

ALASKA LEGISLATURE SPECIAL COMMITTEE / SUBJECT FILES 86/2
597 SCOM118: HOUSE SPECIAL COMM. ON PERMANENT FUND 1978-80

II Evolution of the Alaska Permanent Fund

The permanent fund idea in Alaska gained popularity only after the \$900 million North Slope lease sale in 1969. Following this sale, the Brookings Institute conducted a series of seminars concerning "The Future of Alaska." More than 100 Alaskans were invited to attend, to explore some of the major emerging policy issues, and to set forth a plan for Alaska's future. The participants agreed that the "Alaska way of life" should be preserved. They defined this life-style as one which combines the conveniences of technological innovation with the opportunity and values of living as close to nature as possible.

After the Brookings seminars, several bills were introduced in the 1970 legislative session to establish some sort of "permanent fund" with the \$900 million. However, other more immediate uses for the money were judged to be more important, and no permanent fund was established.

The 1974 legislature passed a bill creating the Alaska Renewable Resources Development Fund. This legislation provides that not less than five percent of nonrenewable resources income will be deposited in a separate fund beginning July 1, 1978. Monies can be appropriated from the fund only for capital and operating expenditures for the rehabilitation, enhancement, and development of renewable resources programs.

Another bill, which would have created a permanent fund by statute, passed the legislature in 1975. However, because of a disagreement with the legislature over constitutionality, the governor vetoed it. The 1976 legislature passed House Joint

Resolution 39, calling for a constitutional amendment to establish the Alaska Permanent Fund. The voters approved that amendment in November 1976 by a margin of nearly nine to one.

The amendment lifted the prohibition against special dedicated funds to allow a minimum of 25 percent of all mineral lease rentals, royalties, royalty sale proceeds, federal mineral revenue-sharing payments, and bonuses to accumulate in a special fund separate from the General Fund. The only restriction on the use of the principal of the fund is that it must be for "income-producing investments" and, therefore, not for the general operating costs of government. The income from these investments will be deposited in the State's General Fund unless otherwise provided for by law.

The Joint House Finance and Judiciary Committee Chairmen's Report, detailing legislative intent for HJR 39, stated that sufficient revenue would be accumulated in the Alaska Permanent Fund to allow diversification of Alaska's economy and to insure that future generations receive benefits from development of the State's nonrenewable resources. The report noted that the fund would be restricted to income-producing investments "which the legislature would establish and change from time to time to meet the needs of the state." Use of the fund's earnings was left open to the legislature "to give future legislatures the maximum flexibility in using fund earnings—ranging from adding to fund principal to paying out a dividend to resident Alaskans."

The principal represents Alaska's mineral wealth transformed into dollars through the sale of natural resources to private developers. The legislature must decide what forms of wealth-preserving and income-producing assets this money should take. Our mineral sale revenues have recently been financing about 60 percent of state expenditures. When revenue from mineral sources begins to decline, part of the future role of the Permanent Fund may be to supplement the General Fund with earnings from fund investments or to help create a tax base to provide new state revenue sources.

Presently, the income earned by permanent fund investments can be channeled into any use the legislature designates. The House Committee on the Permanent Fund, therefore, must also recommend where and how to use the fund's earnings which, unlike use of the principal, need not produce income.

The governor anticipated voter approval of the permanent fund amendment. In August 1976 he temporarily expanded the membership and duties of the State Investment Advisory Committee, which is charged by statute to advise the commissioner of revenue on investment policy for the State. He directed the advisory committee to study and report on the estimated size, investment goals, management, organization, and public interest in the Permanent Fund.

The State Investment Advisory Committee conducted its deliberations with energy and diligence. Members conferred with consultants to produce draft legislation for a permanent fund structure. To arrive at its findings, the State Investment Advisory Committee examined consultants' reports on many of the resource-based monetary funds and development banks throughout the world.

In March 1977, two bills were introduced in the State House to begin debate on the structure of the Permanent Fund. Both bills would structure the Permanent Fund essentially as a development bank. Both measures propose a two-board management system, a policy board with overall policy-

making power, and a committee under the policy board to approve investment proposals. Both bills also give the president of the permanent fund corporation strong executive power and sole responsibility for presenting investment proposals to the investment committee. Both proposals require that at least 40 percent of the fund must be placed in high-grade securities, but allow up to 30 percent of the assets to be invested in Alaska development loans and another 30 percent in community projects and private dwellings. Except for the appointment of the policy board members (who are subject to legislative confirmation under only one of the bills), both proposals would allow the fund to operate rather independently from the executive and legislative branches.

In 1977 the legislature passed an interim permanent fund management bill that will stay in effect until specific investment objectives and management structure have been thoroughly examined and agreed upon. It directs the commissioner of revenue to invest permanent fund money into various "money-market instruments," such as U. S. Treasury notes, certificates of deposit, and high-grade securities (not stock), all of which are relatively liquid and secure. As of July 15, 1977 four million dollars had accrued to the Permanent Fund and had all been invested in a savings account in the Bank of America and in U. S. Treasury notes. Almost \$45,000 in interest has been earned in the first five months of its existence.

The House Special Committee on the Alaska Permanent Fund met on July 15 and 16, 1977 and heard testimony from a number of expert witnesses; two of whom presented papers on the establishment of the fund ("Economic Considerations in Establishment of Alaska's Permanent Fund" by Arlon Tussing, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska and "Thinking About the Alaska Permanent Fund: A Cautious Approach for Alaskan Policymakers" by Belden Daniels, Department of City and Regional Planning, Harvard University). Copies of both papers are available from the Committee on request.

One of the major thrusts of Dr. Tussing's testimony was that there is no need or useful function for permanent fund investment in major industrial or commercial enterprise in Alaska, unless special reasons existed to subsidize them. Dr. Tussing's report infers that, at least initially, it makes more sense to invest the major portion of the fund outside the state.

Dr. Daniels emphasized that no development bank can create economic activity not already in existence; if there is no market or if costs are too high, "artificial" investment from the Permanent Fund will not help. Dr. Daniels suggested that the fund could provide needed commercial credit and financing of small- and medium-scale enterprises in Alaska but that fund managers should, in most cases, insist on market return for fund investments. A possible exception is economically feasible joint ventures with regional development corporations outside the major population centers. Daniels emphasized the importance of coordinated planning between the Permanent Fund and the General Fund.

During the 1977 legislative session, the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate appointed special committees to consider alternative proposals for the Permanent Fund during the legislative interim. The committees will gather and distribute information, listen to public opinion, seek expert advice, consider how the fund should be administered, establish major goals for the fund, and present their recommendations to the full legislature in January 1978. The committees will make major efforts in the areas of public education and participation to learn what Alaskans want their permanent fund to be. This booklet marks the beginning of this phase.

Robert Lewellen



III The Fund in Relation to the Constitution and Other State Funds

Oil and minerals are a removable portion of Alaska's statehood entitlement to its citizens—past, present, and future. This nonrenewable wealth is now being extracted and transformed into another form of wealth—money. Dedication of that wealth to the Permanent Fund should provide an opportunity to make this wealth a renewable resource for many generations.

Although the form of the wealth is changing, the State still stands in the role of trustee, holding this resource wealth in trust for the benefit of the people of Alaska. Any objectives established for the Permanent Fund must be consistent with the same legislative obligations required for resource management. The legislature must decide into what income-producing assets permanent fund money should be placed. It is important to clearly define the obligations of the State before setting fund objectives.

The income earned from fund investments provides another source of wealth. Presently, a significant portion of state expenditures relies on oil revenues. The legislature has already stated that one objective of the fund is to diversify the state economy. As oil wealth declines, the Permanent Fund may bear the responsibility of supplementing the General Fund through income from fund investment, creation of an expanded tax base, or some combination of the two.

The Permanent Fund is one of several tools policy makers can use to achieve public objectives. Each year the legislature appropriates money from

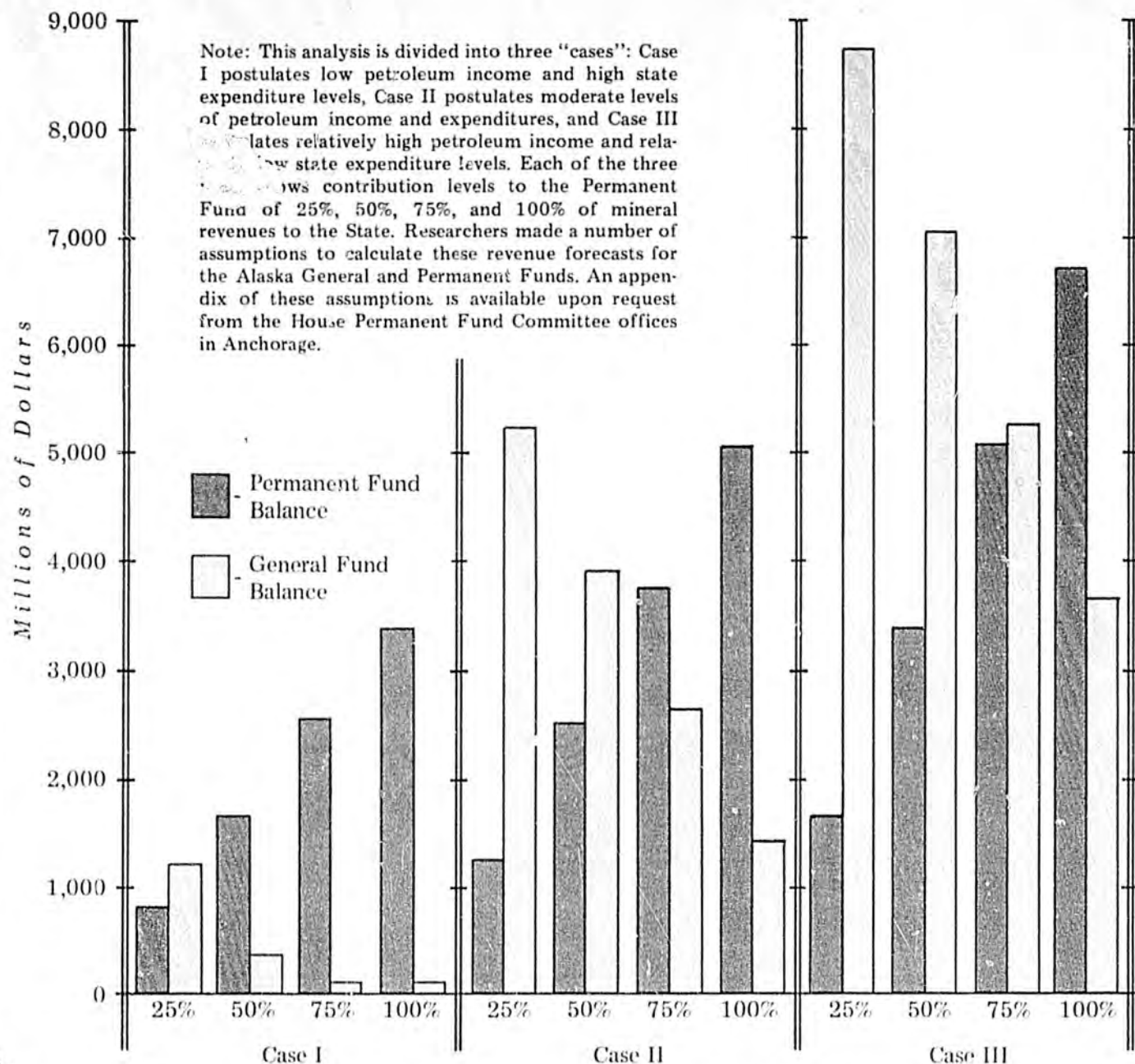
the General Fund to finance state activities. As required by the constitution, the General Fund is the sole repository (with the exceptions of the Alaska Permanent Fund and the Renewable Resources Development Fund) of all state revenues from all sources. The legislature is the only body empowered by the constitution to appropriate money from the General Fund.

The objectives of some of the general fund expenditures may be similar to those of certain investments of the Permanent Fund. For example, the State currently maintains loan programs to promote a variety of interests, ranging from business to home loans and senior citizen housing. Careful coordination with existing loan activities will help avoid duplication and conflict of programs.

The State also possesses extensive bonding powers and can pursue major projects by issuing general obligation or revenue bonds. Special purpose agencies, such as the Alaska Power Authority, can (with legislative approval) provide for the financing of specific facilities. The State additionally has mechanisms, such as the Municipal Bond Bank, to assist local governments borrowing money to achieve their objectives.

