May 6, 2021 Alan Brazil

- Part 1: Implications of Biden's corporate tax policy
- Part 2: What to do about it

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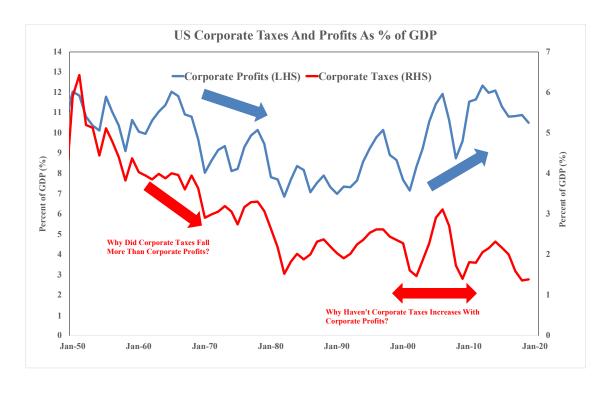
Step 1: Macro Theme

### Part Of Biden's Corporate Tax Plan Is To Force Corporations And The Wealthy To Pay Their Fair Share

#### Biden's Corporate Tax Plan<sup>1</sup>

- Increase top corporate tax rate to 28% from 21%
- Establish a minimum tax of 15% on corporate book income
- Raise the tax rate on foreign profits
  - Eliminate the deduction for Foreign Derived Intangible Income (FDII)
  - Place a 21% minimum tax rate on Global Intangibles Low-Taxed Income (GILTI)
- Increase the long-term capital gains and qualified dividends tax rate to that of the personal income rate for incomes over \$1mm

The Goal Is To Push Corporations Tax Revenue Back To The Levels of the 60s<sup>2</sup>



<sup>&</sup>quot;THE MADE IN AMERICA TAX PLAN", US Department of The Treasury, April 2021

BEA data

#### Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

† Dashed lines indicate TPC estimates

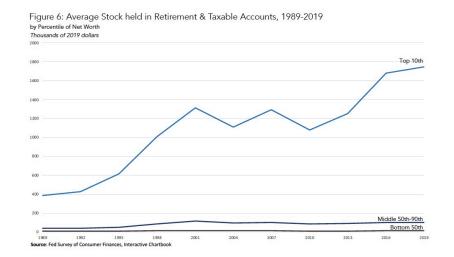
\* Federal, state and local government holdings, including equity in 529 college savings plans

### Corporates Are An Easy Political Target Because They Are Owned By The Wealthy And Foreigners<sup>1</sup>

Falling Share of US Equities Are Exposed To Higher Corp Taxes...

# Figure 1: Ownership of U.S. Corporate Stock, 1965-2019 Direct and Indirect Holdings Percent of U.S. Corporate Equity 100% 10

And Those That Are The Very Wealthy



Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

### Taxing The Top 1%ers And Corporations Are A Target Because They Can Fund Biden's Progressive Agenda

#### Plan Raises \$2 Trillion Of Additional Corporate Tax Revenue<sup>1</sup>

	2022	2023	2024	2025	2022-25	2022-2031
Set the Corporate Tax Rate at 28%	46	69	73	79	267	892
Set the Rate on GILTI at 21%; Eliminate the Deduction for Tangible Returns; Assess Country- By-Country; Prevent Inversions	41	61	66	72	240	728
Eliminate Deduction for Foreign Derived Intangible Income	8	13	19	24	64	260
Enact A Minimum Tax on Large Corporations' Book Income	6	9	12	15	41	184
Eliminate Tax Preferences for Fossil Fuels	2	3	3	3	11	33
Total	104	155	173	192	624	2095

