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## Erin Tehan

Manager, Legislative & Federal Affairs Council of Development Finance Agencies Columbus, OH

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## Panelists

Rena Nakashima, *Moderator* BNY Mellon

Eric Silva Winston & Strawn

Susan Collet Bond Dealers of America

**Dustin McDonald** Government Finance Officers Association

**Bill Daly** National Association of Bond Lawyers

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## Rena Nakashima

Senior Product Manager BNY Mellon Los Angeles, CA

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## Dustin McDonald

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# 6 CHARLED CONTRACTOR

## Federal Tax Reform- Targeting Tax Exempt Bonds

#### Wednesday, November 19, 2013



Dustin McDonald Director, Federal Liaison Center Government Finance Officers Association

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## Tax Exemption: Cost of Cap and Repeal



# Independent studies estimate that:

- Capping the exemption at 28% would increase the cost to issuers by 70 basis points
- Eliminating the exemption would cost issuers as much as 200 basis points



### Tax Exemption: Cost of Cap and Repeal

#### Interest costs with and without tax exemption

\$ MIL

	current law	with 28-percent cap		with full repeal	
	ESTIMATED INTEREST COST WITH TAX EXEMPTION AS IS	ESTIMATED TOTAL INTEREST COST	COST INCREASE	ESTIMATED TOTAL INTEREST COST	COST INCREASE
2003	114,128.55	130,876.97	16,748.42	161,981.19	47,852.64
2004	96,239.27	110,820.97	14,581.71	137,901.29	41,662.02
2005	121,966.14	141,458.44	19,492.31	177,658.44	55,692.30
2006	118,248.09	137,017.62	18,769.54	171,875.34	53,627.25
2007	125,282.78	145,214.14	19,931.35	182,229.50	56,946.72
2008	140,294.09	161,012.63	20,718.54	199,489.91	59,195.82
2009	110,288.35	126,890.90	16,602.55	157,724.20	47,435.85
2010	91,207.92	105,952.85	14,744.93	133,336.29	42,128.37
2011	83,022.35	95,965.70	12,943.35	120,003.35	36,981.00
2012	100,111.45	118,949.63	18,939,18	153,934.81	53,823 36
ΤΟΤΑ	L.		173,370.87		495,345.33

SOURCE: SIFMA ESTIMATES BASED ON THOMSON REUTERS DATA USING THE REPORT'S ASSUMPTIONS

### Tax Exemption: Cost of Cap and Repeal



### November 14 NGA and CSG Report

Report took a forward look (next 10 years) at the cap and repeal proposals.

- 28% Cap Proposal
  - Increase in state and local borrowing costs: <u>\$6.6 billion</u>
  - Economic impact: <u>Net loss of 78,000 jobs and \$15 billion in real GDP</u>

#### Repeal Proposal

- Increase in state and local borrowing costs: <u>\$33 billion</u>
- Economic impact: Net loss of 417,000 jobs and \$71 billion in real GDP

### Bill Daly

Director of Governmental Relations National Association of Bond Lawyers Washington, DC

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# **FEDERAL TAX REFORM:** Why Target Bonds?

William Daly, Director of Governmental Affairs, NABL November 19, 2013



# Why Go After Muni Bonds?

- 1. Need Revenue to Lower Tax Rates and Reduce Deficit.
- 2. Perception that Muni Bonds Primarily Benefit the Wealthy.
- 3. Economists Argue the Tax Exemption is "Inefficient".

# Need for Revenue

- Republicans generally argue tax reform should be revenue neutral.
- Goal of House Republicans is a tax code with a maximum rate of 25 percent for individuals and corporations.
- Joint Tax says that if rates are cut to those levels then, to keep tax reform revenue neutral, \$5 trillion of loopholes and tax preferences would have to be eliminated.
- Senate Democratic budget calls for \$1 trillion in revenue increases to eliminate sequester and reduce deficit.
- Joint Tax estimated repeal of exemption for newly-issued bonds would raise \$125 billion over 10 years.
- 28 percent cap would raise \$490 billion.

