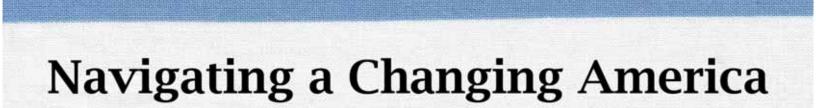
# The Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center 2009 Annual Report







# NAVIGATING A CHANGING AMERICA

The Urban–Brookings Tax Policy Center 2009 Annual Report

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# Letter from the Directors

It would be an understatement to say that 2009 was an eventful year for the Tax Policy Center. We immersed ourselves in the major tax and fiscal policy issues that arose in the wake of a change in administration, a historic financial collapse, a deep recession, and a massive federal deficit. In this challenging environment, TPC redoubled its effort to provide policymakers, journalists, academics, and citizens with the objective, timely, and accessible analyses needed to evaluate current and emerging tax and fiscal policy issues.

As President Obama took office at the beginning of the year and faced the immediate challenge of jump-starting an economy deep in recession, our work became more urgent than ever. We analyzed and evaluated stimulus proposals, wrote background papers, and issued four wave-making report cards on the major provisions of the 2009 economic stimulus plans as the bills wended through the legislative process. We graded the short- and long-term effects of the stimulus on the economy and offered insights on the impacts of the proposals more effective. Congressional staffers consulted with us as they incorporated our ideas into the final bill and have continued to seek data and input on legislative proposals.

When the administration released its 2010 budget, we created an online guide to the tax proposals, providing detailed commentary on key provisions. Bill Gale and Alan Auerbach presented a "shadow budget" of more realistic projections over the 10-year and long-term horizon that was cited frequently by the news media. Later in the year, Bill and Alan evaluated the economic effects of stimulus options at the Federal Reserve's annual conference in Jackson Hole.

While saving the economy and the financial system occupied most of the policy space in Washington, many other issues were front and center. Our commentary, testimony, and analysis of ways to pay for health care reform helped inform the contentious and ongoing policy debate. We showed how to simplify and improve the complicated and sometimes contradictory rules low-income families face when trying to claim tax credits. And we worked hard to educate policymakers on the merits of using carbon taxes to address climate change.



TPC director Rosanne Altshuler prepares for a video interview with WallStreetJournal.com

Although policymakers were busy with a host of nontax issues, we were pleased and honored to host separate events featuring Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR) and Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI), each of whom presented his proposal for sweeping reform of the federal tax system and addressed audience questions as part of our *Tax Reform 2.0* series.

The integration of analysis and outreach efforts has always been a TPC hallmark. This year, our scholars testified before Congress on issues ranging from the nation's fiscal challenges to the use of a carbon tax to address climate change and a dramatic new proposal to use a value-added tax to pay for universal health care coverage. We hosted 16 public forums where the nation's leading experts discussed everything from corporate taxes to taxation of families with children to long-term care. *TaxVox*, named one of the country's top economic blogs by *The Wall Street Journal*, has become a go-to forum on critical tax and fiscal policy, receiving almost 2.5 million page views in 2009.

We are proud to have expanded our role in 2009 as a critical resource for nonpartisan, objective, timely, and careful tax policy analysis. As in the past, the news media magnified the reach of our analysis and commentary. Other nonprofits and advocacy organizations spanning the political spectrum used and cited our analysis to strengthen their cases. As the country's challenges grow, we expect TPC to have many more opportunities to illuminate and contribute to the policy debate.

None of this could have happened without the continuing dedication of TPC staff. We experienced several important personnel changes



TPC codirector William Gale critiques a proposed tax reform option

during the year. Len Burman left his position as TPC director to become the first Daniel Patrick Moynihan Professor of Public Affairs at Syracuse University. Len maintains close ties with TPC. We are indebted to Len for his creative, energetic, and visionary leadership of TPC over many years. Rosanne Altshuler replaced Len as TPC director, joining us from Rutgers University. Rosanne's background in both academia and public policy and her great enthusiasm for TPC's mission have made the transition seamless and productive.

Our roster of experienced and committed staff grew as we welcomed back co-founder Eugene Steuerle and brought in two additional scholars. Ted Gayer is co-director of the Economic Studies program and the Joseph A. Pechman Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, where he focuses on taxes, housing, and climate change issues. He is also coauthor, with Harvey Rosen, of a popular undergraduate public finance textbook. Joe Rosenberg, who joined TPC from UC-Berkeley, focuses on tax and fiscal policy options, using our microsimulation federal tax model. Our crew expanded even further with the visits of two distinguished professors who spent their sabbaticals with us. Daniel Halperin from Harvard Law School and Lawrence Lokken from the University of Florida's Levin College of Law added a legal perspective to our analyses and contributed thought-provoking posts to *TaxVox*.

At TPC, we see ourselves as the policy equivalent of nautical chartmakers. We use our microsimulation model and analytical skills to map tax policy's dangerous shoals. We point lawmakers and opinion shapers to the most direct route to their economic goals. And our communications tools— our website, our *TaxVox* blog, and our public events—are lighthouses that warn of trouble ahead and help show the way to safe passage. And, even though as upstanding tax professionals we don't party like sailors, we do manage to have a lot of fun in the process.

We are extremely grateful for your continued interest in our work.

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Rosanne Altshuler

William Gale



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# Productivity at a Glance, 2009

	$oldsymbol{56}$ discussion papers, research reports, policy briefs, articles, and commentaries
Research and	4 testimonies before Congress
Testimony	<b>212</b> <i>TaxVox</i> blog entries
	<b>15</b> public policy symposia attracting <b>4,200</b> guests (in person or via webcast)
Public Outreach	<b>2.42 million</b> page views of <i>TaxVox</i> blog, almost
	<b>150 percent</b> more than in 2008
	old 508 distributional and revenue estimates
Model Development	f 2 complete model updates
	Featured in almost $700$ major media articles,
Media	14 network television news programs,
	and <b>29</b> radio programs
	<b>1 million</b> unique visits
Website	<b>7 million</b> web hits

# **Obama Takes the Helm**

President Obama ran his presidential campaign on a platform of change. He presented a comprehensive tax plan to raise taxes on highincome taxpayers and provide tax cuts for lowand middle-income households. In the last month of the campaign, candidate Obama offered specific tax-related proposals to address some of the problems created by the rapidly worsening economy. One of TPC's most downloaded publications in 2009, *President-Elect Obama's Tax and Stimulus Plans*, examined the possible effects of the tax and stimulus plans Obama offered during his campaign.

As soon as he assumed office, President Obama began laying the groundwork for an economic stimulus plan. TPC's timely analysis helped set the course. We created the Tax Stimulus Report Cards. the first comprehensive analyses of the stimulus initiatives that were working their way through Congress. These web resources described how the House and Senate plans would change current tax law and analyzed how their provisions would affect the budget and the economy. We estimated how each proposal's benefits would be distributed among taxpayers in different economic situations, gave each provision a grade and, most important, suggested ways to improve the proposals.

We developed three report cards: one for the House bill, one for the Senate bill, and one for the final bill, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. In response, congressional staff contacted us to learn more about how to improve provisions that received low grades. The report cards were a hit with policy experts, congressional aides, the media, and the general public. TPC staff took part in numerous radio, television, and print media interviews to discuss our grades. Now on TPC's website and our "tax stimulus" page, our report cards and distributional analyses are still widely cited.

Soon after Congress passed the stimulus package, the president released his 2010 budget. Almost overnight, we developed a web-based guide for the president's *Tax Proposals in the 2010 Budget* that described

the proposals, provided links to more detailed commentary on key provisions, and showcased our distributional analyses of the overall budget and its major components. The report—part of a "2010 Budget" Tax Topics page on our website—remains a useful guide to tax policy issues.

