COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE PUBLIC HEARING

STATE CAPITOL HARRISBURG, PA

IRVIS OFFICE BUILDING ROOM G-50

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 2017 9:00 A.M.

PRESENTATION REGARDING
STATE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS:
POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS TO IMPROVING
OVERSIGHT AND RELIEVING REGULATORY BURDENS

BEFORE:

HONORABLE DARYL METCALFE, MAJORITY CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE CRIS DUSH

HONORABLE MATT GABLER

HONORABLE KRISTIN PHILLIPS-HILL

HONORABLE JERRY KNOWLES

HONORABLE BRETT MILLER

HONORABLE BRAD ROAE

HONORABLE FRANK RYAN

HONORABLE RICK SACCONE

HONORABLE CRAIG STAATS

HONORABLE JUSTIN WALSH

HONORABLE JUDITH WARD

HONORABLE JEFF WHEELAND

HONORABLE MATTHEW BRADFORD, DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN

HONORABLE DONNA BULLOCK

HONORABLE MARY JO DALEY

HONORABLE PAMELA DELISSIO

HONORABLE MADELEINE DEAN

HONORABLE ISABELLA FITZGERALD

HONORABLE STEPHEN MCCARTER

HONORABLE JARED SOLOMON

HONORABLE EMILIO VAZQUEZ

* * * * *

Pennsylvania House of Representatives Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ALSO PRESENT:

REPRESENTATIVE KERRY BENNINGHOFF REPRESENTATIVE DONNA OBERLANDER

COMMITTEE STAFF PRESENT:

SUSAN BOYLE

MAJORITY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AMY HOCKENBERRY

MAJORITY RESEARCH ANALYST

KAREN PRIEGO

MAJORITY RESEARCH ANALYST

PAM NEUGARD

MAJORITY ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

GLENDON KING

MAJORITY RESEARCH ANALYST

KIM HILEMAN

DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

KATHY SEIDL

DEMOCRATIC RESEARCH ANALYST

MATT HURLBURT

DEMOCRATIC RESEARCH ANALYST

LINDA HUNTINGTON

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

I N D E X

TESTIFIERS

* * *

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|---|
| LARRY SCHWEIGER PRESIDENT AND CEO, PENNFUTURE |
| CARL J. CARLSON DIRECTOR OF GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS, RANGE RESOURCES-APPALACHIA, LLC |
| JENNIFER HOFFMAN VICE PRESIDENT, EHS AND REGULATORY, HUNTLEY & HUNTLEY ENERGY EXPLORATION |
| KEVIN J. MOODY, ESQ. GENERAL COUNSEL AND VICE PRESIDENT OF GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS, PA INDEPENDENT OIL AND GAS ASSOCIATION |
| GEORGE BEDWICK COMMISSIONER, INDEPENDENT REGULATORY REVIEW COMMISSION36 ACCOMPANIED BY: DAVID SUMNER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INDEPENDENT REGULATORY REVIEW COMMISSION |
| PAUL J. BRAHIM CHAIRMAN AND CEO, BPU INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT, INC., AND PRESIDENT, FINANCIAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION |
| JAMES BROUGHEL, PH.D. RESEARCH FELLOW, MERCATUS CENTER AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY58 |
| DAVID TAYLOR PRESIDENT, PENNSYLVANIA MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION |

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| (See | submitted | written | testimony | and | handouts | online. |) |
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| 1 | PROCEEDINGS |
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| 2 | * * * |
| 3 | MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: lead us in the |
| 4 | Pledge. |
| 5 | |
| 6 | (The Pledge of Allegiance was recited.) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir. |
| 9 | REPRESENTATIVE: You're welcome, sir. Thank you. |
| 10 | MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: If I could ask our |
| 11 | Member Secretary to call the roll, please. |
| 12 | |
| 13 | (Roll was taken.) |
| 14 | |
| 15 | MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, |
| 16 | Representative Hill. |
| 17 | Representative Dush is here also. |
| 18 | REPRESENTATIVE PHILLIPS-HILL: Mr. Chairman, we |
| 19 | have a quorum. |
| 20 | MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. |
| 21 | This morning's hearing is kind of part two of the |
| 22 | hearings that we're having on regulatory reform, the title |
| 23 | today, "Potential Solutions to Improving Oversight and |
| 24 | Relieving Regulatory Burdens." We've had a number of |
| 25 | pieces of legislation introduced by several of my |

colleagues. I know there's legislation that they're working on in the Senate related to the regulatory environment here in Pennsylvania. And today's hearing, we look forward to the testimony being received.

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Just a reminder to our Members, the testifiers today are our guests. They're not here for us to debate with them. They're here for us to receive testimony related to their thoughts and expertise on the issue that we have before us. There'll be an opportunity for debate amongst ourselves at a future meeting, but today is for information gathering, and we look forward to hearing from our guests today.

We're going to have 15 minutes per testifier, and I would ask our testifiers to make sure that they keep their testimony to seven to eight minutes long and then leaving seven to eight minutes of additional time for Q&A. If you get to the eight-minute mark and you've not finished your testimony, I will advise you that your time is up for testifying and we'll enter the Q&A session at that point.

So I appreciate you all being with us today. Our first testifier is Mr. Larry Schweiger, President and CEO of PennFuture. Sir, you can take a seat, take the microphone, and begin when you're ready, sir. Thank you for joining us.

MR. SCHWEIGER: Thank you. Chairman Metcalfe,

Chairman Bradford, and Members of the State Government

Committee, I want to thank you for this opportunity to

testify. I am the President and CEO of PennFuture, a

statewide environment advocacy organization that currently

represents more than 60,000 members and supporters.

To the point of this hearing, the hearing this Committee hosted on this topic recently and to the ongoing debate in the capital on government regulations, I believe we're grossly missing the mark. Let me explain.

environment oversight to protect their air and water and public lands. I worked for this General Assembly when 82 percent of the people of Pennsylvania voted for Article 1, Section 27 of the Pennsylvania Constitution. I won't read it, but it's clear that it guarantees people the right to clean air and pure water. This promise, if it were placed in the ballot this fall, would get the same result. Pennsylvania votes want their air and water and environmental resources protected, and they want environment regulations that can do so.

We must now protect the public health by regulating methane pollution. Methane, the main component when released into the environment, traps heat. The first two decades after its release, the methane molecule is 84 times more potent than a carbon dioxide molecule in

trapping heat. Methane also interacts with NOx and sunlight to create ground-level ozone that is known throughout human health as a potent asthma trigger. I believe circumstances warrant legislative action to cut methane emissions and to protect the public health and safety.

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Methane emissions reported under the Federal New Source Performance Standards by drillers and compressor station owners have seen a 28 percent increase in methane leakage from 2014 to 2015 while at the same time Pennsylvania's gas production rose about 12 percent according to the Energy Information Agency. Any time emissions are rising faster than production, we can assume that voluntary efforts to cut emissions are not working.

Pennsylvania, as the second-largest natural gasproducing State, must join other major gas-producing States
like Colorado, Wyoming, Ohio, and California and enact
State-level methane controls and other best-management
practices for gas development.

Second, I believe the discussion at the previous hearing and the recently passed Senate Bill 561, which now resides in this Committee, would provide for a legislative veto of regulations. I believe that's dangerous and unconstitutional. Without a doubt, the General Assembly has an important role to play in providing oversight of the

many statutes and agencies before them. Having worked for the General Assembly from 1971 to '81, I also served as a voting alternate for the Environment Quality Board for then-Republican Senator Roy Wilt, and I'm well aware of the duties and responsibilities of the Committee of jurisdiction to provide consistent and meaningful oversight of respective agencies and the laws that they're charged to implement.

2.2

In short, the General Assembly already has the power and the staff resources to address regulatory and enforcement oversight through the constitutional pathway of passing legislation. Senate Bill 561 and similar legislation introduced into the House failed to follow the basic constitutional pathway. Instead, each aimed to break the separation of powers crafted in our Constitution to allow legislative veto of new regulations the executive branch is carrying out to follow the law.

It would provide yet another bureaucratic hurdle in the regulatory process that puts the public health and safety and environment at risk. Pennsylvania already has the most burdensome and slow regulatory process in America, and the solutions offered to date would do nothing but make that process worse.

Third, this Committee has almost solely heard testimony from those aiming to reduce rules that protect

our citizens. The public is increasingly bewildered by all the delays and disillusioned by the failure to protect their air from methane, carbon pollution, toxics, and their water supplies from lead, toxics, and fracking fluids.

Instead of creating a byzantine labyrinth of oversight agencies and additional time-delaying impediments to proper promulgation of regulations, the Legislature should be working to strengthen the rules and make the process more streamlined, not adding more barriers to it.

Fourth, the budget cuts, coupled with efforts to weaken regulations, threaten our air and water protection. In recent years, the power of the purse has been applied in a punitive way to constrain DEP's enforcement capacity, including a reduction of 754 positions over the past decade at a time when Pennsylvania's gas production grew 30-fold across the Marcellus gas field.

The newly proposed cuts pending in the House budget passed recently puts Pennsylvania's environmental health at risk. Witnessing the draconian budget cuts that have been made to the DEP budget over the past number of years, it's clear that this underfunded agency is now unable to protect drinking water supplies or provide oversight to an extensive and expanding energy infrastructure. In fact, these budget cuts should be the center of hearings as such as they are directly causing

permit delays plaguing certain regions of the State.

Finally, we must learn from past mistakes. The failure to properly regulate coal, oil, and gas development has had profound consequences for generations of Pennsylvanians. Lax laws, inadequate rules, and lack of law enforcement have privatized profits while socializing the external cost in the form of air and water pollution. Much of the real cost of past energy development have been passed on to future generations.

When the original Clean Streams Act was passed in 1937, the coal industry was explicitly exempted from the regulations. More than 100 years of unregulated and poorly regulated anthracite and bituminous coalmining has profoundly changed the surface and ground water hydrology and contaminated streams with acidity and toxic metals. At one time, drainage from thousands of abandoned coalmines affected more than 10,000 miles and seriously contaminated more than 3,000 miles of streams and associated groundwater in Pennsylvania. Mine drainage continues to be the most extensive water pollution problem affecting the watersheds of Pennsylvania.

In February 1971, I was hired by the Joint
Legislative Conservation Committee in part to provide
oversight over Project 500. We monitored the \$200 million
that was spent under Project 500 to address mine drainage,

burning coal banks and the removal of dangerous highwalls.

The money expended in the '70s solved many serious threats
but barely scratched the surface of mine scars.

Recent studies by U.S. Geologic Survey summarized this way: "Because coalmine drainage can contain toxic concentrations of acidity, metals, and sediments, many mining-impacted streams contain no fish. Consequently, Pennsylvania loses about \$67 million annually that could be generated if sport fishing were restored in affected streams." The estimated cost for restoring damaged watersheds today is about \$5-15 billion.