#### Higher Capital Gains Taxes Could Another \$150 Billion A Year<sup>2</sup>

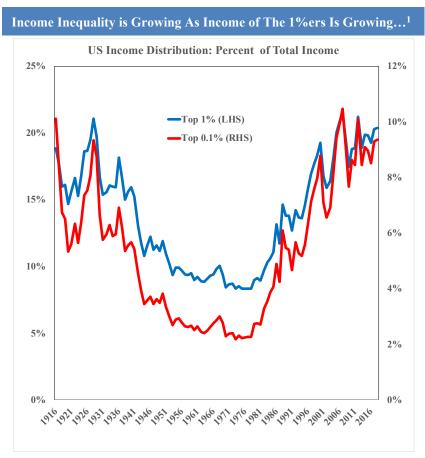
Distribution of Income And Tax Data As of 2018									
		Average For Tax Unit (\$000)					Total Additional Tax Rev (\$bil)		
Income Percentile	Tax Units (000)	LT Capital Gains /Qualified DD	Total Income	Capital Gains Tax Inc	Maginal Income Tax Inc	Avg Tax Increase	Capital Gains	Maginal Income Tax Inc	Total
Top 1%	1130	984	2,240	177	25	202	149	37	186
Top 0.1%	110	5,662	10,810	1,019	103	1,122	111	15	126

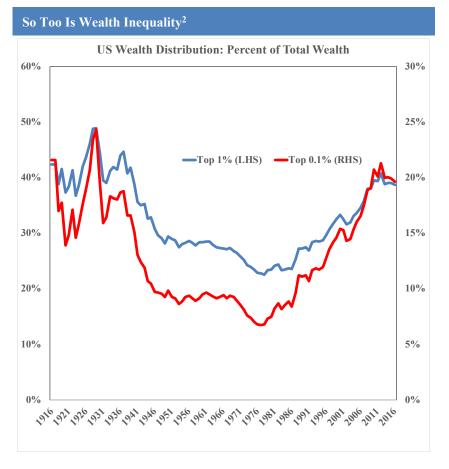
<sup>&</sup>quot;President Biden's \$2.7 Trillion American Jobs Plan: Budgetary and Macroeconomic Effects", Penn-Wharton Budget Model, April 2021

<sup>2.</sup> Tax Policy Center. Microsimulation Model

Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

One Of Biden's Argument For Higher Corporate Taxes Is That It A Could Reverse Growing Income And Wealth Inequality





Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

Biden's Arguments For Higher Corporate Taxes Is Not Supported By The Data And Could Derail US Economic Growth

#### All In Corporate Tax Rate Will Represent About 2/3rds Of Profits1

### Biden's Total Individual Tax Rate On Corporate Income 90% ■ Individual LT Capital Gains/Dividend Tax After Paying Corporate Taxes 80% ■ Taxation of Corporate Foreign Profits Including Added Tax On Foreign Profits ♦ Highest Personal Income Marginal Tax Rate 70% All-In Tax **Rate 62%** 60% Fop Marginal Tax Rate 24% 40% All-In Tax Rate 19% 30% 20% 38% 21% 10% 0% Biden Plan Current

#### Little Justification For Higher Corporate Taxes Other Than For Cash

- In contrast to perception, the income and wealth share of the top 1% is largely unchanged since the 1980s
- Higher corporate tax rates will not return tax revenues to the levels of the 60s
  - Corporate tax revenues have fallen since the 1960s because profits of corporations subject to the corporate tax (C-corps) has fallen
- Biden's corporate tax plan may not generate as much revenue as projected
  - Corporate tax revenue could be lower as the plan could push Ccorps business to a pass-through business structures to avoid double taxation
  - Wealthy individuals can put off the realization of capital gains to avoid the higher capital gains tax
  - Higher taxes on foreign profits could push Multinationals (MNE) to sell their Controlled Foreign Corporations (CFC) to foreign owners that face lower domestic corporate tax rates
- And if it does work, Biden's corporate tax plan could push down aftertax equity earnings by as much as 20% and push down future economic growth

1. Authors calculations

Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

8%

6%

1960

1970

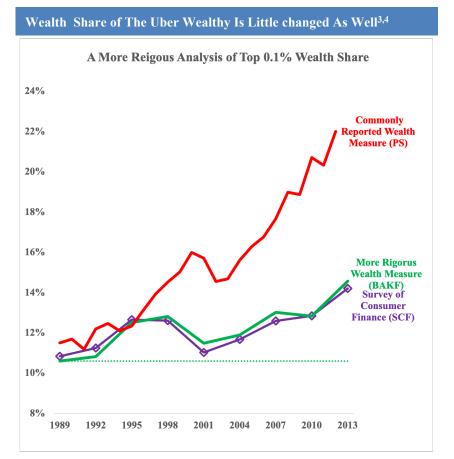
1980

1990

Income Share of the 1%ers Is Little Changed Since 1960<sup>1,2</sup>

A More Rigorous Analysis Shows That Income And Wealth Shares of The 1%ers Are Little Changed Since The 60s