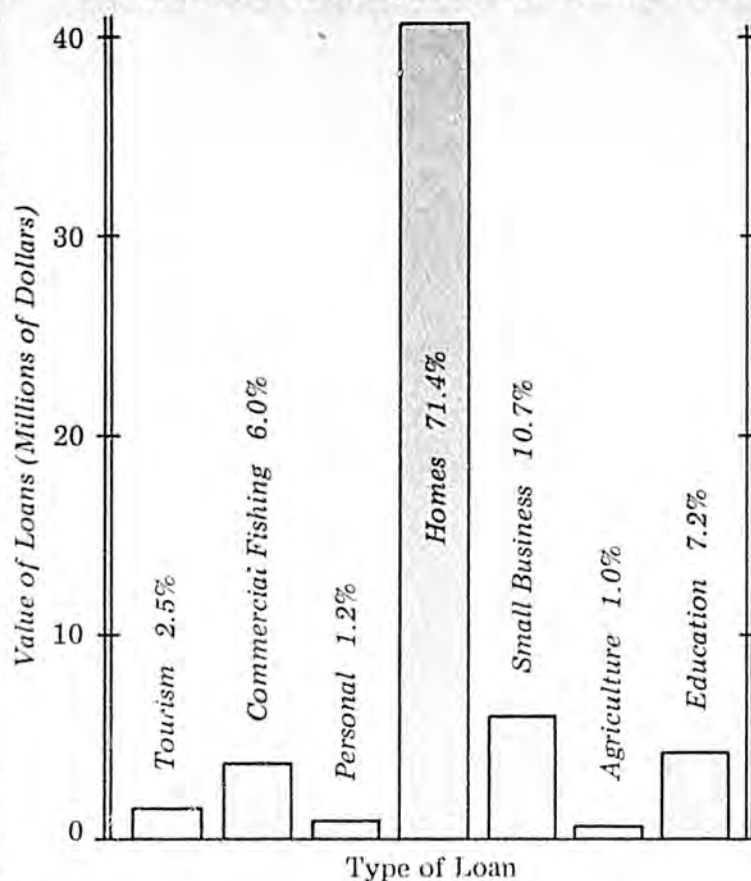
These various tools should be considered as we ponder alternative fund uses so that we can best match tools with objectives. Further, provisions for coordinating permanent fund and other government activities will be a crucial element in developing the enabling legislation.

Figure 1
Revenue Projections through 1985



Source: State of Alaska, Legislative Affairs Agency, Research Division, July 14, 1977.

Figure 2
Loan Fund Activity: Fiscal Year 1976



Source: State of Alaska, Office of the Governor,
Division of Budget and Management, October 11, 1976.

The following state loan programs and activities are potentially eligible for permanent fund investment (i.e., they are "income producing," although the rate of return will vary):

(1) The Scholarship Loan Program provides loans to Alaska residents for postsecondary vocational and academic training with a forgiveness incentive for remaining in Alaska after completing school.

(2) The Fisheries Enhancement Revolving Loan Fund supports loans to nonprofit organizations or individuals for the development of hatcheries.

(3) The Municipal Bond Bank Authority is an independent public corporation to help Alaska communities develop needed public facilities by marketing general obligation bonds. The bond bank will purchase these bonds, offering its own revenue bonds to the public bond market.

(4) The Division of Business Loans administers five revolving loan funds and two public corporations—the Small Business Revolving Loan

Fund, the Tourism Revolving Loan Fund, the Commercial Fishing Revolving Loan Fund, the Child Care Facilities Revolving Loan Fund, the Water Resources Revolving Loan Fund, the Alaska State Development Corporation, and the Small Business Development Corporation. These five loan funds enable qualified businesses and public utilities to obtain long-term financing for developing, expanding, or modernizing their operations.

(5) The Veterans Affairs Revolving Loan Fund makes loans to qualified Alaska national guardsmen and veterans in Alaska. These loans may be used to purchase, refinance, build and remodel homes, farms, businesses, and multiple dwellings. In addition, a qualified veteran may receive a loan for education, fishing, mining, or personal use.

(6) The Agricultural Revolving Loan Fund provides long-term, low-interest loans to promote rapid development of agriculture as an industry throughout the state.

(7) The Senior Citizen Housing Development Program provides loans and grants to municipalities, housing authorities, and other nonprofit local sponsors to stimulate new housing construction and for rehabilitation of existing units for senior citizens.

(8) The Alaska State Housing Authority (ASHA) and the Alaska Housing Finance Corporation (AHFC) are operated by the State for public and low-cost housing programs and state-supported financing for low- and moderate-cost private sector housing development. Currently, ASHA receives almost all of its funding from the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and manages housing units throughout the state. AHFC makes or buys mortgages on low- or moderate-income housing, insures mortgages, and makes home improvement loans and loans for other associated costs of home ownership, including down payments, to qualified persons or developers. In addition, the State has established 13 regional Native housing authorities with powers essentially similar to those of ASHA. The federal government provides virtually all of the funds for these activities, so State participation is minimal and limited to insured short-term loans.

(9) The Alaska Power Authority is designed to promote the development of hydroelectric and fossil fuel power sources for domestic Alaska usage. The authority is generally empowered to issue bonds and notes to finance power development activities in the State, with the debt being secured by the projects themselves or by the earnings of these projects. This program is still in the formative stages and has yet to issue bonds.

IV Objectives for Permanent Fund Investment

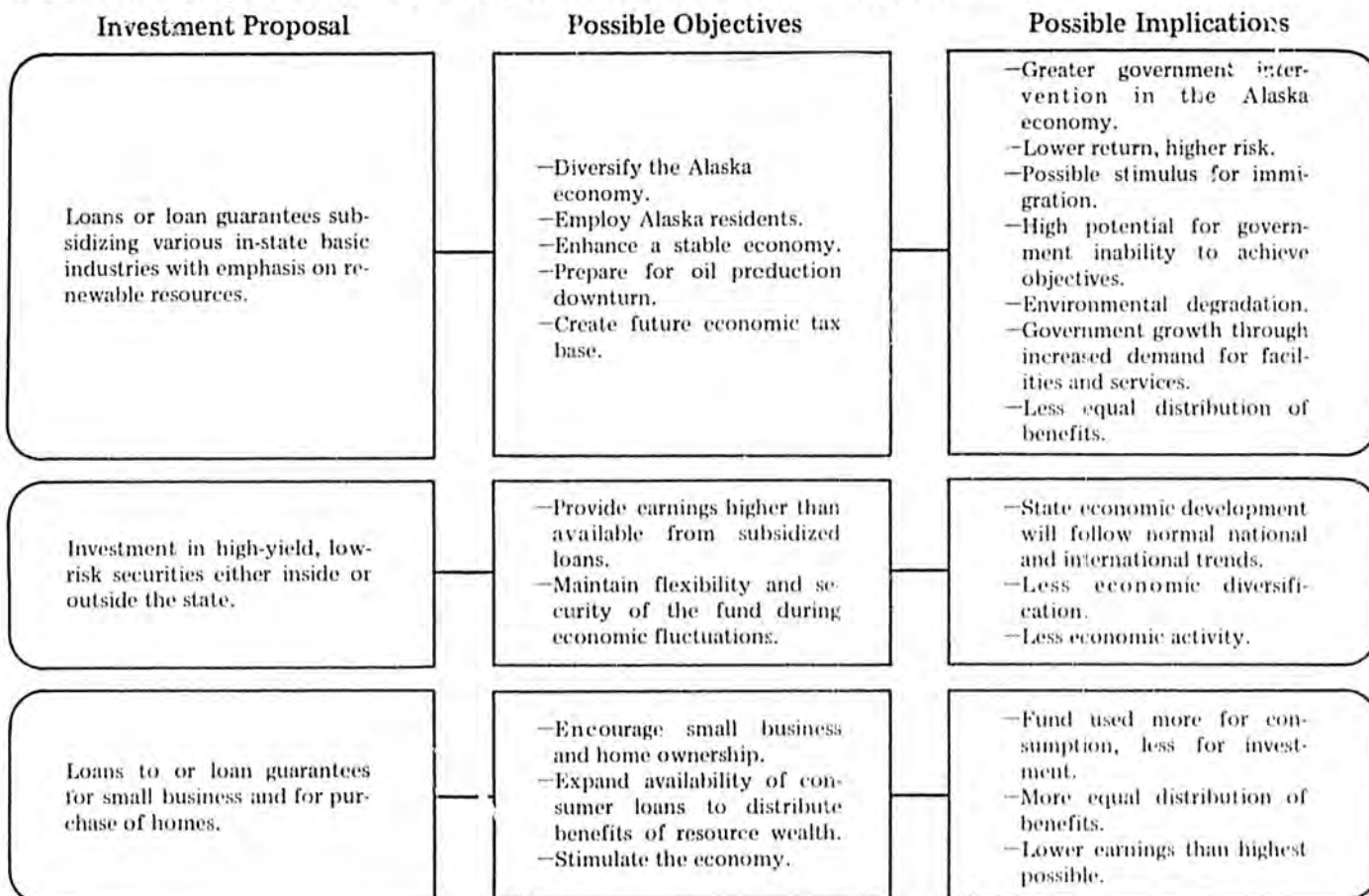
The people of Alaska should establish the overall objectives for their permanent fund. The committee hopes to achieve this through public meetings and other public participation and information programs to be held throughout the state in the coming months and through direct solicitation, such as the attached questionnaire. We need to know your priorities to write permanent fund enabling legislation.

The proposals listed below have emerged from the Alaska Public Forum, the State Invest-

ment Advisory Committee, survey research, and concerned individuals. The list is not exhaustive, nor are the proposals or objectives mutually exclusive. Remember that the types of investments made will determine the amount of income the fund earns.

Before you evaluate these proposals, consider the following: Many of the proposals for in-state investment may involve an interest or risk subsidy; that is, the money is loaned at lower interest or in greater quantities than borrowers can

Figure 3
Possible Objectives and Implications for Investment Proposals



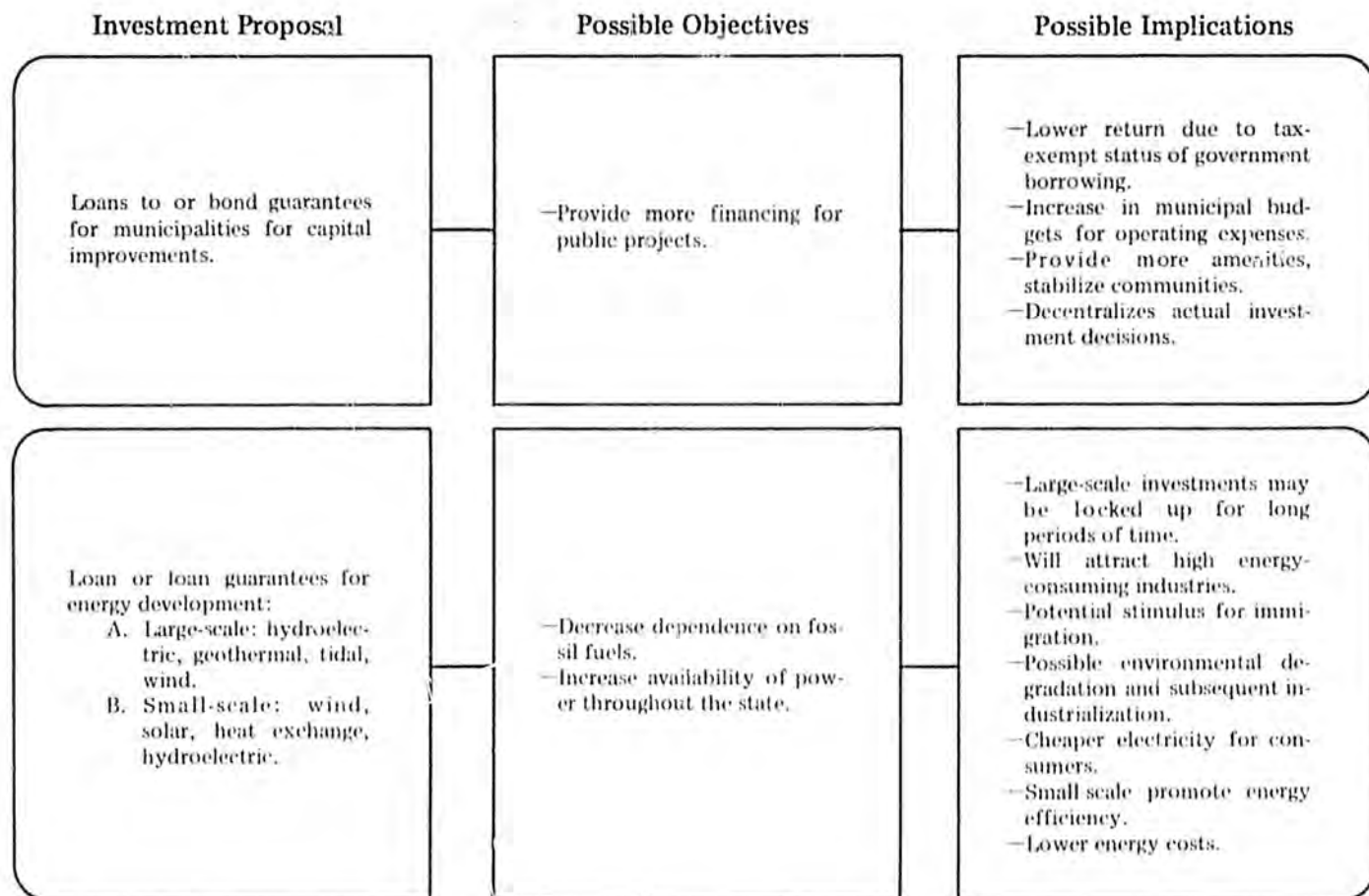
obtain from private lenders. The fund would earn a lower return than the market rate unless the General Fund makes up the difference (which has been proposed).

