provision. If the Chairman had also had no provision, the effect would be the top tax rate would be 26 percent. That is simply the interaction between the 20 percent and the 35 percent top

rate.

Senator Symms. The 60-40 rule? 22 Mr. Colvin. That is right, that is how the 60-40 rule would apply. 24

Senator Symms. I would like to explore that a little bit

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1 more, Mr. Chairman, at some point, as to whether I totally 2 understand why it is we are changing this. 3 What would it take to get it back, just to keep it the way it is? 5 Mr. Colvin. It would take a different rule than 60-40. 6 I don't have the percents. You would have to modify that 7 formula. 8 Senator Symms. What I am trying to get at is, why 9 single out one industry and essentially give them a tax rate 10 increase? Why not apply the 60-40 rule like we have. If we 11 think it is fair and equitable to have the 20 percent on 12 capital gains rate and 35 percent top rate, it would seem 13 logical what they did in the House. 14 Mr. Colvin. I guess it is a question of what you think 15 the nature of these transactions is. And the theory of the Chairman's proposal is that the 20 percent capital gains 16 17 rate should be retained, but that, with respect to this type 18 of transaction, the 35 percent rate is more appropriate. 19 Senator Symms. So they would actually end up getting a 3 percent tax increase on what they are doing right now? 20 Mr. Colvin. That is right. 21 Senator Symms. See, the concern that I think the 22 committee needs to consider is that, because of the applica-23 tion of mark to market rules, sometime along in the middle of 24 December or earlier a lot of traders start slowing down on 25 Moffitt Reporting Associates Falls Church, Virginia 22046

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1 their trading and closing out for the year, because they don't 2 want to end up with a position that shows a profit at year 3 end and then come back over a long weekend of New Years and 4 find out that they have lost a lot of money on it and are 5 still liable for a 32-percent tax rate against that position. What this does to the farmers and lumbermen and miners, 6 7 and so forth, that use the commodity markets for price 8 discovery is, it makes the market awfully thin, because 9 people stop trading; it takes all those traders in there, 10 the ones that make the market. 11 What my concern is, if you raised their rates, you are going to compound that year-end problem, which has 12 13 happened; but I think they have learned to adjust to the 14 mark-to-market system. But that is the only place in our Tax Code where we tax people for unrealized gains -- which 15 I personally think is a poor policy, but it is the law. 16 But that is neither here nor there, what my opinion of it is, 17 18 It is a fact that those people who are engaged in making those commodity or options transactions that are taxed on a 19 mark-to-market basis stand the possibility to lose a lot of 20 the profits that they had if they hold a position through. 21 their year-end. Maybe the way to offset that would be to 22 get them to all stagger their end-of-year, so that you would 23 have all the traders having a year-end at the end of a 24 different month, based on the alphabet or something, so that 25

they don't all come up on a calendar year; but it forces those markets to get very thin at the end of the year, which can be very detrimental to the industries that are producing and using those markets.

5 So I just throw that out. I don't have a solution, but 6 if you can come up with something on that. What I would 7 think would be more fair would be to at least not raise their 8 rate, maybe going to 26 percent is more than the committee 9 wants to do; but I don't see why they should have their rate 10 raised to compound this problem.

The Chairman. Further discussion? Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman? The Chairman. Senator Moynihan. Senator Moynihan. Are we on the straddles? The Chairman. Just on it, right now.

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Senator Moynihan. You know, this is something that I
was much involved with in the first place. I have never heard
that the industry liked the arrangement that we made, that
mix of 60-40, when we put it to the commodity straddle
arrangements. I guess I should say I have never heard it
until this morning. Now, I gather there are some people who
don't consider it an unfriendly act, that we took.

I guess as much as any one person, I wrote this provision. I always thought they were very angry with us, and me. Could I reserve just the opportunity to consult, then

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return to the subject at a convenient time? 1 The Chairman. Absolutely: All we are doing is 2 discussing it, Pat. 3 Senator Moynihan. Yes, I know that. I just would like 4 to learn whether they are still as mad as they said they 5 I think things turned out better than they thought. were. 6 I don't know. 7 Would the Senator yield for a moment? Senator Symms. 8 Senator Moynihan. Yes. 9 Senator Symms. I would just like to say that, coming 10 from a state where we produce silver and lumber and grain and 11 livestock, and all of these commodities that are traded on 12 the exchanges, under the old law -- and I am not sure how the 13 traders like the mark-to-market system, but under the old 14 law -- there was a preference, a tax preference, slightly 15 tilted in favor of the long positions, the bulls. 16 Senator Moynihan. Yes. 17 Senator Symms. So, the big fortunes that were often 18 made in the commodity markets were made in the hands of the 19 people that were in a long position. That was beneficial to 20 the same guy that is mining silver or selling lumber or 21 producing lumber, producing grain, livestock, and so forth. 22 And when we changed to mark-to-market, that was 23 basically my opposition to it. You took all the bias out of 24 it; you might as well be short as long. 25

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In the old says, if you were short you would get hit at the higher tax rate; if you were long, you would have --Well, what has happened is, we have taken the bias out of it, so there is no benefit for anybody to be either long or short.

6 Senator Moynihan. That was our object, but they didn't
7 really like it.

8 Senator Symms. Well, that was to the disadvantage, from
9 my point of view, of the producing state, because it tended
10 to remove people's willingness to try to buy more rather than
11 to be selling more.