### 



<sup>1.</sup> Piketty, Saez, and Zucman, "DISTRIBUTIONAL NATIONAL ACCOUNTS; METHODS AND ESTIMATES FOR THE UNITED STATES" The Quarterly Journal of Economics, May 2018

2000

2010

<sup>2.</sup>Auten, Splinter, "Income Inequality in the United States: Using Tax Data to measuring Long-term Trends", Working paper, December 2019

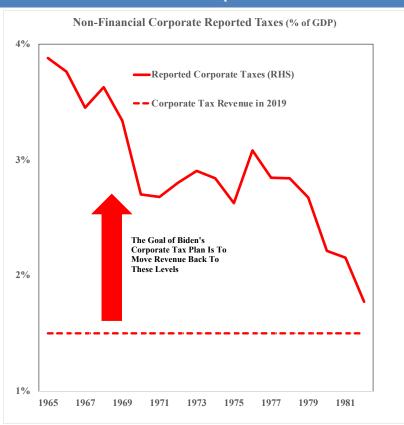
<sup>3.</sup> Saez, Zucman, "Wealth Inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from capitalized income tax data." Quarterly Journal of Economics 2016

<sup>4.</sup> Bricker, Henriques, Krimmel, & Sabelhaus, "Measuring income and wealth at the top using administrative and survey data", Brooking Papers on Economic Activity, March 2016

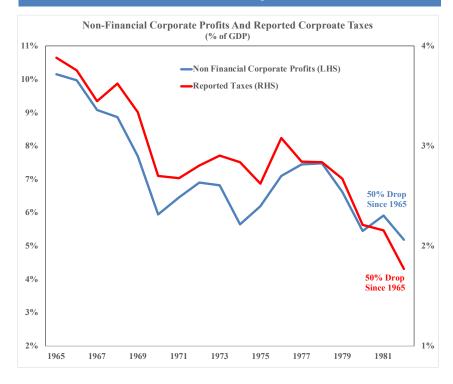
Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

Corporate Tax Revenue Was Higher In 60s Because Corporate Profits Subject To The Tax Was Higher<sup>1</sup>

#### One Goal Of Biden's Is To Return Corporate Tax Revenue to The 60s



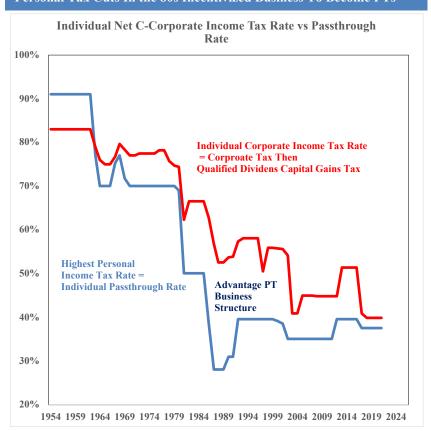
#### **However, Tax Revenue Fell Because Corporate Profits Fell**



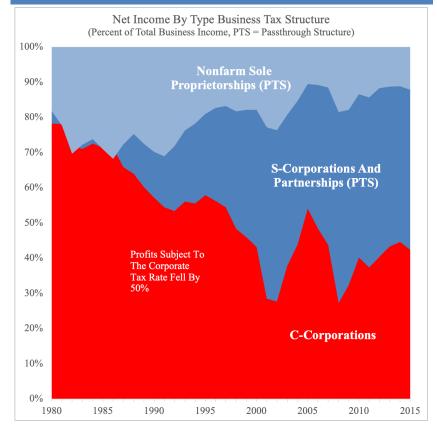
Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

Tax Revenue In Also Lower Today Because More Corporates Have Moved To PT Structures That Do Pay Corporate Taxes

