

1 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING ON THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK
2 REGARDING MARRIAGE TAX PENALTY RELIEF
3 THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 2000
4 U.S. Senate,
5 Committee on Finance,
6 Washington, DC.

Gilmour
60 pp.

7 The meeting was convened, pursuant to notice, at
8 10:37 a.m., in room SD-215, Dirksen Senate Office
9 Building, Hon. William V. Roth, Jr., (chairman of the
10 committee) presiding.

11 Also present: Senators Grassley, Hatch, Murkowski,
12 Nickles, Gramm, Lott, Jeffords, Mack, Thompson,
13 Coverdell, Moynihan, Baucus, Rockefeller, Breaux, Conrad,
14 Graham, Bryan, and Robb.

15 Also present: Franklin G. Polk, Staff Director and
16 Chief Counsel; and David Podoff, Minority Staff Director
17 and Chief Economist.

18 Also present: John Talisman, Acting as for Tax
19 Policy, Treasury Department; Lindy Paull, Staff Director,
20 Joint Committee on Taxation; and Mark Prater, Chief Tax
21 Counsel.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR., A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM DELAWARE, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

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4 The Chairman. The committee will please be in
5 order.

6 Today it is my pleasure to bring before this
7 committee the centerpiece of our efforts to reduce the
8 tax overpayment by America's working families. Not only
9 does it reduce families' tax burden, it eliminates some
10 of the most egregious examples of unfairness and
11 complexity in the Tax Code today.

12 The marriage tax relief proposal that I put before
13 the committee does all three of these things, and does so
14 within the context of fiscal discipline and preserving
15 the Social Security surplus.

16 My proposal will eliminate the marriage penalty in
17 both the standard deduction and in the lowest income tax
18 bracket. In addition, it will guarantee that every
19 family entitled to this relief receives this relief and
20 permanently continues to receive the family tax credits
21 such as the per-child tax credit, the dependent care
22 credit, and others, that Congress intended and that they
23 deserve.

24 At the same time that my proposal helps those who
25 suffer a marriage penalty, whereby a couple pays more for

1 being married than for remaining single, it does not
2 neglect those married couples where one spouse works to
3 maintain the home and raise the children.

4 Finally, I have included a modification that
5 incorporates two of the amendments that were filed by
6 committee members. First, I have incorporated Senator
7 Jeffords' amendment to raise the income levels for which
8 the Earned Income Credit would apply by \$2,500. This
9 further extends tax relief to those within the lowest
10 income tax bracket. Senator Jeffords is to be commended
11 for championing these families.

12 Second, I have added an amendment, backed by Senators
13 Gramm, Nickles, Mack, and Lott, among others. Their
14 amendment will extend the same bracket-widening principle
15 which is already included for the lowest tax bracket to
16 the next income tax bracket. Their amendment, further,
17 extends marriage tax penalty relief to many hardworking
18 families. That, too, is an important goal and they are
19 to be commended for it.

20 This bill does all of these things for America's
21 working families while preserving every cent of Social
22 Security surplus. These tax cuts do not have to pit
23 American families against America's seniors, nor does it
24 extend a tax cut in a fiscally irresponsible manner.

25 These tax cuts fit in this year's budget, along with

1 the other Republican priorities that we have already
2 passed for education, health care, and small business.
3 Our priorities add up for what is good for America and
4 our numbers add up to what is fiscally responsible.

5 I do not believe that this committee will consider
6 this year a tax cut bill that is fairer or more justified
7 than this one that gives tax relief to working families
8 who are burdened not only by the unfairness and
9 complexity of a Tax Code that treats them one way when
10 single and another way when married, but burdened by the
11 cost of raising a family. It does so by returning to
12 them their own income tax overpayment.

13 This bill is fair, this bill is responsible, and this
14 bill is pro-family. I hope you will support it.

15 Senator Moynihan?

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF THE HON. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, A
2 U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

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4 Senator Moynihan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We
5 surely support the principle which you are advancing. We
6 will have very serious reservations about the amounts
7 involved. We suddenly seem to be in a situation where,
8 instead of one massive tax cut, we are going to have a
9 sequence of smaller tax reductions with the same
10 cumulative result.

11 Second, with regret, I have to say, starting with the
12 measure adopted in the House Ways and Means Committee, we
13 are simply adding yet more complexity to the Tax Code.
14 If you looked at that table that emerged from the House
15 measure, it looked like the periodic table of the atoms
16 that we used to learn in high school chemistry; you sort
17 of thought you understood it, but you actually did not.
18 But somebody must, or it would not be up there.

19 We have on our side a simple proposal. We recognize
20 that this is real. Mind you, 51 percent of married
21 couples receive a marriage bonus under the existing Tax
22 Code, but there are the 42 percent who have, in effect, a
23 penalty.

24 It should not be. It is perceived as unfair. We do
25 not want taxpayers thinking something is unfair in the

1 Tax Code. Our proposal is simplicity itself: you let the
2 taxpayer choose. The married couple can file separately
3 or they can file jointly, whichever is to their
4 advantage.

5 Most couples will file jointly because they will get
6 the marriage bonus. Those now receiving a penalty file
7 separately and there is no marriage penalty, period.
8 Simple. You can describe it in one sentence. You
9 choose: file separately or jointly. End of subject.

10 We feel very seriously about the amounts of money
11 that is involved that our proposal would phase in over 10
12 years and would amount to \$150 billion cumulatively. On
13 the other hand, we are very cautious about committing
14 ourselves to it this instant if we do not know how other
15 things have worked out.

16 But we will offer the amendment, sir, in good spirit
17 and say, can we not just once do something simple in our
18 committee? Lindy Paull is looking doubtful.

19 Senator Mack. It would not be the first time.

20 Senator Moynihan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Moynihan.

22 Senator Grassley, please.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM IOWA

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4 Senator Grassley. You wait a long time to see
5 legislation that is very justified in passing, and
6 obviously I am glad to see that opportunity come, at
7 least to vote it out of the committee now, particularly
8 when it seems like certain tax laws are very difficult to
9 explain their rationale at the grass roots.