Along with print, broadcast, and webbased media, Capitol Hill found our budget tool right on the money. Our staff was invited to brief members' legislative aides as well as the tax staff of the Senate Finance Committee. We recently released a similar web resource for the 2011 budget.

### "The poor spend almost all additional money that they have coming in. They have lots and lots of needs, relative to their incomes. They need every dollar they can have, and a new dollar in the door goes out pretty quickly."

Roberton Williams, "What's In the Stimulus for *Workers,*" by Nancy Cordes, *CBS Evening News,* February 12

"Anyone looking for useful information on the House and Senate economic stimulus bills to answer the all-important question: will they actually work to jump-start the economy? should refer to the Tax Policy Center's 'Tax Stimulus Report Cards.' [TPC] is a joint project of the Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute and offers some of the best non-partisan analysis in Washington."

"Stimulus bills get barely passing grades," by Frank James, *The Chicago Tribune*, February 2

# **Fiscal Shoals Ahead**

The 2010 budget deficit is projected to top \$1.3 trillion, or 9 percent of gross domestic product. The national debt is approaching \$9 trillion, the highest level ever and the highest percentage of GDP in more than a halfcentury. The consequences of this fiscal crisis are profound. Our growing debt threatens our world influence. If present trends continue, within 10 years, we will be spending more than 3 percent of our total economic output on interest payments on our national debt alone. This resource drain constrains our nation's fiscal choices and ability to provide muchneeded government services for the poor, the sick, and the elderly, and to create incentives for economic growth.

As the 77 million baby boomers age, today's severe budget problems will only worsen. So far, low interest rates have allowed the United States to carry this heavy debt. But investors may eventually lose confidence in the U.S. economy, accelerating these financial pressures in ways we can only imagine.

"If you had told me two years ago that the housing market was going to collapse by 50 percent, that there was going to be a credit crisis that put the economy in free fall, that the world economy would collapse, that the deficit would be 10 percent of GDP, and that Congress would do nothing about the budget, I would have said you were crazy."

William Gale, cover story by John Maggs, *National Journal*, November 7

Providing data and analytical resources to help steer the United States away from these fiscal shoals is a key TPC objective.

In 2009, we approached this problem in two interconnected ways. First, we carefully analyzed the fiscal situation. TPC codirector Bill Gale released a sobering report with Alan Auerbach on the impact of the deep recession and policy interventions on the federal fiscal picture for the immediate future and for the longer run—*The Economic and Fiscal Crisis:* 2009 and Beyond. In January, Rudy Penner and Bob Reischauer testified before the Senate Budget Committee on long-term fiscal issues.

In July, Bill Gale and others participated in a conference at the Brookings Institution on *The Budget, the Deficit, and the Future*. And in August, Bill Gale and Alan Auerbach presented a highly praised analysis of the economic effects of stimulus at the Federal Reserve's annual conference in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

Finally, in October, Rudy Penner, Bob Reischauer, and Len Burman headed another event at the Urban Institute, *The Financial* and *Economic Consequences of an Exploding Debt*. These events and reports were backed up by many opinion pieces in major newspapers by Burman and Gale, as well as many *TaxVox* blog entries by TPC staff.

While outlining the toll of unchecked deficits, we also highlighted the current tax system's capacity to finance government's growing needs. In June, for instance, Rudy Penner published a paper asking *Do We Need a Value-Added Tax to Solve Our Long-Run Budget Problems?* And, to pull together all these threads, Len Burman initiated a major project to study the economic consequences of catastrophic budget failure.

## Reform on the Horizon

This year's work centered mainly on spotlighting reform efforts, participating in the national reform dialogue, and putting forth our own tax reform ideas.

In October, TPC director Rosanne Altshuler initiated *Tax Reform 2.0*, a provocative new series of events. *Senator Ron Wyden (D-OR)* kicked off the series by describing the tax side of the House and Senate health care bills, sharing his take on prospects for reform in 2010, and explaining his own tax reform legislation.

At our second forum, *Easier Said than Done: The Costs and Benefits of Reducing Corporate Tax Rates*, a panel of experts debated the ramifications of cutting the corporate tax rate. The United States imposes a higher statutory tax rate on corporations than any of our trading partners except Japan. President Obama has suggested cutting the corporate rate while raising the top rate for individuals. Noting the opportunities this policy would create for high-income taxpayers to shelter income and avoid taxes, panelists discussed rules we might impose to prevent such tax avoidance.

Our third event featured *Representative Paul Ryan (R-WI)*, the top Republican on the House Budget Committee and a senior member on the Ways & Means Committee. Representative Ryan discussed his provocative plan to link tax reform with health and retirement policy, fiscal responsibility, and economic competitiveness.

The President signaled that tax reform may be on the horizon by charging the President's Economic Recovery Advisory Board (PERAB), chaired by former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, with producing a report reviewing potential tax reforms. TPC's senior staff worked closely with the tax reform task force, a subcommittee of PERAB, offering both analysis and tax reform ideas. Throughout the year, Rosanne Altshuler and Bill Gale took part in PERAB discussions. Altshuler testified twice before the task force. In May she presented ideas from the 2005 Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform initiated by then-President Bush. And in September she discussed the pros and cons of possible changes to the way we tax the international income of corporations. Gale's *Tax Notes* article, "Remove the Return," laid out ways to simplify today's cumbersome tax system. He also testified in front of the task force in April.

"Urban Institute economist Rosanne Altshuler, who was chief economist for the Bush tax reform commission, thinks Obama may have tied the hands of the task force too much by prohibiting any tax increase for those making under \$250,000. Says Altshuler, 'That means 95% of taxpayers can't pay additional tax, even if it would result in a more efficient system, decrease inequalities, or make their lives much simpler. At a time of monster deficits, that pretty much rules out any sensible reforms.' "

"Time for a Tax Reform," by Bruce Bartlett, *Forbes.com*, April 3



Senator Ron Wyden explains his tax reform proposal at a TPC Tax Reform 2.0 event



Representative Paul Ryan describes to TPC's Howard Gleckman his Roadmap for America's Future at a TPC Tax Reform 2.0 event



Leonard Burman, Bob Greenstein, and Kate Baicker confer prior to testifying before the Senate Committee on Finance about options for financing health care

In December, senior TPC analyst Eric Toder, who also serves as chairman of the IRS Tax Gap Advisory Panel, described to the task force the burdens taxpayers confront trying to comply with our increasingly complex tax code. He also discussed the difficulty of measuring the tax gap-the difference between taxes owed and taxes paid on timeand pointed out ways to improve compliance and simplify the tax code. In his Tax Notes article, Focus on the 'Tax Avoidance' Gap, Toder suggested that the government loses much more revenue by letting taxpayers legally avoid tax than through evasion. So, he argued, why not focus tax reform on closing these legal loopholes?

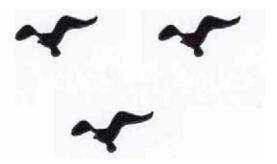
TPC also delved into the tax aspects of health reform in 2009. The health reform debate zeroed in on two interconnected—and potentially contradictory—goals: covering as many of the 47 million uninsured as possible and slowing the growth of medical costs, a trend that drives the nation's long-term fiscal imbalance. In May, then-director Len Burman testified before the Senate Committee on Finance. Burman proposed paying for universal health care coverage with a valueadded tax (VAT) and examined incremental options to finance expansions of health care coverage.

"I really do not understand the politics of trying to sell health care reform, which is supposed to be for the benefit of the vast majority of Americans, and saying it should only be paid for by people making over \$1 million. If it's worth doing, and I think it is, more people should be willing to pay for it."

Eric Toder, "Democrats May Limit Tax Increases for Health Care Plan," *The New York Times*, July 20 Policymakers have also turned to the tax code to reform environmental policy and reduce global warming. The U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources invited Ted Gayer, senior TPC analyst and codirector of the economic studies program at Brookings, to provide expert testimony on how to reduce global emissions without hurting the economy. Gayer recommended a carbon tax as the most economically efficient way to address climate change. Though politically unpopular, such a levy could help generate revenues that can offset economically harmful taxes.