As early as 1899, John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil lobbied the Legislature to avoid any regulatory restraint on the oil industry. Shallow oil and gas drilling remain largely unregulated through its heyday. Today, taxpayers of Pennsylvania are facing at least \$7.5 billion in liability to address these historic failures to properly regulate oil and gas drilling. No one is really sure how many abandoned wells exist, but best estimates are that Pennsylvania has about 300,000 orphan and abandoned oil and gas wells, many of which leak unknown quantities of methane and brine to the surface or groundwater. The average cost to plug a well has been pegged at about \$25,000, while the Commonwealth has actually spent over \$250,000 on a few wells.

Pennsylvania currently has about 104,000 active oil and gas wells, compressor stations, and processing facilities, leaking aging gas pipelines that expose about 1.5 million Pennsylvanians to two types of health impacts: increased cancer risk and respiratory health issues resulting from toxic gas and infrastructure air emissions. This infrastructure must be properly regulated, and the laws must be enforced.

The Commonwealth must avoid socializing the cost of energy extraction by handicapping responsible rulemaking and enforcement. The State must empower its regulatory agencies to establish adequate regulations to protect the public health through rulemaking and enforcement and make sure adequate fees and sufficient bonding are available to restore all damage.

Instead, the title of this hearing seems to be asking the question tailored to a specific outcome, further relieve requirements on permittees who potentially impact the environment or threaten the health and safety or the welfare of the people of Pennsylvania.

It's said that history repeats itself because we failed to read the minutes from the previous generations. We must stop making the same mistakes again and again by vilifying government regulations to benefit the few at the cost of the health and safety of the Commonwealth and its

1 people. 2 Thank you. 3 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. Representative Dush for our first question. 4 5 REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Thank you, Chairman. 6 You gave us a lot of information here that I 7 could go on with, but I've got two specific questions. First of all, the purpose of this hearing is basically to 8 9 take on the regulatory environment. Now, in page 2 of your 10 testimony you say that legislative veto of regulations is 11 dangerous and unconstitutional. I'll have you know the 12 sovereignty in this government resides with --13 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative Dush, 14 this is not a debate with the testifier. It's just an 15 opportunity for questions and information-gathering, 16 please. 17 REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Okay. How is this unconstitutional if the Legislature are the sovereigns? 18 19 MR. SCHWEIGER: Well, the way I read the 20 Constitution is that the Legislature passes legislation, 21 the Governor signs that legislation. Without the 2.2 Governor's signature, that chain is broken so there's not a balance of power. So simply giving the Legislature 23 24 jurisdiction to block executive actions in my view is an

unconstitutional procedure that should not be undertaken.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: We determine what the laws are, and that's why -- I happen to disagree with you on that.

The second question I have, you're reporting a 12 percent increase in methane production after the increases by the Federal Government on source -- on the reporting of that. Now, is this actually a 12 percent increase because of the increase in reporting and the production or is that an actual increase of 12 percent in the existing wells based on what was already known?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Well, we have an increase in production overall. These are numbers that are reported by the producers, so we're taking those numbers and simply sharing them back to you. So, these are the numbers coming from those people, those entities that are producing the gas.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Well, then I have to -where you say -- I assume that voluntary efforts to cut our
emissions are not working, then it would seem that that is
not actually the case.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Dush.

Representative McCarter.

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you,

25 Mr. Chairman.

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Again, thanks very much for the testimony today for the testimony, Mr. Schweiger.

You give a lot of the history in terms of what has happened over the past 100-and-some-odd years now in terms of the coal, gas, and oil industry in Pennsylvania and the impacts of that, which I think for all of us we can surely see the scars across the landscape of Pennsylvania.

What I'd like to hear a little bit more about, though, is the impact of that in terms of the water resources of Pennsylvania. You mentioned it briefly in your testimony, but could you elaborate a little bit more on that in terms of what the cost has been to Pennsylvania with an unregulated environment that has taken place?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Let me personalize it and say that I grew up in western Pennsylvania, and as a boy, I didn't have a chance to fish in many of the streams because they were acid-impregnated. So when I came to work here in 1971, I was really impassioned to see this money to be spent properly to clean up those waters because I know a lot of other young people who live along degraded streams.

And let me also say that, during that time, the Secretary of Forest and Waters and the Secretary of Commerce did a study, and they found that every place where we had degraded water quality from mine drainage we also had lower economic health. And so the counties that were

most impacted by mine drainage also had much lower job opportunities and many more difficulties in attracting new industry.

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: And the second question

I have is in terms of promulgation of regulations and the

development of these regulations to take place, using

methane as the example, what is your experience in terms of

who's involved in actually writing those regulations?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Well, I think from my experience, the Department has experts that are narrowly focused in the area that they are responsible for, and they begin to develop the regulations based on what they know from a technical standpoint. It's given then to lawyers in the Department to review and to put into proper language. The Citizens Advisory Committee has long been a part of that process, giving good information.

I believe there are two separate technical committees that are involved in the development of these regulations. Then, it comes before the Environment Quality Board, and as you may know, there are four Members of the General Assembly, two from the House, two from the Senate, who then have an opportunity to participate in the rulemaking process. There are a lot of public hearings involved. In the case of methane, there were 12 hearings that were held. So it was a very vigorous process that

1 took over five years. REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Isn't it true also that 2 3 the industry itself actually has a role that it plays in helping to write many of these regulations that take place? 4 5 MR. SCHWEIGER: Absolutely. And the industry has 6 appointments to the Citizens Advisory Committee, they have 7 members on the technical committees, and they of course participate in the public process that everyone else gets a 8 9 chance at as well. 10 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you very much. 11 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 12 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 13 Representative McCarter. 14 Representative Knowles for our final question 15 from this testifier. 16 REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: Thank you very much, 17 Mr. Chairman. MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You have time for --18 19 REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: And thank you, 20 Mr. Schweiger. 21 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We have two more 2.2 minutes, so Representative Knowles, and then if we have time, we'll have one more question after that. 23 24 REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: Okay. I'm going to be

real quick. You talked about your history with the

coalmines. Schuylkill County, Tamaqua, I'm proud to be a coal cracker. I can tell you that when I was a young boy, when I would look up at the mountains, I would see nothing but black silt. I can tell you that when I went down to the river, you saw orange running. Now, today, thanks to our cogen plants, which have done away with much of the waste coal in a good fashion, and if you look up on those mountains now, you see nothing but green vegetation.

People are fishing in the Schuylkill River, which was unheard of 30, 20 years ago.

And when I look at your headline, "poorly regulated coalmining," I don't quite get it. I think that we've done marvelous things in terms of our environment in dealing with coal.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative Knowles, do you have a question there?

REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: That's it. Can you comment on that?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Yes. I would suggest that the early history of coal up until 1964 was basically unregulated. The State of Pennsylvania Legislature in the '60s began to regulate coal appropriately. I was involved in many of those activities in the '60s as a volunteer, and then in the '70s, we passed the All Surface Mining Act, which further tackled the issue. At first, it was putting

the lands back to approximate original contour. Later, it
was adding topsoil recovery. And so in modern days coal is
actually doing what it should have been doing all along.
What we have is a legacy of damaged landscapes,
and I can take you -- I've spent enough time in the
anthracite region to take you to places where the entire

and I can take you -- I've spent enough time in the anthracite region to take you to places where the entire streams are still running with high aluminum, high metals, and also high acid. So we still have problems.

While the Schuylkill has recovered from the days when it ran black, we still have a lot of work to be done.

I think there's well more than \$10 billion worth of damage.

REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: I just think it's good to be noted that we have made progress and we are doing good things in terms of dealing --

MR. SCHWEIGER: I agree, and I would also suggest that we should make sure that the current oil and gas drilling that occurs in Pennsylvania is under more appropriate regulations based on best available control technologies.

REPRESENTATIVE KNOWLES: Somebody else can argue for gas and oil. I'm arguing for coal.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Knowles.

Representative Dean for a final question.

REPRESENTATIVE DEAN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Schweiger, for your testimony.

I wanted to focus on your fourth point, which you say what I think, that these hearings ought to really talk about cuts to funding to DEP. And if I recall correctly from the budget, the Governor had a modest increase for DEP, maybe \$1 million, and then some additional fees that they were seeking. But the House Bill 218 that went over to the Senate cut DEP by about \$10 million if I'm remembering accurately roughly.

MR. SCHWEIGER: That's right.

REPRESENTATIVE DEAN: Can you talk about what the long-term underfunding of DEP and now a drastic cut to DEP actually means for clean water?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Well, I think it's clear that the Department has been under siege for a number of years.

We've seen a winnowing away of the resources that the Department has to carry out its functions. At some point that breaks. I think we're at that point now where it's breaking, and the public will not be protected in its drinking water. You know, in my home town of Pittsburgh we have serious lead issues. I don't think they're being properly addressed by the Commonwealth or by the local officials. I also believe that we have other problems that are developing across the State as a result of the aggressive development of energy that need to be properly

regulated, need to be overseen by the Department. And when they have limited resources at an expanding industry, the two simply don't align, and I think it's a serious oversight to cut their budget and to put them at even greater harm.

REPRESENTATIVE DEAN: Can you give us a thumbnail sketch of the lead issues in Pittsburgh?

MR. SCHWEIGER: Well, you know, we have a lot of old lead pipes in the city. Most of them are owned privately, but they've altered the chemistry of the water, frankly, similar to what happened in Flint. And so now children are being exposed to lead. And let me point out that when kids have lead levels that exceed the hemoglobin formation impacts, they actually have about four points lower IQ, they have learning disabilities. We're simply setting up an entire generation for impaired health as a result of the lead exposure that they're getting.

REPRESENTATIVE DEAN: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Dean.

Thank you, sir, for your testimony today.

Our next testifiers will be Mr. Kevin Moody,
Esquire, General Counsel and VP of Government Affairs,
Pennsylvania Independent Oil and Gas Association; Carl J.
Carlson, Director of Government Affairs, Range Resources-

Appalachia, LLC; and Jennifer Hoffman, VP, EHS and Regulatory, Huntley & Huntley Energy Exploration. Thank you for joining us today, and you can begin when you're ready.

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MR. CARLSON: Okay. I believe I was nominated to go first by our group. Chairman Metcalfe and Members of the State Government Committee, my name is Carl Carlson, Director of Government Affairs for Range Resources—Appalachia, LLC, and a longstanding member of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Independent Oil and Gas Association or PIOGA.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on the issue of regulatory burdens facing the oil and gas industry in Pennsylvania.

I don't have time to review my testimony. I hope you all take time to review it, but I'm going to try to hit some of the high points.

You've all heard about the economic benefits that shale gas has brought to every Pennsylvanians in the form of lower energy prices, cleaner air, higher-paying jobs, and impact tax revenues. Pennsylvania has also experienced the initial benefits of natural gas use and use of the natural gas liquids that actually promise to be the biggest long-term benefit.

You may be less aware that Pennsylvania is in

- 1 | fierce competition with other States and Canada to be the
- 2 | low-cost producer of natural gas. Actions by the
- 3 Pennsylvania DEP are severely impeding that effort.
- 4 Regulatory permitting delays and continued layering of new
- 5 regulations and policies are crippling the industry's
- 6 ability to compete with other States that also have
- 7 enormous shale gas reserves.