But still, we have to face the fact that even though it isn't -- everybody is not involved in the commodity industry. But anybody who holds a position at the year end is liable for a tax on that position, if it shows a profit. And that is my objection to raising the rates on them. It is the only place in our Tax Code where we tax people for unrealized gains. And it is a very high risk business.

It just appears to me that it is a mistake, I would say to my colleague, to raise the rates.

Senator Moynihan. I would be very happy to talk with him and with the Chairman. It is just that there was such unshirted hell raised when we did make these changes that I assume maybe their people don't like them. Maybe they can make that case. If they do like them -- and I think Senator

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1	Symms was absolutely right: there was this bias in favor of
2	the long. We tried to make it neutral.
3	But, if the Chairman would be kind enough, as he is, we
4	will return to the subject when we get to the point where we
5	are getting
6	The Chairman. Absolutely.
7	Senator Moynihan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
8	The Chairman. Let us go on to corporate, if we might.
9	Mr. Colvin. That begins on page 45.
10	The Chairman. Senator Bentsen has requested if we could
11	start with general utilities, page 50, I think.
12	Senator Bentsen. That is correct.
13	Mr. Colvin. That begins on page 50.
14	Senator Bentsen. Mr. Chairman, if I might, this
15	particular provision is one that does not have widely-held
16	recognition of its provisions. But I think it can get us in
17	a lot of trouble if we repeal the General Utilities Doctrine.
18	That is a 50-year-old rule, and if you repeal it I think you
19	move the corporate tax system in completely the wrong
20	direction.
21	Let me tell my colleagues what the General Utilities
22	provision is. That is a rule that simply says that when you
23	liquidate a corporation you pay one tax, instead of paying
24	two, that you do not get into the situation where you would
25	pay first the corporate tax and then the stockholders would

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pay an additional tax.

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Now, insofar as Europe is concerned, they have gone
pretty far in the way of integrating the corporate and the
individual tax system. This is the only provision that we
have that really does that, that I can think of. And it seems
to me a serious mistake to move away from it.

Now let me give you an example. Let us suppose I start
a business, and I have in it a piece of land that is worth
\$100,000 that I buy. And then as time goes on and the
business progresses, the property goes up in value. Let us
say it goes up to \$200,000. Then I decide to sell the
business in liquidation.

Under the General Utilities provision I would pay one tax. Without that, I would pay one at the corporate level, then I would turn around and pay another one at the shareholder level. And they are on exactly the same appreciation. I would pay it twice.

I think that that puts a substantial penalty on putting things in corporate solution, and I think you would put a great deterrent on people doing that, and obviously you would treat them differently than you would in a partnership or a single proprietorship.

I don't think you want to do that, in getting
entrepreneurs started in the business. I don't think you
particularly would want to do that at a time when our tort

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1 law is having some very serious problems on liability
2 questions.

3 Mr. Chairman, I would like it if Treasury would comment
4 on their point of view on that particular piece of
5 legislation, if Secretary Mentz would.

Mr. Mentz. Well, Mr. Chairman, the issue of General 6 Utilities or the repeal of General Utilities is a difficult 7 issue. As Senator Bentsen ably explained it, General 8 Utilities does provide a measure of integration at the end 9 of the period of corporate existence; whether by liquidation 10 and sale of assets or sale of assets followed by liquidation, 11 the rule provides one level of tax -- a tax at the share-12 holder level, not at the corporate level. 13

The other side of that is that the purchaser of, typically, appreciated assets, maybe even inventory, assuming it is a corporate purchaser, will get a fair-marketvalue basis for those assets purchased.

The way General Utilities works -- and we really should 18 not be calling it "General Utilities"; it is not a case, it 19 is a series of Code sections. The way sections 336 and 20 337 work, the way the Internal Revenue works under present 21 law, a corporation can sell its business, including its 22 inventory, to one purchaser, and the purchaser would have a 23 full step up in basis, he would take a fair market value for 24 the inventory, and thus the appreciation in the inventory 25

in the inventory would effectively escape corporate-level tax.
There would be shareholder tax on the gain realized by the
shareholders, but no corporate level tax, as Senator Bentsen
has explained.

5 I would say, in terms of the professional legal community, there is a split right now as to whether there 6 7 should be a corporate level tax in all cases or in all 8 transactions, or whether this sale in liquidation should be 9 exempt from corporate tax. I think it is a fair representation that bar associations differ on this. And indeed, able 10 and well-recognized tax lawyers have different points of 11 view. 12

I would say that, were we not in a fundamental tax
reform mode, you just asked the question what should be done
with General Utilities independent of tax reform, which was
a question that came up in the early Eighties. I believe
there was a hearing on it. I think the question in that
context really is a question of do you want to impose a
second level of tax and raise revenue.

There is a significant revenue impact on this -- I believe the Joint Committee estimated it as \$2.6 billion over the budget period. I think that the Treasury has never, to my knowledge, said that, "Yes, that is a good idea; you ought to do that; go ahead and repeal these Code sections that provide for a double level of -- relief of one level of

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tax so that there is only one level of tax."

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2 I think the question really that is framed here is, 3 is the answer different in tax reform? And is it different 4 when we are doing other things -- fundamental changes, 5 reducing rates, changing, base broadening, trying to basically 6 totally restructure the Code? In other words, the question 7 is almost, "If you wanted to start fresh, would you or would 8 you not have a corporate level tax that would apply to all 9 transactions?"

