Diving into Federal Tax Reform

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AGENDA

- Business Tax Reform
- International Tax Reform
- Individual Income Tax Reform
- What Happens Next?



Federal Income Tax Reform

Background

- On June 24, 2016, the House Republicans released their vision for tax reform (the Blueprint).
- On April 26, 2017, President Trump released his overall vision for business tax reform.
- On September 27, 2017, the White House and Congressional Republicans released the Unified Framework for Fixing Our Broken Tax Code.
- On November 2, 2017 (amended on November 9), the House Ways and Means federal tax reform legislation "Tax Cuts and Jobs Act" (H.R.1) was released totaling 429 pages.
- On November 9, 2017, the Senate released its federal tax reform proposals.
- Next up: Votes in the House and Senate and then a Conference Committee.

The House and Senate Business Tax Reform Proposals

Business Tax Reform Proposals

- Business Tax
 - Corporate rate reduced from 35% to 20% (Senate: Delay one year to 2019 tax year)
 - Immediate expensing of business investments in certain new and used assets for five years (JCT: -\$84B first five years)
 - Limit net interest deductions to 30 percent of ATI (essentially EBITDA) (JCT:+\$172B)
 - Senate: similar provision (+\$308B)
 - Limit NOL deduction to 90 percent of ATI: eliminate carrybacks; unlimited carryforward (with interest)
 - Repeal/restrict special exclusions or deduction (e.g., IRC § 199 domestic manufacturing deduction) (JCT:+95B)
- Pass-Through Businesses
 - 25% capped tax rate; 70% safe harbor for wage income. (JCT: -\$448B); 9% rate for some passthrough income
 - Senate: no rate cap but 17.4% **deduction** for pass-through income

The House and Senate International Tax Reform Proposals

International Tax Reform Proposals

- Move from worldwide to territorial tax system
 - 100% exemption for dividends from foreign subsidiaries (at least 10% owned)
 - Accumulated foreign earnings held overseas treated as repatriated under special Subpart F classification, with a bifurcated rate (14%/7%) for liquid and illiquid assets (JCT:+\$293B) (Senate: 10%/5% rates)
- Current year inclusion of income with "foreign high returns" (JCT:+\$77B)
- Excise tax on outbound related party payments; ECI election (+154B)
- Limits deduction of interest by members of international financing reporting group (JCT+34B)
- Require some R&D expenditures to be capitalized over 15 years for research conducted outside the country (+\$70B)
- Senate: Has its own base erosion measures (\$123B) and a current-year inclusion for global intangible low-taxed income (\$115B).

The House and Senate Individual Income Tax Reform Proposals

Individual Income Tax Proposals

- Reduce 7 tax brackets to 4 tax brackets 12%, 25%, 35% & 39.6% (Senate: keeps 7 tax brackets)
- Eliminate AMT
- Increase standard deduction (approx. double), while eliminating personal exemptions
- Eliminate most itemized deductions including deduction for state income (and sales) taxes
 - Modify home mortgage interest deduction for newly purchased homes (capped at \$500k of value; grandfather for existing mortgages); limit property tax deduction to \$10,000 (but not foreign); retain charitable deduction (JCT:+\$1.26T)
 - Senate: keeps home mortgage interest deduction intact; eliminates entire state and local tax deduction.
- Eliminate estate tax (Senate keeps estate tax but increases size of estates that qualify for exemption)

What Happens Next?

State Impact Based on Conformity to Federal Tax Law

Federal	States
Tax rate reductions	States have own rates
Special pass through entity rate	States have own rates (unless change is made as a deduction)
Broadened tax base including repeal of many itemized deductions	State conformity
Fully expensed investments	State partial conformity
Reduced repatriation rate	Modest impact
Territorial tax regime	Minimal conformity
Tax on high return foreign income and other base erosion measures	State partial conformity
Limitation of interest deductions	State conformity

What's the Holdup?

- Corporate-only reform that improves competitiveness loses revenue.
- Pass-throughs oppose corporate-only reform.
- Individual tax cuts are very expensive without base broadening.
- Base broadeners are unpopular with those who benefit from them.
- Reconciliation permits tax changes with 50 votes but Byrd Rule precludes *increases to the deficit outside the baseline*.
- Static scoring and 2012 tax plan incoherence led to focus on boosting economic growth (territorial, expensing, permanence)
- House regular order vs. Hastert rule/leadership control of agenda
- Senate filibuster threats
- @realdonaldtrump

Some Final Observations

- Federal tax reform would result in a significant shifting of tax policy priorities.
 - H. R. 1 has about \$5.9 trillion in tax cuts offset by about \$4.5 trillion in tax increases.
- States may experience short-term revenue increases, but there could be long-term pressures on state finances
 - As proposed, federal tax reform could reduce federal revenues by as much as \$1.5 trillion (based on static scoring)
 - Federal debt to GDP is now at 105 percent significantly above the 50 year average of 40 percent.
 - The full (or partial) repeal of deductions for state and local income and property taxes increases the after-tax costs of state and local government at a time when federal resources will be constrained.