Regulatory certainty is an essential component of

9 business growth in any industry, but it's particularly

10 important in the natural gas industry where our cycle times

11 are very short. There's currently 35 rigs, growing rigs

12 running in Pennsylvania. Average drill time for a well is

down to about two weeks, so we need a constant new stream

of erosion and sediment control permits to build new well

15 pads and well permits to drill new wells.

When permits required in Pennsylvania cannot be obtained in a timely manner, operators simply can't shut their rigs down. We're contracted long term for those rigs. We pay when they sit, and if we don't have permits to drill, those rigs are going to move to where permits are available. And if that's not in States proximal to

Pennsylvania, those rigs can be lost for the long term to

23 other States.

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To be clear, my comments are not about relaxing environment protection, although we do support a thorough

review of all regulations to see if they're effective.

Companies that have invested heavily in Pennsylvania shale gas industry are well aware that we will not get a return on investment without safe and environmentally responsible conduct. This discussion is about regulatory certainty, which is an absolute and undeniable requirement for capital investment.

There are two permit programs where current permit delays are causing extreme hardship for our industry. The handout just provided to you, it's a one-pager with a graph on each side, represents data downloaded recently from the Department's eFACTS database. The first graph on the handout shows permit application review times for the ESC GP-2, which is an erosion and sediment control permit required to construct new well pads and gathering facilities.

You can see the southwest district office in
Pittsburgh, the review time to issue these permits has gone
from 101 days in 2013 to 263 days so far this year. The
northwest district in Meadville increased from 74 days in
2013 to 179 days so far this year. And only the eastern
district in Williamsport has maintained a relatively flat
90-day review period. All these review times are
unacceptable for a general permit, but the review times in
the southwest and northwest district offices are most

disturbing, as the trend is increasing over time.

And waiting a ridiculous six to nine months for a simple E&S permit has prevented operators from constructing new pads and force us to go back and drill additional wells on existing pads. This seems like a desirable outcome from a land-use standpoint, and it is, but it's not sustainable over the long term. We've already eaten up a lot of our inventory of these available sites to drill more well, so we need to build new well pads and need to get permits.

The flip side of the handout shows permit review times for well permits. These are the permits required to drill and operate new wells. Pennsylvania's Oil and Gas Act, which was revised by Act 13 of 2012, provides that well permits must be issued by the Department within 45 days of submittal unless the Department shows good cause. The top graph -- well, let me say that that provision goes all the way back to the original Oil and Gas Act in 1984, so it's unchanged from that time.

The top graph shows the performance of the southwest district office in Pittsburgh, shows that this 45-day threshold has not been met on average for the past four years and that review times during the past year have skyrocketed to three times the statutory limit.

Review times in the northwest district office, which issues permits for that region, as well as the

eastern region, are not quite as long but clearly well beyond the statutory limit with a very disturbing upward trend.

So let me quickly mention two additional permit programs. The first is the GP-5 air quality permit required for gas compressors and processing plants. This permit program has existed for 20 years but only in its present form since 2011. So despite a 30-day statutory limit for issuing general air quality permits under Pennsylvania Air Pollution Control Act, the actual issue times over the past year have exceeded six months. And in February of this year, the Department proposed significant additional changes to the GP-5 permit that, if finalized, will certainly lengthen the review times.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You have about a minute-and-a-half left for testimony time.

MR. CARLSON: In February, the Department also proposed a new GP-5A air permit that would apply to well facilities and well sites that is required prior to construction of any new wells. This 43-page permit with a 26-page application would replace the current conditional exemption of oil and gas wells from air quality permitting. And over the past two or three months, hopefully, you've heard a lot from the industry about concerns over this permit program, and while the concerns are many, the

greatest concern is that we won't be able to get the permit in a timely manner and that it will effectively be a moratorium on drilling in the State.

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The Bureau of Air Quality has demonstrated with the GP-5 permit that they're incapable of issuing permits in a timely manner and loading up another new permit program with hundreds of new permits a year would simply swamp the Department and slow the process. The problem with these permits is not that the Department has too few people to review applications; it's that they are not operating as real general permits. In other States, general permits are issued by the regulatory agencies for processes that are repeated over and over again hundreds of thousands of times, and the permits specify conditions that must be followed for those activities.

Applications are typically one to three pages, and review times are one to three weeks, so that's what Pennsylvania is competing with. And you can see on these graphs that we're not competing very well.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,
Mr. Carlson. That's all the time we have for testimony.
MR. CARLSON: I'm done. Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: So we'll move to Q&A, Representative Saccone, for our first question.

REPRESENTATIVE SACCONE: So I hear a lot of

complaints about Pennsylvania's regulatory environment, and could you just give us quickly -- because I also hear from the industry that we're one of the toughest-regulated industries in the country. We have, you know, strong regulations in Pennsylvania. So could you please just address that, that we're underregulated in the oil and gas industry and we need to be stronger? Could you just compare a couple States around us and give us an idea about that?

MR. CARLSON: I think that Pennsylvania does have robust regulations. We think a lot of the regulations are not effective at protecting the environment, but that's — the purpose of my comments today is really not the regulations. It's the permitting time. That is the crisis that we're facing, and that's driving billions of dollars out of Pennsylvania this year.

So, you know, we do appreciate the Legislature's effort to get additional control over the regulatory review process for new regulations and reviewing existing regulations. That's a lengthy process and hopefully will involve a lot of stakeholders. Again, I don't think the industry is looking for significant relief on the regulatory front as much as we are to issue permits to conduct our activity --

MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, I --

1 MR. CARLSON: -- in accordance with the law. 2 MS. HOFFMAN: And I'd agree with Mr. Carlson on 3 that. I've had the privilege to lead teams that have 4 worked in Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, 5 North Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado, and Pennsylvania 6 definitely has the most complex regulatory environment of 7 any of those States. And I would agree with Mr. Carlson that we're not looking necessarily for regulatory relief. 8 9 I firmly believe in the integrity and professionalism of 10 the Department. However, the permitting issues are 11 substantial, and they're directly related to the complexity 12 of the regulations and the general permits that the 13 Department has promulgated. 14 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. 15 Thank you, Representative Saccone. 16 Representative Solomon. 17 REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 18 What are the reasons the Department cites for 19 these delays? 20 MS. HOFFMAN: The Department cites a number of 21 things. One of course is the apparent lack of staff. 22 However, certainly, one thing I think that a lot of people don't understand is that the oil and gas program is largely 23 24 funded by the industry through permit fees, through permit

applications, and through enforcement actions, as well as

some funds from Act 13. And so the Department staff has been reduced from an all-time high of about 227 to 190 in the oil and gas program. However, that's a significant increase from whenever the Marcellus industry began to be regulated in Pennsylvania.

They also note that there are inconsistencies from consultants that are filling out permit applications, and certainly that is something that we as an industry push our consultants and ourselves to be better every day.

However, whenever you have a consultant that submits an ESC GP, for example, to north central regional office and it can be approved within an appropriate time frame but they can't get a permit approved out of southwest regional office in anything less than 200-plus days. I think that that there's a disconnect there.

REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Can --

MR. CARLSON: I'd like to add if I could that drilling activity in Pennsylvania peaked in 2012 in the Marcellus at about 2,000 wells, but last year, it was just over 500 wells. So activity level has dropped considerably, and therefore, permit activity -- both of the graphs I distributed there show the actual number of permits being issues, and you can see they're declining -- MS. HOFFMAN: With an increase in permitting

time.

MR. CARLSON: -- while the time is increasing

REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Can you pinpoint exactly, with these delays that you cite, how many jobs have been lost, let's say, in the last year, as well as the money lost to the Commonwealth?

MR. CARLSON: That's a difficult question to answer, but, you know, companies have budget processes that generally follow the same path, so if a company plans to spend \$1 billion in Pennsylvania this year is anticipating that they're going to get drilling permits and E&S permits to conduct that activity. As the year approaches and the permits are not in hand, they can't spend that money. So in recent years, the industry has spent \$10-15 billion a year in the shale industry in PA, and I'm not going to speculate on what fraction of that is being shut off this year, but it's significant because there are no permits.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. Thank you, Representative Solomon.

Representative Ryan for our final question.

REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: Mr. Chairman, thank you.

And I would merely ask -- some of the questions are going to be very straightforward but might take a while to answer, so I'd ask the prior speaker and yourselves if you would prefer to get back to us with answers. That would be

very helpful.

I'm very sensitive to the prior speaker's comments about legacy cost and sunk cost that have occurred from prior activities that you didn't create but needs to be remediated. If you think there's any potential way or what way that should be funded to remediate the 300,000 wells as an example, that would be very helpful, but it seems archaic to try to punish someone who didn't cause the problem with someone to do it, so any comments you might have on that would be very, very helpful.

MR. CARLSON: I've actually spent a good deal of time looking at that issue, and if you look at -- the Department has done a pretty good job at quantifying water pollution related to mining issues, and I think they put out a report every two years called a 303(d) assessment of water quality in the State. They show about 5,500 miles of streams impaired from mine drainage. For oil and gas activity, that number is about 86 miles. The majority of that is oil refineries and wells that are in areas of coalmining where the mining activity has eaten away the casings in the wells, so the problem of legacy oil and gas wells is not similar to what it is for the coalmining industry.

REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: Again, I would really appreciate your thoughts coming back.

1 On the other issues, would you be in favor of a regulatory process that billed for the permitting process 2 3 based upon the complexity of the application? 4 MR. CARLSON: As I mentioned, the general permit 5 concept in every other State that we compete with is that 6 the permit is a very -- it can be a complex permit and have 7 a lot of reporting requirements, but the application process is very simple --8 9 REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: Okay. 10 MR. CARLSON: -- and the review time is short, so 11 you get the list of rules you have to follow if you're 12 going to operate under that permit, and then, you know, you 13 are authorized to proceed quickly and report as you go. 14 REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: And, Mr. Chairman --15 MR. CARLSON: In Pennsylvania, everything is up 16 front --17 REPRESENTATIVE RYAN: In the interest of time, Mr. Chairman, I'll waive off on my last question. 18 19 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 20 Representative Ryan. 21 And we are out of time for this panel of 22 testifiers, but we did have also testimony submitted by Mr. Moody, the VP of Government Affairs and General Counsel for 23 24 the Pennsylvania Independent Oil and Gas Association.

there a main point you'd like to leave us with, sir?

MR. MOODY: Yes. You know, we support, you know, the goals of the legislation that was mentioned earlier about, you know, looking at existing regulations and trying to strengthen the regulatory review process, as my testimony talks about, I focused on the proposed regulation process, and I think that's where reform should be focused because in my testimony I give the example of a DEP regulation where, you know, we need a judicial component to the Regulatory Review Act to be able to force agencies to comply. IRRC does a good job, but they're hamstrung as well because agencies can really ignore some of these requirements really with impunity because there's no way to force them to comply.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir.

Thank you. Thank you all for your testimony today. We appreciate you being with us.