10 This is one of those that is very, very difficult to
11 explain. The more you try to give the history behind it,
12 that when it took place in the Nixon tax bill, the more
13 difficult then it is to make it understandable to the
14 public as a whole. So, I am glad that we are correcting
15 that.

16 I am going to stop there on my support of the
17 legislation. I just want to take 45 seconds to mention
18 that I realize that there will not be an opportunity to
19 offer non-tax amendments, and I accept the Chairman's
20 judgment on that.

21 But I would have liked to have offered an amendment
22 on a health matter today that I believe is an urgent
23 matter for Congress to act on, but I will not because I
24 want to make sure that the marriage penalty gets out and
25 does not get caught up in other controversy.

1 I would like to express my support for S. 662, a bill
2 to provide treatment for women diagnosed with breast and
3 cervical cancer. As you know, this was a bill that
4 Senator Chafee worked hard to advance when he was a
5 member of this committee.

6 Earlier this year, the President showed his support
7 for this legislation, which has been an initiative that
8 Republicans in both the House and Senate have proposed.
9 Now I fear that an important bill like this might get
10 tied up in a political year, a Presidential election
11 year.

12 I urge all of my colleagues to help move this bill
13 along some time later. I hope, Mr. Chairman, you can
14 give it your attention. It is extremely important to
15 women and mothers everywhere. We can help make a real
16 difference in their lives through this legislation.

17 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Grassley.

18 Now, Senator Baucus?

19 Senator Baucus. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr.
20 Chairman, I just have a couple of comments to make on the
21 bill. First, some general concerns. My first concern,
22 is we are putting the cart before the horse. We have
23 already spent \$154 billion in tax cuts. This is going to
24 be about \$240 billion.

25 My guess is that there will be other tax bills before

1 us, and we have to consider, for example, retirement,
2 maybe education stimulus, a whole host of other areas.
3 Any family, any business, in trying to determine how much
4 to spend on a certain issue, has to set priorities on
5 kind of a zero-sum budget. We are not doing that.

6 We are coming out with a tax relief bill that is
7 expensive and we have no idea how it fits with other
8 potential tax reduction bills that may or may not come up
9 this year. The Budget Committee, I think, just reported
10 out its resolution.

11 But we have come up with this bill, paying no
12 attention, zero attention, to the budget process. That
13 is just wrong. I think our country wants us, frankly, to
14 be a little more orderly, be a little more business-like
15 in the way we manage the Nation's tax dollars.

16 Second, I think it is important to point out that
17 this bill changes the Code in a very complex area, and we
18 have done so with very little consideration of what we
19 are doing.

20 For example, back before 1948, the law was that an
21 individual taxpayer, say at \$100,000 of income, paid the
22 same taxes as, say, a married person of \$100,000. Let us
23 say that that was the total family income.

24 So the married person paid the same, then found out
25 in community property States--California, for example--

1 that you could split, so marrieds were able to split it
2 50/50. The court said, that is not right, so Congress
3 then changed it. That is where the joint filing came
4 into place. That has been the case since 1948.
5 Basically, joint filers can file jointly.

6 But then, by 1969, this Congress realized that that
7 was creating a terrific inequity, which was that
8 individuals had to pay taxes much more than couples. So
9 the committee decided to look at all the brackets and
10 say, all right. Individuals will pay no more than 60
11 percent of what a married couple will pay. That was
12 arrived at as rough justice. That has been the law ever
13 since.

14 We have always made sure that the individual brackets
15 are no more than 60 percent of the married brackets.
16 There are considered reasons for doing so. What are
17 they? Essentially, it is a mathematical impossibility to
18 achieve marriage tax neutrality if, at the same time, we
19 want to have a progressive system and have couples with
20 the same total income taxed the same. It is a
21 mathematical impossibility. It cannot be done.

22 This means that when we change brackets, in this
23 bill, the break points change for the 15 percent bracket
24 --they also change, I understand it now, I guess, is it
25 the 28th?

1 The Chairman. Twenty-eighth. Yes.

2 Senator Baucus. Twenty-eighth percent bracket. We
3 are automatically creating inequities. We are
4 automatically changing the well-established principle
5 since 1969 that individuals in each of the brackets pay
6 no more than 60 percent of what marrieds pay.

7 Now, that was a time when probably more families had
8 one income earner as opposed to others, and that has
9 changed dramatically over time. I have forgotten the
10 figures, but many more families now have both members of
11 the family that earn income.

12 So there may be a good reason to change that 60
13 percent, but if we do so, we should do it thoughtfully.
14 We should find out how much the demographics of the
15 country have change.

16 There are a lot of questions that we could ask
17 ourselves as to the degree to which, therefore, it makes
18 sense to change the Code in a way that is fair, fair to
19 couples earning the same income, and fair to individuals
20 earning the same income, remembering it is mathematically
21 impossible. It is a mathematic impossibility to achieve
22 marriage tax neutrality in a progressive system if you
23 want couples with the same income to pay the same taxes.

24 So I am kind of disappointed, frankly, that this
25 committee, the Senate Finance Committee, has not been

1 more thoughtful in trying to figure out how we deal with
2 the marriage penalty issue, which is very complex. We
3 have been treating it very blithely, cavalierly, almost
4 assuming that we intentionally in Congress imposed a
5 penalty on marriage.

6 Well, of course that is not true. The real truth is,
7 this is a very complicated issue and it requires a very
8 thoughtful answer, which we have not come up with in this
9 committee at all. We have not even considered it.

10 For example, the raise in the 28 percent bracket.
11 Nobody in this committee ever heard about that until
12 maybe a day ago. There was no hearing on that. There
13 was no discussion on it. There was no Executive Session
14 with give and take on that. That is not the way this
15 committee should do business. It is just wrong. It is
16 just wrong.

17 I might also say, Mr. Chairman, that a problem I have
18 with this bill, is that more than half of the benefits go
19 to married couples who already are in a bonus situation.
20 More than half that are already in a bonus situation, so
21 more than half of this bill is not a marriage penalty tax
22 fix, it is just tax relief.

23 Well, that is fine if that is what we want to do, but
24 we should recognize it for what it is and not call this a
25 marriage penalty reform bill, because basically more than

1 half of it is not.