**Ted Gayer** testifies before the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on the merits of a carbon tax

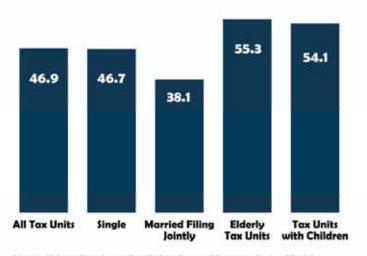


"A carbon tax generates public revenue. A cap-and-trade program generates public revenue only when the allowances are auctioned off by the government. In practice, this rarely happens, and the allowances are instead given away for free to regulated entities. Failing to capture and direct this public revenue to reducing economically harmful taxes and deficits would substantially increase the cost of any policy."

Ted Gayer, testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, December 2

### **Charting the Seas**

TPC analysts continued to fulfill our mission of educating the public on the basics of the federal and state tax systems. One of our most cited factoids picked up by the media this year was in *Who Pays No Income Tax*. Bob Williams reported that nearly half of all tax units will pay no federal income tax in 2009 in a column he wrote for *Tax Notes* and in an accompanying *TaxVox* post.



Source: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0509-2).

Rosanne Altshuler and Jacob Goldin explored the difference between actual and statutory tax rates in *The Opacity of Marginal Tax Rates*.

Suppose that a taxpayer earns an additional dollar of income. How much tax would she owe on that dollar? A natural way to answer this question would be to look up the taxpayer's statutory tax rate, the tax rate corresponding to her tax bracket and filing status. Rosanne and Jacob found that this approach would yield the wrong answer for half of all taxpayers in 2009. The culprits are tax preferences that phase in and out with income, creating hidden tax rates and leaving

taxpayers in a fog about the tax rates they actually face.

We also continued our ongoing research effort on the size and distribution of tax preferences.

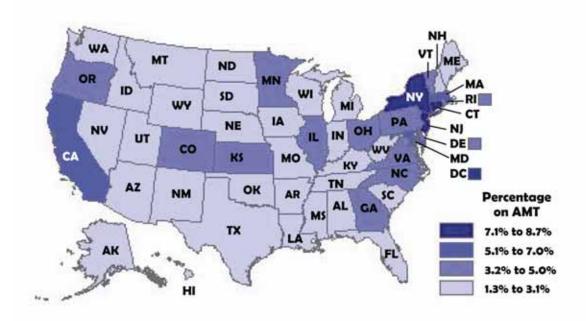
In **Distributional Effects of Tax Expenditures**, Benjamin Harris, Katherine Lim, and Eric Toder examine the distributional effects of the three largest groups of tax preferences: those that subsidize owneroccupied housing, health care, and retirement

> saving. These tax incentives, which reduce federal revenues by about 3 percent of GDP, raise after-tax income proportionally more for higher-income groups than lower-income groups but raise income proportionately less for those at the very top. The net distributional effects depend, however, on how these tax preferences are financed. If paid for with higher marginal tax rates, they benefit upper-middle-income taxpayers at the expense of both lower-income and the highestincome taxpayers. But, if paid for by lower per capita spending, all high-income groups gain and all low-income groups lose.

Our public education campaign on tax expenditures also included a day-long conference in May, *Getting More from Tax Incentives*, cosponsored by the American Tax Policy Institute and NYU School of Law. An impressive roster of some of the nation's foremost experts on tax policy, health policy, housing, and retirement discussed whether and how tax incentives should be used to promote social policy goals and how best to reform current tax incentives for health care, owner-occupied housing, and retirement saving.

### Percentage of Tax Units with Zero or Negative Individual Income Tax Liability, 2009

In other TPC reports, Carol Rosenberg showed how the AMT bites taxpayers in some states much harder than in others; Eric Toder and Jacob Goldin explained that less than 60 percent of adjusted gross income is taxed at ordinary rates due to exemptions, deductions, and special rates on capital gains and dividends; and Bob Williams reported that the percentage of estates subject to the estate tax had withered to a projected 0.23 percent in 2009. Our senior research methodologist, Jeff Rohaly, continued to describe the contours of the tax system in his popular yearly discussion papers on the distribution of the federal tax system and the AMT. All our publications are listed in the Communications Products section of this report.



Percentage of Taxpayers on AMT by State, 2007

Sources: IRS, Statistics of Income Division, Individual Master File System, May 2009; and Tax Policy Center.

# **Safety Net**

In 2009, TPC expanded its work on the tax treatment of low- and middle-income individuals and families with children. Led by Elaine Maag, we helped the Obama transition team redesign the earned income tax credit (EITC) and advised staff members of the Internal Revenue Service, the House Ways and Means Committee, and the Senate Finance Committee on issues related to the EITC, the child tax credit, and the American Opportunity tax credit.

In part due to our timely advice and substantial modeling assistance, Congress included two TPC recommended changes to the EITC in the 2009 stimulus bill: raising the income level at which the EITC begins to phase out for married couples relative to that for single parents and increasing the credit for families with three or more children.

TPC and Urban Institute events also highlighted how tax policy affects low-income families. In April, TPC, the Urban Institute, and Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago staged a forum called *Kids, Families, and Tax Policy: Best Friends Forever?* Among other issues, expert panelists investigated the challenges of using the tax code to aid families and who wins and who loses under President Obama's 2010 budget promises.

TPC staff were also on the dais at events focusing on low-income families sponsored by the New America Foundation, the American Tax Policy Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, and the National Tax Association.

Also in 2009, TPC extended its analysis of the relationship between tax subsidies and the cost of attending college. Previous research probed the Hope (now the American Opportunity Tax Credit, or AOTC) and lifetime learning credits' interaction with more traditional spending programs. Building on that, our new research examined how taxpreferred savings could affect other financial assistance. Our report, *The Effect of Alternative Saving Approaches on College Aid*, concluded that low-income families can face high tax rates when they save for college because they may receive reduced aid. How a family chooses to save, and in whose name (the student's vs. the parent's) can profoundly affect a student's Pell grant. Our efforts supporting the College Board's *Rethinking Student Aid* project in 2008 helped influence the AOTC.

"Congress and Treasury officials knew from the outset that the credit could get money into the economy quickly, but at the risk that some taxpayers would ultimately have to pay money back. 'They had to make a judgment call, and this was the simplest thing to do. They definitely wanted to err on the side of getting money out the door.""

Elaine Maag, "Millions to Owe IRS Due for Stimulus Credit," *The Wall Street Journal*, November 16

"What Obama originally proposed would have had a much more direct effect, although delivering the payments to schools each fall might have been a logistical nightmare,' says Kim Rueben, a tax expert at the Urban Institute. Her group gave the education tax credit stimulus proposal a C because of the small, delayed payments."

"How the Stimulus Helps You Pay for College," U.S.News.com, February 12 TPC has built a strong reputation for looking beyond modest changes and working for more broad-based tax law reforms. The treatment of low-income families is no exception.

For instance, the EITC's complexity has long been criticized. The child credit and the new Making Work Pay tax credit make the system even harder to navigate for low- and moderate-income families. Because all these credits aim to help low-income workers, TPC has collaborated with Holt Solutions and the Georgetown Center on Poverty and Public Policy to design a new tax structure that collapses these credits into two: one focused on work and one on children. Our joint paper, *Considerations in Efforts to Restructure Work-Based Credits*, makes the case that a simplified system would be fairer, more efficient, and less complex.