Our next testifier will be Mr. David Sumner, the Executive Director for the Independent Regulatory Review Commission, and also the Commissioner George Bedwick from IRRC also. And both gentlemen have been with us in the past, and I've appreciated your testimony and presentations to the Committee in the past and look forward to your testimony now. You can begin when you're both ready. Thank you.

MR. BEDWICK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You all

have copies of the prepared testimony and whatever handouts we had with that. It's not our intention obviously to go through that at this point. Rather, I'll take a few minutes just to highlight some matters. David will quickly run through the regulatory review process so that the Committee again is aware of what the current process is, and then we will make ourselves available for questions from the Committee.

By way of introduction, I am George Bedwick. I'm Chairman of the Independent Regulatory Review Commission.

David Sumner is with me today, who is our Executive

Director, and in addition, our Chief Counsel, Leslie Lewis

Johnson, is here today.

some of you probably know that I had worked here as a staff person for the General Assembly for over 30 years. The downside of that is I'm getting old. The upside of that is I believe I can provide some context to the period when the original Regulatory Review Act was passed. The 1970s and 1980s, as I viewed them, was a period when the General Assembly began taking steps to enhance their role as an independent and co-equal branch of government. It began with what might be seen as simple things, professional staffing in the Legislature, so that you no longer had to rely on the Administration for information, but you actually had your own sources of

information. The Regulatory Review Act obviously was part of that.

We are a legislative commission. The five members of the commission are appointed by the Legislature. The General Assembly, when they passed this act, believed that the regulatory process was going on unchecked, that agencies were going beyond what authority was delegated to them and were creating policy simply through regulation and in fact in some instances were adopting regulations that were contrary to legislative intent.

So, it was the belief of the Legislature at the time to put something into place that would be dedicated to reviewing regulations and provide a very explicit role for the General Assembly in order block regulations that were deemed not to comply with legislative intent or statutory language.

Act, which no longer exists, was passed, which called for agencies on a 10-year cycle to go out of existence unless reauthorized by the General Assembly. There are a million examples I can give, but it was a very dynamic period where the Legislature moved forward to exercise its proper role in terms of checks and balances within our system of government.

The original act provided for what is called a

one-House veto where either the House or Senate could pass a resolution which would block publication of a regulation. The Casey Administration, through the Department of Environment Resources at the time, challenged the constitutionality of the act based on the one-House veto and the lack of presentation of anything to the Governor.

Prior to final consideration of that case by

Commonwealth Court, the General Assembly amended the act

and provided for what you see today, which is a resolution

has to be passed by both chambers and that it has to be

presented to the Governor either for approval or veto.

Commonwealth Court decided the prior act was unconstitutional. However, on appeal, the Supreme Court said the case was moot because the act had been amended prior to final consideration by Commonwealth Court, and as a result, they vacated the decision. I have provided you with a copy of it A) simply to give you some context as to why the act was amended and for whatever purpose it might serve as you analyze current bills and how they may fit with that Court's rationale.

But through the years, provisions were added to the act, which we think were significant, requiring specific consideration of impact on small businesses, the role that data plays in terms of a regulation and ensuring it's acceptable data. Regulations can play an important

role. We're not here to tell you the environment is good or bad; there are too many or two few. That's your role as policymakers. What I can tell you is that IRRC is not a rubber stamp in terms of regulations. In looking at numbers over the past six years, fully 84 percent of proposed regulations were changed before final as a result of IRRC's review and comments on them. Since 2008, we have initially disapproved approximately 7 percent of final regulations submitted to us, which I tend to believe is a fairly significant number. A breakdown is in our testimony in terms of what occurred with those regulations.

The other thing that we see is fewer regulations today. We've seen a steady decline since 2001. We had received in 2001 91 final form regulations; 2016, that was down to 43. I can tell you what our experience is, but I can't tell you it won't be 100 next year, so I don't want to mislead you that way but simply tell you what our experience is.

Pennsylvania's process was recognized nationally in a study done by professors at Rutgers University that found Pennsylvania and North Carolina tied among 28 States they reviewed for States that provided the most opportunity for input, legislative and public, in the regulatory review process.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir.

1 That's all the time we have for the testimony component.

2 MR. BEDWICK: Sorry.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I appreciate it, appreciate the information you shared with us and appreciate you emphasizing those court situations that we've had from the history of the process also. I know you brought that up in the past, and it was helpful to the Committee at that time. We appreciate you bringing that up for us today.

Our first question from Representative Dush.

If I could ask the Members to please ask only one question and then, if we have time to come back to you for a second, we will, but I'd like to limit everyone to one question at this point. We're running out of time with Members and testifier time.

So, Representative Dush.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Thank you, Chairman.

I just have a question. Could you give me a breakdown on the Commonwealth Court's actual decision on the constitutionality?

MR. BEDWICK: Yes. I don't have it in front of me, but it cited separation of powers, referred to some Federal cases. I cannot sit here and tell you whether those Federal cases still constitute good law or not, but the belief was that the Legislature could act, but it had

1 to act as a whole is how I viewed that decision rather than 2 one part of the Legislature being -- you can always 3 overrule a regulation by passing a law, and that in fact is 4 what occurred partially with the oil and gas regulations. 5 And I believe the court viewed the process of barring 6 publication to have to be similar to the passage of a law. 7 REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Thank vou. 8 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 9 Representative Dush. 10 Representative DeLissio? 11 REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: Thank you, 12 Mr. Chairman. 13 Mr. Bedwick, is there not currently a process 14 within the Independent Regulatory Review Commission whereby 15 almost anybody, any citizen in the Commonwealth could ask 16 IRRC to review something that's on the books and offer its 17 recommendation as to whether it meets regulatory intent, is unduly burdensome, et cetera, et cetera? And could you 18 19 explain those parameters, please? 20 MR. BEDWICK: Sure. I'll give you one and then 21 I'll let David go further. The regulation has to be in 2.2 existence for a three-year period, and after three years, what I refer to as a lookback provision then kicks in. 23

MR. SUMNER: Sure. And in addition to that,

And, David, if you don't mind.

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1 Executive Order 1996-1 requires agencies on an ongoing 2 basis to conduct a review of the regulations that they enforce to see if they're still relevant and if they make 3 4 Pennsylvania any less competitive. There's also a provision in the Pennsylvania Code -- it's 1 PA Code 35.18 5 6 -- that allows anybody to petition an agency to amend, 7 waive, or repeal a regulation, and that's something that people can do right now. 8 9 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. 10 MR. BEDWICK: And during the lookback, we can on 11 our own decide to look at a prior regulation or we can 12 respond to a request to do that. 13 REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: Thank you, Chairman. 14 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 15 Representative DeLissio. Thank you, gentlemen. 16 Representative McCarter. 17 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 18 19 Going back to the process here that IRRC already 20 has in place that, as we look forward to possible 21 legislation that's being proposed here, how do you see 2.2 something like House Bill 561 impacting the role that IRRC currently plays in terms of making sure that not only the 23 24 public but obviously the Legislature as well has input into

all of the decisions taking place?

MR. BEDWICK: I'm trying to think how best to answer it. We don't take positions on legislation. It's a hard-and-fast rule --

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: I'm not asking you to.

I'm just --

MR. BEDWICK: I understand, and I want to answer it in an way that is clear that it's not a position on it. The one concern that I had with it was whether it would end up lengthening the process for review. There is some legislation that talks in terms of calendar days rather than session days, and that's of concern. I understand it works better in terms of what I'll call legislative time.

We get criticized now for a long process, and it just troubles me if it is longer, that IRRC will get blamed for it to be quite honest with you. Five sixty-one itself, I don't have much to say in terms of its impact on us. We obviously will do whatever the Legislature asks us to do. If there is an intent to have the Legislature adopt in effect approved regulations, which involves certain dollar amounts, that's a policy decision that we don't get involved with.

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative McCarter.

Thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony today.

2.2

1 MR. BEDWICK: Thank you. MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We appreciate you 2 3 joining us. I wanted to mention also that two of our 4 5 leadership team are here from the Republican Caucus. 6 Representative Benninghoff is here, Policy Chair; and our 7 Secretary, Representative Oberlander. And both of you are welcome to join us up front on the seats if you'd like 8 instead of sitting in the audience. We'd certainly welcome 9 10 you to join us if you'd like to. 11 Our next testify is Mr. Paul Brahim, Chairman and 12 CEO of BPU Investment Management, Incorporated, and the 2017 President of the Financial Planning Association. 13 14 Thank you, sir, for joining us today. 15 MR. BRAHIM: Thank you, Chairman Metcalfe. 16 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You can begin when 17 you're ready, sir. MR. BRAHIM: All right. Let me just pull this 18 19 up. You have my written testimony. One moment, please. 20 Here we go. 21 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: In addition to the 22 gentleman's testimony, we do have other testimony that's 23

been received. We have written testimony from the
Pennsylvania Farm Bureau also in the packets for the
Members.

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MR. BRAHIM: Fantastic. I open my testimony with a quote from Superior Court of New York in 1869 King v.

Talbot from Justice Woodruff, "a duty to be faithful, to be diligent, to be prudent in an administration entrusted to the former, in confidence of his fidelity, diligence, and prudence." Fidelity, diligence, and prudence, these are the keys.

Chairman Metcalfe, Chairman Bradford, and Members of the Pennsylvania House and State Government Committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today in this hearing. It reminds me that every voice is important and every voice is heard.

My name is Paul Brahim, and I'm the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer and Chief Compliance Officer of BPU Investment Management. We're a fully disclosed, introducing, and government securities broker-dealer, a member of FINRA and SIPC, and a Securities and Exchange Commission federally registered investment advisor. I'm also a certified financial planner-practitioner and an accredited investment fiduciary analyst.

I've been in this industry since 1986 and a CFP since 1974, and I've had the opportunity and privilege to present expert testimony in both FINRA arbitrations and in court cases on matters of investment suitability, failures in supervision, and breach of fiduciary duty. I've

included my curriculum vitae in your packet for information.

2.2

As was mentioned, I'm also the Pittsburgh

President of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Financial

Planning Association. We have 300 members in our chapter

in Pittsburgh, over 900 members in the State of

Pennsylvania, and 23 members nationwide.

The FPA is the principal professional organization for certified financial planners, professionals, educators, financial service providers, and students who seek advancement in our profession.

Why Justice Woodruff? He wrote his opinion in 1869. It long predates today's debate on the need for a uniform fiduciary standard for investment professionals, yet his opinion still defines in my view the heart of the matter, those three simple words. Fidelity, diligence, and prudence are all that we need to simplify the regulatory morass that mires our industry today.

The regulatory regime of the financial services industry is really fragmented. It's overlapping, it's confusing, it's costly, and it's burdensome. There's a joke in my industry when we get together for meetings. People ask each other what's the fastest-growing part of your business? And the person being asked then responds, well, compliance of course.

History bears out the problems here. After 100 years, beginning with Charles Ponzi in 1920 and ending with Bernie Madoff in 2008, we've experienced multiple and substantial legislative reforms that impact the financial services industry, and it seems to me obviously with little or no effect. Table 1 in your packets outlines some of that history.