2 In addition to that, people who suffer the greatest
3 inequities are lower income people. It is the EITC which
4 causes the greatest inequities, that is, bonus versus
5 penalty and not upper income people as much.

6 I do not know if that has been examined, thought out,
7 addressed in hearings, give and take. No. Why not?
8 Sadly, because this is a political statement. It is not
9 a thoughtful effort by this committee to come up with a
10 thoughtful solution. That is the fact. This is just a
11 political statement. It is a rush to get this bill to
12 the floor by April 15, to make a statement.

13 I am all for addressing different break points, and
14 how do we solve the marriage penalty problem. Over time,
15 since 1969, our country has changed, which does require,
16 I think, some significant changes in the law. But we,
17 again, should do it much more thoughtfully.

18 The American public cares much, much more than we do
19 this right than we rush out by April 15th with some big
20 headline.

21 So, Mr. Chairman, I am saddened, frankly, by what is
22 happening here today. I am disappointed by what is
23 happening here today. I hope that we do not do much more
24 of this. I hope we do what we are supposed to be doing
25 and regaining some of the lost stature that this

1 committee once had.

2 Everybody used to rush to get on the Senate Finance
3 Committee. I can think of a lot of reasons, but I think
4 the main reason is because it is really the committee
5 with the power, it is the money committee that sets
6 policy, in a bipartisan way, usually.

7 I have been on this committee for 22 years and I can
8 tell Senators who have not been on this committee that
9 long, that most often this committee, beginning with
10 Russell Long as chairman, operated on a bipartisan basis.
11 This was the bipartisan committee.

12 Now it has changed a little bit over time. There
13 have been some problems. But I just think that we do a
14 much better job when we address the issues, the
15 complexities, and find the solution on a nonpartisan
16 basis, because usually the best politics is to do the
17 best public policy.

18 The Chairman. Senator Hatch?

19 Senator Hatch. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think
20 Bob Dole summed that up pretty well the other night, and
21 the Leader's comment, when he said that the Republicans
22 took over control of the Senate in 1981, and Howard Baker
23 called him and said, congratulations, Bob. You are going
24 to be the new chairman of the Finance Committee. Bob
25 kind of coughed and hacked and said, well, but who is

1 going to tell Russell Long? So I remember those days. I
2 have been here a few years, myself.

3 What I have to say is, I like this committee and I
4 think there is no end to people who would like to get on
5 it, to be honest with you. I like it because we all do
6 get along well together and we have a lot of respect for
7 you folks on the other side; I hope you do for us.

8 It is also a very tough committee to chair because
9 these issues are so complex and so difficult, that I just
10 want to commend both the Chairman and the Ranking Member
11 for the work that they do continuously on this committee.

12 I had planned to offer two amendments this morning
13 that I think would further improve this mark. In the
14 interest of getting this bill to the floor in an
15 expeditious manner, however, I have refrained from doing
16 so.

17 As you know, Mr. Chairman, there are 66 separate
18 marriage penalties, according to the American Institute
19 of CPAs, in our current Tax Code. The Chairman's mark
20 does eliminate two of the worst ones entirely, and
21 alleviates two others.

22 I wish we could do some more on this. I am
23 particularly concerned with the marriage penalty that
24 faces young people who are struggling to repay student
25 loans, because the threshold range for eligibility for

1 the deduction of student loan interest is \$40,000 to
2 \$50,000 for single taxpayers, but only \$60,000 to \$75,000
3 for married couples. That is a significant marriage
4 penalty. My amendment would have increased the threshold
5 for married couples to \$80,000.

6 Now, I am pleased that Senator Mack and I were able
7 to get that added on the floor to the Education Tax bill,
8 but that bill does not look like it is going to go
9 anywhere. I believe it also belongs in this bill.

10 But, in the interests of trying to resolve these
11 problems, I will withhold bringing that up at this time.
12 I would just hope that the Chairman and the Ranking
13 Member will work with me between now and the floor, and
14 hopefully we might be able to resolve that problem.

15 But I am also concerned with another severe marriage
16 penalty that affects senior citizens collecting Social
17 Security benefits. Now, this penalty occurs because the
18 two thresholds for determining Social Security benefit
19 taxability are set at the wrong levels.

20 For the first threshold which determines whether 50
21 percent of the benefits should be taxed, the threshold is
22 \$25,000 for singles, but only \$32,000 for married
23 couples.

24 The second threshold, which is the one added in 1993
25 to tax up to 85 percent of Social Security benefits, the

1 single threshold is \$34,000, but the marriage filing
2 joint threshold is only \$44,000. In order to avoid these
3 two potentially huge marriage penalties, the thresholds
4 for married couples should be raised to a level twice as
5 high as the single's threshold.

6 This is an expensive amendment, Mr. Chairman, and I
7 understand that. It is estimated that it would cost in
8 revenues a little over \$60 billion, so I will not offer
9 it here. But I did want to raise this issue to the
10 attention of the committee and hope that we can work
11 together in the near future to try to resolve some of
12 these very difficult problems.

13 I just want to thank you for the work you have done,
14 and hope that I can be of assistance to you in getting it
15 passed.

16 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Hatch.

17 Next, is Senator Rockefeller.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER IV, A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA

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4 Senator Rockefeller. I was in the process of
5 praising Senator Baucus for his statement, Mr. Chairman.
6 I apologize. I share some of his views, and I will be
7 very brief.

8 But I think about only 40 percent of this, as Senator
9 Baucus indicated, is dedicated to the so-called
10 alleviating of the marriage penalty, and 60 percent of
11 it, and it is a very large number, then goes on to
12 bonuses for people who are doing rather better.

13 Alan Greenspan keeps reminding us that we need to
14 save all that we can to pay down the national debt,
15 Medicare, and other things, and he keeps saying it and we
16 keep not listening to it.

17 The other thing I would say, is this is very
18 expensive. I am going to vote for an amendment which
19 will be offered, but even in voting that, I offered an
20 amendment which was considerably less expensive than the
21 one that I will vote for, simply because I think we have
22 to save our money for the truly important things that
23 shape our Nation's future.