Finally, in December, TPC co-hosted with UCLA's Williams Institute a program called The Cost of Being Gay on how tax policy affects same-sex couples. This event followed a front page story in The New York Times that was developed with the help of Bob Williams and Rachel Johnson. The article and the seminar both showed how marriage significantly affects the amount of taxes a couple owes. Because the federal Defense of Marriage Act prohibits the recognition of marriage by same-sex couples (even if they are legally married under state law), these couples are treated as singles when it comes to taxes.



TPC senior fellow Roberton Williams describes features in the tax code that benefit families and children

# Anchors

#### **TPC Microsimulation Model**

Much of our research and analysis is rooted in our state-of-the-art microsimulation model of the federal tax system. Incorporating detailed information from over 150,000 federal income tax returns supplied by the Internal Revenue TPC's model is the Service, most comprehensive of its kind outside of government. Its high quality and widely acknowledged credibility are largely responsible for the Center's success.

TPC staff understands that a tax model designer's work is never done. In 2009, for instance, we expanded our capacity to analyze both health care and housing, recognizing that hundreds of billions of dollars of subsidies for both work through the tax system. We developed special modules to estimate estate taxes, consumption taxes, tax incentives for saving and retirement, education tax incentives, and deductions for taxpayers who don't itemize.

We posted more than 500 new revenue and distribution tables in 2009, our greatest output ever for one year. Our model helped both Congress and the White House analyze legislative initiatives ranging from the estate tax to assistance for low-income families.

#### TaxVox

Our tax and fiscal policy blog *TaxVox* continued to expand its reach to policy experts, government officials, academics, and ordinary citizens. Edited by former *Business Week* senior correspondent Howard Gleckman, *TaxVox* was named one of the 30 most influential economics blogs by *The Wall Street Journal* and, beginning in early 2010, is featured on the *Christian Science Monitor* website. Mr. Gleckman now also writes a regular fiscal policy column for *The Huffington Post*.

Taking on critical policy issues ranging from health reform to economic stimulus, and from the fiscal crisis to tax administration, *TaxVox* posted more than 200 articles and attracted almost 2.5 million visitors in 2009 up 145 percent from 2008. Increasingly, *TaxVox* is cited in publications from *The New York Times* to *The Wall Street Journal* and has itself become a nexus of tax policy discussion.

"The nonpartisan Urban/Brookings Tax Policy Center is my favorite think tank, so it's quite distressing to see my friend Brad DeLong argue that the TPC should "pick a party, support it, and work hard to make its policies the best policies possible," rather than support "bipartisan" legislation. But much to my relief, I see that Howard Gleckman of the TPC has written a nice response:

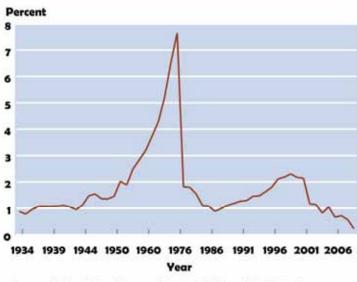
'I think Brad's biggest error is his belief that we are bipartisan. We are not. We are proudly nonpartisan. This is not the same thing. [...] Our reputation for nonpartisanship is critical to what we do. It is why people across the political spectrum acknowledge our estimates are credible even as they sometimes grumble about what the results imply for their own policy views. If we lose that credibility by turning ourselves into DeLongian partisans, the data lose much of their value.'"

> "What's the Point of a Nonpartisan Think Tank?", by Conor Clarke, The Atlantic Online, August 21

#### **TPC Website**

Our website's traffic exceeded one million unique visitors in 2009. We continued to update the TPC website to make our timely analysis and estimates readily available and easy to find. Our upgraded search engine improves search efficiency and displays results in more useful forms. Our new contextual search capability allows users to fine-tune their search and narrow their choices to the most relevant web pages.

A new *Guide to TPC Tables* lists our most popular tables by topics and helps users quickly find the data they need.



### Deaths Subject to Estate Tax, Selected Years 1934-2009

Sources: IRS, Statistics of Income Historical Table 17; Tax Policy Center.

We updated and expanded *Tax Topics*, which offers a broad range of explanatory and analytical publications, distributional and revenue estimates, and background information on the nation's most pressing tax issues.

We expanded our website's *Press Room* to include a multimedia library with links to staff's television and radio interviews, educational videos and podcasts, and popular slide shows.

We also updated our *State and Local Data Query System (SLF-DQS)*. This tool contains detailed revenue, expenditure, and debt variables for the United States, the 50 states, and the District of Columbia for 1977–2007. The aggregated data can be searched by type of government: state, local, state and local totals, and local government detail. Users can view the data along different dimensions, in real or nominal dollars, and on a per capita or fraction of personal income, general revenues, or total expenditures basis.

TPC publications number among the most requested documents from the Urban Institute. For example, in December, all five reports in the "most requested publications" section of UI's website were written by TPC staff and affiliates:

- Do We Need a Value-Added Tax to Solve Our Long-Run Budget Problems? by Rudoph Penner;
- *Tax Stimulus Report Card: Conference Bill* by Rosanne Altshuler, Leonard Burman, Howard Gleckman, Dan Halperin, Benjamin Harris, Elaine Maag, Kim Rueben, Eric Toder, and Roberton Williams;
- *Who Pays No Income Tax?* by Roberton Williams;
- *Where, Oh Where, Has the Estate Tax Gone?* by Roberton Williams; and
- Considerations in Efforts to Restructure Work-Based Credits by Elaine Maag and Steve Holt.

#### **Public Forums**

In 2009, we convened some of the nation's top experts to participate in 16 public policy forums. Topics ran the gamut from health reform to the exceptionalism of corporate income tax. Our events attracted almost 4,200 guests who attended in person or registered for our live audio web casts, and many more have downloaded the audio files. Audio recordings or transcripts of most of these events and many from previous years are available on our website.

#### **E-mail Newsletters**

TPC's electronic newsletter reaches almost 4,000 subscribers and figures centrally in our work to distribute news to a broad audience. The 42 newsletters we issued in 2009 announced new publications, upcoming events, and other news, reaching a broad span of users easily and quickly, and widely extending access to our products.

#### Media Coverage

During the 2008 presidential election, TPC became the media's go-to source for objective tax policy analysis. In 2009, the media relied on us for objective nonpartisan analysis throughout President Obama's first year in office.

Our clear explanations of technical tax issues speak to a broad audience, open up the discussion, and inform and educate the public. In 2009, almost 700 articles, editorials, and letters to the editor cited our facts, findings, and expert perspectives. TPC staffers participated in more than 40 radio and TV interviews.

News articles, radio recordings, and television clips citing TPC are available on our website.

### **Social Networking**

We also broadened our audience base through social networking. In early 2009, we created TPC's Facebook fan page to feature short and informal discussion videos on why people should care about tax policy, why the government shouldn't impose excessive taxes on the AIG bonuses, what the stimulus plan means, and how a value-added tax might work. Facebook offers a less formal way to initiate discussion with a more people outside elite tax policy circles—especially young people.

Later in the year, we enlisted Twitter to reach still more of the online audience. Short Twitter feeds link to blog posts, research papers, and new distributional estimates.

## **Partners**

By coordinating with other research groups, TPC reaches a much wider audience than it could on its own. Our research has become an essential ingredient in the work of many research and advocacy organizations from across the political spectrum. The *Leveraging TPC Analysis* section at the end of this report gives a representative sample of organizations and their publications that have used TPC analysis.

# **On the Horizon**

TPC has five key goals for 2010:

**1.** Continue to analyze, clarify, and show the consequences of major proposals coming from the Obama administration and Congress as they develop short-term tax policy—critical now that the scheduled 2011 expiration of the Bush tax cuts draws closer.

**2.** Expand our analysis of tax reform and alternative revenue models, including the value-added tax.

**3.** Inaugurate a new web-based tool: an online tax calculator that enables visitors to the TPC website to see how specific tax situations—including perhaps their own—would change under various revenue proposals.