These rules are often complex. The most recent, the Department of Labor's conflict-of-interest rule is over 1,000 pages long. Over 900 of those pages are exemptions to the actual rule.

What Table 1 does not reflect is the breadth and complexity of the regulatory framework of the banking or insurance industry, and it should be noted that virtually all financial services can be delivered to consumers through all three industry channels, securities, insurance, and banking, and all have multiple and conflicting standards of care.

To add to the consumer's confusion in this mess, FINRA now recognizes 174 professional designations, most of which have no accredited education providers or experience requirements. In my view, they are mostly marketing ploys and dare I say "fake" degrees. The fragmented system is confusing to consumers, to providers, to arbitrators, and triers of fact, and this is the key of my testimony I

believe.

2.2

Today, as a provider of financial services, I can simultaneously sell someone insurance under a suitability standard governed by the National Association of Securities Commissioners. Simultaneously, I can make investment recommendations in their brokerage account under a suitability standard overseen by FINRA, yet another organization. I can provide investment advice on their IRA rollover under a best-interest standard consistent with the Department of Labor's conflict-of-interest rule, unless of course they waive that conflict-of-interest rule with a best-interest contract exemption. And I can manage their trust account under a sole interest standard governed by the State, adjudicated by the Courts, and overseen by either FINRA or the SEC.

the consumer believe they're under in that mix? It is somewhat confusing. In my experience in supporting attorneys who represent claimants and plaintiffs I've observed one very common thread. In each instance where substantial loss in a client's account occurred, the aggrieved parties all believe that their advisor and the firm was acting in their best interests. After all, who wouldn't want an advisor or a firm to act in their best interest?

Unfortunately, the arbitrator or trier of fact has to sort out these multiple standards of care and overlapping regulations. They have to make judgments as to which is most relevant based on facts and circumstances, and they do this based only on their experience and interpretation.

Just as a side note, FINRA, the self-regulatory body for the securities industry, last year had 1,188 new case filings, 1,200 cases closed, 4,904 cases remained open in just 2016 alone. And what have we learned from this? I would suggest to you not much. FINRA only publishes the top 15 complaints filed, the decision in the amount awarded if applicable. There are no opinions published by arbitrators in FINRA arbitration, and so my opinion to a reasonable degree of professional certainty, we've learned nothing.

What emerges from this? More rules. The 2009 edition of the FINRA consolidated rulebook, when it was last published in paper, was 184 pages long. Today, it's only published online.

So what should occur? I believe we should move from a rules-based system to a principles-based system.

Rules-based systems attempt to drive behavior through disclosure, disclaimer, recordkeeping compliance, and examination. Principles-based systems, however, drive

behavior through standardized accredited education,
experience requirements, ongoing continuing education, and
ethics training. Medicine, law, and accounting are
principles-based professions.

The financial services industry is rules-based. Rules emerge retrospectively because of bad outcomes, much like stop signs after a bad accident. Bad outcomes result from bad or inconsistent process. Bad or inconsistent processes exist because there are no clear standards of care promulgated by a standardized accredited education program, experience requirements, continuing education, or ethics trainings for service providers.

The CFP Board of Standards has created such a standardized education program delivered by accredited institutions. You have to adhere to a best-interest standard to be a CFP professional. You have to engage in relevant ongoing continuing education and ethics training that is approved by that board, and you must attest and reattest to a code of ethics. Again, in my opinion, with a reasonable degree of professional certainty, just as medicine, law, and accounting have laws that requirement practitioners attain certain education and experience requirements before they can practice, so too should financial services professionals, especially when dealing with retail clients.

This concept of fidelity, diligence, and prudence, these are the three words that are only needed in our rulebooks. We must inculcate a fiduciary standard into the fabric of financial services through standardized accredited education, experience requirements, continuing education, and ethics training designed and implemented to create a principles-based system. In my view, it is the only answer to a runaway, reactive, overlapping, complex, costly, and confusing rules-based system that consistently fails consumers on a daily basis.

Thank you for your consideration and your time.

I'm happy to answer any questions that you might have or provide additional commentary.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir.

And certainly a lot of what you referenced is

Federal --

MR. BRAHIM: It is.

2.2

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- the Federal regulatory environment. And for our hearing today from the State regulatory platform, what do you suggest that we do to help you not have to answer that joke about compliance related to what Pennsylvania's regulatory environment is doing to the financial industry?

MR. BRAHIM: Sure. I appreciate your question, and I believe it actually goes to the heart of the matter,

sir. I'm a continuing education provider for the

Pennsylvania Bar Association; I'm a continuing education

provider for Pennsylvania accountants, their CPEs; and I'm

a continuing education provider for certified financial

planners. Attorneys and accountants have national exams

that are administered and regulated at the State level.

There are State bars that you have to take. You have to

apply to the State Board of Accountancy.

2.2

When I bring these matters up, as I will tomorrow in Washington, D.C., the Federal folks say this is a State matter, not a Federal Government matter. Meanwhile, there's a list of laws that goes on and on and on and on at a Federal level. They believe that they regulation of the delivery of advice should be administered through the State system by having State boards, right, State certificates for the delivery of advice to clients in the financial services industry. And I believe that as well.

Continuing education requirements for law and for accounting are delivered via State systems. They're approved via State systems. And we have principles-based regulations in those State systems. I believe that each of the 50 States needs to take up this cause and move to a system that is principles-based based on fidelity, diligence, and prudence.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you.

1 Representative Solomon?

2.2

2 REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
3 I think it follows in your questions.

So, I was a securities and antitrust lawyer, and we never brought State securities matters at all. So, you've talked about a lot of financial issues, kind of unduly burdensome regulations, but particularly at the State level, whether it's the PA Securities Commission, what are the regulations that you think are unduly burdensome?

MR. BRAHIM: I want to speak to regulations that don't exist that create --

REPRESENTATIVE SOLOMON: Well, that's creating more.

MR. BRAHIM: Well, I want to connect the dot for you if I can. So today, if I'm a real estate developer, as long as I have fewer than 35 investors; if I'm a private equity promoter, as long as I have under 35 investors, I'm complete under the radar with respect to regulation. Where do most of the problems occur from aggrieved investors in these illiquid-type investments? In the under-35, not in the programs that have hundreds of investors that are under a regulatory series of requirements.

What then is the reaction of regulators when there are problems in these folks that operate under the

radar private equity people that raise millions and millions of dollars? The response is more regulation for the people who fly in the radar. And this to me is really the most burdensome part of the regulatory environment. Regulations emerge and become more complex when people do bad things, and the people who do bad things are generally those who fly under the radar, so I would propose that there be a registry for all real estate and private equity offerings so that bad actors can be tracked, so that they can be seen on a regular basis.

As a member of FINRA, if I'm going to engage in the private equity business, I have to notice-file FINRA and let them know even though it's unregulated. I have to notice-file. That way they can keep track. Where'd the bad people end up? I believe the State should do the same thing with respect to private equity in real estate so that more regulations don't emerge that affect those who are doing a good job.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Solomon.

Representative McCarter.

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you,

Mr. Chairman.

And again, thank you very much for your testimony because it's very timely for a number of different reasons,

one of which again many of us are very concerned about.

The amount of money that is from this State is going to be

flowing into the private equity market --

MR. BRAHIM: Sure.

REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: -- as a result of moving toward defined contribution systems. As a result of that, obviously much of what you're talking about of the unregulated 35 if you will in a sense is going to become a grave concern, especially to our seniors in Pennsylvania as well. So I appreciate your testimony very much in that direction.

Again, however, I'm trying to judge in a sense the idea and a sense of all of us should be good actors, and the element of regulation that you're talking about I think at the State level is something that we do need to look at very, very carefully to make sure that we are all good actors and that we do have the registration and education that you're talking about I think that FINRA would surely support as well in the process.

So I'm hoping that you can answer the basic question of how do we move in that direction? What is the best way that we should proceed to make sure that we can guarantee the financial security of people who don't have the expertise to be able to tell the good characters from the bad characters?

MR. BRAHIM: Sure. It's an excellent question, and it seems to be a timeless question in the United States. I believe that this body, the Pennsylvania Legislature, should work with the Board of Standards for Certified Financial Planners and the Financial Planning Association to come together on a method by which the State can administer certificate exams and can oversee continuing education. Both entities, the CFP Board and the Financial Planning Association, are nonprofit corporations that desire to transition into State systems like medicine and law.

There are folks in both of those organizations that are diligently working on this process, and I think it would be helpful for this Committee and for Pennsylvania as a whole to interface with them more directly about bringing a fiduciary standard to all providers.

What I'm really suggesting, sir, is that we raise the bar for admission into the profession. Today, the rules-based system allows anybody who can pass a test where you have to define what is a mutual fund, what's an insurance policy, what's a stock, what's a bond, and they're allowed to provide advice. It's frightening. They're unqualified; they're not educated. My favorite ad in the newspaper that I've ever seen in my life was "financial advisors wanted, no experience necessary," all

1 right?

That has to change, and I believe that it changes at the State level, and I believe that because advice is local. It's in our neighborhoods, it's in our cities, it's in our counties, and it's delivered by people who live there. So we need to raise the bar just like we have with accounting, medicine, and law. You wouldn't want me to hang out a shingle and say I offer medical services without having met some standard, right?

So, the State can work with organizations like the CFP Board and the Financial Planning Association to establish a better system for raising the bar for entrance into this great profession.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir.

Thank you for your testimony today. We appreciate it.

MR. BRAHIM: Thank you for your time today.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Have a good day, sir.

DR. BROUGHEL: Broughel.

Our next testifier is Dr. James Broughel.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Broughel from

Mercatus Center at George Mason University. He's a

Research Fellow there, and he had joined us for our

previous hearing and had a lot of good information. And I

know Members would have enjoyed having a chance to interact

with him a little bit more at that time, so we appreciate you coming back to reengage with the Committee today, sir.

DR. BROUGHEL: Sure. Chairman Metcalfe, Members of the State Government Committee, thank you for inviting me to speak today about regulatory reform and oversight in Pennsylvania.

I'm a Research Fellow at the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, where I'm part of our State and Local Policy Project. And my testimony today will address how a cap on State regulation levels can strengthen and improve legislative oversight in Pennsylvania.

And specifically, a cap on regulation levels can achieve two objections. First, it can empower the Pennsylvania General Assembly with more control over regulation while preserving the role that agency expertise plays in the crafting of regulatory policy. And second, a cap can induce a culture change at regulatory agencies aimed at achieving a reduction in what might be called unnecessary red tape in Pennsylvania but also achieving greater overall benefits and fewer costs to State residents from justified regulations.

I want to emphasize that a regulatory cap should not be viewed as controversial or partisan. The policy has been applied successfully in other countries, most notably in Canada and the United Kingdom, and the goal of the cap

is to achieve better regulation and less red tape, as opposed to blanket deregulation.