## **Top Tax Expenditures**

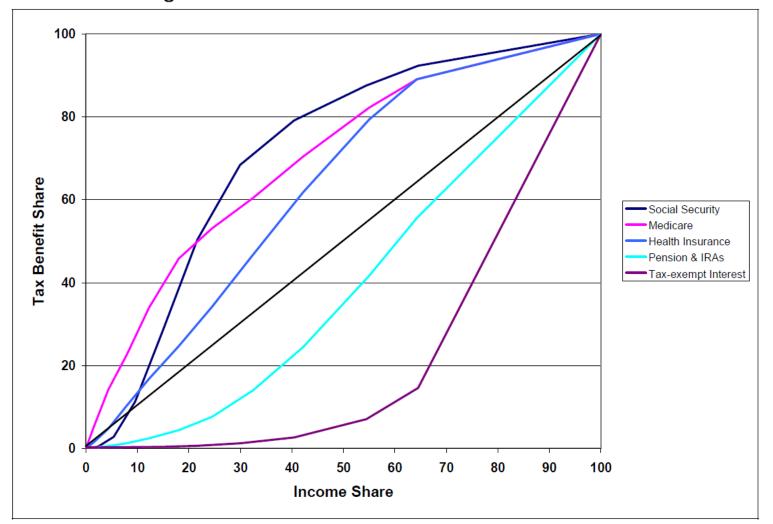
Source: Joint Committee on Taxation, 2012

Exclusion/deduction	2011-2015 (in billions)	2012 (in billions)	
Exclusion of employer contributions for health care, health insurance premiums, and long-term insurance premiums	725.0	128.1	
Net exclusion of pension contributions and earnings	718.3	122.6	
Deduction for mortgage interest on owner-occupied residences	464.1	83.7	
Reduced rates of tax on dividends and long-term capital gains	456.6	93.1	
Exclusion of Medicare benefits	348.3	61.2	
Earned income tax credit Total exclusions of State and local bond interest	294.1 257.9	59.7 35.2	
Exclusions of interest on public purpose State and local government bonds	177.6	23.1	
501(c)(3) Bonds	30.3	3.9	
Small Issue Bonds	2.0	0.3	
Other private activity	48.0	7.9	
Deduction of charitable contributions	242.6	39.6	
Exclusion of capital gains at death	230.8	36.3	
Deduction of nonbusiness State and local government income taxes, sales taxes, and property taxes	230.3	31.4	
Exclusion of benefits provided under cafeteria plans	197.6	36.0	

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# Tax Preferences Seen As Benefiting Wealthy Are Most at Risk

- No politician wants to support tax cuts for the wealthy paid for by the middle class.
- Said another way, both Republican and Democrats want to keep the distribution of tax burden the same as it is now.
- Cutting top rates will benefit the better off unless that benefit is offset by cutting tax preferences for the wealthy.
- The exemption for municipal bonds "scored" as the tax exclusion that most benefits the wealthy.





Source: CRS analysis of 2006 IRS Statistics of Income Public Use File and 2007 Survey of Consumer Finances.

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# Economists Say Exemption Is "Inefficient"

- Economists say that the cost to the federal government is more than the benefit to state and local governments, with the difference going to investors.
- The estimate is that about 20 percent of the cost to the federal government does not make it to state and local governments.
- Proposals to eliminate the "inefficiency" all have problems:
  - Direct Grants
  - Investor Credit Bonds
  - Direct Pay Bonds (BABs)
- Inefficiency tolerated other places in the tax code.
- Inefficiency argument ignores reciprocity, federalism.

### Susan Collet

Senior Vice President, Government Relations Bond Dealers of America Washington, DC

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# Actions to Defend the Municipal Bond Tax Exemption



21 Dupont Circle, NW • Suite 750 Washington, DC 20036 202.204.7900 www.bdamerica.org

## New York PIRG, 1977



# **Coalition Efforts**

- Municipal Bonds for America unites issuers and financial services -<u>www.munibondsforamerica.org</u>
- Don't Mess with Our Bonds issuers coalition
- Efforts by GFOA, USCM, NLC, and others collectively and separately
- Why coalition? \$3.7 Trillion marketplace
- Lobbying, grassroots, education, testimony

# **Messages for Policymakers**

- 100-year precedent tax code foundation (we are the "blank slate")
- Cost-shift/federally imposed local tax
- Competitiveness/starving infrastructure
- Perpetual tax risk for investors from a cap
- Problems with models like direct-pay
- Market impacts near universal consensus
- White papers all agree CDFA, NACO, USCM, NLC, AMWA, NAHEFFA, MBFA

# **Evidence of Support**

- Terry-Neal House Resolution 93 Cosponsors
- Ruppersberger/Hultgren Letter 139 Signatures
- 14 Senators write White House Urging Them not to Cap or Eliminate tax-exempt bonds
- Individual Senators express support in "blank slate" exercise

# The Municipal Bond Community Stands Ready

Since 2012, we have gained:

•Understanding that this isn't "low hanging fruit"

Working relationships between multiple organizations

Advocacy infrastructure

 Connection between "professional" lobbying and hearing from local elected officials "back home" for Members of Congress
Looking ahead, threats remain:

Prospective cap

•Grand bargain/budget reconciliations/sequester replacement create conditions for consideration

•Tax exemption for PABs

•Replacement with direct pay/tax credit bonds?

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