**4.** Enhance our analysis of the long-term fiscal crisis on both the federal and the state levels.

**5.** Improve our website and our other webbased tools to make TPC data and analysis more accessible.

# **Treasures**

Contributions to TPC help keep our mission intact and ensure excellence and innovation in all of our work. We are funded largely through grants and contributions and could not exist without your help. TPC recognizes with immense gratitude all those who supported us this year:

- Annie E. Casey Foundation
- Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
- Ford Foundation
- Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
- H&R Block
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
- National Academy of Public Administration Foundation
- National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators
- New America
- Popplestone Foundation
- Price Family Charitable Fund
- Rockefeller Foundation
- Sandler Foundation
- Smith Richardson Foundation
- Stoneman Family Foundation
- A number of individual donors, some of whom wish to remain anonymous

Both the Urban Institute and the Brookings Institution are 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations, which means your gifts are tax deductible. Contributions to the *TPC Opportunity Fund* are leveraged by a generous grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation that will match contributions dollar for dollar up to \$2.5 million. By contributing to the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center, you too can take an active role in elevating the debate so policy is made on informed decisions based on facts and evidence rather than unsupported claims.

If you would like to support the Tax Policy Center, visit us at http://taxpolicycenter.org/aboutus/support.cfm

# Staff

A key to our success is our staff, which includes some of the most respected tax and budget policy experts in the nation. We also draw on exceptional colleagues at the Urban Institute and Brookings Institution to contribute extraordinary expertise on particular program areas related to tax policy.

#### Director

Rosanne Altshuler, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute

#### Codirector

William Gale, Arjay and Frances Miller Chair in Federal Economic Policy, Brookings Institution

#### Staff

Joy Falzarano, Project Associate, Urban Institute

Ted Gayer, Codirector of Economic Studies and Joseph A. Pechman Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Howard Gleckman, Resident Fellow, Urban Institute

Benjamin Harris, Senior Research Associate, Brookings Institution

Renée Hendley, Senior Associate, Urban Institute

Rachel Johnson, Research Assistant, Urban Institute

Stu Kantor, Senior Public Affairs Associate, Urban Institute

Surachai Khitatrakun, Research Associate I, Urban Institute

Ruth Levine, Research Assistant, Brookings Institution

Katherine Lim, Research Assistant, Urban Institute

Elaine Maag, Research Associate I, Urban Institute

Austin Nichols, Senior Research Associate, Urban Institute

Rudolph Penner, Institute Fellow and Arjay and Frances Miller Chair in Public Policy, Urban Institute

Leah Puttkammer, Assistant to Codirector William Gale and Development Coordinator, Brookings Institution

Jeffrey Rohaly, Senior Research Methodologist, Urban Institute, and Director of Modeling for TPC

Carol Rosenberg, Research Associate II, Urban Institute

Joseph Rosenberg, Research Associate I, Urban Institute

Kim Rueben, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute

Eugene Steuerle, Richard B. Fisher Chair and Institute Fellow, Urban Institute

Eric Toder, Institute Fellow, Urban Institute

Roberton Williams, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute

### Affiliated scholars

Lily Batchelder, Professor of Law and Public Policy, Codirector of the Furman Academic Program, and Director of the Leadership Program in Tax Law and Fiscal Policy, New York University School of Law

**Leonard Burman**, Daniel Patrick Moynihan Professor of Public Affairs at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University and Director Emeritus of the Tax Policy Center

Tracy Gordon, Assistant Professor, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland

Daniel Halperin, Stanley S. Surrey Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Lawrence Lokken, Hugh Culverhouse Eminent Scholar in Taxation, University of Florida, Levin College of Law

#### Affiliated staff

Henry Aaron, Bruce and Virginia MacLaury Senior Fellow, Brookings

Alan Berube, Fellow, Brookings Institution

Linda Blumberg, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute

Dana Campbell, Web Communications Manager, Urban Institute

Lisa Clemans-Cope, Research Associate I, Urban Institute

William Frenzel, Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution

Bowen Garrett, Senior Research Associate, Urban Institute

Ron Haskins, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, and Senior Consultant, the Annie E. Casey Foundation

Harry Holzer, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute

Doug Murray, Programmer/Analyst, Urban Institute

Robert Reischauer, President, Urban Institute

Alice Rivlin, Adeline M. and Alfred I. Johnson Chair in Urban and Metropolitan Policy, Brookings Institution

Isabel Sawhill, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution



Tax Cats in Hats, Rosanne Altshuler, Renée Hendley, Roberton Williams and Kim Rueben

# **Advisors**

TPC's credibility is paramount. The Center strives to be independent and objective because it exists largely to clarify tax policy debates that frequently get bogged down in inaccurate partisan claims. To help establish and maintain credibility, our advisory board represents a broad range of tax policy interests and expertise. The board meets (by conference call) twice a year, and our scholars informally solicit input from board members more frequently. Current advisory board members and their affiliations include the following:

- Jodie Allen Pew Research Center
- Leonard E. Burman Maxwell School of Syracuse University
- **Robert Greenstein** Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
- Ronald A. Pearlman Georgetown University Law Center
- Jean Ross California Budget Project
- Leslie B. Samuels Cleary, Gottlieb
- Joel Slemrod University of Michigan
- Jonathan Talisman Capitol Tax Partners, LLP

TPC also has a group of state tax policy advisors. Current members include the following:

- **David Brunori** George Washington University
- **Robert Ebel** –University of the District of Columbia
- William Fox University of Tennessee
- Iris Lav Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
- Therese McGuire Northwestern University
- Jean Ross California Budget Project

# **Communication Products**

# Congressional Testimony

Committee	Date	Testimony and author
Senate Committee on Energy	December 8	On the Merits of a Carbon Tax
and Natural Resources		Ted Gayer
Senate Committee on Finance	May 12	Financing Health Care Reform
		Leonard Burman
Senate Budget Committee	January 21	Addressing Short- and Long-Term Fiscal Challenges
5	-	Rudolph G. Penner
	January 21	Addressing the Nation's Contradictory Fiscal Challenges
	-	Robert D. Reischauer

## **Research Publications**

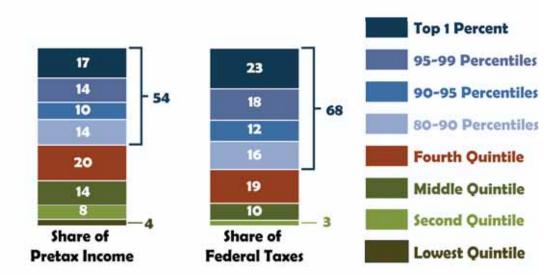
Outlet	Date	Title and author
Research Reports	December 17	Retirement Security and the Stock Market Crash: What Are the
		Possible Outcomes?
		Barbara Butrica, Karen E. Smith, and Eric Toder
	December 9	Taxation of Credit Derivatives
		Lawrence Lokken
	November 23	Corporate Tax Incidence and Its Implications for Progressivity Benjamin Harris
	November 9	Considerations in Efforts to Restructure Work-Based Credits Steve Holt and Elaine Maag
	October 5	The Individual Alternative Minimum Tax: Historical Data and Projections, Updated October 2009 Kathaning Ling and Lefs Dalaha
	August 24	Katherine Lim and Jeff Rohaly           Activist Fiscal Policy to Stabilize Economic Activity
		Alan Auerbach and William Gale
	August 21	The Distribution of Federal Taxes, 2009–12 Bachel Jahrson and Joff Bahaly
	L-1 20	Rachel Johnson and Jeff Rohaly
	July 29	<i>Mitigating the Potential Inequity of Reducing Corporate Rates</i> Dan Halperin
	July 21	Distributional Effects of Tax Expenditures Benjamin H. Harris, Katherine Lim, and Eric Toder
	June 26	Changes to the Tax Exclusion of Employer-Sponsored Health Insurance Premiums: A Potential Source of Financing for Health Reform
		Lisa Clemens-Cope, Stephen Zuckerman, and Roberton Williams
	June 25	An Update on the Economic Crisis and the Fiscal Crisis: 2009 and Beyond
		Alan Auerbach and William Gale
	June 23	Do We Need a Value-Added Tax to Solve Our Long-Term Budget
		Problems?
		Rudolph Penner
	June 15	The Future of Long-Term Care: What Is Its Place in the Health Reform Debate?
		Howard Gleckman
	June 12	Expanding the EITC to Noncustodial Parents: Potential Impact and Design Considerations
		Laura Wheaton and Elaine Sorenson
	May 5	Federal Expenditures on Infants and Toddlers in 2007 Jennifer Ehrle Macomber, Julia Isaacs, Tracy Vericker, Adam
		Kent, and Paul Johnson
	April 8	<i>The Stimulus Package (HR1) and Low-Income Families</i> Margaret Simms
	April 7	A Blueprint for Tax Reform and Health Reform Leonard Burman
	April 2	<i>Taxation of Saving for Retirement: Current Rules and Alternative Reform Approaches</i> Eric Toder
	April 2	Taxation of Saving for Retirement: Current Rules and Alternative Reform Approaches