Subsidies may only make sense if the loan or guarantee launches an in-state enterprise that not only repays the loan but also creates new individual tax sources to cover the original subsidy as well as the cost of additional state and local government services and environmental and social costs generated. If no in-state opportunities exist, the Permanent Fund cannot create them. All investments must be thoroughly evaluated to separate the winners from the losers.

Another point to ponder is that objectives may often conflict. Although different strategies

may be used to pursue the same objectives, each proposal lends itself to the achievement of some objectives more than others and even some to the exclusion of others. For example, a strategy which seeks to distribute fund benefits directly to individuals, such as consumer loans, will provide public facilities, such as through loans to municipalities. Likewise, strategies which seek to guide the State's economy through economic diversification, for example, probably will not maximize investment income.

Trade-offs are inevitable. As you identify the proposals that might best achieve your objectives, think about the likely trade-offs involved. Figure 3 shows sample investment proposals, their objectives, and a brief outline of the implications.



V Use of Fund Income

The income derived from investment of the Permanent Fund can be used for any purpose designated by the legislature. Before we present some of the most-often discussed proposals for use of the earnings from the Permanent Fund, we invite you to invent your own and include it as part of your response to this booklet.

The people who attended Alaska Public Forum meetings throughout the state last year and those who mailed in forum questionnaires expressed three main preferences for use of permanent fund income:

- (1) Reduce taxes for Alaska residents.
- (2) Loan it to Alaskans for renewable resource development.
- (3) Return it to the Permanent Fund for reinvestment.

The governor has proposed that a portion of the income be distributed directly to Alaska residents. This plan, which he calls "Alaska, Inc.," would issue "shares" to each Alaskan based on residency. Each shareholder would receive a percentage of the fund income as a dividend, a process which the governor feels would draw public attention to the operation and effectiveness of permanent fund investments.

Each of these options for use of the fund income involves trade-offs, as discussed in the previous section on objectives for investment of the principal, and you should consider them as you decide how you would like the income used. Since the investment policy of the fund will determine the amount of earnings and the potential impact permanent fund investment will have on the Alaska economy, the committee feels that the use-of-income question should not overshadow thorough analysis of permanent fund investment goals.



VI Objectives for Control and Management of the Permanent Fund

A common concern of many Alaskans after realizing the potential dollar magnitude of their Permanent Fund is who will control this wealth. The only other fund of similar or larger size in state government is the General Fund. As discussed earlier, the constitution requires that all appropriations from the General Fund be made by the legislature and be subject to gubernatorial veto. After appropriation by the legislature, some agency of the executive branch usually administers general fund money.

The state constitution requires that the legislature determine what kind of investments are eligible for permanent fund money. However, the day-to-day management of the money may be delegated to an agency in the executive branch (as it is presently) or to an organization or organizations outside the legislative and executive branches.

The two critical management questions are: How much control over policy should be delegated by the legislature to another agency or agencies? To what extent will the managers in those agencies be accountable to the people of Alaska, either directly or through their elected officials?

If the legislature simply directs the managing agency to diversify the Alaska economy by making sound investments in Alaska's renewable and nonrenewable resources (one of the investment guidelines in H.B. 298), a great deal of discretion is left to the managing agency as to what is a sound investment, what resources to invest in, and which individuals or corporations will receive financing. For example, fund managers may decide to invest in a multimillion-dollar hydroelectric project, or they could use the same money for home loans to individual Alaskans.

Permanent fund managers must be account-

able to elected officials and the public, but at the same time, they should not be vulnerable to political and special interest pressures in the loan-making process. "Politics" will not necessarily be kept out of loan decisions by placing experts on a board which is not accountable to the executive or the legislature. Clear, widespread notice to the public about the types of loans that qualify, how loans are applied for and granted, disclosure requirements for decision makers, publishing lists of loans or guarantees made, and regular auditing by the executive and legislative branches of government might provide at least a partial remedy to the control and accountability problems.

Current proposals call for appointment of managers by the governor (one adds confirmation by the legislature) with removal only for cause. The State Investment Advisory Committee discussed the possibility of elected members, but a brief look at Alaska's highly centralized government (with only the governor, legislators, and lieutenant governor being elected) indicates why this probably would not have been consistent with the state constitution.

An alternative to the highly centralized and rather independent management structure proposed in H.B. 298 would be for the legislature to provide for the administration of the Permanent Fund under the existing constitutional power of appropriation. The legislature, with approval of the governor, would designate eligible investments by law. The legislature annually would pass an investment bill for the Permanent Fund, much like the budget bill for the General Fund. The permanent fund investment bill would apportion available permanent fund money among the eligible investments.

Funds deposited in the Permanent Fund would temporarily be invested in liquid and secure money-market instruments pending each year's investment bill, as is now being done with permanent fund receipts. The legislature might choose to create new types of financial intermediaries and designate them as eligible for loans or loan guarantees in order to meet Alaska's changing capital needs. For example, the development bank corporation proposed in H.B. 298 could be one of the new financial intermediaries designated as an appropriate recipient of fund money. At the very least, legislative authorization could be required before loans exceeded a specific dollar amount.

The organization of the fund may profoundly affect how the fund performs, but the organization should reflect—not determine—the goals of the fund. Goals established today may not be those held by tomorrow's Alaskans. There must be built into any permanent fund structure both ability to protect the principal of the fund and responsiveness to meet changing goals.



VII Permanent Fund Questionnaire

The Permanent Fund belongs to you. What are your suggestions for use of the money? Would you please

Place
Stamp
Here

Special Committee on the Alaska Permanent Fund
528 West Fifth Avenue, Suite 270
Anchorage, Alaska, 99501

VII Permanent Fund Questionnaire

The Permanent Fund belongs to you. What are your suggestions for use of the money? Would you please take the time to share your ideas with us by indicating your preferences for permanent fund investment proposals. For each proposal, please answer the following questions. Feel free to suggest as many proposals as you think we should consider.

1. What investment proposal do you suggest and how is it income-producing for the Permanent Fund?
[Example — invest in blue chip, preferred stocks]

2. What objectives are achieved by your proposal?

3. What objectives are avoided by this proposal? [Example — no diversification of Alaska economy, does not affect unemployment, does not affect consumer loans]

4. What may limit the effectiveness of this proposal?

5. Which groups would benefit from this proposal? [Example — financiers, brokers]

6. What groups are likely to oppose this proposal?

7. What are your suggestions for management of the Permanent Fund?

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THINKING ABOUT THE ALASKAN PERMANENT FUND:
A CAUTIOUS APPROACH FOR ALASKAN POLICYMAKERS

July 11, 1977

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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION: A Sense of Limits	1
I. THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ALASKAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN WHICH RECOGNIZES THE LIMITS OF STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY AND THE APPROPRIATE USES OF A DEVELOPMENT BANK	6
First Principles	6
A. Potential Kinds of Investment by the Alaskan Permanent Fund Within Alaska	11
1. Investments Which Contribute to a Sound, Balanced Alaskan Economy Less Dependent on Non- renewable Resources and Government Spending . . .	11
2. Investments Which Decrease Economic Disparities Between Alaskan Regions, Commu- nities, and Demographic Groups	18
B. Potential Kinds of Investment by the Alaskan Permanent Fund Outside Alaska	19
1. Investments Outside Alaska Which Contribute to Overall Alaskan Economic Development	20
2. Investments in Investment-Grade Securities	21
II. USING THE FULL RESOURCES OF THE ALASKAN STATE GOVERNMENT TO PLAN FOR AND CONTRIBUTE TO A SOUND, BALANCED ECONOMY	24
A. The Role of State Expenditures in Stimulating Economic Development	24
B. The Impact of Tax Policy on Alaska's Economic Development	29
C. Regulatory Policy as It Affects State Economic Development	34

Table of Contents (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
1. Changes in the Regulation of Asset Management of Privately Owned Financial Intermediaries in Order to Stimulate Economic Development	35
2. State Government as a Public Entrepreneur to Create a New Financial Intermediary Either Initially or Eventually Privately Owned	37
D. Choosing Among Kinds of Public Investment: Which is More Equitable or Efficient, a Public Investment Made Through the Tax System, or Made Through a Grant or Subsidy Administered by the State Bureaucracy, or Made Through an Investment in a Development Bank?	40
III. STRUCTURING THE ALASKAN PERMANENT FUND AS ONE TOOL IN ALASKA'S OVERALL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN	44
A. What Should be the Limited Goals of the Alaskan Permanent Fund Within the Framework of Alaska's Overall Economic Development Plan?	46
1. Investment-Grade Securities	48
2. Productive Private Enterprise	49
3. Community Development	54
B. What Should be the Legal Structure of the Alaskan Permanent Fund So That It is Most Equitable and Efficient in Carrying Out Its Goals, And Yet Accountable to the Executive and Legislature for Achieving Its Public Purpose?	59
C. What Board and Staff Management Structure is Most Efficient for Carrying Out These Goals?	67
D. What Capital Structure is Necessary to Ensure that the Alaskan Permanent Fund Has the Financial Capability to Achieve These Purposes?	74

THINKING ABOUT THE ALASKAN PERMANENT FUND:
A CAUTIOUS APPROACH FOR ALASKAN POLICYMAKERS

July 11, 1977

INTRODUCTION: A Sense of Limits

The Chinese character for the word "crisis" is a combination of two other characters--"danger" and "opportunity." This could well be the symbol for the Alaskan Permanent Fund. As an outsider to Alaska who has worked for the last eighteen years in development banking and for the last thirteen in community and regional economic development, I am awed by both the opportunity and the danger posed to Alaskans by the Prudhoe Bay oil revenues and the challenge of creating an Alaskan Permanent Fund. I agree with Arlon Tussing that this is "an absolutely unique situation," different from any with which I have previously dealt in Asia, Europe, or the United States.

This leads me, as an outsider, to be doubly careful: first, in a short period of time I can only begin to understand the Alaskan political economy; second, I do not want to be precipitous in proposing specific solutions for the Alaskan economy based on experience in quite different settings.

In this initial memorandum to you, therefore, it seems most appropriate for me to limit my observations to three matters:

First, I would like to suggest a way in which you as Alaskan

July 11, 1977

policymakers might approach the problem of thinking about the uses of the Permanent Fund as one aspect of an overall Alaskan Economic Development Plan designed to prepare for the day when the Prudhoe Bay oil reserves are no longer contributing so handsomely to the Alaskan treasury.

Second, I would like to suggest for your consideration some general principles concerning the structure of the Permanent Fund as a development bank in terms of its purposes and powers, legal organization, management and capital structure, which have a general applicability irrespective of your particular goals for the Alaskan economy over the next twenty years.

Third, I would like to suggest a few specific ideas concerning the especially difficult tasks of community and regional economic development, based on the experiences of others.

In making these observations, I am mindful of your unparalleled opportunity to use these resources to build a strong, permanent economy through investments which produce both a reasonable internal rate of return on investment to the Permanent Fund, and a reasonable external rate of return to the economy as a whole and to the treasury of the state. On the other hand, I am equally mindful of the parallel danger that these resources could either be wasted through improper management or improperly employed in ways which create far greater distortions to the

July 11, 1977

Alaskan economic base or to some of its specific sectors, regions and communities.

It is important for all of us to realize that the dangers of economic distortion are particularly acute in development banking. I realize that the use of the Permanent Fund as a development bank is only one alternative which you are considering. However, since development banking is my professional field it is the only alternative upon which I will comment.

Because development banking is a somewhat "trendy" idea these days, there is the very real danger of creating a development banking institution which is not sufficiently thought out. Some of the specific dangers include designing a development bank with conflicting goals, or with a capital structure which is ill-suited to carry out those goals, and/or with a management likely either to be inefficient or else unaccountable to public policy governance by the executive or the legislature. Even more serious, there is the danger of proposing a development bank to solve a problem which is not a financial one--that is, one in which the solution does not lie in either reducing the cost or increasing the availability of capital. If, however, the problem is in fact a financial markets problem, it may well be that it is caused by some existing form of governmental intervention which is seriously dislocating the financial marketplace. The least expensive

July 11, 1977

solution in that case would be to remove the governmental regulation, rather than to create one more governmental development banking "gimmick."