24 As Senator Moynihan said, the principle of what we
25 are doing here is good, but that the particular process

1 or mechanism that we have chosen by which to do it is not
2 what I would have hoped, and I thank the Chairman for his
3 time.

4 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Rockefeller.

5 Senator Mack?

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. CONNIE MACK, A U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM FLORIDA

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4 Senator Mack. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I, too, am
5 going to vote for the institution that will improve
6 America's future, and that is the American family. I
7 thank you for the mark that you have put before us this
8 morning. As hard as it may be for those on the other
9 side of the aisle to believe, just because they disagree
10 with us does not mean that our approach is not
11 thoughtful.

12 I appreciate the thought that has been put into this.
13 I think it is, in fact, the right thing to do. It
14 certainly is not rushing into it, after 31 years that the
15 marriage penalty has existed. I think it is an
16 appropriate time for us to move.

17 The last point that I would make is, again, based on
18 what I have heard from the other side of the aisle, there
19 never is a time for a tax cut. There are always other
20 priorities to spend more. So, again, I commend you for
21 this proposal you have put forward.

22 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Mack.

23 Senator Breaux, please.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN BREAUX, A U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM LOUISIANA

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4 Senator Breaux. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman
5 and Senator Moynihan.

6 You know, we all had a problem that was brought to
7 members of Congress' attention, and particularly to the
8 members of the Senate Finance Committee, and that was
9 that there was an inequity that existed in this country,
10 and the inequity was that some people who got married
11 were paying more in taxes than if they were not married
12 and earning the same amount of income.

13 I think that we had a general agreement that we ought
14 to do something about that, that it was unfair, that we
15 were, in fact, discouraging people from being married and
16 encouraging them not to be married because of the Tax
17 Code, which was wrong. We all agreed on that.

18 Then something obviously happened on the way to the
19 mark-up altar. We decided to do much more than that. I
20 think that Senator Moynihan had the best way of
21 addressing the problem.

22 He said, look, if you are helped by filing single you
23 can do so, if you are helped by filing married you can do
24 so; pick the one that helps you the most and file. It is
25 not a big deal. It made a lot of common sense. It would

1 not have required a lot of paper to correct that inequity
2 the way Senator Moynihan suggested.

3 It is a problem. I mean, 42 percent of couples pay
4 more in taxes when they are married than if they were
5 single. But, on the other hand, 51 percent of couples,
6 according to CBO, are helped by the current law. They
7 have got a bonus, particularly married couples where,
8 traditionally, the husband works and the wife stays at
9 home. They have got a bonus right now.

10 So what we ought to be trying to do, is help those
11 who have a penalty by eliminating the penalty, and saying
12 we solved the problem.

13 The problem is, the Republican proposal, though I
14 know it is offered in good faith, spends \$248 billion
15 over 10 years to do more than correct the penalty. It,
16 in fact, does not correct the penalty for a number of
17 couples in the upper brackets because it is limited to 28
18 percent.

19 People that are married will continue, under the
20 Republican bill, in upper incomes to suffer the marriage
21 penalty. Is that right? The Democratic proposal
22 eliminates the marriage penalty for everybody, rich, poor,
23 middle income, anybody, everybody.

24 The marriage penalty is eliminated under Senator
25 Moynihan's proposal, whereas, the Republican proposal

1 does not eliminate the marriage penalty for upper income
2 people. I do not know if that is fair. I do not think
3 it is. Everybody ought to have the penalty eliminated.

4 So I think that what started off as a consensus to
5 get rid of the marriage penalty has broadened and grown
6 on the way, as I said, to the mark-up altar and is
7 something that spends far too much money and does not
8 correct the penalty for some, and in fact creates a bonus
9 for others who never asked for the bonus. We should not
10 do that.

11 The Chairman. Senator Bryan?

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF THE HON. ROBERT H. BRYAN, A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM NEVADA

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4 Senator Bryan. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.
5 Let me just make a preliminary observation. I have
6 enjoyed very much serving on this committee. I have
7 neither the tenure of you, the Ranking Member, or most of
8 the members on the committee, and I have very much
9 appreciated working with you and your leadership on this
10 committee.

11 I am committed to kind of a quaint, old-fashioned
12 notion that I recognize probably is ought of fashion in
13 the out years, and that is, I think we ought to reduce
14 the national debt whenever possible. I know that makes
15 me perhaps one of the few members that survive of the old
16 pre-Cambrian caucus, but I am proud to take that point of
17 view.

18 I think this committee, this Congress, and the
19 administration can take great credit that we have reduced
20 the debt by some \$300 billion over the last three years.
21 When I came to this committee, I do not think anybody
22 would have ever dreamed that that was possible. We have
23 a chance of maybe reducing it by another \$130 billion or
24 more, depending upon what the projections are.

25 So that is the way I approach this situation. Now,

1 my own sense is, with great respect, Mr. Chairman, this
2 legislative vehicle sails under a false flag. It does
3 not just address the marriage penalty, as a number of our
4 colleagues have pointed out. It does much more.

5 I think, if we are going to talk about tax cuts, we
6 ought to focus with laser-like precision on what the
7 problem is that we seek to address. I agree, as the
8 Ranking Member observed in his opening statement, that,
9 in principle, we ought to eliminate the marriage penalty.
10 That is unfair.

11 As has been said by several of our colleagues, there
12 are 25 million Americans who pay that penalty. We ought
13 to focus on that. But the great majority of the tax
14 relief that is provided in this mark-up is provided to
15 those who do not have a penalty. They are in a bonus.
16 Indeed, \$1 billion goes to unmarried taxpayers.

17 So, I mean, I think we have lost our focus. Although
18 I have some reluctance in supporting the substitute that
19 will be offered by the Ranking Member, I do think it is
20 laser-like, as I say, in its focus. It does deal with
21 the penalty.

22 It gives the taxpayer a choice. That is pretty
23 simple, kind of old-fashioned. I would say it is even
24 American to say, look, if you do better in a joint
25 return, file jointly. If you do better as a single, that

1 is your option as well.