Now, the Pennsylvania General Assembly is devoting considerable attention towards strengthening oversight of State regulatory agencies, and as examples, several recent regulatory reform bills have focused on requiring legislative consent before economic significant regulations can be enacted. And the aim of such legislation is to empower the Legislature, which over the years has delegated considerable lawmaking powers to State administrative agencies. And while this is a laudable goal, having the Legislature vote on new regulations may impose an obligation on the Legislature that legislators do not want, or worse, are not capable of effectively managing given their other responsibilities.

Legislators delegate lawmaking powers to regulatory agencies in part because those agencies possess expertise that lawmakers don't have time and resources to develop. By contrast, a cap on regulation levels will empower the Legislature while preserving the role that expertise plays at regulatory agencies. And it looks a lot like something legislators already know quite well, which is the budget process. The Legislature would set the initial level of the cap, for example, by limiting the number of regulatory restrictions that agencies can enact.

The Pennsylvania Code currently has over 153,000 of such regulatory restrictions on the books, and this could be set as a limit.

Then, the cap can be allowed to rise, remain constant, or fall over time and can even be set at different levels for different agencies. In this way, a cap on regulation can be thought of as embodying a kind of regulatory budget. A budget brings rationality to rulemaking. It reflects the sensible notion that cost regulators impose on society should not be unlimited.

A regulatory cap can also induce a culture change at agencies because it alters agencies' incentives. So, typically, regulators have strong incentives to write new rules. They're promoted or given pay raises for new rules, for example. But they typically have very little incentive to analyze the consequences of old rules. So in Pennsylvania reviews of existing regulations are conducted on an ad hoc basis but haven't been institutionalized in a systematic manner into the regulatory process.

A cap on regulation levels forces more careful consideration of both new and existing regulations, new rules have to be deemed as important as old ones before they can be enacted, and new regulations trigger the reconsideration of old regulations. Old rules that are deemed unnecessary might be called red tape and should be

eliminated. Meanwhile, justified regulations should be tailored to both reduce costs and increase benefits for citizens. And finding this combination of less red tape and greater overall net benefits for citizens is what it means to achieve better regulation.

either, so similar policies have been introduced elsewhere in the world and have avoided partisan rancor. In 2015, Canada became the first country to pass a law requiring that the administrative burdens of each new regulation be offset by repealing at least one existing rule. The law passed the Canadian Parliament overwhelmingly by a margin of 245 "yes" votes to just one "no" vote, so it was near unanimous.

A similar policy was instituted in the United Kingdom. In 2005, the U.K. began a Better Regulation Initiative and set a goal to reduce to regulatory burdens by 25 percent, which they achieved. This eventually turned into a one-in/one-out policy in 2011. It became one-in/two-out in 2013, and they currently have a one-in/three-out policy. The Better Regulation Initiative in the U.K. has remained through the 10 years of Prime Ministers of both the Labour and the Conservative Party, suggesting it has broad bipartisan support. And a key reason these reforms have not been controversial is undoubtedly that

they have focused on eliminating red tape as opposed to blanket deregulation that also eliminates justified regulations.

To conclude, a regulatory cap empowers the

Legislature in a way akin to the budget process while

leaving the fine-tuning of policymaking to the agencies

with the relevant expertise. At the same time, a cap can

induce a culture change at agencies by creating stronger

incentives to review old regulations.

In my written testimony, I've outlined some initial steps that Pennsylvania can take to institute such a cap using tools developed by the Mercatus Center. A more institutionalized review process should help to reduce unnecessary red tape in Pennsylvania, and just as importantly, to improve and modernize justified regulations. Achieving more benefits and lower costs for State residents is what better regulation is all about, and this should not be a partisan issue; it's just good governance.

Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir. And I appreciate the continuous improvement kind of philosophy that this would drive into the agencies or departments, something that I brought from the private sector with me, that you shouldn't just be satisfied with where you are

1 today; you should be striving for how you can make things 2 better tomorrow. And I think forcing them to go and do a 3 lookback on previous regulations would force that 4 continuous improvement kind of philosophy to actually flourish. 5 6 DR. BROUGHEL: Sure. I would say the idea is to 7 create an iterative process whereby rules are constantly learned from and adapted from past experience in order to 8 create regulations that are more effective at solving 9 10 problems at a lower cost to society. 11 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you. 12 Representative DeLissio. 13 REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: Thank you, 14 Mr. Chairman. 15 So the cap, just the concept of the cap improves 16 quality is the premise. And I may be oversimplifying it. DR. BROUGHEL: It would improve quality --17 REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: Or could improve 18 19 quality. 20 DR. BROUGHEL: -- by forcing a more systematic 21 lookback at old regulations on the part of regulators. So 22 it imposes a hard constraint on them that requires them to constantly be looking back at old regulations in order to 23 find ways to improve, to streamline, to tailor them and 24

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reduce burdens for society.

REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: You've mentioned other countries who have implemented this or are considering it.

Is there any other State --

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DR. BROUGHEL: So, Texas just recently passed a law along these lines. There has been legislation proposed in other places like Virginia so other States are considering it.

REPRESENTATIVE DELISSIO: I'm fascinated particularly because I'm aware Colorado limits the number of bills its General Assembly can introduce in any one legislative session, and it's like five. And I have -- Mr. Bradford's looking at me. I think that is an excellent idea because it would force us to really look at what we're introducing instead of the average of 3,800 per sessions now.

So, I am intrigued to see if this comment is similar because so few of our laws, 8 percent make it to the Governor's desk, signed into law, so I am fascinated by this concept applied here. Thank you.

DR. BROUGHEL: Sure. I would just add, sometimes
I like to compare this idea to capping the number of pieces
of clothing you have in your closet. At some point if you
keep adding pieces of clothing, the closet becomes
cluttered. Some of your items might get lost at the back
of the closet, but if you limit how much clothing you allow

1 yourself to own, you're constantly more careful about which new pieces you select, and you're looking back at the old 2 3 ones to say do I really need to keep this or should it be tailored to meet, you know, modern fashion or the latest 4 5 trends. So, I like to use that as a metaphor. 6 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank vou. 7 Any other Members? Now, I've spoken with Representative Benninghoff, 8 our Chairman of the Policy Committee in the Republican 9 10 Caucus about this idea. Representative Benninghoff, would 11 you have any questions for the testifier on the issue? 12 know you're sitting back in the audience there, but we have 13 additional time left for this testifier if you had any 14 follow-up questions. 15 REPRESENTATIVE BENNINGHOFF: [inaudible]. 16 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 17 Representative Benninghoff. And we do have his written testimony for the benefit of any Members that are 18 19 interested in reviewing that. 20 Thank you, sir, for joining us today. 21 appreciate it. 2.2 DR. BROUGHEL: Thank you. MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Our next and last 23 24 testifier for today's hearing is Mr. David Taylor, 25 President of Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, and

1 | thank you for joining us, sir.

2.2

2 MR. TAYLOR: Absolutely.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You can begin when you're ready, sir.

MR. TAYLOR: I will start now. Thank you,
Chairman Metcalfe, Representative McCarter, Members of the
Committee. Thanks for including me in this important
discussion today. And recognizing that I'm last and that
the mind can take in no more than this seat can endure, I
will move through my remarks here expeditiously.

I am David N. Taylor. I'm the President of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, the century-old nonprofit trade organization representing the people who make things here in our Commonwealth.

Manufacturing is the engine that drives

Pennsylvania's economy, generating \$82 billion in value

every year, directly employing over a half-million

Pennsylvanians on the plant floor, and that core

manufacturing activity sustains millions of additional

Pennsylvania jobs in supply chains, distribution networks,

and through vendors of industrial services.

Because manufacturing is the sector that adds the most value, has the strongest spinoff effect on job creation, and is one of the largest contributors to gross state product at about 12 or 13 percent, our leaders in

Harrisburg should carefully consider how the decisions made in this capital affect this vital industry.

PMA's mission is competitiveness. We want it to be the smart business decision to invest, hire, and expand here rather than in one of our competitor's States. The overall cost, complexity, and time burden of compliance with State regulations, including permitting, is a key factor that we consider to be co-equal with taxes or lawsuit abuse, limiting State spending, and preparing the skilled workforce.

And I would also add that I do not envy you legislators the challenges you face here in the final weeks before the end of the fiscal year. To break free from the unwelcome choice between cutting government programs or taking more money from the taxpayers, Pennsylvania needs to spark the strong, sustained, broad-based economic growth that will increase earnings from employers and employees and yield higher tax revenues for the Commonwealth at current rates.

Improving Pennsylvania's regulatory scheme and reducing the burden of compliance is a pro-growth action the General Assembly can take today without lowering collections to the Treasury, which makes today's discussions of these bills an especially timely one.

And let me also please clear the floor by

knocking down a few strawmen. Number one, no one is saying that there should be no regulations. Obviously, our manufacturing employers and their loved ones live in the same 67 counties as every other Pennsylvanian. Public health, public safety, and preventing environmental disaster are indisputably good and necessary things.

Number two, no one is saying that complying with necessary regulations should be without cost. Recognizing that an appropriate level of regulation is needed,

Pennsylvania's manufacturing employers accept that there will be a cost to doing business that will include regulatory compliance costs. Our need is for those costs to be optimized so as not to be a drag on competitiveness.

The most helpful way of thinking about the regulatory burden is to consider it a hidden tax on growth and that keeping the burden within reasonable limits will require a deliberate, ongoing, conscious effort.

One of the ancient philosophers said that the laws should be few and well-known. In America today, we live in a world that is almost the opposite of that where Federal and State regulations are so vast and pile up so quickly that it is impossible to understand all the responsibilities that we're expected to meet.

Because compliance itself is the public good that results from regulation, the Commonwealth should be a

partner in compliance. When there are knowing, deliberate, willful violations of important regulations, punishment is appropriate, but when someone staples instead of using a paper clip or vice versa, some degree of latitude is in order. We need for State Government to end the "gotcha" dynamic of fault-finding and imposing punitive fines and penalties and instead make assistance with compliance the primary goal.

Regulations should be based on sound science.

They should be proven effective. They should be subjected to an independent cost-benefit analysis. Before imposing additional burdens on the private sector, government should be required to prove that the benefits to the general public clearly outweigh the costs to the economy.

As was mentioned by the gentleman from the Mercatus Center, existing regulations should undergo systematic review to take outdated regulations off the books. Placing sunset dates on new rules going forward would help institute that expectation of review in our State Government's operational culture.

Pennsylvania should institute a system of regulatory budgeting to set maximum limits on the total cost of compliance for the private sector. In the business world, there's a saying: Show me what you measure, and I'll show you what you value. Today, State Government

doesn't value the time, energy, effort, manpower, and money spent by employers in complying with regulations because the Commonwealth doesn't even bother to calculate what those costs are, much less to put limits on annual increases in those costs.

State Government also needs to show restraint by recognizing the law of diminishing returns. Regulators should resist the impulse to tighten limits just because technologies have emerged to measure ever-smaller amounts of substances. Chasing the last molecule of unwanted emissions is ruinously expensive, has minuscule benefits if any, and pits the mechanisms of regulatory enforcement against background levels found in nature, which is of course futile.