Finally, there is a tendency to disregard or to misapply the vast body of multinational and national development finance experience that has accumulated in Third World countries and in Europe and Canada. It is my understanding that Price Waterhouse and White, Weld have given the state a systematic analysis of that experience.

When it comes right down to it, development banking is the most direct, aggressive, and high-risk form of public economic intervention. This suggests that it should be used with great caution. Your own experience with some thirteen state revolving loan funds would seem to confirm the fact that development funds created with high hopes often do not achieve the goals for which they were intended. What is called for, therefore, is a careful, step by step analysis of the nature of the specific economic problem before you. Then, after carefully weighing the relative costs and benefits of different options, you should select the most efficient, cost-effective solution--a solution specifically tailored to stimulate real economic development in Alaska.

As an outsider, I cannot determine what your economic goals should be. On the other hand, I can, perhaps, suggest a way of

July 11, 1977

looking at the limited aspects in which the Alaskan Permanent Fund, as a development bank, can be a part of your overall effort to use the full resources of the Alaskan state government to help create a sound, balanced, broadly-based economy.

The following outline proceeds step by step through a series of questions which may help you review your design of the Alaskan Permanent Fund in terms of your economic goals over the next twenty years. These questions are divided into three units:

- * First, what is the nature of real economic activity in Alaska and Alaskan financial markets, and what is the current impact of federal and state governmental intervention on both real economic activity and financial markets?
- * Second, what are the different mechanisms which the Alaskan state government can use either to stimulate or retard the overall direction of the economy and the state's financial markets?
- * Finally, what are the limited ways in which the Alaskan Permanent Fund can be a part of such an overall economic development effort by the Alaskan state government?

Throughout this discussion, there is an emphasis on limits: the limits of any state government to affect overall state economic development; the limits of development banking to contribute

July 11, 1977

to that overall economic development effort. If these limits are recognized and accepted, the likelihood of a soundly conceived and soundly implemented Alaskan Permanent Fund is much greater.

July 11, 1977

I. THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ALASKAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN
WHICH RECOGNIZES THE LIMITS OF STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY
AND THE APPROPRIATE USES OF A DEVELOPMENT BANK

First Principles

Before we begin to propose any specific form and function for the Alaskan Permanent Fund as one mechanism to help stimulate economic development, we need to have a conception of what is actually happening in both the Alaskan goods market and financial markets and what the present consequences of federal and state intervention are on both real economic activity and the flow of capital in the state. In order to do this on a current and ongoing basis, the Alaskan state government needs to establish a permanent economic development planning process which makes full use of the capabilities of both the public and private sector and the universities, and which develops a reasonable consensus about the forces at work in the Alaskan economy.

I would like to emphasize that there is nothing unAmerican about such a comprehensive, ongoing planning process. I am simply suggesting that the state of Alaska undertake the same kind of careful planning with regard to the husbanding of its capital assets as any American Fortune 500 corporation would do in order to profitably employ its resources. The tools have been admirably

July 11, 1977

developed in the private marketplace; they are there, ready to be incorporated by a state willing to look upon itself as a public enterprise.

This planning process needs to be realistic about the limited capability of the state to affect either worldwide market forces or federal policy. These plans must also incorporate an understanding of the limited capability of any financial intermediary to affect the course of real economic activity.

Financial markets operate only on the supply side of the economic question. They cannot, by themselves, create a demand for economic activity that is not there. A critical question Alaskan policymakers will have to face and answer is: What is the capability of the Alaskan economy to absorb the capital supplied by the Alaskan Permanent Fund? Although I am not in a position to answer that question, I suspect that it will be some time before the Alaskan economy has the capability to absorb anywhere near the amounts of capital available to the Permanent Fund.

Moreover, the cost of capital represents only a very small portion of the cost of doing business. Other worldwide market forces and federal governmental actions far more profoundly affect the cost of production than the cost of money does. It is these worldwide market forces and governmental actions which we must attend to first. Two corollaries to this point deserve careful note:

July 11, 1977

First, in very few instances is the cost of capital a serious impediment to sound economic development. There are, however, occasional circumstances where the scale of economic activity, or the location of that economic activity, or the relative risks and rewards of the economic activity, make the availability of capital for that activity virtually nonexistent from a private market standpoint. It is in these circumstances that public intervention in capital markets is appropriate, if stimulating that economic activity would significantly benefit the state economy and treasury. Since the question is one of availability rather than cost, in very few circumstances are below-market interest rates either necessary or appropriate for a public development bank. Examples of the kinds of economic activity which may be of real economic benefit to the Alaskan economy and treasury, but for which there may be insufficient available capital include: rural industrial and commercial development, housing development, the development of new technologies which reduce the cost of production in Alaska for either refining or adding value to Alaska's renewable and nonrenewable resources, and scales of enterprise which are either too small or too large for the private market to finance with a sufficient return coincident with risk. These examples will be analyzed in greater detail in sections below.

July 11, 1977

A second consequence of the fact that this cost of money is not an important cost of production is this: seldom will lowering the cost of money on the supply side compensate for high costs of production in the marketplace. For example, a petrochemical industry in Alaska is apparently not now financially feasible because of the high costs of production. This problem cannot be solved by lowering the cost of money for petrochemicals through an Alaskan Permanent Fund.

However, lowering the cost of capital can encourage short-run economic activity which is in the long run essentially unsound--and which has a high likelihood of eventual failure.

In summary, a long-term Alaskan state economic planning process must filter out the large number of cases in which development is not dependent on the cost and supply of capital, and in which other public policies are less costly and more appropriate to the solution of the problem. Conversely, the planning process needs to define more precisely those situations in which the economic problem is indeed a financial market problem amenable to solution by Permanent Fund investment. Obviously, these tasks are two sides of the same coin.

In undertaking an overall economic analysis of Alaska and the limited ways in which the Alaskan Permanent Fund can affect overall economic development, I would like to suggest four key

July 11, 1977

investment areas for the Alaskan Permanent Fund which deserve much more detailed analysis; this analysis would seem to determine the extent to which real economic activity which is financially sound and of economic benefit to the state is now limited by the insufficient availability of capital at a reasonable cost. Two of the areas represent investments within Alaska, and two represent investments by the Permanent Fund outside of Alaska.

A. Potential Kinds of Investment by the Alaskan Permanent Fund Within Alaska:

1. Investments Which Contribute to a Sound, Balanced Alaskan Economy Less Dependent on Nonrenewable Resources and Government Spending

The Alaskan economy is, apparently, at the present time far more dependent on governmental spending than is the American economy as a whole. Moreover, much of the current primary economic activity in Alaska is dependent on nonrenewable resources which are being developed largely by outside interests, with the principal value-added activity taking place outside of Alaska. The result is primary economic activity which is particularly labor-intensive, seasonal, and cyclical. Therefore, economic planning should focus on those possibilities for creating primary, value-added industrial activity in Alaska which can produce goods at a cost competitive in worldwide goods market.

July 11, 1977

In analyzing ways in which the Permanent Fund might contribute to a more broadly-based economy, it is useful to make two sets of distinctions: first, between income-producing and infrastructure investments; second, between income-producing investments which (from the standpoint of private market opportunity costs) appear to be too large for the private market to undertake and those which appear to be too small.

a. Potential investments too large for the private market

Given the increasing efficiency and scale of worldwide money and capital markets, you, as policymakers, need to consider whether or not there are sound potential investments in Alaska's renewable and nonrenewable resources which diversify the Alaskan economy but which are too large for private enterprise to finance on its own at a sufficient return competitive with other available risk opportunities. The \$9.7 billion investment by the oil companies in the Alaska pipeline suggests that there are few investment opportunities too large for the private market. In this instance, on a worldwide opportunity cost basis, the rewards as well as the risks to the investors were and are very great. However, there may be opportunities for the development of both renewable and nonrenewable resources in Alaska which are sound

July 11, 1977

investments but which do not provide a sufficient return coincident with risk such as investments in petrochemicals or iron-ore reduction. Here, the Permanent Fund could joint venture with private enterprise in order either to reduce the risk or increase the return.

In analyzing the relative returns and costs of public intervention in such cases, at least four issues require the most careful calculation: What are the underlying goods-market or financial-market reasons for lack of adequate private market capital for the project? Could these obstacles be overcome by a public investment? Do the public benefits warrant the risk? If they do, can a public-private joint venture be constructed which does not disproportionately shift the risk to the Permanent Fund and the rewards to the private market?

The scale and efficiency of worldwide capital markets suggests that the private market is capable of undertaking any large-scale projects--if they are sound. If the private market is unwilling to risk it, the Permanent Fund should be extremely cautious in considering intervention.

Yet, there may be another question: Who should own the enterprise and reap its rewards? In this regard, the Canada Development Corporation is an important model for the Alaskan Permanent Fund, as it considers public intervention in such large

July 11, 1977

investments, as well as when and whether ownership of such large-scale enterprises should become Canadian. The Canada Development Corporation, created in 1971 with an initial government investment of \$250 million, has since had the largest public equity offering in Canada's history (\$150 million in preferred stock sold to institutional and individual investors). It now has assets of \$1 billion and owns a number of formerly foreign-owned, large-scale enterprises. Depending on the standards by which performance is judged, it has had a mixed record; it is nonetheless worthy of your close scrutiny and consideration.

b. Potential support for medium and small enterprise

The second area in which, as a matter of public policy, it may be necessary for the Alaskan Permanent Fund to supplement private investment in order to stimulate more balanced economic development is in support for the retention and expansion of medium- and small-sized business enterprise by ensuring access to adequate intermediate and long-term expansion capital through existing commercial banks and thrift institutions. Because of the evolving nature of worldwide credit markets and the strictures of governmental intervention, such smaller firms have an increasingly difficult time securing adequate longer-term expansion capital.

July 11, 1977

We are moving, world wide, to a multiple-tiered money and capital market. This phenomenon is not peculiar to any one jurisdiction such as Alaska, although it can have differential impacts in different jurisdictions depending on the nature of the local economy. The Massachusetts economy, for instance, is unusually dependent for its employment base on medium and small industry. Even its fastest growing high-technology companies (very profitable firms under \$100 million in sales which are growing at 20 to 40 percent per year) have considerable difficulty accessing sufficient amounts of either equity or intermediate and long-term debt, because of the structure, scale and efficiency of the private market and impediments (often unintended) created by state and federal intervention in both goods and financial markets.

It should be clearly understood that the problem is not the availability of short-term working capital. Commercial banks, finance companies and factors take good care of these needs. The problem is not price. Many of these ventures could be financed at above-market rates. The problem is that often the length of terms needed are too long for many commercial banks, yet the sizes of loans are too small for most insurance companies, and, finally, the nature of the industrial and commercial loans are beyond the competence of most thrift institutions.

July 11, 1977

Federal S.E.C., I.R.S., E.R.I.S.A., bank, savings bank, and savings and loan regulations simply make matters worse. (State regulations do too, but since this is something you can do something about, state regulation is reserved for special discussion on pages 34 through 39, below.)

If you decide that some form of support for intermediate and long-term debt for medium and small commercial and industrial enterprise is warranted in Alaska, it is critical that any intervention by the Permanent Fund be developed in close collaboration with and through existing commercial banks, savings banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions. This is essential for several reasons: If the state acts alone, the odds are much higher that it will make a bad loan, whereas acting through the local financial community, it can bring their money and judgment to bear, thereby reducing both the cost and the risk. Collaboration also strengthens and integrates the financial community more firmly into the local economy.

Once again, it is not necessary for the Alaskan Permanent Fund to reinvent the wheel. The single best state development bank providing longer-term credit support for small business in collaboration with banks is the Connecticut Development Authority, which has been steadily expanded and amended since 1958. Virtually every American state, Canadian province, and European nation

July 11, 1977

has a similar, if less effective, intermediate credit facility. In development finance, as in medicine, one can learn a great deal from institutions which have not worked well. We want to avoid mistakes knowingly as well as emulate successful models.

c. Infrastructure investments

Potential infrastructure investments necessary either to provide access to natural resource development or to create the environment in which a profitable market investment can be made should only be made after careful economic analysis has in fact determined that, if those infrastructure investments are made, the costs of production and rates of return are such that the resulting economic enterprise is competitive in worldwide goods markets. The world is replete with examples of infrastructure investments made in Asia, Africa, or Latin America (not to overlook empty federally-funded industrial parks in Appalachia) in the hope that if they were made, real economic activity might result. In most instances, those were dashed hopes.

Although the Alaskan Permanent Fund may well be the most appropriate vehicle for making that infrastructure investment, any non-market costs should be borne not by the Permanent Fund but by legislative appropriations from the Alaskan General Fund.