10 I think that a case can be made that, if a satisfactory 11 corporate regime is in place, which would involve something 12 along the lines of the Senate Finance staff proposals, that 13 in effect provide an excape hatch from General Utilities, a 14 way of purchasing assets from a corporation with a carryover 15 basis, so that there would be no corporate level tax, and 16 therefore the seller could avoid the corporate tax and be 17 in a position of having only one tax, in that case and if 18 that set of corporate rules were in place I think that the 19 revenue raised by the Chairman's proposal on this is worth 20 the effort and worth changing these rules.

You may want to consider very hard how those rules in
the Senate Finance staff action apply, Senator Bentsen; but
to limit my answer and to finalize my answer in the context
of tax reform, if we can do it, if it can be done in a way that
provides that escape hatch that Senate Finance staff have

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worked out, Treasury would not object to it.

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Senator Bentsen. That is a pretty long answer, 2 Mr. Secretary. Let me read you a much shorter answer. 3 This one says, "I am troubled by the staff's proposal to impose 4 a full corporate level tax on all gain realized in the sale 5 of assets by a corporation pursuant to a liquidation that is 6 governed by section 337 of present law, or on the complete 7 liquidation of a corporation that is presently governed by 8 section 336." It then goes on to make some of the same 9 arguments I did. Of course, this one is dated October 27, 10 1983, and it is signed by a Mr. Roger Mentz. 11

I would say, Mr. Secretary, that this Administration has worked to try to get integration of the corporate and the individual tax, and I think that is the proper approach and the proper direction.

I think if we pass this and repeal the Genearl Utilities
provision, you are not going to hear much about it at this
point, I don't believe. But you are sure going to hear about
it in the next year or two as people suddenly find out what
has happened to them. Then you are going to get a great
deterrent on the use of putting assets in corporate solution.
It is, frankly, I think, at least a bad tax law.

Now, if we can find some way to accomplish the objective
otherwise, I am certainly prepared to look at it. But it is
certainly moving away of what we have seen happening in

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Europe.

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Mr. Mentz. Well, Senator Bentsen, I hope that my answer did indicate that it is a troublesome issue. It is troublesome to me. Obviously I am well aware of the letter that I wrote. I think if you read the letter all the way through you will probably agree with the point of view expressed; it raises some pretty fundamental problems that a change of law of this nature would entail.

9 Senator Bentsen. Sure. There are all kinds of other
10 things that you are going to have to change in addition, if
11 you change this.

Mr. Mentz. That is right. And in order to make it work 12 you would have to make fundamental changes so that, in the 13 case of a purchase of assets -- frequently an acquisition 14 cannot involve the purchase of stock. A buyer doesn't always 15 want to buy stock, as you well know. He may have liabilities 16 associated with the company, or whatever. So, an asset 17 purchased is mostly the more common way of doing a purchase, 18 particularly in the smaller business setting. And in that 19 context it is essential to have the ability to buy assets 20 without involving the double tax. That would require going to 21 a very different scheme of corporate taxation for corporate 22 transactions than we presently have. 23

24 The issue of going in that direction was raised at a 25 committee hearing last Fall, I believe. Assistant Secretary

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Pearlman testified, and his recommendation was that that is a very complicated area and it might be better to leave that one to a time when we have more time to study it and not try to take it up as a part of tax reform.

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5 I guess what I am saying now is, if you want to go in the direction of repealing General Utilities, I think you have to 6 take it up now, because it is essential to allow that escape 7 hatch. The real question is, when you get all through with 8 General Utilities and whatever exceptions or modifications 9 you want to make to it, can you raise the \$2.6 billion or 10 something very close to it? And what do you think of the 11 package? I think you have to go down the road a bit before 12 you can make that judgment. 13

Senator Bentsen. Well, of course there is one other
point that you touched on very quickly in the beginning, and
I think there is perhaps some grounds there for some change
to stop abuses, and that is on inventory. I think something
might be done there.

But on the other hand, insofar as depreciation of property, the rules there override General Utilities, and you get a recapture on depreciation. So I don't have a problem there.

But I think that you get in a situation where, if you
start saying to an entrepreneur, "If you go into corporate
solution you are going to end up paying a double tax," I

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really think you make it much more difficult for the entrepreneur to start new businesses, and that is where a great many of our jobs come from these days.

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Then you look at the tort law today, look at some of 5 these awards and that type of thing, and the problem of trying to obtain liability insurance, and you go into business as an 6 7 individual and can't get appropriate liability insurance. 8 I just looked at one where the premium -- the premium -- for one year's million dollar liability was over \$700,000. 9 That was the premium. Now, why would they do that? Because they 10 are in the trucking business, and to get their certificate 11 they have to have liability insurance. So, that is what they 12 are up against today, and that is why, if you deny them the 13 corporate route and give them the double tax, I just think it 14 is a bad way to go. 15

The Chairman. Senator Symms and then Senator Moynihan. 16 Senator Symms. Mr. Chairman, I think Senator Bentsen 17 has hit a very, very important point in this sector. After 18 hearing your answer, what Senator Bentsen is really saying is, 19 if there is anybody out there in America and is incorporated, 20 in, say, a small family business, a farm or what have vou, 21 they had better sell before we change the law, because after-22 wards it is going to cost them more money. 23

Just to give you an example, let us say that if a family farmer had gotten a hold of a farm in 1920 and had been on it

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1 since, and his cost of the farm was \$10,000, and he sold the 2 farm for \$500,000, with a gain of \$490,000, and the tax added 3 at a 28-percent rate, the corporate level, which would leave 4 you \$362,800, and then you would have to tax the shareholders 5 at the 20 percent rate if you go the route that the Chairman 6 is talking about, for another \$72,000, the net to the share-7 holders would be \$290,240.

