The Expiration of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (TCJA) and the Future of Tax Policy

AALS Conference San Francisco, Jan. 2025

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THANK YOU

Presentation Outline

- I. The (Long) Road to the TCJA
- II. Precedents & Historical Analogs
- III. The Reconciliation Process

Trump 1.0 on Taxes

- From 2015 Campaign Rhetoric ...
 - Initial claims to raise taxes on the rich "like me."
 - By eliminating certain (unspecified) tax breaks
 - NOT by increasing top marginal income tax rates
 - Dramatic across-the-board cuts
 - Reviving high tariffs
 - Rationale: Addressing continued post-Great Recession economic recovery & U.S. global competitiveness

Trump 1.0 on Taxes



EUROPE

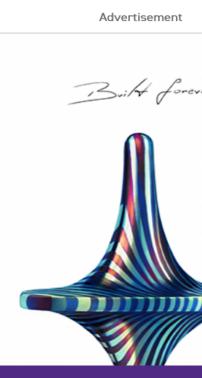
POLITICO West Wing Playbook Transition of Power

The preparations, personnel decisions, and policy deliberations of Trump's transition

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Trump: My tax plan is 'going to cost me a fortune'





Trump 1.0 on Tariffs

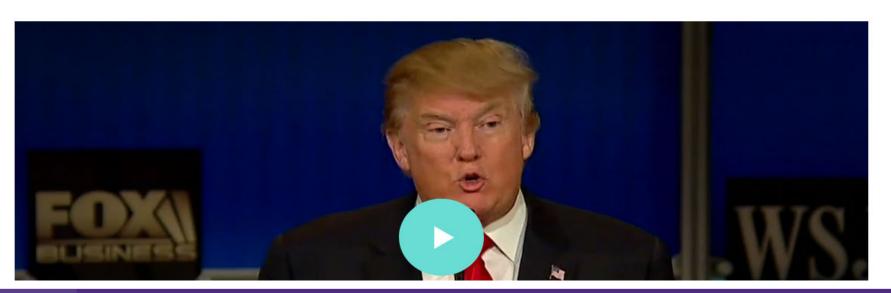
POLITICS / 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Donald Trump says "I love free trade," contradicting all his prior statements on trade

by **Dylan Matthews** Nov 10, 2015, 9:50 PM CST

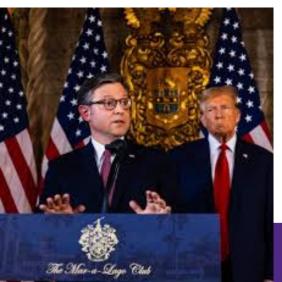






Trump 1.0 on Taxes

- ... To 2016 Campaign Promises
 - Revised tax plan that would
 - Continue tax cuts, but not as dramatic as earlier plan
 - Less rhetoric about taxing the rich
 - Reviving tariffs
 - Aligned with GOP House Speaker Paul Ryan's "A Better Way"

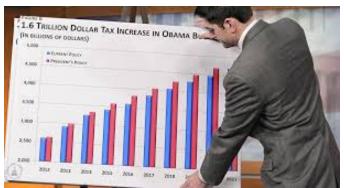




Ryan, Brady & Deficit Reduction

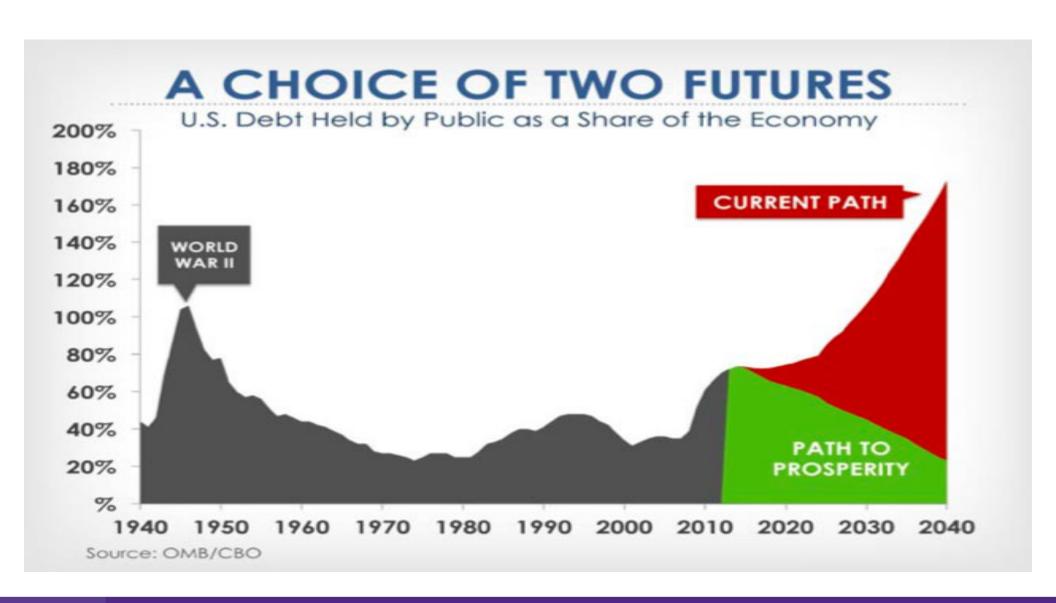
- Proposals in Ryan/Brady "A Better Way"
 - Individual Tax Cuts more modest than Trump
 - Simplification doubling the standard deduction
 - Business Tax Cuts reduce corporate rates & shift to territorial system and a border adjustment tax (BAT)