Outlet	Date	Title and author
	14-14-	Eric Toder
	March 25	Taxing Capital Gains in Australia: Assessment and
		Recommendation
	M 1.16	Leonard Burman
	March 16	Tax Proposals in the 2010 Budget
		Rosanne Altshuler, Leonard Burman, Howard Gleckman, Dan Halperin, and Roberton Williams
	February 19	Economic Crisis and the Fiscal Crisis: 2009 and Beyond
	reolutily 19	Alan Auerbach and William Gale
	February 13	Tax Stimulus Report Card: Conference Bill
		Rosanne Altshuler, Leonard Burman, Howard Gleckman, Dan
		Halperin, Benjamin Harris, Elaine Maag, Kim Rueben, Eric
		Toder, and Roberton Williams
	February 3	Tax Stimulus Report Card: Comparing the House and Senate Bills
		Rosanne Altshuler, Howard Gleckman, and Roberton Williams
	January 29	Tax Stimulus Report Card: Senate Finance Committee
		Rosanne Altshuler, Leonard Burman, Howard Gleckman, Dan
		Halperin, Benjamin Harris, Elaine Maag, Kim Rueben, Eric
		Toder, and Roberton Williams
	January 26	Tax Stimulus Report Card: House Bill
		Rosanne Altshuler, Leonard Burman, Howard Gleckman, Dan Halperin, Elaine Maag, Eric Toder, and Roberton Williams
	January 8	President-Elect Obama's Tax and Stimulus Plans
	-	Roberton Williams
	January	Health Savings Accounts and High-Deductible Health Insurance
		Plans: Implications for Those with High Medical Costs, Low
		Incomes, and the Uninsured
		Linda Blumberg and Lisa Clemens-Cope
Tax Analysts, <i>Tax Facts</i>	December 23	<i>Where, Oh Where, Has the Estate Tax Gone?</i> Roberton Williams
	December 16	Comparing Subsidies for the House and Senate Health Care Bills
		Stephanie Rennane and C. Eugene Steuerle
	November 5	Real Tax Reform Is Always Hard: Some Advice for the Task Force
		Eugene Steuerle
	October 21	The Opacity of Marginal Tax Rates
		Rosanne Altshuler and Jacob Goldin
	October 14	Credits and Exemptions for Children
	~	Elaine Maag
	September 10	<i>Focus on the Tax 'Avoidance' Gap</i> Eric Toder
	September 9	Remove the Return
	September 9	William Gale
	August 25	Automatic Enrollment in IRAs: Costs and Benefits
	1 iugust 25	Benjamin Harris and Rachel M. Johnson
	August 25	Taxing Adjusted Gross Income Instead of Taxable Income
		Jacob Goldin and Eric Toder
	August 19	AMT Coverage by State, 2007
	0	Carol Rosenberg
	July 2	Who Pays No Income Tax?
	-	Roberton Williams
The Government We Deserve	December 9	How Democrats and Republicans Unite Behind Unsustainable
		Medicare Cost Growth
		Eugene Steuerle
	November 23	Can the New Health Subsidies Be Administered?
		Eugene Steuerle
	November 10	When Health Reform Violates Standards of Equal Justice
		Eugene Steuerle
Virginia Tax Review	March 19	A Blueprint for Tax Reform and Health Reform
		Leonard Burman

Outlet	Date	Title and author
TPC	November 5	Tax Cuts for New Hires: Not Yet Ready for Prime Time
		Gary T. Burtless
	May 28	A Different Way to Pay for Health Care Reform
	-	Leonard Burman
	April 2	Economic Minefields
	-	Rudolph Penner
CNNMoney.com	September 9	Fix health care. But fix the deficits, too
-	-	Alan Auerbach and William Gale
Los Angeles Times	July 10	Here Comes the Next Fiscal Crisis
		Alan Auerbach and William Gales
NPR Marketplace	January 22	Experiment to Get Best Stimulus Results
-	-	Leonard Burman
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette	September 28	Sunday Forum: The Debt Bomb
0		Rudolph Penner
The Washington Post	November 20	What's Blocking the Recovery?
		Alan Berube, Susan Dynan, and Ted Gayer
	July 10	Give Up a Benefit, Gain Jobs
		Leonard Burman
The Washington Times	December 22	We Need to Ban the Evil Santas
		Leonard Burman
	November 10	Personal Savings Need a Boost
		Leonard Burman
	September 1	Pyrrhic Victory on Health Reform?
		Leonard Burman
	July 14	Catastrophic Budget Failure
		Leonard Burman

#### **Opinion Editorials**

# Share of Income and Federal Taxes by Income Percentile, 2010



Sources: Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center Microsimulation Model (version 0309-2).

# **TPC Conferences**

Date	Cohost	Title
December 17	The Williams Institute	The Cost of Being Gay
October 29		Tax Reform 2.0: Representative Paul Ryan on His
		Reform Roadmap
October 8		Tax Reform 2.0: Easier Said than Done: The Costs and
		Benefits of Reducing Corporate Tax Rates
October 6	The Urban Institute	The Financial and Economic Consequences of an
		Exploding Debt
October 1		Tax Reform 2.0: Senator Ron Wyden on Tax Reform and
		Health Reform
July 16	The Brookings Institution	Australia and International Pension Reform: Lessons for
		the United States
July 8	The Brookings Institution	The Budget, the Deficit, the Future
June 16		Caring for Our Parents: Should Long-Term Care Be Part
		of Health Reform?
June 2	The Urban Institute, First	Is There a Fair Way to Cap the Tax Exclusion of
	Tuesday Forum	Employer-Sponsored Health Insurance?
May 19	American Tax Policy Institute	Getting More from Tax Incentives
	and NYU School of Law	
April 16	Urban Institute	Kids, Families, and Tax Policy: Best Friends Forever?
April 9		TPC's 7th Annual Tax Day Event: Who Pays and Who
•		Should Pay Federal Taxes?
March 11		Decoding the U.S. Corporate Tax
February 20	International Tax Policy Forum	American Corporate Tax Exceptionalism
January 30	UCLA School of Law	Tax Policy in the Obama Era