8 Under current law, the same proposition, you would not
9 tax it at the corporate level if you liquidated the company
10 and distributed it to the shareholders, and they would pay a
11 20-percent rate, which would be \$98,000, it would be
12 \$392,000 left over for the shareholders. It would be a
13 \$100,000 difference. It is a big tax increase.

14 Ms. Paull. Senator Symms, I would like to point out that 15 the Chairman's proposal does have a relief from the share-16 holder level tax in that type of situation, where the value 17 of the corporation is \$5 million or less. And the gain on the sale of a long-held asset such as that farm property would be 18 19 taxed at the corporate level, but the shareholder would receive a basis adjustment which would, in essence, preclude 20 21 taxing it again at a second time at the shareholder level. So, for a smaller corporation, a mom and pop type 22 corporation, with \$5 million in stock value, we do have 23 24 shareholder level relief.

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Senator Symms. That is well and good, but a lot of this

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gain is because of that printing press down there on 14th and Independence Avenue, and we have been printing money for years and years and years. So, a lot of that appreciation in value may have just come about because of a long-time 24hour-a-day shift of the printing press.

I think that is well and good, but in the case Senator
Bentsen is talking about, about the company, say, that needs
to reorganize or change or wants to quit because of high
liability insurance, what about them? We have to recognize
it is an extraordinarly big tax increase. We are talking
about paying 100 percent more -- well, not quite 100 percent
more.

Ms. Paull. We do have, though a two-tier level of tax,
and this has tended to be a very inefficient way to provide
that integration because of the abuses that have occurred.

16 Congress has had to cut back on the General Utilities
17 rules over successive years. So, it has been a troublesome
18 aspect of the two-tier tax system.

Turning back to page 45, the --

The Chairman. Wait.

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Did you have a question, Pat?

Senator Moynihan. This is for Secretary Mentz.

This was not in Treasury-I or Treasury-II.

Mr. Mentz. That is right.

Senator Moynihan. I guess you are by now familiar that

1	such provisions, where they are kind of intricate, raise in
2	our minds the suspicion that they are at least as much
3	revenue-driven as they are doctrinal or otherwise.
4	Aren't we, Mr. Chairman, undertaking a general review
5	of Subchapter C, of which this would necessarily would be a
6	part?
7	The Chairman. That is correct. It is a part of the
8	study that the committee has been doing off and on. We had
9	a report last May, and we had some hearings on it in the Fall,
10	as I recall.
11	Senator Moynihan. Yes.
12	I have one point to make and then an inquiry. I know
13	that the provision as you have submitted it has some
14	complementary provisions that go into effect on January 1,
15	1988. Isn't that right?
16	Ms. Paull. That is right.
17	Senator Moynihan. But the change in the existing law
18	goes in March 1 of 1986. Is there a reason for this gap?
19	Oughtn't they to be sort of simultaneous if there is an
20	"ought," I mean. I am just asking for information.
21	Ms. Paull. The March l date for General Utilities was
22	used because of a fear of a great revenue loss from a rush to
23	the market. The January 1, 1988, date was used for the
24	balance of the Subchapter C report, to give further time for
25	the tax bar to learn the rules. And that was what was in our

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1 of double taxation? 2 Mr. Mentz. Well, I don't think Senator Bentsen would agree that it would be solved, but it would be ameliorated 3 significantly, and that is the reason I suggested that they 4 5 really ought to be done as one package. Senator Moynihan. All right. May I suggest that you, 6 7 Mr. Secretary, get with the Chairman and solve this one? The Chairman. We will take care of it. 8 9 Mr. Mentz. All right. The Chairman. Now let us start through, Lindy. 10 Ms. Paull. All right. 11 Senator Symms. Mr. Chairman, I have one more question 12 to ask back to Ms. Paull, if I could. 13 You say the \$5 million size company, the point I 14 expressed is taken care of. 15 Ms. Paull. Yes. 16 Senator Symms. Well, let us say it is a \$50 million 17 company and you have a lot of small stockholders. What is 18 the answer on that one? 19 Ms. Paull. If the value of the stock is over \$10 million 20 on a liquidating distribution there would be tax both at the 21 corporate level and at the shareholder level. 22 Senator Symms. If it is over \$10 million? 23 Ms. Paull. Right. But what we do is provide a full 24 amount of relief on long-held assets for corporations with 25