2 Finally, let me say that, in my brief tenure on this
3 committee, we have talked a lot about the length and
4 complexity of the Tax Code. All of us thunder with
5 considerable eloquence on the floor about what a travesty
6 it is, and I have seen many of our colleagues stack that
7 Code up on the desk. And I say again with great respect,
8 we abandon the principle of simplicity and reducing the
9 complexity with the mark before us.

10 I believe giving Americans a simple choice would
11 reduce the complexity, solve the problem, and address
12 something that we all worship at the shrine of great
13 fortune here, to say let us make the Tax Code more
14 simple.

15 The Chairman. Next, we have Senator Robb.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF THE HON. CHARLES S. ROBB, A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

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4 Senator Robb. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will try
5 not to repeat all that has been said. I agree very much
6 with my colleagues on this side of the divide, and I
7 regret very much that we have a divide.

8 Frankly, I had long wanted to become a part of this
9 committee, one, because I am very much committed to
10 fiscal responsibility, and number two, because I thought
11 that the approach would be bipartisan and I regret that
12 we have a clear divide along partisan lines which I do
13 not think is healthy for the long-term future of, again,
14 responsible tax policy.

15 I particularly agree with the about-to-be Ranking
16 Member or Chairman, Senator Baucus, and some of the
17 comments that he made, and with all the others on the
18 simplicity of the approach that the Ranking Member and
19 former Chairman of the committee has made. If we are
20 going to approach this issue in a time of plenty, when
21 you have a penalty that is unfair to 42 percent of the
22 people, that this is an appropriate time to make some
23 adjustments.

24 I have been willing to make other adjustments in
25 terms of tax cuts, but the timing of this is wrong. The

1 fact that we are increasing the bonus for over half of
2 the people that will be affected cannot be, in my
3 judgment, viewed as either fair or properly described as
4 pure marriage penalty relief. So, I regret that we are
5 heading in this particular direction at this point, and I
6 regret that we are doing it.

7 This time, we have got major challenges facing this
8 committee at some point with respect to Social Security
9 reform and Medicare reform. Anything that we can do now
10 to pay down the debt makes it less burdensome to address
11 those very real problems, and others in the future.

12 Of course, we are dealing with a situation where much
13 of what we are dealing with in terms of available
14 resources is speculative, and we continue to look at some
15 of the figures that reflect the 1997 BBA discretionary
16 spending numbers when we talk about it, so there is an
17 appearance of more money out there than there really is,
18 because we know we are not following those numbers.

19 So I regret that we are at this particular point. I
20 think that the alternative, the substitute that is being
21 offered by the distinguished Ranking Member, is far and
22 away the preferable way to go, under the circumstances.
23 I will just let it go at that.

24 I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 The Chairman. Next, we have Senator Coverdell.

1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL COVERDELL, A U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM GEORGIA

3
4 Senator Coverdell. Mr. Chairman, I think we are
5 beginning to get the drift here of our differences. Let
6 me simply say that I am not offended by the fact that it
7 strikes at the marriage penalty, but that it might reach
8 beyond that to some other families and provide additional
9 relief there. All of the families that we are talking
10 about are middle income.

11 In my State, and I would say it is probably not too
12 different in the rest of ours, our middle class families
13 are only keeping about 53 cents on the dollar after
14 State, federal, and local taxes.

15 We have created an enormous burden on these families
16 to do the things they are supposed to do for America, get
17 it up in the morning, get it to school and work, house
18 it, educate it, and keep it healthy.

19 So I am not offended by the idea that we might be
20 going beyond an error or the marriage tax penalty. We
21 are concentrating all of the relief in areas where it is
22 severely needed. We can tend in this city to get a
23 little too caught up in intellectual review and the
24 manifestations.

25 There is nothing on there that has not been before us

1 for many years: eliminate the penalty in the standard
2 deduction; provide broad-based marriage tax penalty
3 relief through a bracket widening, 15 and 28 percent;
4 provide relief on the marriage penalty in the Earned
5 Income Credit; provide relief from the Alternative
6 Minimum Tax. None of us really intended for this to
7 impose the condition it has on middle income families.

8 For one member of the committee, and I guess the
9 newest, while I do not take offense at the Ranking
10 Member's suggestions and ideas, I find all of these
11 useful in reducing what has become an onerous burden on
12 middle class America.

13 If you want to know the truth about it, it is not
14 enough. As the Senator from Florida indicated, every
15 time we try to talk about accomplishing this the city
16 becomes riled that something would stay in the checking
17 account of American families and not end up here for us
18 to reorder the priorities. So, while I know perfection
19 is impossible, as I have said, there is nothing onerous.
20 It is meaningful relief to a group of Americans who
21 really need it.

22 So, I compliment the Chairman and those that he has
23 counseled with to bring the Chairman's mark, and I yield.

24 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Coverdell.

25 Next, is Senator Jeffords.

1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. JEFFORDS, A U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM VERMONT

3

4 Senator Jeffords. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just
5 would like to echo the remarks of the Senator from
6 Georgia, and also thank the Chairman for including in the
7 mark my amendment on the EITC, which I think really
8 balances the bill position and I can strongly support it.

9 I would also like to look back in history and remind
10 members of when we first tried to start to take care of
11 this problem. I was the original co-sponsor with
12 Millicent Fenwick back in, good Lord, in the late 1970s,
13 I think, or 1980s, when we discovered this problem and
14 tried to move it forward. Here we are, 20-odd years
15 later, and we still have not done it. Today, I think we
16 are going to do it.

17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 The Chairman. Thank you, Senator Jeffords.

19 Now, Senator Lott, our distinguished Leader.

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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. TRENT LOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM
2 MISSISSIPPI

3
4 Senator Lott. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
5 will be brief. I just want to thank you for bringing us
6 to this point, and for your effort to include provisions
7 in this proposal that various Senators have asked for.

8 I realize you can perhaps make an argument that it is
9 not all directly related to the problem we are trying to
10 address in a marriage tax penalty. But, for instance,
11 Senator Jeffords just touched on one point that I cannot
12 believe that other members of the committee would not be
13 supportive of, and that is to increase the EIC provision
14 to the \$2,500 increase for joint returns that is in this
15 package.

16 That helps people that are at the low end of the
17 scale, and I would think that most of the members would
18 be for doing that. Now, if I were writing a pure bill
19 that might not be in there. It probably would not be in
20 there.