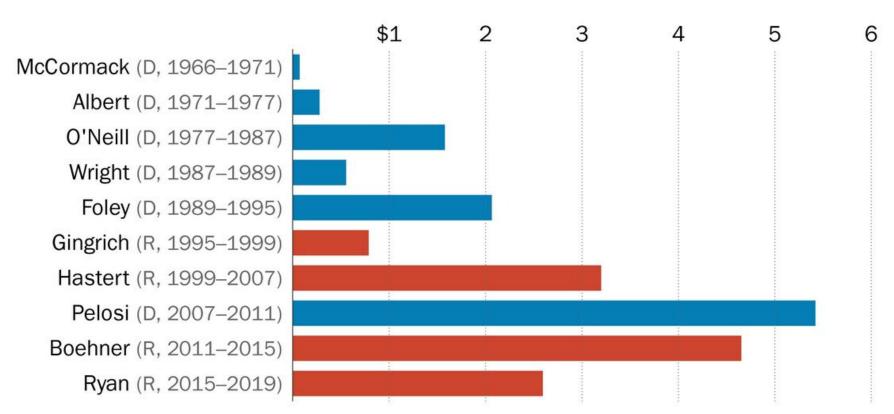
Paul Ryan's "Scary Charts"



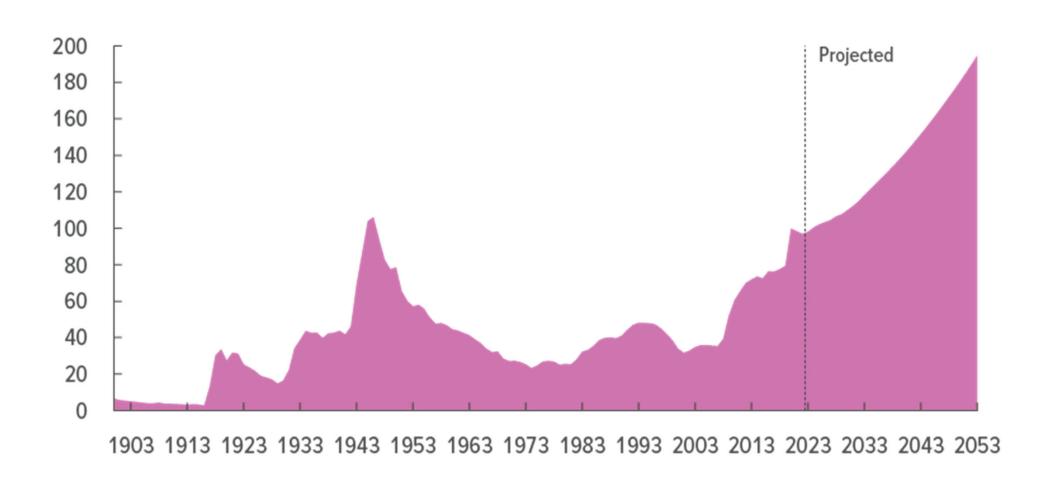
Paul Ryan's Legacy

Increase in debt during speakership

Figures in trillions. Data from the Federal Reserve.