July 11, 1977

2. Investments Which Decrease Economic Disparities Between Alaskan Regions, Communities, and Demographic Groups

The second major area in which the Alaskan Permanent Fund can be a part of an overall economic development strategy within Alaska is in strategies to minimize the rate of increase in economic disparity among regions and demographic groups within Alaska. Note the conservatism with which I make that statement: I did not say eliminate the gap; I suggest for the time being that a more limited goal is more reasonable and realistic--simply to minimize the rate at which the gap widens. For instance, at the present time, the south central region of Alaska has 54.5 percent of the population and 63.2 percent of the gross state product. On the other hand, the Arctic and western regions have 16.3 percent of the population and only 8.8 percent of the gross state product. Although I do not have the precise figures, I suspect that those regional disparities have increased over the past ten years, and that without economic development planning and intervention on the part of the state, they will continue to increase at a faster and faster rate over the next twenty years. I would also guess that the 155,000 Alaskan citizens living outside the major cities are subject to more cyclical, more seasonal, and more labor-intensive industry than Alaskans employed in the principal cities and in the southeastern and south central regions.

July 11, 1977

If this growing disparity does exist, and a decision is made to use state resources to try to narrow the gap, there are specific community and regional development banking experiences in the United States and overseas which can be employed by the Permanent Fund to contribute to that goal. These experiences are described in greater detail below, on pages 54 to 59.

If the state makes such a policy decision, Alaska has a unique opportunity to organize a portion of the resources of the Permanent Fund specifically for purposes of joint venturing with the Alaskan native corporations in order to assist them in developing petroleum and natural gas resources on their land, as well as hard-rock mining, forest production, and fishery resources within their territories.

B. Potential Kinds of Investment by the Alaskan Permanent Fund Outside Alaska

As I have already indicated, I have not yet had access to the economic projections for Alaska of the state government, the Alaskan banking community, or the University of Alaska's Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. Nevertheless, it seems a reasonable presumption that the enormous potential capital resources of the Permanent Fund are too great to be appropriately absorbed in investments in the above two categories if those investments are to be sound, income-producing investments.

July 11, 1977

The important question then is: How might the balance of the funds be reasonably invested? I would suggest two potential categories of investment for the Permanent Fund outside Alaska:

1. Investments Outside Alaska Which Contribute to Overall Alaskan Economic Development

Areas of economic activity which deserve careful consideration include investment in the development of technologies which would decrease the production cost of either the removal of natural resources from Alaska or the refining of those resources within Alaska. Similarly, the Alaskan Permanent Fund might invest in the development of technologies which would add economic value to natural resources in Alaska before export.

This is another instance in which the Alaskan Permanent Fund may need to "supplement private investment when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms and conditions." The development of these technologies may require investments by the Permanent Fund either within or outside Alaska. Because of changes in the structure of American capital markets over the past twenty years and because of changes in federal policy with regard to securities regulation, capital gains taxation, and the imposition of extensive new limitations on institutional investors, there is virtually no capital available in the United States

July 11, 1977

today for start-up investments in new technologies or for investment in technological innovation outside of large multinational corporations.

If it seems reasonable, as a part of Alaska's overall economic development plan, to invest a portion of the Alaskan Permanent Fund's resources in the creation of locally owned technologies, once again, there are good development banking models for such technological investment. These include the thirty-year-old National Research Development Corporation (NRDC) in Great Britain, SOFINNOVA in France created in 1971, the Connecticut Product Development Corporation (CPDC) created in 1974, and the Technology Development Corporation now before the Massachusetts legislature.

2. Investments in Investment-Grade Securities

I have come to the issue of investing a significant proportion of the Permanent Fund's assets in marketable securities not from the vantage point of safety, but from the vantage point of development finance: it is simply unlikely that there will be sufficient income-producing demand for development finance in Alaska to absorb the full resources of the Permanent Fund. Therefore, having carried out its development banking function, the Permanent Fund will have to invest the remainder of its substan-

July 11, 1977

tial resources in marketable securities. In addition, the investment of a significant portion of Permanent Fund resources in marketable securities will strengthen its financial integrity as a development bank.

Finally, even if the Permanent Fund has only its minimum capital base of \$2 billion, it will be not only one of the world's largest development banks, but a sizeable financial intermediary by any worldwide standard. It will be sufficiently large-scale to operate in the worldwide money and capital markets as a major lender, investor, and supplier of capital. It must therefore have the most able management that money can buy, capable of operating with both prudence and profitability in such sophisticated markets.

To sum up, I want to underscore two major points: first, as a capital-supplying development bank, the Alaskan Permanent Fund cannot create real economic activity; it can only support economic activity for which there is a genuine market demand but an insufficient capital supply.

Second, the Alaskan state government has other tools within its economic arsenal which it should use as a part of an integrated, overall economic development plan to stimulate the economy; the Alaskan Permanent Fund is one of the tools which can contribute to that overall economic development--a tool with its own inherent limitations.

July 11, 1977

Before we consider in detail the goals, structure, and strategy most appropriate for the Alaskan Permanent Fund, I would like to outline my sense of the other tools which the Alaskan government should employ in contributing to overall economic development for the state. If Alaska's expenditure policy, tax policy and regulatory policy are not honed into a single, coherent, economic development policy, the capacity of the Permanent Fund to affect positively the economic diversification of the state will be severely curtailed, and its own investments jeopardized.

July 11, 1977

II. USING THE FULL RESOURCES OF THE ALASKAN STATE GOVERNMENT
TO PLAN FOR AND CONTRIBUTE TO A SOUND, BALANCED ECONOMY

In planning state government intervention to stimulate economic development, I suggest an order of battle which considers expenditures policy first, tax policy second, and administrative regulation designed to stimulate the flow of private capital third, before considering a public investment. If a public investment is then deemed necessary, I suggest a careful consideration of tax expenditures and administrative grants before finally deciding to create a development bank such as the Permanent Fund as a vehicle for carrying out that economic development policy. Each of these four points are discussed below.

A. The Role of State Expenditures in Stimulating Economic Development

State expenditures can either be an investment in the creation of real economic activity in the state or, as is more often the case, state expenditures can represent both a disincentive to real economic activity and a disinvestment from real economic activity.

This misuse or use of state expenditures for economic development is compounded by the general proposition that state

July 11, 1977

expenditures rise to meet state revenues. This has certainly been the case in Alaska since 1969, and is a principal motivation for the creation of the Alaskan Permanent Fund. The principle, however, is universal; in Massachusetts, the level of state expenditures (and therefore the level of taxes) rose from 26th out of 50 states in 1958 to an unenviable third in 1977. The result in Massachusetts today is to drive industry and real economic activity out of the state because Massachusetts is simply too expensive a jurisdiction in which to do business, relative to other parts of the U.S. and the world.

There is, however, a unique aspect to Alaskan state expenditures which is shared by no other state in the United States. Simply speaking, Alaskan government is the economy. Combined federal, state and local government expenditures account for 40 percent of the state's employment--a figure nearly twice as high as that for the United States as a whole. Thus, as Arlon Tussing has pointed out, governmental expenditure in Alaska is the driving arm of the state's economy.

This is fine so long as there are revenues to support the expenditures. Massachusetts is again a case in point: Today Massachusetts wage earners and corporations are being asked to support an enormously high level of unplanned and unproductive expenditure which was rather widely distributed in the space-

July 11, 1977

technology boom of the 1960's, but which are now being imposed at an increasingly high tax level on a shrinking economic base.

For individual states like Massachusetts and Alaska which cannot print money or set up tariff barriers in the manner of the federal government, there is a limit to which expenditure policy can be used as a means of stimulating the economy. Because the Prudhoe Bay oil reserves are finite, and will not always be the principal revenue producer for Alaska that they are today, it is essential that the state's General Fund as well as its Permanent Fund be invested in ways which will create real economic activity and a strong permanent tax base. In this regard it is useful to think of tax revenues as forced savings that have the same "potential" as private profits for creating productive enterprise through investment. If tax revenues are not used to create a productive public investment in this way, the state will have made a disinvestment from the economic marketplace which might have been more productively employed if the capital had not been removed from private savings by taxation.

I would like to suggest that the Permanent Fund represents a unique and bold opportunity to rethink not only the function of a state government as a stimulator of overall economic activity, but also the very structure of state government as a public enterprise. We have already noted that the state planning process

July 11, 1977

should incorporate corporate planning techniques in which the revenues and assets of the state as a public enterprise are invested in order to increase future income flows and the future asset growth of the state. I would like to carry that idea one step further. I would like to suggest that we view the structure of state revenues and expenditures as similar to the income and expense statement of a corporation. In this analogy the annual dedication of revenues to the Permanent Fund is the retained earnings of the Alaskan people. The Permanent Fund itself represents the net worth of Alaskans as a part of an overall balance sheet for the Alaskan state government and its constituents.

If we think about the relationship between the General Fund and the Permanent Fund in this way, the task of state government on an annual basis is to expend its General Fund in ways which will contribute to an increase in revenues and therefore lead to an increase in annual net retained earnings which can be put into the Permanent Fund as a constantly increasing net worth.

Similarly, the task of the Permanent Fund is to invest those net retained earnings in ways which will contribute over time to an increased revenue flow to the state. This suggests a constantly increasing net retained earnings on current account (the General Fund) and a constantly increasing capital base for the economy on permanent account (the Permanent Fund).

July 11, 1977

Seen in this light, all state expenditures from the General Fund must be as productive and qualitative as those made by the Permanent Fund, and the two must be part of the same planning process. Otherwise, one will cancel the economic impact of the other.

Finally, the net retained earnings flowing into the Permanent Fund are an equity base which can leverage substantially greater short- and long-term liabilities from the worldwide capital market, as does the World Bank. The following crude income and expense statement and balance sheet for the state as a public enterprise suggests these ideas graphically.

THE STATE AS A PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

Income and Expense Statement

Annual State <u>Income</u> from Individuals, Businesses, and Oil Revenues	General Fund Current Social Overhead <u>Expenditures</u> and Infrastructure Investments
	Permanent Fund Annual <u>Retained Earnings of</u> <u>the People</u> ; Annual Contribution to Net Worth for Future Investment

July 11, 1977

Balance Sheet

Current Assets	Current Liabilities: Annual Expenditures for Social Overhead
Fixed Assets	Long-Term Liabilities: State Bonds to Finance Infrastructure
	Permanent Fund Long-Term Bonds
	Permanent Fund Net Worth

B. The Impact of Tax Policy on Alaska's Economic Development

Alaska is in a unique position with regard to its revenue structure in that the vast bulk of its revenues are not derived from taxes borne by individuals or businesses native to Alaska. A serious future problem, however, is whether Alaskan residents and resident businesses will be able to support through tax revenues an expenditure level generated during the salad days of high oil royalties and other natural resource taxes. Massachusetts once again is an unfortunate illustration of the fact that although expenditures rise to meet revenues they do not automatically decrease when a revenue base begins to shrink or disintegrate. Given the fact that the oil revenues to Alaska are "temporary," if the tax burden in the future is not to fall abruptly

July 11, 1977

and harshly on residents and resident business of the state, expenditure levels must be controlled now. For, although it is clear that expenditures are the driving force in the expenditure-revenue connection, in a highly competitive worldwide market, the level of taxation is the factor of state policy which most discourages private market investment in individual states.

Once again, Alaska is unique in relation to other states in that it has relatively low individual and business tax (because of the current high level of state income from oil revenues). Should the situation dramatically change, however, as it has in Massachusetts, primary industry which can locate elsewhere will do so.

In order to understand the impact of the level and structure of taxation on economic development, it is important to dispel two myths and underscore one reality.

Myth 1: Tax Incentives Offered by State Governments to Private Business Do Not Stimulate Economic Development. Rather, They Represent a Gift or Equity Grant Directly to the Private Business. A review of the economic literature and business experience demonstrates that tax incentives granted by state governments are too small to affect the business judgment of corporations. Thus, since the tax avoider would have made the business investment in any event, the result is simply to grant, as a gift

July 11, 1977

to the business firm, tax revenues which the state would otherwise have collected. The business firm incurs no expense it would not have chosen to incur anyway, but receives additional income in the form of tax forgiveness. This represents a direct contribution to the net income of the business firm.

Since tax incentives represent a direct transfer of otherwise collectible state revenues to the private firm, it is easy to understand why business groups are highly supportive of such tax incentives.

Tax incentives are simply a beggar-thy-neighbor contest between states, in which each state seeks to outbid its neighbor without affecting any real economic activity.

Myth 2: The Level of Corporate Taxes is Not a Significant Real Factor in Stimulating Economic Activity in the State.