21 Another provision that is included in here that a lot
22 of members have concern about is the AMT, Alternative
23 Minimum Tax. We all know that some unintended
24 consequences of the AMT legislation is hitting people now
25 that we did not intend for it to. It is getting down to

1 the middle income level.

2 While it is not directly related to the marriage
3 penalty elimination provisions, certainly it is something
4 a lot of members of Congress want to do something about.
5 So, I think it is about trying to make the Tax Code
6 fairer.

7 But I think the bottom line to all of this is exactly
8 what Senator Jeffords was just touching on. We have been
9 talking about doing this for years, and somehow or
10 another it always just escapes our net. We just do not
11 get it done. We have tried to pass it in various ways.
12 I think we had the provisions in last year's bill that
13 wound up being vetoed. It just this point: are we going
14 to finally eliminate the marriage penalty tax as much as
15 we can or not?

16 Are we going to stop it at this point in the Finance
17 Committee or in the Senate, or can we join the House and
18 pass it through the Senate, get it to conference, and
19 work on something, hopefully that the President will
20 sign?

21 This is one of the many very unfair provisions in the
22 Tax Code. Like the Social Security earnings test, we
23 stepped up. After 20 years of talking about it, we have
24 gotten it done in a bipartisan way, and the President is
25 going to sign it. We ought to do the same thing with the

1 marriage penalty tax.

2 So I hope we can continue to look and find a way to
3 actually take this actin this year. Otherwise, my
4 daughter has threatened to run against me. This is very
5 serious. She was married last year in May, and she has
6 figured out that she is going to pay more in taxes just
7 because she is married, because she and her husband both
8 work, and she is mad about it. So, we have got to get
9 this done.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Senator Hatch. That would add a little class to the
12 Senate, is all I can say. [Laughter].

13 The Chairman. Senator Graham?

14 Senator Graham. Well, I would like to pick up on
15 what our Leader has just said about the importance of
16 family. Today is an important day in my family's life:
17 it is the fifth birthday of our triplet granddaughters.
18 So I am thinking about that.

19 There actually is some relevance to the discussion
20 that we are having today, because if you were to ask me
21 which of those three triplets or their seven cousins that
22 I love the most, I would say that I love all of them
23 equally and want to give all of them an equal share of
24 everything possible.

25 In many ways, that is part of the issue before us

1 today. There are many areas that one could point to as
2 unfairness in our Tax Code, or in our general public
3 policy. There are many areas that we could point to as
4 being opportunities for incentives within our Tax Code or
5 public policy.

6 What concerns me about the way in which we are
7 proceeding, is that we are not being given an opportunity
8 to look at the full range of options and then attempt to
9 make a relative, appropriate choice among those options.

10 It may be that, focusing on all the things that we
11 have to do, we would conclude that we should spend this
12 percentage of our non-Social Security surplus on
13 eliminating and, as suggested, going beyond eliminating,
14 the marriage penalty tax. But to try to view this
15 isolated, without that context, I think, is going to lead
16 us into a distorted ultimate decision.

17 Let me just give a few numbers. This week, the
18 Senate Budget Committee voted out its budget resolution.
19 I think in the next few days we will probably have it on
20 the Senate floor.

21 That resolution, after allocating part of the on-
22 budget--that is, the non-Social Security surplus--to
23 additional discretionary and mandatory spending beyond
24 what was in the budget cap bill that we passed in 1997,
25 and taking into consideration the lost interest saving

1 that that higher spending will occasion, the on-budget,
2 non-Social Security surplus included in the Senate Budget
3 resolution is \$209 billion.

4 Now, that same resolution has provided for tax cuts
5 over the next five years totaling \$180 billion, which
6 means that beyond the commitments that have already been
7 made, we will have approximately \$59 billion of non-
8 Social Security surplus to use for everything else,
9 including additional debt reduction beyond that that is
10 going to come by the application of the Social Security
11 surplus to debt reduction, strengthening Social Security,
12 strengthening Medicare, and providing a reasonable
13 Medicare prescription medication benefit.

14 We heard in yesterday's hearing on prescription
15 medication that, with one exception, all of the people
16 who testified on panel one said that the Senate Budget
17 resolution was inadequate in the amount of money that it
18 has identified for prescription medication, that we need
19 to go beyond the amount that the Senate Budget resolution
20 incorporates. That would be another possible area in
21 which we would want to use the non-Social Security
22 surplus.

23 Now, in terms of the \$150 billion that we have
24 allocated for tax cuts, we have already committed in the
25 Bankruptcy bill, with its minimum wage and tax

1 provisions, the Patient Bill of Rights bill, and the
2 Education Savings Account bill, a total of \$43.7 billion
3 in tax cuts over the next five years, this bill would
4 provide an additional \$69.8 billion in tax cuts over the
5 next five years, or a total of \$113.5 billion.

6 So we, with this action today, will have committed 76
7 percent of all of the tax cuts that the Senate Budget
8 resolution will sanction to measures already included in
9 three bills that the Senate has passed, plus this bill
10 which is being recommended to the Senate to pass.

11 I think that is not the way to go about doing the
12 public's business, is this drip, drip, drip, drip of tax
13 relief without ever looking at what the whole pool of
14 possible tax policy is and making an objective judgment
15 across issues, what is the most important, what will best
16 advance the public interest of the United States.

17 So, in addition to the comments that have been made
18 about the specifics of the proposal before us, I am
19 concerned about the way in which we are approaching the
20 utilization of the non-Social Security surplus, and for
21 that reason cannot support the Chairman's mark.

22 The Chairman. The general debate is now completed,
23 and the Chairman's mark is now open to amendment.

24 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, I would wish to
25 offer a substitute. We have a title for our substitute.

1 It is, Save Trent Lott's Seat. [Laughter]. We can solve
2 that problem directly, in a way that your daughter will
3 not have to go to law school to understand what has
4 happened.

5 I do not want to speak at any greater length. I
6 would make the point that the five-year cost of our
7 measure is \$20 billion. We are very much aware of the
8 concerns that the Senator from Florida and the Senator
9 from Virginia have mentioned.