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1	\$5 million in value or less, and then we phase out that			
2	relief between \$5 million and \$10 million.			
3	Senator Symms. Well, I think somebody who had a company			
4	that size wold be considered a fairly substantial person,			
5	possibly; but, what about the little old lady in tennis shoes			
6	that just owns \$25,000 worth of this stock? We are going to			
7	give her a double hit under this plan, then?			
8	Ms. Paull. She would have to pay a shareholder level			
9	tax. The corporation itself would have to.			
10	Senator Symms. But the successful individual who has			
11	held the farm for all of these years and has a big personal			
12	financial statement, they would get out of the double			
13	taxation under this plan?			
14	Ms. Paull. Well, they would be eligible for relief at			
15	the shareholder level.			
16	Senator Symms. Well, do you see what my point is?			
17	Ms. Paull. Yes.			
18	Senator Symms. In my view, this is either a right			
19	policy or a wrong policy, and it sounds to me like what we			
20	are trying to do is tax people twice.			
21	Ms. Paull. Well, when the staff was developing the			
22	proposal there was a lot of concern expressed about mom and			
23	pop type corporations.			
24	Senator Symms. But what about mom and pop who own stock			
25	in a bigger corporation that liquidates? And they may even			
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1	of a lesser financial worth than the mom and pop that we are
2	protecting with this break in the bill?
3	Ms. Paull. Right. Well, the larger corporation would
4	not be afforded the same type of protection.
5	Senator Symms. But who owns that? That is my whole
6	point. There could be thousands of stockholders who all own
7	just a little bit.
8	Thank you.
9	The Chairman. Go ahead, Lindy.
10	Ms. Paull. All right. On page 45 we are skipping over
11	the first item, which is the corporate tax rates. The second
12	item is the corporate dividends paid deduction. Under
13	current law corporations are not allowed the deductions for
14	dividends paid to their shareholders. The Chairman's proposal
15	would change this treatment.
16	Turning to page 46, spreadsheet item 3, the Chairman's
17	proposal reduces the 85 percent dividends-received deduction
18	for corporate shareholders to 80 percent.
19	Item 4 on page 46, the Chairman's proposal repeals the
20	\$100 or \$200, in the case of a joint return, dividend
21	exclusion for individual shareholders.
22	On that same page, item 5, the Chairman's proposal
23	provides that a corporation cannot deduct payments made in
24	connection with the redemption of its stock, including so-
25	called "green mail payments" in a hostile takeover situation.
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Item number 6, which begins on page 50 and goes through
 page 52, provides new rules for limiting the use of net
 operating loss carryovers when there is a change in ownership
 of the loss company. The new rules are modelled after the
 rules that were in a recent bill introduced by Senators
 Danforth and Chafee.

We have previously discussed item 7, which is the
General Utilities Rule, and that carries on through page 52
with the related provisions.

Turning to page 53, items 8 as well as items 9 are the 10 new rules that are contained in the Subchapter C revision 11 report of the Finance Committee staff. These are the new 12 rules that are a result of over two years' work by the 13 Finance Committee and the Joint Committee staff, in close 14 connection and with cooperation of the Tax Bar. They are 15 based on a report that was published last May by the staff, 16 and they provide new rules for mergers and our positions in 17 related Subchapter C issues. 18

On page 58, item 10, dealing with extraordinary dividends received by corporate shareholders, the Chairman's proposal tightens, basically, an anti-abuse provision that was enacted in 1984.

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Mr. Mentz. Mr. Chairman, when it comes up I think Treasury will suggest that that maybe is a little too tight. The Chairman. Are you serious, too tight?

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Mr. Mentz. A little too tight.

The Chairman. I want to make a star -- which page is that?

Ms. Paull. That is page 58.

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5 The Chairman. Treasury says, "Too tight." All right. Ms. Paull. On that same page, item 11, the Chairman's 6 proposal also tightens the related-party rules for 7 determining when related party transactions will result in 8 ordinary income treatment. In essence, the 80-percent 9 ownership rules are changed to a 50-percent ownership 10 requirement, and attribution of ownership between parents and 11 children would also be proposed. 12

On page 59, item 12, it places further restrictions on 13 the dividends-received deduction that corporate shareholders 14 are entitled to take. This is intended to prevent corporate 15 shareholders from creating an artificial loss by purchasing 16 their stock during a period where a dividend is reflected in 17 the purchase price of the stock. Also, it is intended to 18 prevent corporate shareholders from obtaining a dividends-19 received deduction without bearing the economic risk of 20 holding the stock that pays the dividend. 21

Mr. Mentz. Mr. Chairman, could I inquire whether the
last sentence in 12 is meant to be a reference to section
1092, the "substantially diminished" language?

Ms. Paull. No. It is intended to be a reference to

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1	section 246(c), is what it is derived from.
2	Mr. Mentz. Thank you.
3	Ms. Paull. Yes.
4	Also on page 59, item 13 clarifies current law as to when
5	a company would recognize bond premium in a carryover basis
6	type transaction. This is a clarification of an existing
7	statute that began to be interpreted differently after the
8	1984 Act, when we expanded the definition of "issue price
9	for OID purposes."
10	On page 60, the next three items actually, beginning
11	on page 60 and going on to the top of page 61 repeals some
12	special amortization rules for trademarks, trade names,
13	pollution control facilities, railroad grading, and tunnel
14	bores.
15	Senator Durenberger. Mr. Chairman?
16	The Chairman. Senator Durenberger?
17	Senator Durenberger. Mr. Chairman, let me suggest that
18	we consider going back to current law in item number 2, the
19	five-year amortization of pollution control facilities.
20	We discussed this matter when we were working out our
21	agreement on tax-exempt bond financing, and this provision
22	applies to the installation of pollution control facilities
23	on plants that were in operation before January 1 of 1976.
23	There are not too many of these left, and I think that is
24	reflected in the fact that there is quite a disparity in the
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Joint Committee's estimate of the savings here, \$50 million, and the House report estimate which is \$25 million. Either one indicates that there isn't much left to be picked up here.