#### Personal Tax Cuts In the 80s Incentivized Business To Become PTs1



#### Tax Revenue Fell Because Profits Exposed To Corporate Taxes Fell<sup>2</sup>



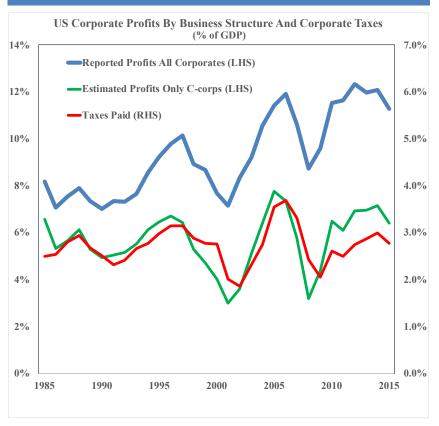
Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

Recently, Tax Revenue Has Been Flat Even With Rising Corporate Profits Because C-Corps Profits Have Been Flat

#### Corporate Profit Growth Has Been Driven By Growth of PT Profits<sup>1</sup>

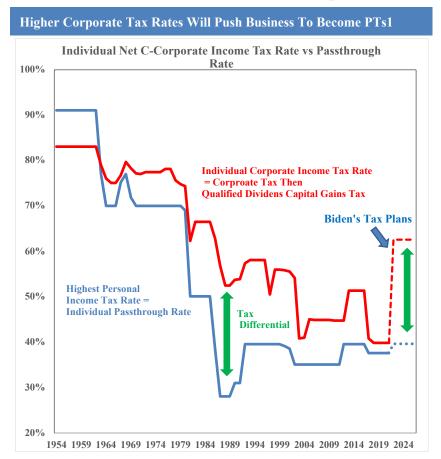
### **US Corporate Profits By Business Structure** (% of GDP) 14% Reported Profits Of Pass-through Business Reported Profits Of C-Corporation 12% -Reported Profits Of All Corporates 10% 8% 6%4% 2% 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015 1985

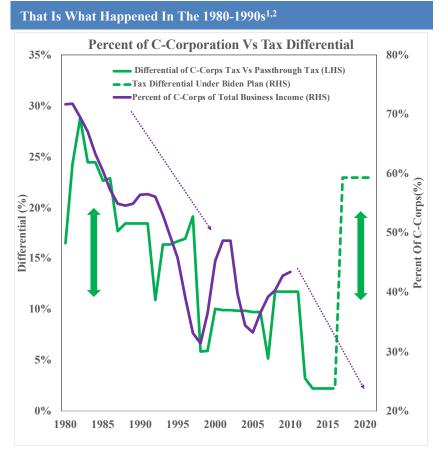
#### Corporate Taxes Are Flat Because C-corps Profits Have Been Flat<sup>1,2</sup>



Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

### Biden's Tax Plan Could Yield Less Corporate Tax Revenue As It Incentivizes C-Corps To Become PTs





#### Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

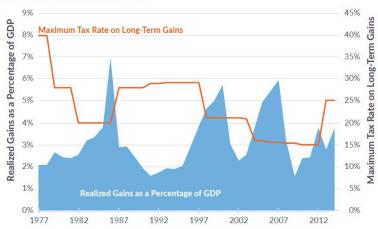
### Raising Capital Gains Taxes Could Raise Little If Any New Revenue As The 1%ers Delay Realizations

Wealthy Households Historically Can Control Realizations of Gain<sup>1</sup>

#### FIGURE 2

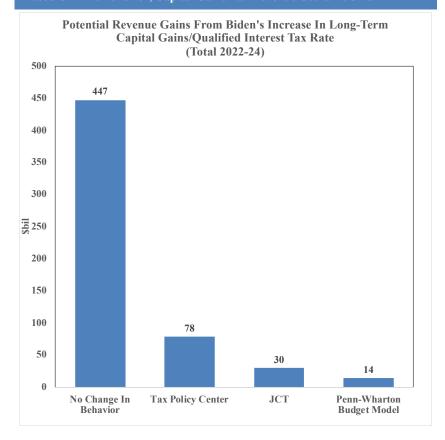
### Capital Gains Realization Rise When the Maximum Tax Rate on Long-Term Gains Falls

Realizations and Top Rate, 1977-2014



Source: U.S. Department of the Treasury Office of Tax Analysis, "Taxes Paid on Long-Term Capital Gains, 1977-2014," https://home.treasury.gov/policy-issues/tax-policy/office-of-tax-analysis.