First, all corporate taxation represents a very small cost of doing business. Second, 50 percent of corporate state taxes are paid for by the federal government as a deduction against federal taxes. Third, in most instances, corporate taxation acts as a sales tax--that is, it is passed on to the consumer. For example, the Alaska oil royalties and taxes are directly passed on to the consumer; moreover, they are not borne by Alaskans. In fact, most primary industry anywhere

July 11, 1977

tends to be export industry and passes on its corporate tax to consumers throughout the world, whereas distributive industry passes its corporate tax to local consumers. This inhibits economic development only to the extent that the incidence of taxation unduly raises the cost of living, and hence the cost of labor, in the state.

Reality 1: The Critical Aspect of State Tax Policy as It Affects Economic Development is the Level of Personal Taxation, Its Impact on the Cost of Living in the State, and Therefore on the Cost of Labor in the State. Labor is the single largest cost of production for any business enterprise. (This is clearly true outside of Alaska, but once again I hesitate to jump too quickly to the conclusion that what is true elsewhere is automatically true inside Alaska. Alaska's harsh climate, enormous internal distances and difficult terrain, as well as great external distances from world markets may mean that other costs of production are disproportionately higher in Alaska than in other parts of the world, and that labor represents relatively a smaller proportion of the costs of production.) Therefore to the extent that state taxation significantly increases the cost of living and hence the cost of labor, it significantly increases the cost of doing business in the state.

Again, the level of taxation is only significant to the

July 11, 1977

extent that the industrial or economic base of the state is at all footloose. Obviously, the entire distributive sector of the economy is dependent on primary industry and is essentially a captive of the state economy. Similarly, to the extent that basic industry is dependent on natural resource development, it too is a captive of the state economy. The level of state taxation on natural resource development will affect economic activity only to the extent that it bids up the cost of production and therefore the price of the product beyond a competitive world market price.

Once again, Alaska is in a unique position--quite different from that of, say, Massachusetts, which does in fact lose a substantial amount of its industry just over the border to New Hampshire because the basic differential costs between the two states are the levels of state taxation.

At present, therefore, Alaska has some margin of taxing freedom, given its relative isolation, its relative dependence on the governmental sector, on natural resource basic industries and on a captive distributive sector. However, should Alaska's long-term economic plan require the development of a value-added basic and secondary industry, it will become much more subject to shift-share competition between the states.

As with expenditure policy, Alaska stands out in comparison with other states in that its tax structure does not appear to

July 11, 1977

discourage economic development. However, as Alaska moves toward a diverse, stable economy, the influence of its taxation policies on economic activity will probably become much greater and more like that of states in the lower 48.

C. Regulatory Policy as It Affects State Economic Development

In analyzing the impact of state regulatory policy on economic development, it is important to distinguish between real economic activity in the goods market and financial activity in the financial markets.

On the one hand, state environmental policy, land use policy, transportation policy, energy policy and labor policy all involve regulations which affect the real costs of doing business in the state. Often the costs imposed on economic enterprise are not the costs of the policies themselves but the cost in lost time due to the procedures by which the policies are implemented. It is often possible for a state to reduce the cost of a regulation through a change in process without modifying its substance.

On the other hand, the impact of state regulatory policy on state-chartered, privately-owned financial intermediaries directly affects the flow of capital to enterprises in the state. This issue is central to the question of how to design and structure an Alaskan Permanent Fund. In line with the aim of invoking the

July 11, 1977

most efficient, cost-effective solution which involves the greatest return and the least cost or risk, a public policy which would achieve economic development goals through administrative stimulation of the flow of private capital rather than through public investment would appear to be more cost-effective. Two critical issues require careful consideration here. First, is it a realistic possibility to shift the flow of private assets through administrative action in ways which respect the sometimes conflicting goals of prudence, profitability, and economic public policy? Second, if it is, is such a solution actually in the public interest?

There are two principal ways in which public administrative intervention might be able to shift the flow of private financial assets in order to carry out a public purpose while still meeting the tests of prudence and profitability: the first is to change the rules of the regulatory game; the second is for the government to act as a public entrepreneur to create a new financial intermediary which will be either initially or eventually privately owned.

1. Changes in the Regulation of Asset Management of Privately Owned Financial Intermediaries in Order to Stimulate Economic Development. First, let us look at state chartering and regulation of financial intermediaries such as life insurance

July 11, 1977

companies, commercial banks, savings banks, savings and loan associations, and credit unions. Initially, states chartered these financial intermediaries in order to contribute to the development of the economy of the state and its communities. As these financial institutions suffered collapse and failure in various recessions and depressions over the years, states became less concerned with how the assets were invested in economic development than with protection of liabilities due depositors.

I suggest that a review of ways in which state regulation could be amended to stimulate the flow of assets is a very fruitful avenue for further exploration. Such a review should be undertaken in close collaboration with the financial industry itself, for there are many ways (as we have found in Massachusetts) to modify regulations affecting asset management that are mutually attractive to both the state and the financial institutions themselves.

In Massachusetts, by way of example, we discovered that only one Massachusetts corporation, Gillette, was an eligible investment for the \$25 billion state-chartered thrift industry. Through a collaborative process of Massachusetts industry, the thrift institutions, the banking commission, and the legislature we have now amended those regulations so that all Massachusetts corporations above \$25 million in sales are eligible for investment. We

July 11, 1977

did this in ways which protected depositors, provided a profitable return to the financial institutions, and did not compromise the availability of the assets of these institutions for housing development.

2. State Government as a Public Entrepreneur to Create a New Financial Intermediary Either Initially or Eventually Privately Owned. A second way in which the state might stimulate the flow of private capital to further economic development goals is for the government to act as a "public entrepreneur." This means the creation of a new financial intermediary which is either initially privately owned, or initially has some public capital, but eventually becomes wholly privately owned.

From a private market standpoint, there may well be sufficient return on investment coincident with risk if only such an institution could be put together at a sufficiently aggregate scale. Such a private development finance intermediary may well provide risk-pooling and information and transaction cost pooling that is diseconomic for any single existing institution. Yet, it may not be worth the cost for a single private financial institution to undertake the promotion of such a new development finance intermediary.

In such circumstances, the government may undertake the formation of the private institution as a public entrepreneur in

July 11, 1977

order to benefit from the public externalities of increased jobs, increased individual and corporate tax receipts, and reduced welfare and other social overhead costs. That is precisely our recent experience in Massachusetts in entreprenuring the \$100 million Massachusetts Source Corporation, to be owned wholly by the Massachusetts insurance industry, and the Central Development Facility, to be wholly owned by the Massachusetts banking industry.

The key public question is: Will the institution be accountable to produce not only its private return on investment, but the public return as well? The answer lies in careful legislative chartering of the institution to ensure that there is adequate reporting and legislative oversight so that its activities may be monitored to see that the public purposes are achieved.

One Example: An Alaskan Central Bank for Local, Cooperative Banks and Credit Unions. One such institution which might contribute to rural community and regional economic development in Alaska would be an Alaskan central bank for existing rural unit banks or new cooperatively owned full service deposit institutions chartered by residents of small towns in the state. If the central bank of such a network is well designed, is able to borrow in international markets, and has very strong management, yet is owned by its member local institutions, it can be a vehicle to supply whatever capital is demanded locally to meet

July 11, 1977

housing, commercial and industrial development. Local sensitivity to local needs and how to meet them is coupled with sophisticated management and capital access at the central state level. Good models for such institutions exist as close as the British Columbia Central Credit Union, and as far away as the German D.G. Bank. Both institutions are models of local initiative and cooperative ownership coupled with centralized managerial and capital efficiency. They have provided the model for the recently constituted Central Development Facility in Massachusetts.

Similarly, the U.S. Federal Farm Credit System provides the model for the creation of a network which is initially publicly capitalized but which over time is purchased by the users themselves. The Farm Credit System was initially 100 percent federally owned and is now 100 percent owned by individual farmers and ranchers working through local cooperative institutions throughout the United States.

In summary, I strongly urge a careful review of existing state regulations with regard to asset management of state-chartered financial institutions, and a collaborative effort with those institutions to determine if there are ways in which the state might either modify regulations or act as a public entrepreneur to create a new privately owned financial intermediary which, under discreet legislative oversight, would contribute to the overall economic development plan of the state at no cost to the treasury.

July 11, 1977

D. Choosing Among Kinds of Public Investment: Which is More Equitable or Efficient, a Public Investment Made Through the Tax System, or Made Through a Grant or Subsidy Administered by the State Bureaucracy, or Made Through an Investment in a Development Bank?

Finally, before we leap into a detailed consideration of the Alaskan Permanent Fund as a development bank, it is important to realize that a public investment in economic development by the state of Alaska could be made in any one of three different forms, each of which has different consequences in terms of its relative efficiency and equity. They are:

(1) Tax incentives, more properly called tax expenditures, such as an investment tax credit, in which the legislature chooses to forgo tax revenues in order to try to stimulate capital investment in either a particular location or a particular scale of enterprise or a particular sector of economic activity;

(2) Grants and subsidies administered by bureaucrats such as the ten revolving loan programs now existing in Alaska, in which the legislature appropriates funds to the executive to be funneled by bureaucrats in order to try to stimulate particular kinds of economic activity in particular areas; and

(3) Independently chartered public development banks such as the proposals for the Permanent Fund, which are capitalized by

July 11, 1977

a public investment, authorized by the legislature, and administered by the independent board and a professional staff.

Each of these three forms of public investment has different consequences from an equity and efficiency standpoint in terms of their capability to carry out their specific public purpose.

Tax Expenditures, for instance, are subject to very limited governmental oversight. Once established by authorization of the legislature, they require neither annual appropriations by the legislature nor executive management. They do, however, cost the taxpayers as much as a similar program financed by an administered grant through annual appropriations. Tax expenditures are thus a favored form of public investment by special interest groups and most private enterprise, especially since their application is initiated by the tax avoider rather than by the legislature or executive. Most academic analysts agree that their economic impact is generally questionable from an efficiency standpoint, in that the tax expenditure is generally too little and too late. Moreover, from an equity standpoint, tax expenditures tend to favor rich individuals and corporations over poor individuals and small businesses, especially those located in depressed areas.

Grants and Subsidies administered by the state bureaucracy, on the other hand, are often criticized because they require too

July 11, 1977

much legislative and executive oversight. Administered grants may be more equitable in that they are accessible to smaller enterprise, lower-income persons, and poorer regions of the state; however, academic and entrepreneurial analysis agree on the relative inefficiency of this form of public investment, which usually operates with little or no sensitivity to the marketplace and a very high administrative cost. Given this inefficiency, even the equity argument is weak, because the designated public purpose is often not carried out.

It is my understanding that the ten existing state revolving funds, which would fall into this category, have recently been subject to just such criticism. I would suggest that, as a part of Alaska's economic development planning, the revolving loan funds be carefully reviewed in order to determine if in fact they are carrying out their public purposes. I would further suggest that serious consideration be given to shifting their operation from that of a bureaucratically-administered revolving loan fund to development finance intermediaries which might be operated as subsidiaries of the Alaskan Permanent Fund.

Finally, Development Banks, such as the Farm Credit System at the federal level, or state housing development finance authorities at the state level, tend to operate at a relatively high level of efficiency and market sensitivity, but may suffer from

July 11, 1977

more conservatism than public policy warrants and from insufficient executive or legislative control.

At this point I do not propose to make any absolute judgment about the relative equity or efficiency of any of these three forms. Rather, you need to recognize that each of these forms of public investment has its own relative costs and benefits which need to be carefully weighed in making specific decisions about a specific kind of public investment to carry out a specific public purpose. In different circumstances each of these forms will be more or less efficient or equitable in contributing to a specific piece of the overall economic plan of Alaska.

July 11, 1977

III. STRUCTURING THE ALASKAN PERMANENT FUND AS ONE TOOL
IN ALASKA'S OVERALL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

If we decide that the Alaskan Permanent Fund operating as an Alaskan development bank is one appropriate mechanism for dealing with certain aspects of Alaska's overall economic development, our task then is to structure the Permanent Fund so that it does what we want it to do.

It is worth reemphasizing that we cannot even consider this task until we have decided that:

- * the economic development problem to be addressed is not a problem in the goods market, but a problem in financial markets;
- * it is not a problem created by some existing form of public intervention which should be undone;
- * it is not a problem which is best solved by administrative regulation of the flow of private market financial assets; and
- * if there is to be a public investment, it is not a problem best solved by a new tax expenditure or a new bureaucratically-administered grant or subsidy program.

As noted in the beginning of this memo, development finance is the form of economic intervention that poses the highest risk.

July 11, 1977

It is therefore the last solution to be considered--only after having considered and either used or rejected all other forms of public intervention.

In designing the Permanent Fund as a development bank, there are four central questions we need to answer:

- * First, what should be the limited goals of the Alaskan Permanent Fund within the framework of Alaska's overall economic development plan?
- * Second, what should be the legal structure of the Alaskan Permanent Fund so that it is equitable and efficient in carrying out those goals, and yet accountable to the executive and legislature?
- * Third, what board and staff management structure is best suited to carry out these goals?
- * Fourth, what capital structure is necessary to ensure that the Alaskan Permanent Fund has the financial capability to achieve its purposes?