For a variety of reasons, including the fact that this
is not productive property, it puts our plants at a disadvantage with others, these installations are all mandated, I
would recommend that we go back to current law, and I don't
think we are losing much money in the process.

9 Mr. Chairman, could I also -- because I have a couple 10 of people waiting out there -- could I also make a brief 11 comment on item 3 on page 63, which I know you will get 12 to fairly quickly, which is the issue of contributions in 13 aid of construction?

The Chairman. Yes.

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Senator Durenberger. Let me just call your attention by way of reference to the report or the comments of the Committee on Taxation of the Bar Association of the City of New York. On pages 92 and 93 they cover this particular area, and I will recommend here again that we stay with current law.

The New York City Bar Association criticizes your provision, or really it is the House provision incorporated into your draft, saying that the utility is required to report income in an early year and will incur related deductions over the life the assets are in question, but that

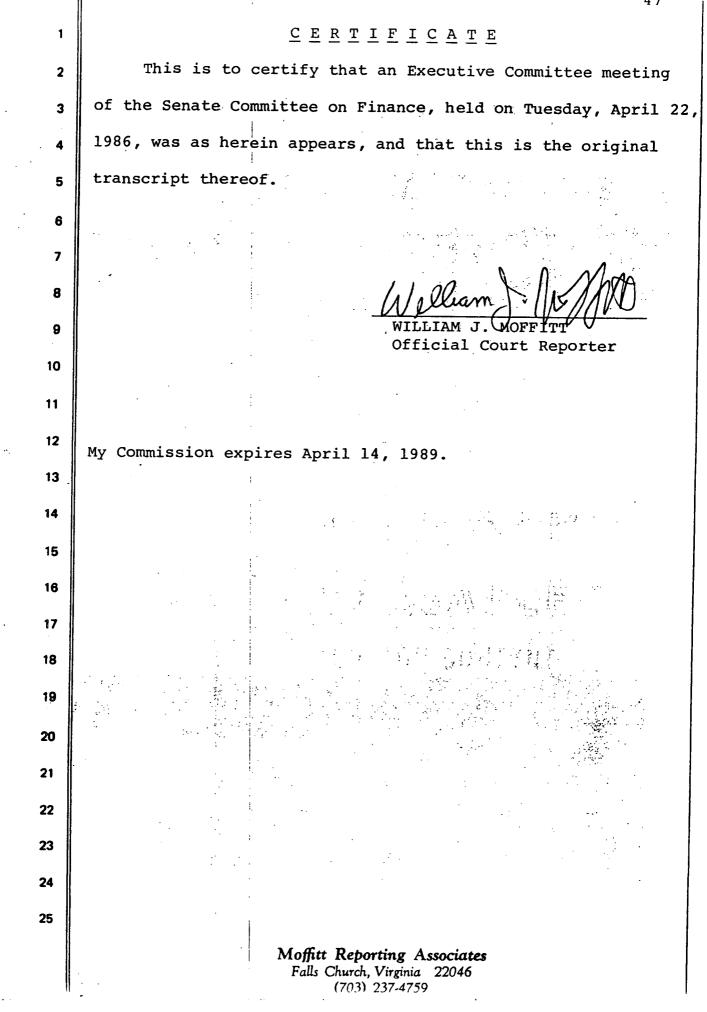
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1 the utility that construct the facilities without contri-2 butions in aid of construction do so with borrowed funds, and 3 the cost of the facility is thus built into the utility's 4 rate base; whereas, in this case it doesn't get built into 5 the rate base, they do not get depreciation or other tax 6 benefits. So at the appropriate time I am going to recommend 7 we go back. That is a big ticket item because it includes 8 gas, energy, electric, sewage, et cetera, in addition to just 9 water, which is one of the principal things I care about. 10 But it is for reasons of fairness and equity that I will 11 propose it. 12 Senator Bradley. Would the Treasury know the revenue 13 effect of that? I think the principle -- I think it is a good 14 idea. 15 Mr. Weiss. It is a \$600 million item. 16 The Chairman. The House's was 500; ours is 600. 17 Go ahead, Lindy, you only have a couple to finish up. 18 Ms. Paull. Back to page 61, item 4 at the bottom of that 19 page, the Chairman's proposal would allow a five-year writeoff 20 for bus operating rights that were, in essence, made worthless 21 as a result of Federal deregulation. 22 Page 62 we will skip and leave that for another day. 23 That is just a small item, \$62 billion. The Chairman. 24 On page 63, the Chairman's proposal tightens the rules 25 for capital construction funds by subjecting nonqualified Moffitt Reporting Associates Falls Church, Virginia 22046