#### Based On This Behavior, Capital Gains Tax Revenue Could Be Small <sup>2,3,4,5</sup>



<sup>1.</sup> York, "An Overview of Capital Gains Taxes", Tax Foundation, April 2019

Author's calculations

Tax policy center

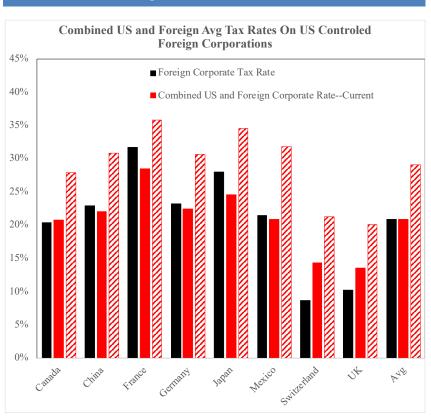
<sup>4. &</sup>quot;Capital Gains Tax Options: Behavioral Responses and Revenues", Congressional Research Service, January 2019

<sup>&</sup>quot;Revenue Effects of President Biden's Capital Gains Tax Increase", Penn-Wharton Budget Model, April 2021

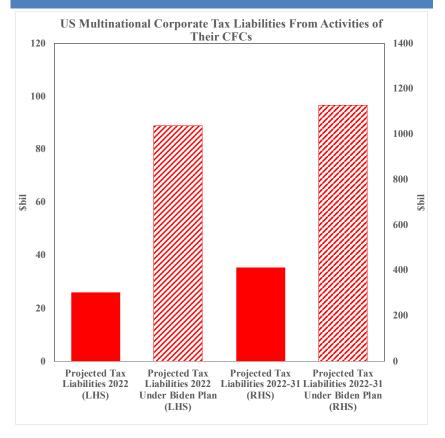
Step 2: Fundamental Economic Framework

### Biden's Taxing Of Foreign Income Could Push US MNE To Sell Their CFCs Actually Reducing US Taxes<sup>1</sup>

#### Tax Hikes For US Foreign Profits Makes The US The Outliers



#### MNE Could Be Forced To Sell Their CFC To Local Firms

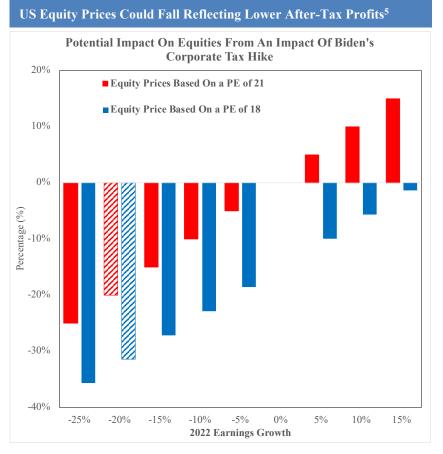


Step 3: Identify Potential Catalysts

If It Works, Biden's Tax Plan Could Hammer US Equities By Reducing After-Tax Profits And Lowering Economic Growth

Biden's Corporate Tax Plan Could Be A Headwind To US Growth 1,2,3,4

	By 2030		
Source	GDP (\$bil)	Capital Stock	
Hoover Institute	-2700	-15%	
Tax Policy Center	-720		
Tax Foundation	-385	-4%	
Penn-Wharton Budget Model	-300	-3%	



<sup>1.</sup> Fitzgerald, Hasset, Kallen, & Mulligan, "An Analysis of Vice President Biden's Economic Agenda: The Long Run Impacts of Its Regulation, Taxes And Spending" Hoover Institute Study, 2019
2. TPC

Tax Foundation

<sup>&</sup>quot;President Biden's \$2.7 Trillion American Jobs Plan: Budgetary and Macroeconomic Effects", Penn-Wharton Budget Model, April 2021

Author's calculations

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