In addressing these questions, I have first approached the problem in general; then I have compared it particularly with the two drafts of the Alaskan Permanent Fund available to me, HB-298 and HB-300.

The comments that follow are intended to help clarify, or raise additional questions about, a basically sound draft document.

July 11, 1977

In order to be sure that I understand the meaning of particular words and phrases in these draft bills, and perhaps to be of some assistance to you in making their meaning unambiguous, I've done a rather thorough exegesis of the key provisions. In all cases, I refer to the draft of HB-300, unless I particularly note HB-298.

A. What Should be the Limited Goals of the Alaskan Permanent Fund Within the Framework of Alaska's Overall Economic Development Plan?

Almost all development bank proposals are initially marked by three serious problems: confusion of goals, trying to do too many things at once, and assigning to the development bank responsibility for delivering more than it is capable of delivering. In considering a new development bank, we need first to remember that this new development finance institution, like any financial intermediary, can operate only on the supply side of the economic equation. Second, international and domestic experience make it clear that we should be precise in defining the goals of the institution and modest in our expectation of its impact on state, regional, or community economic development. Finally, if there are separate goals in terms of the cost or availability of capital, these separate goals should be implemented (as we shall see

July 11, 1977

in our discussion below) through separate arms of the development bank which are capable of differentiating risk, sources and uses of funds, and specialized management capable of achieving those specialized goals. In assessing the goals of the Alaskan Permanent Fund in light of these principles, it is most useful to look beyond the general purposes articulated in Section 10 to the more specific investment criteria in Section 40:

Investing Only in "Income-Producing Investments" (Section 10 and Section 40) is the single most important investment criterion of the Permanent Fund. Permanent Fund investment strategies should also be organized to bring private judgment, at private risk, to joint venture in most projects in order to ensure that the investments are soundly planned, managed and overseen. This key provision recalls our "First Principles," pages 7-11: public intervention through a development finance intermediary to stimulate economic development is warranted not because investment opportunities are unsound, but because from the standpoint of opportunity cost, the private market has opportunities to employ its resources at greater return or lower risk than, as a public purpose, the state may be able to afford. Moreover, as we noted earlier, the issue is seldom the cost of capital, but rather, its availability. Therefore the Alaskan Permanent Fund will rarely be warranted, as a development bank, in offering substantial below-market interest

July 11, 1977

rates. The costs of capital, like state and local taxation, represent a very small percentage of the cost of production; and differential rates in the cost of capital seldom make the margin of difference in the economic viability of the enterprise. Yet the problem of the availability of capital for new technology development, or for small- and medium-sized commercial and industrial enterprise, or for community-based enterprise, is often a serious public policy problem.

Should it be determined that some form of subsidy is essential for certain large-scale infrastructure developments, or some community development or rural housing development projects, that subsidy should be provided by the General Fund, as our earlier discussion and Section 130 (4) suggest.

The rest of our analysis of the goals of the Permanent Fund is most easily done by a careful review of the three essential investment criteria for (1) investment-grade securities, (2) productive private enterprise, and (3) community development. This analysis conveniently fits our earlier discussion of potential investments for the Permanent Fund on pages 11 through 23.

1. Investment-Grade Securities:

Section 40 (1) provides that "At Least 40 Percent of the Resources of the Permanent Fund Shall be Invested in Investment-

July 11, 1977

Grade Securities." (Section 10 (1)) This is a sound provision for two reasons (to which we have already made reference):

First, because development banks operate only on the supply side of the investment equation, it is not all clear what the capability of the Alaskan economy is to absorb Permanent Fund investments either for longer-term capital investment in productive private enterprises or for community development projects. Therefore, all capital which cannot be reasonably absorbed under those two categories should be invested in investment-grade securities. It is important, however, that a sufficient percentage of those investments be made in sufficiently liquid securities so that they will be available, when needed, for investment in productive private enterprises or community development projects. Second, this 40 percent investment in investment-grade securities not only "preserves the Permanent Fund's capital for future generations" (Section 10 (6)), but also acts as a kind of secondary reserve for the potentially high-risk investments in productive private enterprises and community development projects.

2. Investments in Productive Private Enterprise

Section 40 (2) provides that "The Permanent Fund May Invest Not More Than 30 Percent of its Resources to Provide a Reasonable Proportion of Longer-Term Investment Capital for Financing the

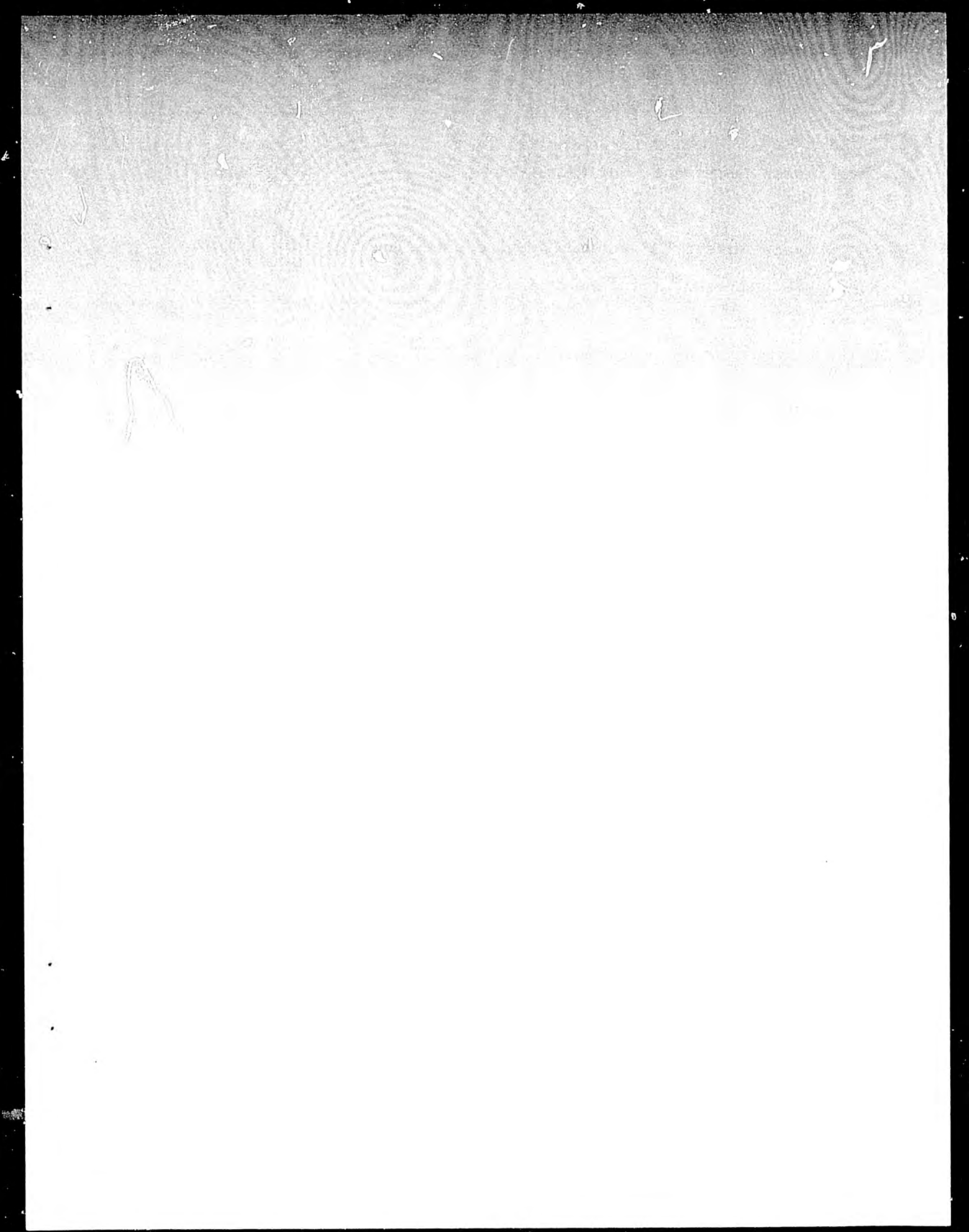
July 11, 1977

Establishment, Improvement, and Expansion of Productive Private Enterprise Which Will Benefit Alaskans, and for Which Sufficient Capital is Not Available From Other Sources on Reasonable Terms. These Investments May Take the Form of Equity, Debt, or Debt Guarantees."

Each of the above underlined phrases is sufficiently important to warrant individual comment:

"Not More Than 30 Percent" suggests a reasonable and realistic upper limit of risk in terms of the availability of public development capital subject to demonstrated real demand for it. It is never possible to be rigorously precise in measuring the capital gap for publicly-needed capital. Development banks are best constructed to meet a reasonable demand and then organized in such a way that they are demand-sensitive, so that if there is a demand there is capital available. If such capital is not available, there is of course the alternative of adjusting the balance in investment-grade securities.

"A Reasonable Proportion" suggests that the Permanent Fund should not invest other than in collaboration with private financial intermediaries. Federal, state and local as well as international experience strongly support the idea that the public development bank investment is likely to be more sound if it is made on a joint venture basis with the private market.



July 11, 1977

the private market is generally quite capable of filling this need. Second, the state has limited capability to influence short-term cyclical changes in worldwide markets or federal fiscal or monetary policy (in this regard, I trust the phrase "seek to smooth the cyclical pattern of growth of the Alaskan economy" (Section 10 (2)) refers to long-term redress of cyclical problems in the Alaskan economy resulting from overdependence on nonrenewable resources, and does not refer to short-term business cycles). Third, it is only in the longer-term capital markets that any capital gaps critical to overall state economic development arise.

"Establishment, Improvement and Expansion": Pages 11-21 of this paper, I outlined three kinds of investment opportunities where the establishment, improvement or expansion of sound, income-producing, productive private enterprises of benefit to Alaskans may not have sufficient private capital available on reasonable terms or conditions. These three kinds of investments include:

- * sound investments in Alaska's renewable and nonrenewable resources which diversify the Alaskan economy but which are too large for private enterprise to finance on its own at a sufficient return coincident with other available risk opportunities;
- * the development of new technologies essential to the refining and production of value-added manufacturing of

July 11, 1977

renewable or nonrenewable resources in Alaska before export; and

- * support for the retention and expansion of medium- and small-sized business enterprise by ensuring access through commercial and savings banks to adequate intermediate and long-term expansion capital.

In each instance, there needs to be a rigorous analysis of the economic and financial soundness of the sector, the reasons for lack of adequate private market capital availability (if it, in fact, exists), and the relative benefits and returns, costs and risks of public intervention through the Permanent Fund.

"Productive Private Enterprises" appropriately requires that investments only be made in financially sound enterprises which are also income-producing, job-producing, revenue-producing, and contributing in real economic terms to the Alaskan economy.

"Which Will Benefit Alaskans" is a vital phrase requiring that the investments made in enterprises that are not only financially sound but also in which the economic benefit to the residents of Alaska is greater than their economic cost to the state. This critical issue will be discussed in detail under "Legal Structure and Accountability," pages 59-67, below.

"Not Available from Other Sources on Reasonable Terms" is also essential to ensure that any public investments made by the

July 11, 1977

Alaskan Permanent Fund are complementary to the private marketplace and supplement private capital because of the public benefit derived by the residents of the state. However, as we have already noted, such collaboration between public and private capital must be reasonable and fair on both sides.

"Equity" is essential to the creation of new enterprises and new technologies, as well as to the expansion of substantial, large-scale enterprises which are necessary to the diversification of Alaska's renewable and nonrenewable resources.

"Debt and Debt Guarantees" are the modes of investment most necessary to collaborative support with commercial banks, savings banks and credit unions in increasing the availability of intermediate and long-term expansion capital to medium- and small-sized enterprises.

3. Investment in Community Development

Section 40 (3) provides that "The Permanent Fund May Invest Not More Than 30 Percent of Its Resources in Financing a Reasonable Proportion of the Longer-Term Investment Capital Needs for Community Development Projects of Municipalities and Public Corporate Entities and Private Dwellings in Alaska for Which Sufficient Financing is Not Available from Other Sources on Reasonable Terms. These Investments May Take the Form of Debt or Debt Guarantees."

July 11, 1977

Again, I want to amplify the meaning and corroborate the soundness of underlined phrases in light of regional and community economic development experience in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Third World countries.

"Not More Than 30 Percent" is an important limitation for two reasons, which my own work in community economic development has often made painfully clear: First, community development finance is very high-risk investment activity. Second, there is a serious problem in finding a sufficient deal flow of projects which are sound both financially and in terms of their community economic impact. Part of this is a market problem and part is a management problem. Low-income areas, by definition, have a more limited capability to support economic activity. Therefore, heavy emphasis should be placed on the development of community projects with a strong export market, which generate stable, steady jobs in the local community by importing sales revenues from outside the community. Finding adequate managerial talent is a far greater impediment to community economic development than finding adequate capital. The Permanent Fund has the tough responsibility of ensuring that community development projects are adequately managed as well as adequately funded. It must help mobilize that management capability as well as capital.

