# Tax Reform or Tax Cut?

October 25, 2017 Brenda Bloch-Young

## What happened on the Hill?

- On Thursday evening, the Senate passed a budget blueprint that will support a \$1.5 trillion in tax cuts over the next decade with only GOP support (in the fine print, there will have to be cuts to Medicare and Medicaid.)
- This budget blueprint was sent to the House this week. There will be some resistance to a tax plan that is not revenue neutral.
- Remember Tax Reform may not proceed until a Budget is passed (and theoretically, Congress agrees to how much healthcare costs are projected to be.)
- Constituencies are actively lobbying Congress to protect deductions they value and want to maintain
- Odds of permanent tax cuts look dimmer

## What does the public think about a tax cut?

- Tax reform is not a priority for the majority of Americans less than 2% list it as #1
- Tax reform is the TOP priority for business groups and GOP donors
- Reducing taxes for the wealthy is extremely unpopular (62% oppose)
- Raising the budget deficit is unpopular though deficit reduction is not a priority (43% of likely voters were against a tax cut that increases the deficit.)
- A tax cut that benefits the middle class and raises the deficit will likely be acceptable to the majority of likely voters

#### SALT

- SALT State And Local Taxes on individual returns eliminated?
- Impact of the elimination of the deduction of SALT will be difficult in "blue" states (NY, NJ, CT, CA, and IL) with high income and real estate taxes.
- If the Standard Deduction on a MFJ return is \$24k, this should cover the major itemized deductions (mortgage interest, real estate + state income taxes, & charitable contributions) in most of America.
- Proposals are being discussed to limit the deduction on SALT for those earning more than \$200k annually, or allowing the real estate tax deduction but disallow state and local taxes.
- Definition of "middle class" varies significantly by geographic locations.

## Mortgage Interest Deduction

- For now, it remains with no discussion of limiting or reducing the deductibility.
- However, bankers, mortgage brokers, and home builders are "fussing" about the increase in the Standard Deduction to \$24k on a MFJ return as they feel there will be less incentive to buy a home.
- For middle class taxpayers, the average interest deduction is approximately \$7k as well as the SALT deduction of \$7k (combined are lower than the proposed Standard Deduction of \$24k or \$12k for Single filers)

# Limit contributions to 401(k) plans?

- Over the weekend, we learned that Congress is discussing limiting the contributions to 401(k) plans, possibly to as low as \$2,400 annually.
- This deduction from pre-tax income is valued at approximately \$115 million annually. For 10 years, this would be a substantial savings towards the planned tax cut.
- Financial institutions are already raising red flags as they feel many employees will not contribute.
- Tax policy experts are firmly against this as it is felt to be truly "a bad tax policy" decision.

### Corporate deductions

- Full expensing for 5 years (depreciation) with exception for real estate
- Eliminate the deduction for business interest expense.... Exceptions are already being discussed for farmers and ranchers, land purchases, and utilities.

#### Pass-through businesses

- Most businesses are pass-throughs Of the 26 million businesses in 2014, 95% were pass-throughs, while only 5% were C-corporations. These are partnerships, S-corps, or sole proprietorships and taxed as the owners' personal income.
- Almost all businesses are small In 2014, 99% of all businesses had \$10 million or less in sales or revenue
- Pass-throughs are not necessarily small businesses examples: law firms, accounting or consulting firms, and investment firms
- Pass through businesses now earn a majority of business income in 2013,
  44% of business income was earned by C-corps
- Pass-throughs often pay lower tax than C-corps an incentive to unincorporate and organize as an S-corp or a partnership (especially if the new provisions are passed.)

### Pass-throughs (cont'd)

- The growth of pass-through businesses has eroded corporate and payroll taxes - if pass-throughs were C-corps in 2011 and taxed accordingly, they would have generated an additional \$100 billion in tax revenue.
- Pass-through income is primarily earned by high-income individuals - Approximately 70% of partnership income accrues to the top 1% as compared to 11% of wages
- Pass-through businesses are responsible for a significant share of the tax gap - 41% of the tax gap from 2008-2010 (\$190 billion in tax revenue) was due to underreporting of income of pass-throughs
- Why are these facts important? Tax plan intends to cap tax rate on pass-throughs at 15-25%

# Taxation of Foreign Corporations

- There are discussions regarding surtaxes on foreign corporations on their US source income.
- Alternatively, there may be a limit on how much foreign corporations are able to deduct on certain US expenses such as rent, royalties, and interest on debt
- Congress intends to enact rules to "level" the playing field between US HQed parent corporations versus overseas HQed parent companies.
- Top tax rate may need to be 23% versus the 15% originally proposed.

# Move to a Territorial Tax System?

- While the Border Adjustment Tax has been dropped, there is a new attempt to lower the global tax liability for multinational corps.
- No deferral of tax on income earned abroad
- No penalty for repatriating cash "parked" overseas
- A move toward a "global minimum" tax with profits earned overseas taxed at a lower rate, possibly 15%
- Intent not entirely clear in the initial language as there will be a specific tax rate applied to ALL overseas income with specific language on deemed tax avoidance by shifting income earned abroad to tax havens example: corp income earned in China taxed at 40% will be added to income earned in HK or Singapore at much lower rates before the tax rate is applied. Not enough specific information available at this time.

#### Rhetoric versus facts

#1 - "America is the most highly taxed country in the world."

US taxes as a % of GDP = 26.4% while the average OECD tax as a % of GDP = 34.3%

#2 - "Estate tax is destroying farmers and truckers."

5,200 of the 2.7 million estates (0.2%) will owe any estate tax and only 50 of these taxable estates are small farms or businesses

#3 - "Taxation of pass-through entities is a burden to small businesses."

High income doctors, lawyers, consultants and other professionals such as partners in hedge funds or investment firms would be taxed at a flat 15-25%

### Rhetoric (cont'd)

#4 - "Taxes on business profits reduce wages of workers."

Will corporations pass the benefit of lower taxes to workers....? Kevin Hassett has calculated a 15% corporate tax rate would add \$4,000 to workers income while most economists calculate the benefit at \$400-\$800 per worker.

#5 - "Repatriating overseas profits will create jobs."

This didn't happen in 2004. There are no plans to tie any conditions to repatriated cash.

#6 - "This is not a tax cut for the rich."

Almost impossible as certain groups will definitely benefit.

#7 - "It's a big tax cut for the middle class."

This depends on the definition of middle class dependent on the final regulations on the SALT deduction as well as the Standard Deduction.

### Rhetoric (cont'd)

#8 - "The tax plan will not increase the deficit."

Cuts in corporate taxes, elimination of the estate tax, lower rates for some high-income earners, and a massive loophole for pass-throughs = a multi-trillion dollar budget buster.

#9 - "Cutting taxes will jumpstart growth."

There is really no evidence to support this. Investors will likely be the key beneficiaries of this tax cut.

#10 - "Tax cuts will pay for themselves."

Reagan tax cuts led to large deficits while Clinton tax increases led to surpluses. Spending is the ISSUE!

#### Questions?

Sources used:

**NY Times** 

Wall Street Journal

Washington Post

Brookings

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Mercatus Center

FiveThirtyEight