And finally, I would recommend that the General Assembly reclaim powers that have been assumed by the regulatory agencies of the executive branch by requiring legislative approval of the costliest and most consequential new regulations. If a new rule is necessary and worthwhile, it would win approval, and if not, it would go back to the agency to be reformed and resubmitted.

I want to thank the sponsors of the bills under discussion today as they closely match up with the priorities that I've described.

To compete against other industry States and our

international competitors, Pennsylvania's decision-makers must undertake the rigors of regulatory review. I understand that you are already very busy with the duties of your offices, but the ever-growing regulatory burden can no longer be ignored. If we're going to achieve the economic growth, job creation, and higher wages that will fill the public coffers to meet urgent public needs, then the General Assembly must take ownership of measuring, reviewing, and reducing the burden of regulatory compliance on the private sector.

And before I open for questions, Mr. Chairman, I regret that I was not able to be here at the opening of the hearing when the gentleman from PennFuture spoke. I was at another forum the other day with a member of his staff who referred to my members as polluters, to which I take great offense. To say that my companies that spend, you know, massive amounts of time, energy, effort, manpower, and money to be in compliance with the strictest DEP and EPA standards, for us to be slandered as polluters just because our emissions level is above zero, the only way to get zero emissions is from zero industrial activity, and that has consequences of its own, no jobs, no wages, no benefits, no health care, no pensions, no tax revenue to the Commonwealth. And again, that kind of benchmarking, that kind of perspective I believe is necessary if we're going

1 to address this very serious concern.

2 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, sir.

Our first question will be from Representative
Roae.

5 REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: Thank you. Thank you, 6 Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, sir, for your testimony.

First off, I just want to say that your organization and your members are not polluters. You're job-creators is what you are, so we appreciate all the jobs that your members provide.

My question -- two questions. One, the Federal Government is currently reviewing Federal regulations, and they've been getting rid of a lot of them over the last several months. Do you think we should do that at the State level?

MR. TAYLOR: Well, I think so. And again, we need to rationalize the burdens that are placed on compliance so that we can be competitive again. No one is staying that there shouldn't be rules. We're just saying that the rules should make sense and that they should be affordable. And actually, you know, part of, you know, the process of systematic review and, you know, add one, remove one, add one, remove two, and so on, that would I think be healthy for the culture of State Government because for

1 those entities that are regulated, it would make it clearer 2 which rules are more important because, as it stands, you 3 know, all of them appear to be equally important, and you 4 know that that just can't be the case. 5 REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: And then my other question 6 is about the IRRC process here in Pennsylvania, if you 7 think all regulations should go through the IRRC process. An example I have is the proposed GP-5A permit that DEP is 8 9 doing. DEP claims it is not regulation. It's over 40 10 pages long. The words "requirements," "must," and "shall 11 are listed frequently over 40 pages, but DEP is claiming 12 they're not regulations; therefore, they're not putting that through the IRRC process. So do you think proposed 13 14 regulations should go through the IRRC process? 15 MR. TAYLOR: Well, I would say yes. 16 REPRESENTATIVE ROAE: And I would, too. I just 17 wanted to get your thoughts on that. Thank you, sir. 18 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 19 Representative Roae. 20 Representative McCarter? 21 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you, 22 Mr. Chairman.

Just as a first comment, unfortunately,

Mr. Schweiger's comments this morning did not reference

anything as polluters, and I don't know what you were

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       referencing in terms of that outside of this, but I don't
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       know that's appropriate at the hearing here this morning --
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
      McCarter, I appreciate it. You can give hm the chance to
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       answer your question about where that came from, but once
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       again, as I called down my Members earlier, this is not for
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       you to engage with the testifier in debate. This is for
       you to ask a question. And I called down Republican
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       questioners earlier. You know that; you were sitting here.
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       Representative Bradford was not at the time but he is with
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      us now, so to be fair, I'm going to ask you as a Democrat
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      Member to comply with the same standard I set for my
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       Republican Members and don't engage in debate, but we will
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       let him answer the question as far as where that comment
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       came from.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: I haven't finished --
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      McCarter --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Chairman --
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- you can get to
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       the question.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD:
                                                Chairman --
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I just --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Chairman,
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       Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: You're out of
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       order -- Representative Bradford --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Respectfully --
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      Bradford, respectfully --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- can we just not
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       go down the road --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- you're out of
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       order.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- of last week?
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       Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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       Bradford, you are out of order.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Come into order,
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       Representative Bradford. I will recognize you at an
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       appropriate time, but right now is not the time. You're
      out of order.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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       Bradford, I will recognize you in the near future. Right
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      now, you're out of order.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Mr. Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Mr. Taylor, you
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       answer the question.
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                MR. TAYLOR: I'm glad to answer it.
                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Mr. Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      McCarter --
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: I haven't finished my
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       question.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
      McCarter, you had asked a question. I told you --
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: No, I didn't. I said I
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       was making a comment.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      McCarter, there was a question there where that came from,
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       and I want the gentleman to explain where that comment came
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       from, and then you can ask your question.
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                MR. TAYLOR: Yes, sir. I was testifying in front
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       of Representative Sturla's Committee in Representative
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      Dean's district in Abington, Montgomery County.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,
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      Mr. Taylor.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you. May I
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       finish now what I was --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE:
                                              Representative
      McCarter, you may finish your question now. Thank you.
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                 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: Thank you. As part of
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       that, as we move forward, I think it's important for all of
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1 us to keep our rhetoric in such a way that we are not trying to be inflammatory toward any of us. We are facing 2 3 probably the greatest change period in all of our history, and surely as manufacturers in Pennsylvania and as the head 5 of the association, I think that it's incumbent upon all of 6 us to make sure that, as we look forward to new changes 7 coming in regulations, then things that happen, since industry is changing so dramatically, that we know that 30 8 9 percent of all jobs that exist today will not be with us 10 probably coming up in the next 15 years --11 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: A question, 12 Representative McCarter? A question? 13 REPRESENTATIVE MCCARTER: As part of that, in a 14 sense how do you see us going forward so that we don't find 15 ourselves fighting over every single regulation that is 16 needed on new industries and new businesses that are coming 17 forward but at the same time making sure that we have the opportunity to benefit all Pennsylvanians for those things 18 19 in the future? 20 MR. TAYLOR: That --MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: 21 Thank you, 22 Representative McCarter. 23 MR. TAYLOR: Thank you. 24 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Mr. Taylor?

Thank you, Representative McCarter.

MR. TAYLOR:

No. And that really is the -- that's one of the key questions today. And I think that it goes back to that matter of setting priorities and having a regulatory system, regulatory agencies and the people who work for those agencies to be attuned to changes, which is why we need to have a culture of review, an expectation of review, and that for those things that are not important, you know, the clothes in the closet that no longer fit, that we get them off the books and out of the way, clear away the clutter so that we can focus on the things that are really important.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative McCarter.

Representative Ward.

REPRESENTATIVE WARD: Thank you so much for being here today.

I just have one quick question. I've had some complaints from businesses in my district that the delayed permit process has been an impediment to business in the State. Could you comment on that, please?

MR. TAYLOR: Yes, very much so. And again, this has got to be part of the balance, that there are responsibilities on the part of, you know, the regulated community but there are also responsibilities on the part of the administrative agencies to move expeditiously

through their process so that the private sector can get
the permissions to do the work that we want to do. And,
you know, certainly one of the things that's mentioned -it was in the context of that hearing in front of Chairman
Sturla's Committee -- was about energy. And again, you
know, I have peer relationships with the other State
leaders of manufacturing groups across the country, and,
you know, an energy permit that you can attain in one day
in Texas, you know, in Oklahoma takes three days, and that
that's viewed as being a real competitiveness differential.
In Pennsylvania, it will take you nine months to get that
permit out of DEP, and it's just not acceptable.

And so I bring that up as an example, you know, not to castigate the agency, just to say that's the degree of improvement that we need to make here in the Commonwealth.

REPRESENTATIVE WARD: Thank you.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, Representative Ward.

And from looking through the testimony, when you're talking about the time frames -- and I don't have the testimony in front of me, but I believe that a previous law that was enacted in 2012 required permits to be issued in 45 days I believe was the case. Are you familiar with that or --

MR. TAYLOR: Passingly, yes. I'm not sure that we're actually -- it's on the books; I'm not sure it's being obeyed.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I know we have testifiers. Am I correct on that, that was 45 days was the time frame that the permit should be issued.

MALE SPEAKER: For a well permit, that's correct.

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: For a well permit, 45-day time frame and we're exceeding that several times what the requirement is. The statutory requirement is not being complied with. Thank you.

Our next question, Representative Dush.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: Thank you, Chairman.

Mr. Taylor, you referred about the "gotcha" dynamic of fault-finding. My oil and gas guys, my coal guys, they're experiencing it. I know on the manufacturing side they're experiencing it as well. It's interesting. Coming from coal and timber country, I'm very familiar with what it was like when the snow was black an hour after it was --

MR. TAYLOR: Yes.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: -- down years ago, and now I can stand outside a coal-fired power plant and not smell the smoke, like you said, going after that last molecule. But now, it seems like the regulators have gone towards

trying to justify their jobs by increasing the regulations and going after these gotcha-type moments. What are some of the -- could you give a couple examples of what's going on on the manufacturing side, some of the things that you've experienced because --

MR. TAYLOR: Well, actually, one of the examples that I'll cite that was many years ago now when I was a young fellow that I was a staffer here for the other chamber, and this was during the Casey Administration and that a new technology had emerged that enabled to go down to trace quantities of silver. And so because the technology changed, the Administration wanted to move the benchmarks for regulation. And again, you're talking here about quantities that the human mechanism, you know, can't even register. And, I mean, like the one example comes from coal in talking about mercury. Yes, mercury in concentrated doses is a deadly poison and a threat to public health. At the same time, mercury is also a naturally occurring element.

And so depending on where you have it on that sliding scale of what is an acceptable level and how do you measure it, if you try to chase the last molecule of mercury, well, mercury is released by seismic activity, so unless DEP is going to outlaw earthquakes and volcanoes, you know, we have a problem. It's just all about, you

know, trying to establish what's reasonable and to say that, yes, absolutely, public health, public safety, preventing disaster, all those things have to be urgent priorities.

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But when we -- and this is also -- my friends at U.S. Steel provided me with a chart, but air quality, and again, talking about, you know, how well are we doing, how much do we need to improve, how much better can we be? when you put the U.S. versus China and Korea, I mean, what's happening there is nightmarish, but if you make it too burdensome, you push U.S. producers, Pennsylvania producers past the breaking point, then, well, where does that activity go? That activity goes to these very permissive jurisdictions that have low standards or no standards at all and as a result there's a net increase in emissions globally, so, you know, we need to fight for the home team not just because we want the prosperity but also because you're concerned about those kinds of emissions. Turning the screws and putting U.S. producers to the breaking point makes that global problem worse.