# TaxVox articles, TPC's tax and budget policy blog

Date	Title
December	Congress Amends Laws of Nature for 2010
	Die Now
	2010: Get Ready for a Tax-a-palooza
	Tax Vox's Lump of Coal Award: The Worst Tax Ideas of 2009
	Budgeting by the Bay
	Budget Process Reform: Stop Me Before I Spend Again
	Estate Tax Whiplash
	Should Gay Couples Pay the Same Taxes as Straights?
	The Estate Tax Debate: Watch the Rate, Not the Exclusion
	Bank Bonus Taxes Are a Bad Idea
	It's Cold. It's Icy. It's Tax Extender Time
	Obama's Stimulus II
	Is the CLASS Act a Budget-Buster or a Model New Program?
	Pardon Me, but Did Your Credit Default Swap Eat My Lunch?
	Happy Act: The Poster Puppy for What's Wrong with the Tax Code
November	Losing Sales Taxes
	White House Tax Reform Report Delayed Until Next Year
	State Budgets: Lots of Room on the Trash Heap
	Off to the Big House: Penalizing Non-Buyers of Health Insurance
	Gotcha
	The Tummy Tax & More: How Senate Dems Would Pay for Health Reform
	Should Government Policies Favor Owners Over Renters?
	Making Work Pay Too Much
	Paying for Health Reform with the Medicare Payroll Tax
	California Dreams vs. Reality
	Government Subsidies for Newspapers: Say It Ain't So
	Winners and Losers in the Proposed Two-Tiered System of Health Subsidies
	Obama's Non- Tax Reform Commission
	Tax Credits for All
	Will Tax Credits Sell Long-Term Care Insurance?
	Taxing Private Ryan
October	Health Care: Taxing That Fella Behind the Tree, Again
	Paul Ryan's Consumption Tax

Date	Title
	Behavioral Economics and the Conservative Critique of VAT
	Who'd Get Hit by an Excise Tax on High-Cost Insurance?
	Is Pay-or-Play Penalty a Tax?
	The Homebuyer Tax Credit: When Will They Ever Learn?
	The Incredible Shrinking Estate Tax
	Will the Real Marginal Tax Rate Please Stand Up?
	The Doc Fix and the AMT Patch: Add a Trillion to the Debt and Call Me in the Morning
	Whither Revenues?
	TaxVox is Two Today
	Disappearing Revenues
	How Are We Going to Pay for Health Care?
	Will a Jobs Credit Create Jobs and Save Democrats?
	Can We Cut the Corporate Rate?
	<b>A</b>
	Tax Return Preparers and Tax Professionals
	The Real Death Panel
	Tax or Fee: The Label Could Matter
	What Should Be Done about Bad Tax Return Preparers?
September	What Is a Tax?
	Why Are Republicans Opposing Medicare Cost Controls?
	Big Government and Housing
	Estimating Health Reform Costs: A Cautionary Tale
	Baucus-Care: The Gift of the Magi
	The Baucus Health Bill and Taxes
	Big Government: Much Bigger Than You Think
	President Obama's Health Speech
	My Friend, Bernie
	The Health Reform Plan You've Never Heard Of
	Ending the Roth Rollover: Why Stop There?
	Rollover and Play Dead
A +	The Roth Rollover Boondoggle
August	Did the Stimulus Work?
	Trillion Dollar Health Reform, \$3 Trillion in Tax Cuts
	The Budget Numbers That Matter
	Higher Taxes?
	A Holiday from Sales Tax Holidays
	Brad DeLong's Modest Proposal
	Sleepless Nights for Tax Evaders
	Stuck in the Middle with Our International Tax System
	What about the Spending Side?
	Death Panels and the Estate Tax
	Why We Won't Eliminate the Deficit with Corporate Tax Revenues
	How We Won't Eliminate the Deficit
	Cash, Clunkers, and the Environment
	The HAPPY Act
	Junk Cash for Clunkers
	The Wall St. Journal Editorial Page: Done In by the Facts Again
r1	So Long, for Now
July	Caps and "Gold Plated" Health Plans
	Loose Handcuffs
	Kerry's Premium Tax
	Presidential Movement
	Targeting Obesity
	California Scheming
	How Should We Tax Climate Change Permits?
	Will a Surtax Encourage More Gold-Plated Health Coverage?
	Paying for Health Reform by Taxing the Rich—An Update
	Taxing the Rich
	Another Stimulus? Say it Ain't So
	Who Pays No Income Tax?
	Online Sales Tax Hardball
	Pruning the Income Tax Rolls
-	Paying for Health Care Reform: Tax the Fella Behind the Tree
June	Will Obama Regret the House's Cap and Trade Giveaway? Obama Off the Leader Board

Date	Title
	Raising the Medical Deduction Floor: Is It Worth the Trouble?
	Gale and Auerbach's "Problematic" Budget Outlook
	Taxing Junk Food
	The Estate Tax and the Economy
	California is not Lehman Bros. (Thank goodness)
	Public Insurance Isn't Coming, It's Been Here for Years
	Indexing the Health Exclusion: Pay Me Now or Pay Me Later
	Capping the Health Exclusion: May a Thousand Followers Bloom
	The Temptation of Sin Taxes
	Sharing the Wealth–The Sequel Sharing the Wealth?
	Obama and the Health Tax Exclusion: Are His Lips Moving?
	Baseline Redux: or When Is a Tax Cut Not a Tax Cut?
	The Obama Tax Cuts: More Generous than Ever
	Obama Giveth and the AMT Taketh Away
May	The Garrett Nomination and Pseudo-Ethics
	What a Choice: Raise Taxes for the Poor or Bust the Budget
	The Benefits of Opacity
	"Caring for Our Parents": My New Book on Long-Term Care
	The \$250,000 Question
	GOP Health Reform: Surprise a Big Tax Cut
	Stop Picking on California
	Cap the Exclusion on Employer Insurance. But How?
	Budgeting by Special Election
	Tax Expenditures and Young Children
	State Revenues Worsen
	Medicare Part D and the Deficit
	Health Reform, Where Life Imitates Art
	Closing the Tax Gap Isn't So Easy
	Breaking News: Obama Cuts Taxes for Rich
	\$2 Trillion in Medical Cost Savings: A First Step on the Road to Reform
	From Nascar to Nuts: Why Congress Needs to Stop Micromanaging Cost Recovery
	The Case of the "Disappearing" Offshore Subsidiary
	Stimulating the Stimulus: Helping New Homebuyers
	A Few More Thoughts on Obama's International Tax Initiative
	Will Paring Deferral Create Jobs? Don't Cry for Me Lord Lloyd Weber
	Jack Kemp
	Farwell Tom Petska
April	Mañana Budgeting
npm	How Would Small Businesses Fare under Obama's Tax Plan?
	Swine Flu Tax Incentives Move through Congress
	Where's My Stimulus?
	The Dreadful Dance of Tax Legislation
	Ethanol Subsidies: It's Not Easy Being Green
	Recycling Stupid Tax Tricks
	Goodbye, Gross-Up
	Retirement Plans—After the Fall
	Now That I've Got Your Attention
	Tax Refund Stimulus?
	What's a Green Consumer to Do?
	Is Turbo Tax to Blame for the AMT?
	Tax Expenditures at New America
	State Revenue Woes
	Why I Hate Filing My Taxes
	Taxing Times for Tax Policy
	Number of Taxable Estates by State, 2011
	Who Pays Taxes? Who Should?
	Estate Tax Update
	Is Obama Missing His Best Chance for Change?
	The Estate Tax: Hit or Myth
March	Energy Taxes and the Detroit Bailout
	Why Does the GOP Hate Spending but Love Tax Expenditures?
	Tax Reform 2.0