"Reasonable Proportion" is also a phrase with particular

July 11, 1977

importance to community development activities. First of all, it suggests that in every instance the Permanent Fund should be joint venturing either with a municipality or with a regional or local community development corporation or cooperative which would put up a significant amount of the financing. I have already noted Alaska's unique opportunity to co-venture with regional corporations.

It also suggests joint ventures with private entrepreneurs. Some of the most successful community development efforts in the lower 48 today involve creative financial and managerial collaboration between community development corporations and private investors--the Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation, the Delta Foundation, Harlem Commonwealth Council, and Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation. All of these models and the history of their experience deserve the careful attention of the legislature in designing the Permanent Fund's community development investment structure.

"Longer-Term Investment Capital", or "patient money," is essential for successful community development projects. The need for extensive managerial assistance, for developing markets over a long term, for infrastructure investment, all add to the cost and to the time frame over which community development projects are likely to have a profitable payout. Often, the private market

July 11, 1977

is willing to put up the short- and intermediate-term financing if municipalities, public community development corporations and the Permanent Fund provide sufficient longer-term equity and debt financing.

"Community Development Projects" would (based on the experience of community development organizations in the United States and overseas) encompass at least three major categories of activity: export industry, local commercial and housing services, and social overhead capital and infrastructure development. To the extent that the Permanent Fund participates in any of these three areas of activity, it must meet its essential goal of investing only in income-producing projects.

In the case of social overhead capital and infrastructure development, a subsidy will be necessary either from the General Fund or from a local municipality or public community development corporation.

Similarly, commercial and housing services essential to local community development will also be somewhat precarious in terms of the capability of developing a substantial cash flow, given the relatively low income of the local service area. In order to put together a sound overall package, it may be necessary for Permanent Fund investments to be paired with subsidized grants from the General Fund or from local municipalities.

July 11, 1977

Only in the case of export industry, in which local residents are employed in enterprises which sell to a "foreign" market outside the local area, is the likelihood of a strong, income-producing investment most assured.

"Municipalities" are essential co-venturers with the Permanent Fund where social overhead capital and infrastructure investments are required.

"Public Corporate Entities" I take to include regional and local development corporations and cooperatives.

"Private Dwellings" has a strange ring. The implication seems to be that individual local businesses are excluded from direct financing by the Permanent Fund for community development projects but local individual homeowners are not. Based on experience in the lower 48, serious consideration ought to be given to financing local housing development through a community development intermediary as well.

"Debt or Debt Guarantees": This is a serious flaw in the design of the Permanent Fund. The Permanent Fund should be free to make equity investments in community development, as well as in productive private enterprises. The experience of the most successful community development organizations in the United States confirms this judgment. The essential financial ingredient of successful CDCs is their ability to make equity investments

July 11, 1977

in enterprises in order to have adequate control and in order to ensure that they are soundly and patiently financed.

Alaska is in a somewhat exceptional position, with many substantially funded regional community development corporations which can take much of the equity position for community development projects on a joint venture basis with the Permanent Fund. Nevertheless, such pioneering state community development banks as the Massachusetts Community Development Finance Corporation, with their capacity for making equity investments in community development as well as for handling debt and debt guarantees, deserve careful consideration by the Alaskan Permanent Fund. This power need not be used frequently, but it is essential that it is available to the Permanent Fund.

B. What Should be the Legal Structure of the Alaskan Permanent Fund So That It is Most Equitable and Efficient in Carrying Out Its Goals, and Yet Accountable to the Executive and Legislature for Achieving Its Public Purposes?

We have already noted that the great virtue of development banks is their ability to operate at a relatively high level of efficiency and market sensitivity. This strength, however, is counterbalanced by the tendency of development banks to operate more conservatively than public policy may warrant and (sometimes)

July 11, 1977

to be designed with insufficient executive or legislative oversight. Care at this early stage in the design of the Alaskan Permanent Fund can help to ensure that the strengths of the Fund as a development bank are maintained while its weaknesses are minimized. I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of integrating the Permanent Fund into an overall economic development plan. It is but one of many tools for achieving--and sustaining--a sound economy in Alaska.

Section 20 properly structures the Permanent Fund as "a public corporation of the state and an instrumentality of the state within the Department of Revenue that has a legal existence independent of and separate from the state. . . ." Section 90 "exempts" the Permanent Fund "from the provisions of the Executive Budget Act," Without knowing the particulars of the Executive Budget Act, I presume that this provision frees the Alaskan Permanent Fund board and staff to make decisions with regard to investing principal and whatever portion of income is necessary either for administrative overhead or for reserves without annual executive or legislative approval. Finally, Section 100 places "the president, officers, and staff of the Permanent Fund in the exempt service."

It is absolutely essential that the Permanent Fund, if it is to be efficient in carrying out its public purposes, be free to

July 11, 1977

hire the highest caliber professional staff at competitive world-wide market rates--free of the constraints of Civil Service and of either political or bureaucratic manipulation. Similarly, the policy board of the Permanent Fund must be able to reward its president and staff for successful performance according to market standards, and fire that president and staff at will. Placing the personnel in the exempt service is essential to sound operations. Similarly, placing the Permanent Fund "in but not of" the Department of Revenue and making it exempt from annual approval of its investment decisions is also essential to its efficiency, PROVIDED THAT there are careful controls built into the statute of the Permanent Fund which ensure complete annual reporting and review of the investment activities of the Permanent Fund by both the legislature and the executive. This annual reporting and review must include both the financial soundness of its investments and their economic impact, and provisions must be derived which ensure that the investment planning of the Permanent Fund is consistent both procedurally and substantively with the overall economic development planning of the state.

In this regard, I prefer the language of Section 60 (10) in HB-300 over the comparable language in HB-298. The policy board should be required by statute to "present a complete report of investment programs, plans, performance and policies to a joint

July 11, 1977

meeting of the Senate and House Finance Committees of the legislature within 30 days after the beginning of each session." It should not read merely "prepared to present."

The independent professional judgment that is essential to making tough investment decisions and the resulting market sensitivity of a well-structured public development bank such as the Alaskan Permanent Fund is, as I have noted, a conservatizing influence over time. It requires a more sophisticated form of accountability than simple financial accountability. Some form of dual accounting is called for. First, there must be simple accounting, according to conventional financial standards, of the ability of the Alaskan Permanent Fund to make prudent investments and receive an appropriate return on that investment. Because the Alaskan Permanent Fund is capitalized by a dedicated investment of public revenues, this public investment requires, however, an additional public measure of return on investment in terms of the external benefits to the economy as well as the internal rate of return to the development bank itself. Some of these external benefits can be measured as the fiscal return to the state in both reduced social overhead costs and increased tax revenues. There are serious technical problems in properly assigning both costs and benefits, but this is an area in which considerable pioneering is essential if we are to determine whether or not our

July 11, 1977

projections for the Fund's economic impact and financial soundness have in fact been met.

I suggest, therefore, that Section 150 be amended to provide for an annual report which accounts for economic impact as well as the financial soundness of investments made by the Permanent Fund. This economic impact accounting should incorporate operational principle number 8, which requires that "the Permanent Fund shall analyze the economic and other effects of an investment decision, by including the effects on employment, income distribution, environment, health, social and other factors.

The Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank have developed techniques of cost-benefit analysis which have some limited applicability to Alaska and which are summarized in most useful detail in "The Appraisal of Development Projects: A Practical Guide to Project Analysis with Case Studies and Solutions," by Roemer and Stern. It should be recognized, however, that because the Alaskan economy is part of the wide open and fluid American economy, it will be much more difficult to isolate the costs and benefits of Permanent Fund investments. For better or worse, unlike Zaire or India, Alaska does not have its own currency or tariff laws.

More appropriate to your purposes are some of the techniques now being pioneered in Massachusetts with the Community Development

July 11, 1977

Finance Corporation, in which all investment decisions and all auditing of those investment decisions are made on a two-track line of analysis: the first track includes traditional projections and accounting for financial soundness; the second track includes projections for economic soundness. In this system, the staff must report to the investment board its projections of primary and secondary employment and fiscal benefits at the same time that it reports its projections for financial viability. The investment review board must then specifically find that the project meets standards of both economic and financial soundness. The monthly, quarterly and annual reporting of any enterprise financed must also note whether both sets of projections have or have not been met. In turn, the annual reporting of the Community Development Finance Corporation to the executive, legislature and public must account for the performance of its investments on both tracks.

I want to reemphasize that the techniques for economic impact accounting have not been well developed, but that is all the more reason for us to make a commitment to improve the sophistication of those techniques given the awesome financial responsibility in undertaking such projects as the Alaskan Permanent Fund. I would be happy to share with you in more detail some of the standards and procedures which are now being developed.

Two other forms of public accountability deserve further

July 11, 1977

consideration by the Alaskan Permanent Fund committee--provisions in keeping with the movement toward both "sunshine" and "sunset" laws.

Sunshine Provisions: Section 190, which provides for public access to information, does not yet properly articulate, in either draft, the appropriate boundaries for "sunshine" on the one hand, and for confidentiality and discretion on the other. Two matters require the utmost confidentiality: the financial records of an individual private enterprise, and the personnel actions of the Permanent Fund itself. Those matters should be dealt with in executive session and in full confidentiality regarding individual records. All other policy actions of the investment board should be taken in public meetings of which a public record is available. The results of individual financial reviews and personnel actions must be available in summary form to the public--including the basic terms of any financial arrangements that are concluded.

Sunset Provisions: While these are, in principle, a good means of holding public development banks accountable for their actions, they present certain practical problems, in that development banks by their very nature are investing assets and creating liabilities which will not mature until perhaps twenty or thirty years into the future. This is not an insurmountable

July 11, 1977

problem; the sun of the Federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) set in 1958, at which time its assets and liabilities were assumed by the Small Business Administration. Nevertheless, I suggest not a predetermined "sunset" date for terminating the Alaskan Permanent Fund, but rather what I would call a "high noon" provision.

The "High Noon" Provision: After the Permanent Fund has had a chance to get off to a good, strong start--say, after an interval of ten years--at its high noon of financial and economic activity, I suggest that it be subject to a fundamental review by a joint executive and legislative commission in order to determine whether or not its performance equalled its promise. The establishment of such a commission should, at the end of nine and a half years of activity, be required by statute now. The commission should be required to report to the executive and legislature on the tenth year anniversary of the Permanent Fund. Included in the commission's findings would be recommendations for the continuation of the Permanent Fund, subject to various modifications, or its termination.

Accountability to Local Communities: This is a sensitive issue, handled differently by different states, depending on the history and custom of different jurisdictions. Massachusetts, for instance, has a three-hundred-year history of strong local

July 11, 1977

home rule which requires virtually all state actions to be locally approved. Connecticut has precisely the opposite tradition.

The language of the Permanent Fund bills seems to make three implicit distinctions:

Because the Permanent Fund can only finance a "reasonable proportion" of community development projects, there seems to be an implication that there must be a municipal or regional or local development corporation sponsor.

Section 130 (3) specifies that the Permanent Fund generally "shall be sensitive to the views of affected local communities . . ." and specifically "shall include an analysis of those views in proposals for large investments." The implication is that investments in medium and small "productive private enterprises" need not bear such an analysis. The key questions are: What is "large"? And, do these phrases reflect Alaskan state-local custom?

C. What Board and Staff Management Structure is Most Efficient for Carrying Out These Goals?

Generally speaking, I find the structure and responsibilities of the Permanent Fund policy board, the investment committee and the president to reflect appropriate international, national and state development banking experience.

July 11, 1977

In the above section on legal organization and accountability, I have already noted the critical importance of establishing the managerial independence of both the boards and staff of the Permanent Fund so that they are able to produce according to market standards and to be independent from daily political or bureaucratic interference.

Structure of the Permanent Fund policy board (Section 50):

The structure of the Permanent Fund policy board is good. It is small enough to be effective and yet large enough to represent a balance of interests. The two/seven balance between members of the executive and public members is good. The public members should be "confirmed by the legislature in joint session," in the manner of advice and consent for major executive positions in the federal government.

If the Alaskan governor serves a four-year term, the consequence of staggered four-year terms for the seven public members is to give an incumbent governor assured control of the board during the third year of his or her term, subject of course to legislative confirmation. This arrangement has both advantages and drawbacks. If the Permanent Fund is to be an integral part of an overall development plan for the Alaskan economy there must be some mechanism by which the president and the policy board are a part of that planning process and operate within an overall development plan. On the other hand, the efficiency of the