REPRESENTATIVE DUSH: I happen to agree. I think if we be responsible the way we have been leading up to where we are today, it allows us -- well, I mean, we're going way beyond right now, but what got us to where we've got a good environment quality now, we can remain

1 competitive and encourage those other countries to start becoming competitive. But if we continue this path of 2 3 becoming overregulated, we're going to turn it in the other 4 direction just like you described. 5 Thank you. 6 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you, 7 Representative Dush. Representative Bradford for a question? 8 9 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Thank you, 10 Chairman. And I don't want to belabor the point that my 11 good friend, Representative McCarter, touched on, and I 12 guess I need to say this, too, as the Minority Chair. I 13 appreciate you need to control the hearing as you see fit 14 and obviously the numbers will dictate that, but we have to 15 have a level of decorum and respect for each other. 16 Chairman, now, please don't cut me off again because I let 17 you go. 18 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative 19 Bradford --20 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: We could not --21 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative 2.2 Bradford, you -- Representative Bradford --23 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Any democratic --24 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative 25 Bradford --

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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- participation
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       in these hearings --
                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- just for a
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      moment, just for a moment, Representative Bradford.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Well, let me
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       finish my sentence.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Just for a moment --
                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I realize that
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      that's hard --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- Representative
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      Bradford.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- sometimes.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      Bradford, you didn't let me go. I'm the Chairman of this
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       Committee, and when I call you out of order, you will come
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      to order. So, Representative Bradford, you can ask the
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       question of the testifier if you'd like.
                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Yes.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: It's not time for,
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       you know, at length pontification --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No, no --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: -- but you are
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      recognized to ask a question.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No, and I
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       appreciate it's not, and that's why I was making the point
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that if the gentleman has an issue with another person who came to testify today, this may not be the right forum, and that's all I was going to say on that. I understand you have strong feelings. And, look, I totally understand.

You shouldn't be called a polluter. Under that logic, we're all polluters. We all have some carbon footprint.

We all have a responsibility to be good stewards, and that was the point I was trying to make, Chairman. And I think the overheated rhetoric makes everybody step away.

I got to tell you, there's not a -- the gentleman from Mercatus made a really good point. It's not a partisan issue. I'm not aware of a political constituency, a regional constituency, an ideological constituency for bad regulation, so I think this -- you know, and you rightfully talk about the strawman that you've got to knock down. Well, I think the strawman is that there's someone here who's arguing in favor of bad regulation, and I think, you know, the Chairman in the way he addressed this a little bit makes it seem like anybody has a different opinion than that. I don't know of anybody who's for the chasing the last molecule of pollution, though I would say -- and I think you talked about strawmen -- you know, we're not really at the point where we're chasing the last molecule. I mean, I think we all have to be honest with --

MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you,

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       Representative Bradford. Do you have a question there?
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       Because as I mentioned before you got here today, I
      mentioned to the Members, we don't invite quests here to
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       debate with them.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I'm not debating
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      him.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We're asking
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       questions so --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I actually
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       complimented him.
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                MR. TAYLOR: Thank you, sir.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Mr. Chairman --
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: So there's no -- is
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       there a question?
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Mr. Chairman --
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Representative
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      Bradford, is there a question?
                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: There is
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       absolutely a question.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Great. Thank you,
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       sir.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Rest assured that
       there's a question. But the regulated industry, you'll
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24
       agree, is never going to like the regulations that are
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      promulgated. It's a rare instance where that happens?
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                MR. TAYLOR: I would agree with that completely
       that it's, you know, much as, you know, the taxpayers will
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      never like paying taxes even though --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: It's a necessary
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       evil.
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                MR. TAYLOR: It's a necessary thing. And, you
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       know, even if the rates are competitive and low that, yes,
       it's something people will mind. And, Chairman Bradford,
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       I'm sorry. I saw Mr. McCarter in the captain's seat here.
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       I would have recognized you --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No, no.
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                MR. TAYLOR: -- but thank you very much.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: He's the acting
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       Chairman.
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                MR. TAYLOR: Okay. Got you.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: And the acting
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       captain as it were.
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                MR. TAYLOR: All right.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I'd also make the
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      point -- and I think the Chairman will be happy to know
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       that there's a question in this, too.
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: I appreciate it.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I know you do.
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      we're going to talk about how to do regulation in a
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      meaningful way, we've got to rely on proven science.
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one of the things that I have often been concerned in this

Committee -- and we're the State Government Committee.

We're not the Environmental Committee. We don't have the

backup of science, and so it turns into more of an

ideological food fight, and I really have no time or desire

to show up at 9:00 in the morning and get gaveled at and

yelled at by the Chairman over the ideology. I'd much

regulatory system. And so what I'm thinking we need to do
is take the poison out of this and the anger and deal with

rather talk about the substance of how we improve our

proven science.

And I think your point about the strawman is dead-on. We've got to, you know, deal with the fact that the regulated community is never going to love the regulations, and that's just the nature of it. But I think we've got to be mindful that we're driven by proven science, that we're actually doing sound public policy. And how do you think we accomplish that?

MR. TAYLOR: Well, I think transparency is key, and I think that having accountability go both ways because as it stands now, the regulatory powers are somewhat imperious, that it's, you know, difficult if not impossible, you know, to appeal. You know, in some ways the -- what's the old saying? The process is the punishment. And so, you know, again, I'm not the Secretary

of DEP; that's not a job I want. But, I mean, the culture change needs to start at the top, and hopefully having, you know, these mechanisms in place where review is occurring, where review is expected, that that will help to create the culture, and that that culture will rely on, again, provable science and, you know, an independent expertise that people can say, yeah, okay, that's the ref, that's the ump. Everybody knows that these are the parameters, you know, of the process and that those authorizes can be respected.

DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No -- and I appreciate that. I guess one of the things that worries me -- and this is much larger than this topic here is, you know, they used to say everyone can have their own opinion but you can't have your own facts.

MR. TAYLOR: Correct.

DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Well, now, thanks to Google, everyone can find their own facts if they want, and I think that undermines the ability to do good public policy sometimes.

MR. TAYLOR: No, I agree. You know, when it comes to -- you know, one of the big issues we're facing right now is pipeline, and you know, certainly this is a, you know, pipeline is engineering, engineering is science. You're talking about metallurgy, you're talking about fluid

dynamics. All these things are sound science. There's already, you know, 2,400,000 miles of pipeline in the ground in the U.S., and yet there are people who regrettably are panic-stricken over the concept that new pipeline would be put in place.

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DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: And I will actually alarmingly -- sometimes as a progressive and a person who's proud to say I'm an environmentalist, I think sometimes we have a difficult job going back home to say to some of our groups, hey, look, you know, there is a cost to moving forward. I would challenge some organizations like yours to take that same kind of role on recognizing the nature of climate science. We've had that issue where if you're not willing to concede, it's a problem. I don't know how you move forward, and I worry about that, again, because if you turn it into an ideological thing, you miss the point here. And I actually again -- I'm not opposed to any of these ideas. I actually met with one of our Democratic Members the other day about having a talk about regulation and how to streamline it, but I don't think we make it an either/or to your point.

And I think there's one more point that needs to be made, and I'll ask you this question, too, because you mentioned the issue of turnaround time at DEP. One of the things that I would contend is if you continue to underfund

the regulator and then you expect the regulator to turn around permits and such in a quicker time frame, that's counterintuitive. In fact, it sounds like just bad public policy again. And again, when you do ideology first and you forget about good government and you'd rather scream at each other rather than do the hard work of doing good government, I think it's a mistake. I think the better thing is to talk about, hey, look, if we need to turn around permits in 45 days -- and I'm not going to call out questions to the environmental groups because I don't think the Chairman would appreciate it, but I could do the same and say, hey, look, what do the cuts look like in DEP and what's the effect when you make those type of cuts, you know, on the regulator? Because, you know, I'm not here to tell you the regulator's always the most sympathetic body.

But, you know, has your organization taken a position on the past on cuts in terms of the regulator, in terms of understanding the more we cut the regulator, the harder it is to get timely turning around of permits?

MR. TAYLOR: It would certainly be -- you know, the general point that you make is a valid one, that if the agency doesn't have the resources to do the work, the work doesn't get done, and --

DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Right.

MR. TAYLOR: -- you can hardly be upset about

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       that. I do know that the Secretary has great discretion,
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       and the concern has been on the part of the employer
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       community that, even as resources have been dedicated to
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      DEP that internally they have not been devoted to that
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       purpose. And so if there was a way to directly -- you
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       know, almost like a fee-for-service, that that will be --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: But you realize
       that could be problematic in the permitting phase --
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                MR. TAYLOR: Well --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- if the
      permittee is paying for the --
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                MR. TAYLOR: No, I mean -- and that's --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- person
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      providing the permit --
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                MR. TAYLOR: And I probably --
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- it gets a
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       little --
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                MR. TAYLOR: I probably deployed the wrong
      phrase, but in much the same way that the tax revenues that
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       are collected for the Motor Vehicle License Fund can only
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      be used for highway purposes. If the funding stream would
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       go directly to the Department that's responsible for doing
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       that work, then perhaps that would be a way forward.
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                 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No, and I --
                                              Representative
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                MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE:
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1 Bradford, thank you. DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: Thank you. 2 3 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: Thank you for all of your questions. I appreciate it. 4 5 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: No, no, and let me 6 iust --7 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: So --8 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: -- if I can, 9 Chairman --10 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: No, Representative 11 Bradford, we're out of time with this testifier. We're 12 going to move on and wrap this up, but I appreciate your 13 questions today. 14 DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN BRADFORD: I'm fired up this 15 morning, Chairman. 16 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: But the point that I 17 wanted to still make again after the series of questions from Representative Bradford is I want to deal with the 18 19 facts, too, so the interjection of the climate change that 20 the Minority Chair wanted to interject isn't the facts that 21 we have before us. In fact, I would dispute that they're 22 facts at all from the perspective that he would argue them. 23 But what I would present is facts is that there

is a law on the books, the Pennsylvania Oil and Gas Act of

2012, Act 13, that says that the issuance of a permit, the

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       Department shall issue a permit within 45 days of
       submission of a permit application, and that's not
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       occurring, taking several times longer than that. The fact
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       is the law is not being complied with, so that's a fact
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       that I leave the Committee with as I close out the hearings
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       today. And we will be considering legislation in the
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       future that I'll look forward to debate on at that time.
      But I appreciate the Members keeping the debate amongst
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       themselves today and not trying to engage our testifiers
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       and allowing them to present their testimony.
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                 So, thank you, Mr. Taylor, for presenting here
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       today.
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                 MR. TAYLOR: Thank you very much.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: We appreciate it.
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      Have a great day.
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                 MR. TAYLOR: I appreciate it.
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                 MAJORITY CHAIRMAN METCALFE: This meeting will be
       adjourned. Members, listen for a meeting to be called from
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       the Floor today.
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                 A motion by Representative Ward to adjourn this
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      meeting, seconded by Representative Hill, this meeting's
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       adjourned. Everyone have a great day.
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(The hearing concluded at 10:56 a.m.)

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