10 We include the recipients of the Earned Income Tax.
11 There you really have a social problem. You have two
12 single persons receiving the Earned Income Tax Credit,
13 which by definition means low income. If they were to
14 marry, it really hurts them. I mean, money they would
15 miss. We solve that.

16 I am informed by our wonderful professional staff
17 that our measure would eliminate all 66 of the marriage
18 penalties that the Senator from Utah has mentioned. I
19 was not aware that there were 66, but there are, and we
20 take care of them.

21 Finally, to say that--I will say later--the
22 Department of the Treasury is very much concerned about
23 the size of the Chairman's mark. It would not be signed
24 into law. We have here and now the opportunity to save
25 Senator Lott's seat, and protect the surplus. What more

1 could you hope for? Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of
2 the amendment.

3 The Chairman. First, let me say that I am very
4 familiar with the substitute amendment that Senator
5 Moynihan has offered, and I want to say there are a lot
6 of good things about it. I am particularly pleased to
7 see that our Democratic colleagues are offering an
8 amendment, recognizing the unfairness of the marriage
9 penalty.

10 But, that said, I did not propose a separate filing
11 plan this year because, as Chairman, one of my
12 responsibilities is to work with the members to try to
13 achieve consensus. In the past few weeks, I solicited
14 input from all members of the committee, both sides of
15 the aisle.

16 Senator Moynihan. You did. You did.

17 The Chairman. I am pleased to say, many of you on
18 both sides of the aisle did outline your views. Now,
19 after listening to the various viewpoints, I did come to
20 the conclusion that the best approach at this time is to
21 build on the foundation that Congress has already
22 approved.

23 Last year in the conference report of the Taxpayer
24 Relief Act of 1999, Congress adopted three components of
25 marriage penalty relief: an expansion of the standard

1 deduction for married couples filing jointly, a widening
2 of the tax brackets, and an increase in the income phase-
3 out for the Earned Income Tax Credit.

4 A different part of the bill also addressed the
5 minimum tax issue, which I do not believe the Democratic
6 substitute does. This year, the House passed a marriage
7 penalty tax bill that included these first three
8 components.

9 Now, my mark, along with the modifications, used this
10 foundation and took it a step further. We have raised
11 the beginning and ending point of the Earned Income
12 Credit phase-out by \$2,500, making sure that many low-
13 income people receive marriage penalty relief.

14 We also devoted substantial resources to preserving
15 family tax credits from the Alternative Minimum Tax. We
16 do not want to be in a position where we solve a couple's
17 marriage penalty, saving them hundreds of dollars, and
18 then taking it away from the other hand because we have
19 not preserved their child credit from the minimum tax
20 cutback.

21 Finally, we accelerate the increase in the 15 percent
22 tax bracket for married couples filing a joint return.
23 We also add a phased-in increase to the 28 percent
24 bracket. What we have done, is to eliminate the largest
25 source of the marriage penalty, the structure of the rate

1 brackets for all but a small percentage of those who
2 suffer from a marriage penalty.

3 We have done it. We have done it in a way that,
4 simply because a family has only one wage earner, it is
5 not treated differently than a family where both spouses
6 work. This is a laudable goal, and one that I support.

7 In short, I believe that the proposal that we have in
8 front of us, the Chairman's mark, is the right approach
9 at this time, and I respectfully urge my colleagues to
10 vote against the substitute amendment.

11 Senator Moynihan. Mr. Chairman, if I may just make
12 one remark. You said that the measure you proposed would
13 eliminate the marriage penalty for all but a small
14 percentage of the taxpayers. Well, sir, it leaves the
15 grievance even more acute for that small percentage. Our
16 measure eliminates it for everyone. So, I am prepared to
17 vote.

18 Senator Baucus. Mr. Chairman?

19 The Chairman. Senator Baucus.

20 Senator Baucus. I just wanted to make a brief
21 comment here. I think it is worth repeating the point
22 that Senator Moynihan made. It is the elegance and
23 simplicity of the approach, namely, allowing people to
24 choose gives people, first, that option, which it is
25 always good to do--almost always--and second, it has the

1 effect of addressing the marriage penalty inequity
2 throughout the Code. It is not like just the rates, but
3 also the credits. The Majority mark addresses the rate
4 inequities, but not the credit.

5 As Senator Hatch talked about addressing some of the
6 credits, that would be kind of selectively addressing the
7 credit inequities. But when you choose as a joint filer,
8 you automatically address all inequities. It is not just
9 the rates, but it is also the credit inequities, of which
10 there are about 60--some credits now in the Code.

11 In addition to that, in effect, we are providing AMT
12 relief, by definition, and even greater than the AMT
13 relief that is in the mark, by definition. It is
14 important to know the consequence of this very simple
15 approach does more broadly and more completely address
16 the marriage penalty problems than the alternative,
17 namely, the mark. I compliment Senator Moynihan for
18 pushing that proposal.

19 The Chairman. I would just make one comment. That
20 is, the approach recommended by my distinguished
21 colleague is, indeed, complex. It does require the
22 taxpayers to make many complex calculations to determine
23 who has what income and what deductions. That should not
24 be over- or under-estimated. So, there is that
25 complexity inherent in that approach.

1 But, again, I say I am happy to see my colleagues on
2 both sides of the aisle recognize the importance of
3 addressing the marriage penalty, but I would urge them to
4 reject the substitute in favor of the Chairman's mark.

5 With that, I would ask the Clerk to call the roll.

6 Senator Breaux. Mr. Chairman?

7 The Chairman. Yes, Senator Breaux?

8 Senator Breaux. Can I ask staff a technical
9 question on the bill? I would like to ask Mr. Talisman,
10 and Lindy, if you have a different comment. I have two
11 questions.

12 The first, is on the AMT. It is my understanding
13 that Senator Moynihan's AMT bill would say that any
14 benefit any couple gets as a result of this bill would
15 not subject the couple to AMT taxation on that benefit.
16 It seems to me that, by excluding one of the brackets,
17 that the Republican bill would subject how many people to
18 an AMT tax under their bill?