Date	Title		
	Obama and Corporate Tax Rates: Talking the Talk		
	The Stephen King Budget		
	Tax Policy Down Under		
	Taxing AIG Bonuses: Worse Than Paying Them		
	It's True, Nearly Everybody Does Get a Tax Cut in the Obama Budget		
	The Economy Is Bad, But It Isn't the Great Depression		
	The Opacity of Hope		
	Last Thoughts on the Limitation on Itemized Deductions and Giving		
	Is Obama's Deduction Cap a Revenue Plug?		
	Giving Up on the Advanced Earned Income Tax Credit		
	Would Obama's Plan to Curb Deductions Hurt Charities?		
	That Was Quick		
February	The Obama Tax Plan–Winners and Losers		
5	Obama's Plan to Cap Tax Deductions		
	The Stimulus Act and the Limits of Tax Credits		
	The Budget Summit: A Missed Opportunity		
	The Complexity of Capital Gain Taxation		
	Stimulating the Well Off–Or Not		
	The Fiscal Outlook: "Both Bleak and Uncertain"		
	Making Work Pay for Couples		
	Making the Stimulus Tax Cuts Permanent Would Cost \$1.7 Trillion		
	Congress is Missing an Easy Way to Get Cash to Businesses		
	Tax Stimulus: It Could Have Been Worse		
	Big Spending Moderates		
	The Senate Stimulus–It Is Getting Worse		
	Stimulus and States		
	Stimulus Grade Point Average		
	Stimulating the Stimulus–Unemployment Compensation		
	Building a Trillion Dollar Bucket		
	Political Nominees and Taxes: Some Other Views		
	Stimulating the Stimulus–Child Credit and EITC		
-	Are We All Tax Cheats?		
January	Hitching a Ride on the Stimulus Train		
	It is About Credit Markets, Not Just Stimulus		
	Grading the Stimulus		
	Will the Tax Cuts Help Fix the Economy?		
	Will Obama "Bend the Curve" on Entitlement Spending?		
	Tax Forms, Complexity, and Tim Geithner		
	Stimulus: Something for Everyone		
	Top Destinations in 2009		
	A Way to Boost Demand and Reduce Long-Term Budget Problems		
	Obama-nomics: Written on a Word Processor		
	Is It Always a Good Time for a Holiday		
	More on the New Jobs Tax Credit		
	New Jobs Tax Credit (From the Archives)		
	Obama's Loose Change		
	CBO's Rosy Scenario		
	Hire More IRS Agents		
	McConnell Proposes Stimulus for Tax Preparers		
	Obama's 300 Billion Dollar Tax Cut: Lots of Buck, Not Much Bang		
	TaxVox's Lump of Coal Award: The Ten Worst Ideas of 2008		

# Leveraging TPC Analysis

ORGANIZATION	PUBLICATIONS
AARP	Why Congress Should Extend the Estate Tax
	Health Care Plan Hits Rich with Big Tax Increases
	Fight in Congress Looms on Tax Break for Home Buyers
	Congress May Consider Tax on Executives' Health Plans
	Headed to a Health Care 'Town Brawl?' Read This First
	Social Security Crisis Looms
	Taxing Benefits Could Be a Two-fer
	Tax Revenues Post Biggest Drop Since Depression
	Top Marginal Tax Rates = Prosperity
	Bad Time to Be Rich? Only If You Don't Like Taxes
	Factcheck a Liberal Spin Machine
	The Caucus: Bipartisan Health Bill Is Possible, Leaders Say
	Once Considered Unthinkable, U.S. Sales Tax Gets Fresh Look
	Congress' Budget Shorts Obama Plans to Shift Wealth
	Small Businesses Brace for Tax Battle
	Americans' Tax Burden Near Historic Low
	Peril Seen in Income-Tax Lift
	GOP Offers Alternative to the Obama Budget A Primer on the Stimulus Package
	Complexity of IRS Codes Cost Taxpayers for Preparation, Inadvertent Mistakes
	The Earned Income Tax Credit and Older Workers
	Lawmakers and Financial Experts Question Obama's Tax Cuts
American Enterprise Institute	The Case Against the Millionaire Surtax
	The Impact of the Recovery Act on Economic Growth
	The Deficit Endgame
	Moving Towards a Unified Credit for Low-Income Workers
	Moving Towards a Unified Credit
	Why Fiscal Stimulus Is Unlikely to Work
	Testimony Submitted to the Senate Republican Policy Committee
California Budget Project	Statement of Robert McIntryre before the California Commission on the 21st Century
	Economy Regarding Tax Fairness and Economic Growth
	The Changing Federal Budget Landscape:
	Opportunities and Challenges
Campaign for America's Future	The House Health Care Bill Is Right on the Money
	We Should All Have 'Cadillac' Health Coverage
	Minimum Wage Hike: Stimulus When We Need It
	Progressive Breakfast: Senate Cmte Passes Public Plan Option
	Some Tax Facts You Won't Hear at a Tax Protest
	Gilded Age Taxation
	Small Business Tax Hoax
	Progressive Tax Policies Won't Harm Small Businesses
	The Right Elevates Partisanship Over Patriotism
	Borosage Denounces Cold-Blooded Obstruction around Economic Recovery
Care2	Child's Tax Credit Stimulus
	Conservative Media Peddle A Raw Deal
	Economy: The Case for Urgent Action
	McConnell's Middle Class
Cato Institute	Yes, Mr. President, A Free Market Can Fix Health Care
Caro montait	All the President's Mandates Compulsory Health Insurance Is a Government Takeover
	Playing Good Cop, Bad Cop Will Ohome Baics Middle Class Toylog to Fund Health Com?
	Will Obama Raise Middle-Class Taxes to Fund Health Care?
	The Effects of American Recession-Fighting Policies on Economic Freedom
	Tax Delusions
Center for American Progress	Think Again: "History" Isn't a Dirty Word
	Bush Budget Bomb About to Blow
	Progressives and the National Debt
	More Can Be Done to Expand the Child Tax Credit
	Fighting Poverty in the Recovery Act
	I ighting I overty in the Recovery Act

ORGANIZATION	PUBLICATIONS
	The Child Tax Credit and the Economic Recovery Bill
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	Contrary to Claims, Allowing Estate Tax to Expire Would Make Family Farms and Small Businesses Worse Off Overall
	Congress Should Not Weaken the Estate Tax Beyond 2009 Parameters
	House Health Bill's High-Income Surcharge Is Sound and Well Targeted
	Berkley Estate Tax Bill Would Add Billions to the Deficit While Benefiting Only Wealthiest 1 in 500 Estates
	Tax Offsets in Baucus Health Plan Are Sound but Can Be Improved
	House Health Bill's High-Income Surcharge: A Reasonable Approach
	Raising State-Income Taxes on High-Income Tax Payers
	Repeal Would Increase Deficits and Likely Slow Economic Growth as a Result
	Maintaining Current Value of Itemized Deductions for High-Income Taxpayers Could Help Pay for Health Care Reform
	Obscure Tax Provision of Federal Recovery Package Could Widen State Budget Gaps
	How to Use Existing Tax and Benefit Systems to Offset Consumers' Higher Energy Costs
	Under an Emissions Cap
	Income Gaps Hit Record Levels in 2006, New Data Show Rich-Poor Gap Tripled Between 1979 and 2006
	The Senate and the Estate Tax: Cutting Through the Fog Federal Tax Burdens for Most Near Their Lowest Levels in Decades: Bush Tax Cuts Are Key Reason for Sharp Drop for Highest-Income Households
	Lincoln-Kyl Estate Tax Amendment Is Both Unnecessary and Unaffordable
	Policy Points: Congressional Budgets Pass Early Tests on Deficits and Economy, but
	Questions Remain
	Tax Foundation Figures Do Not Represent Typical Households' Tax Burdens
	Proposal to Cap Deductions for High-Income Households Would Reduce Charitable
	Contributions by Only 1.9 Percent
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	Recovery Agreement Temporarily Expands Child Tax Credit for Large Numbers of Children in Every State
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	Big Misconceptions about Small Businesses and Taxes
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<b>Congressional Research Service</b>	Permanent Estate Tax Relief for Families, Farmers, and Small Businesses Act of 2009
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New America Foundation	A Penny Saved Is Mobility Earned
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	CBPP Calls Foul on Recent Estate Tax *Studies*
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	How Much Does President Obama's Budget Redistribute Income?
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# Tax Policy Center Urban Institute and Brookings Institution

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