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46 withdrawals to a 50-percent excise tax, only on those 1 withdrawals, though, that have been in the fund for more than 2 15 years. I believe, also, nonqualifying withdrawals will be 3 subject to the maximum rate of tax applicable at that time. 4 Item 2 on page 63, the limitation on business tax 5 credits, the limitation on 85 percent of your tax liability 6 would be reduced to 75 percent of your tax liability under 7 the Chairman's proposal. 8 And then on item 3, which was just discussed by 9 Senator Durenberger, the election to treat contributions in 10 aids of construction as not taxable would be repealed under 11 the Chairman's proposal. 12 The Chairman. Any other comments? 13 (No response) 14 The Chairman. If not, we will be back on Canda-America 15 Free Trade at 9:30 in the morning 16 (Whereupon, at 3:59 p.m., the meeting was recessed, to 17 reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, April 23, 1986.) 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 Moffitt Reporting Associates Falls Church, Virginia 22046

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE WASHINGTON, DC 20510

WILLIAM DIEFENDERFER, CHIEF OF STAFF WILLIAM J. WILKINS, MINORITY CHIEF COUNSEL

April 17, 1986

FROM :	FINANCE COMMITTEE STAFF
TO :	SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

EXECUTIVE SESSION -- TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1986 SUBJECT:

On Tuesday, April 22, at 9:30 a.m., the Committee will meet in Executive Session to vote on a resolution disapproving U.S.-Canada Free Trade negotiations.

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

- Whereas, on December 10, 1985, the President notified the Committee on Finance of his desire to enter trade negotiations with Canada with the purpose of reaching a bilateral trade agreement;
- Whereas, if the Committee on Finance or the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives fails to disapprove of the negotiation of such agreement before the close of 60 days after the above-mentioned notification, the Senate would be required to approve or disapprove of any final negotiated agreement under expedited procedures of section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974 which limit debate and amendment; and
- Whereas, disapproval of the negotiation of an agreement eligible for the expedited legislative procedures of section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974 does not preclude the President from conducting a bilateral trade negotiation with Canada on his own authority or from resubmitting a request for negotiating authority pursuant to the procedures of section 102 of the Trade Act of 1974.

THEREFORE, IT IS RESOLVED:

That the Committee disapproves the negotiation of a bilateral agreement with Canada the implementation of which is accomplished pursuant to the expedited legislative procedures of the Trade Act of 1974.

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RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Whereas, on December 10, 1985, the President notified the Committee on Finance of his desire to enter trade negotiations with Canada with the purpose of reaching a bilateral trade agreement;

Whereas, if the Committee on Finance or the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives fails to disapprove of the negotiation of such agreement before the close of 60 days after the above-mentioned notification, the Senate would be required to approve or disapprove of any final negotiated agreement under expedited procedures of Section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974 which limit debate and amendment;

- Whereas, the legislative history of Section 102(b)(4) of the Trade Act of 1974 makes it clear that the Committee on Finance was given authority to disapprove of trade negotiations in order to ensure that the Senate played a significant role in such negotiations;
- Whereas, the Committee on Finance has a responsibility to the full Senate not to forfeit this authority, but instead should play a central role in guiding the course of any bilateral trade negotiations with Canada;
- Whereas, disapproval of the negotiation of an agreement eligible for the expedited legislative procedures of Section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974 does not preclude the President from conducting a bilateral trade negotiation with Canada by his own authority, or from resubmitting a request for negotiating authority pursuant to the procedures of Section 102 of the Trade Act of 1974;
- Whereas, the Committee does not yet have a sufficient basis to conclude that the Administration has generated adequate Congressional and private sector support for trade negotiations with Canada, or that several outstanding trade problems with Canada will be resolved; and
- Whereas, the Administration's relationship with Congress on trade matters has brought into question the relative roles of Congress and the Executive in the conduct of U.S. trade policy; but

Whereas, the Committee attaches great importance and value to the negotiation of a free trade agreement with Canada;

THEREFORE, IT IS RESOLVED:

That the Committee disapproves at this time the negotiation of a bilateral agreement with Canada, the implementation of which is accomplished pursuant to the expedited legislative procedures of the Trade Act of 1974.

That the Committee believes that the President should initiate negotiations with Canada toward a trade agreement pending intensive consultations between the Executive and the Legislature to address outstanding concerns expressed by Members.

That the Committee recommends that the President immediately resubmit a renewed request for negotiating authority pursuant to the procedure of Section 102 of the Trade Act of 1974, except that such request shall be considered by the Committee within a 30-day period instead of the 60-day period which the statute provides.

Senator Dole

RESOLUTION

To express the sense of the Senate relating to the negotiation of a trade agreement with Canada.

Whereas, the Senate wishes to fully exercise its constitutional role in the formulation and implementation of United States trade policy;

Whereas, the Committee on Finance has authorized the President to initiate negotiation of a trade agreement with Canada which is eligible for the expedited legislative procedures of Section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974; and

Whereas, the Senate wishes to ensure that any trade agreement which may be negotiated with Canada advances the trading interests of the United States and satisfactorily resolves outstanding trade disputes with Canada.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED,

 That it is the sense of the Senate that no trade agreement with Canada should be submitted to the Congress for review pursuant to the expedited legislative procedures of the Trade Act of 1974 until such agreement:

a. Eliminates or reduces to the maximum extent possible Canadian tariffs on United States exports and ensures that such Canadian tariffs are, on a tradeweighted basis, no higher than United States tariffs on Canadian exports.