Recent CBO Debt Estimates



Origins of the TCJA

- April 2017 Tax Plan
 - One-pager with bullet points:
 - Tax cuts for individuals and corporations
 - Eliminating specific tax expenditures
 - Transition to territorial system
 - Repeal estate tax
 - Stark contrast with '86 Act and Treasury I and II Report

The Key Players: "Big Six"

- U.S. Congress:
 - Ryan/Brady and Orrin Hatch (Chair, Senate Fin.)
 - Sen. Majority Leader Mitch McConnell
- White House and Treasury:
 - Gary Cohn, Director of Nat. Econ. Council
 - Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin
 - "tax cuts will pay for themselves"

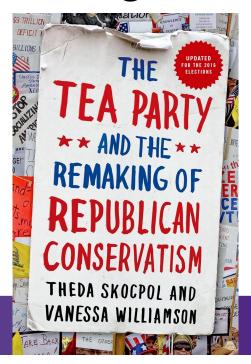


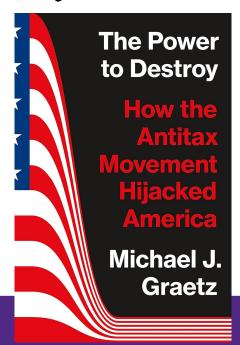
Enactment of the TCJA

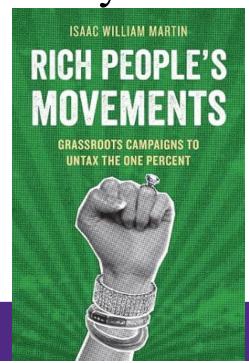
- Passed on purely partisan lines no Dem. support
- Final Dec. 2017 Act:
 - Cuts in individual and corporate rates
 - Standard deduction doubled
 - Territorial tax system & GILTI
 - New deduction for pass-through businesses
 - Child tax credit increased
 - Estate tax exemption increased
 - SALT Cap and other tax break limits
 - Immediate expensing of certain capital invest.

The Longer View

- Trump/GOP Allegiance to Antitax Movement
 - Tailwinds of the Tea Party Movement
 - Post-1965 Rise of Antitax Movement
 - Long 20th Century Tax Resistance by the Rich







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Some Caveats

- Trump \neq precedents
- Limits of historical comparisons given changing conditions
- "Usable Past" v. Ignoring History:

"The only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history"

- G.W. Hegel

The Bush II Tax Cuts

- Response to budget surpluses & campaign pledge
 - "The surplus is not the government's money. The surplus is the people's money." (Bush 2000)
- 2001 and 2003 Tax Acts:
 - Cuts in individual income tax rates
 - Increased standard deduction and exemptions
 - Estate tax reduction
 - Enacted through the Reconciliation process
 - Many provisions set to expire in 2010

The Obama Extensions

- 2008 Presidential Campaign
 - McCain: making Bush tax cuts permanent
 - Obama: extending cuts only for families earning less than 250K
- 2010 Context of Great Recession & Midyear Elections
 - Obama extends cuts for 2 years
- 2012 "Fiscal Cliff" Deal
 - Cemented most of the Bush tax cuts with bipartisan support

Other Analogs/Lessons

- Not many that match current conditions
- Counter Example: 1993 Omnibus Budget Reconcil. Act
 - Enacted on purely partisan lines
 - Growing anxiety of the bond markets
 - Increased tax rates and reduced spending (Clinton's "reforming welfare as we know it")
 - Led to first budget surplus since 1960s
- Reforming entitlement spending?
 - 1981-2 Greenspan Commission on Social Security
 - James Baker, White House Chief of Staff
 - Robert Ball, Former SS Commissioner
 - Bipartisan compromise with payroll tax increases and reduced benefits

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Origins of Reconciliation

- Created by the 1974 Congressional Budget Act
 - Aim: streamline budget process giving greater control to Congress
 - Allows Congress to set and adhere to budget targets
 - Expedites certain tax, spending, and debt limit laws
 - Avoids (Byrd) filibuster rule in the Senate
 - Only simple majority needed
- Evolved into a partisan tool used by both parties
 - E.g. Biden's Inflation Reduction Act

How Reconciliation Operates

- Initial Budget Resolution
- Reconciliation Instructions
- Drafting Legislation
- Expediting the Legislative Process
- Significant Limitations
 - Only for provisions directly related to budget
 - Social Security is off limits

Implications for 2025

- Reconciliation as the main or only path
- Pushing the boundaries of conventional limits
 - How dynamic is dynamic scoring?
- Discord among GOP lawmakers:
 - Jason Smith: "one big reconciliation bill"
 - John Thune: two-step process with tax reform reserved for later
 - Trump: wavering between the two







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