- B. Reduces substantially Canadian government subsidies and support to Canadian industries which are engaged in trade with the United States or compete with United States industries in Canada.
- c. Provides enhanced access for United States service exports to Canada and advances non-discriminatory treatment by Canada of United States suppliers of such services.
- d. Provides full and effective protection for intellectual property rights in Canada comparable to the protection

afforded such rights in the United States.

- e. Provides substantially increased access to Canadian procurement, both federal and provincial, for United States suppliers.
- f. Ensures that United States persons retain full access to United States trade remedies affecting imports from Canada.
- g. Provides effective protection against the problems of transhipment of third country goods.
- h. Reflects a commitment of the Canadian provincial governments to implement the relevant terms of the agreement.

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- i. Provides for the treatment of United States investment in Canada which is no less favorable than is afforded to Canadian investment in the United States.
- 2. The President should cooperate with the Congress in developing trade legislation which addresses the need to obtain greater access to foreign markets, combat unfair trade practices and provide industries injured by imports an effective means of adjusting to foreign competition.

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Chuch Grassley

STATEMENT ON U.S./CANADA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT BY SENATOR CHARLES E. GRASSLEY

MR. CHAIRMAN:

LAST WEEK, TWELVE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE SUBMITTED A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT URGING HIM TO WITHDRAW THE "FAST TRACK" PROPOSAL FOR A U.S./CANADA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT. THE INTENT OF THE LETTER WAS NOT TO IMPEDE ONGOING TALKS WITH CANADA, NOR TO PREVENT RESUBMISSION AT SOME LATER DATE. RATHER, I BELIEVE, IT WAS IN HOPES OF HAVING SUFFICIENT TIME TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC CONCERNS OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, AND TO ADDRESS THE MUCH BROADER ISSUE OF WHERE OUR TRADE POLICY, OR LACK OF IT, IS TAKING THIS COUNTRY.

YESTERDAY, AS A SIGNATORY OF THE LETTER TO THE WHITE HOUSE, I RECEIVED THE OFFICIAL RESPONSE FROM THE PRESIDENT. THIS RESPONSE WAS THREE PAGES IN LENGTH, WHICH IN ITSELF GIVES CREDIBILITY TO THE IMPORTANCE THE ADMINISTRATION PLACES ON THIS ISSUE. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO QUOTE THE SECTION OF THE LETTER WHICH STATES: " I AM CONCERNED, HOWEVER, BY YOUR REQUEST THAT I WITHDRAW THE PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF ACCELERATED IMPLEMENTING AUTHORITY, AND I CANNOT ACCEDE TO YOUR REQUEST. AS PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR, CANADA WILL NOT ENTER THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT THE FAST TRACK NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY."

MR. CHAIRMAN, I REGRET THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE REQUEST OF THIS COMMITTEE TO WITHDRAW THE PROPOSAL FOR THE TIME BEING, AND THAT PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY HAS TAKEN SUCH A STRONG STAND AGAINST ENTERING INTO ANY NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS THEY ARE ON THE FAST TRACK. FOR, MR. CHAIRMAN, I BELIEVE THAT EVERY MEMBER OF THIS COMMITTEE POSSESSES A STRONG DESIRE TO SEE A HFALTHY AND VIGOROUS WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR GOOD CANADIAN NEIGHBORS. I AM AS EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT NOT ONE MEMBER OF THIS COMMITTEE IS WILLING TO SACRIFICE HIS PARTICULAR CONCERNS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES IN THIS NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THF ISSUE BEFORE US TODAY, HOWEVER, TAKES ON A MUCH BROADER CONCERN: IS THIS COMMITTEE GOING TO BE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN TRADE POLICY, AND IN FACT, IS IT NOT TIME WE ESTABLISH A NATIONAL TRADE POLICY TO HALT THE ERODING EFFECT OF THE TRADE DEFICIT WE ARE CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING.

LIKE MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES, I HAVE SPECIFIC CONCERNS ABOUT THE CANADIAN MARKET BARRIERS ON THE U.S. EXPORTS OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS, APPLIANCES, AND AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT. AS YOU MIGHT IMAGINE, COMING FROM AN AGRICULTURAL STATE, I AM EXTREMELY CONCERNED WITH THE QUARANTINE PLACED ON HOG EXPORTS AND SUBSIDIZATION OF CANADIAN HOG IMPORTS. NEVERTHELESS, I DO NOT BELIEVE ANY OF US ARE HOLDING THIS PROPOSAL HOSTAGE DUE TO PERSONAL BIAS. WHILE EACH OF US WOULD LIKE TO SEE OUR SPECIFIC ISSUES RESOLVED, OUR CONCERNS GO BEYOND THESE SPECIFIC ISSUES TO THE WHOLE TRADE PICTURE.

IT WOULD BE MY SINCERE HOPE THAT WE CAN CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH OUR CANADIAN FRIENDS ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE NOT ON A FAST TRACK BASIS. TO DO LESS WOULD BE A DISSERVICE TO BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES.

Senator Dole

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> Whereas, the Committee on Finance has authorized the President to initiate negotiation of a trade agreement with Canada which is eligible for the expedited legislative procedures of Section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974; and

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- i. Provides for the treatment of United States investment in Canada which is no less favorable than is afforded to Canadian investment in the United States.
- 2. The President should cooperate with the Congress in developing trade legislation which addresses the need to obtain greater access to foreign markets, combat unfair trade practices and provide industries injured by imports an effective means of adjusting to foreign competition.

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