19 Mr. Talisman. Senator Breaux, in response to your
20 question, I believe Senator Moynihan's amendment does
21 allow the joint taxpayers to calculate their tax as if
22 they were single for purposes of the AMT as well as the
23 regular tax.

24 Senator Moynihan. It does.

25 Mr. Talisman. It does. It does allow that. And

1 with respect to the question on the Chairman's mark, the
2 change in the brackets and the other changes in the bill
3 would increase the number of AMT taxpayers by about \$9
4 million, but then the AMT fix would bring that back down
5 by about \$3.5 million. So the Chairman's mark, we
6 believe would add about \$5.5 million taxpayers to the
7 AMT.

8 Senator Breaux. All right. The second question.
9 My staff tells me that over half----

10 Mr. Talisman. That is \$3.5 million.

11 Senator Breaux. \$5.5 million.

12 Senator Breaux. All right. The second question I
13 have, my staff tells me, and is this correct or not, that
14 over one-half of the money in the Chairman's bill would
15 go to provide, I guess they call it, relief to people who
16 currently do not suffer a marriage penalty, is that
17 correct?

18 Mr. Talisman. Yes. Over half of the relief in the
19 Chairman's mark would go to taxpayers with either
20 marriage bonuses or single taxpayers, that is correct.

21 Senator Breaux. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 The Chairman. I would just make the observation
23 that we already took the action with respect to AMT for
24 three years, and all we are doing is make sure that, when
25 we promised the American family they would get a child

1 tax credit, they would not lose it through the
2 Alternative Minimum Tax. We assure that they will
3 continue to get it permanently, and I think that is
4 perfectly clear.

5 With that, I would urge the Clerk to call the roll.
6 The vote is on the substitute. An aye vote would be in
7 favor of the substitute, nay would be opposed.

8 The Clerk. Mr. Grassley?

9 The Chairman. Mr. Grassley votes no, by proxy.

10 The Clerk. Mr. Hatch?

11 Senator Hatch. No.

12 The Clerk. Mr. Murkowski?

13 The Chairman. No, by proxy.

14 The Clerk. Mr. Nickles?

15 Senator Nickles. No.

16 The Clerk. Mr. Gramm, of Texas?

17 The Chairman. No, by proxy.

18 The Clerk. Mr. Lott?

19 Senator Lott. No.

20 The Clerk. Mr. Jeffords?

21 Senator Jeffords. No.

22 The Clerk. Mr. Mack?

23 Senator Mack. No.

24 The Clerk. Mr. Thompson?

25 The Chairman. No, by proxy.

1 The Clerk. Mr. Coverdell?

2 Senator Coverdell. No.

3 The Clerk. Mr. Moynihan?

4 Senator Moynihan. Aye.

5 The Clerk. Mr. Baucus?

6 Senator Baucus. Aye.

7 The Clerk. Mr. Rockefeller?

8 Senator Rockefeller. Aye.

9 The Clerk. Mr. Breaux?

10 Senator Breaux. Aye.

11 The Clerk. Mr. Conrad?

12 Senator Moynihan. Aye, by proxy.

13 The Clerk. Mr. Graham, of Florida?

14 Senator Graham. Aye.

15 The Clerk. Mr. Bryan?

16 Senator Bryan. Aye.

17 The Clerk. Mr. Kerrey?

18 Senator Moynihan. Aye, by proxy.

19 The Clerk. Mr. Robb?

20 Senator Robb. Aye.

21 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman?

22 The Chairman. No.

23 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, we have 9 ayes and 11

24 nays.

25 The Chairman. The amendment is not agreed to.

1 Senator Graham. Mr. Chairman?

2 The Chairman. The Senator from Florida.

3 Senator Graham. I would like to call up the Graham-
4 Robb-Bryan amendment number one.

5 The Chairman. Please proceed.

6 Senator Graham. Mr. Chairman, this amendment states
7 that the proposed tax cuts would not go into effect until
8 the Congress has adopted legislation which would extend
9 the solvency of the Social Security program trust fund
10 through 2075 and the Medicare Part A trust fund through
11 the year 2025.

12 The purpose of this, is to try to, if I could return
13 to my grandchildren's birthday party tonight, to do what
14 they are not going to do, and that is that we should eat
15 our spinach before we start eating our cake. The United
16 States has a contractual commitment to its citizens for a
17 secure Social Security and Medicare program.

18 These are programs into which the American people
19 have been paying through the payroll tax and have every
20 legal and moral right to expect that they will receive
21 the benefits.

22 I believe that is a high moral obligation of this
23 Congress. I believe that we should fulfill that
24 obligation before we begin committing the non-Social
25 Security surplus to other purposes. As indicated before,

1 we only have reserved in the Senate Budget resolution \$59
2 billion of non-Social Security surplus over the next five
3 years for purposes other than fulfilling the tax cuts
4 that are proposed.

5 With this action today, if we take it as recommended,
6 we will have committed 76 percent of the tax amount to
7 proposals that, in my judgment, have not been adequately
8 analyzed in terms of their relative importance to the
9 American people.

10 Virtually every proposal that has been made, whether
11 it is a Republican proposal or a Democratic proposal, to
12 strengthen Social Security and Medicare uses a portion of
13 the non-Social Security surplus to meet that objective of
14 strengthening these two programs.

15 I think that it is a classic case of eating dessert
16 before the main course for us to be utilizing the non-
17 Social Security surplus until we have fulfilled our
18 obligation to these programs.

19 So, Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of this
20 amendment, in which I am joined by Senator Robb and
21 Senator Bryan, which would establish a sequence of
22 priorities and would say that strengthening Social
23 Security to the year 2075 and assuring its solvency, and
24 the solvency of the Medicare Part A program through 2025,
25 are our two priority national objectives, national

1 obligations, before we consider other matters, including
2 a matter as appealing as the proposal to reduce the
3 marriage penalty.

4 Senator Robb. Mr. Chairman?

5 The Chairman. Yes. The Senator from Virginia.

6 Senator Robb. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am
7 pleased to co-sponsor the amendment just offered by my
8 distinguished colleague from Florida. It is very clear
9 that the economy is not in desperate need of stimulation
10 at this particular point.

11 This would allow those who believe that this is good
12 public policy to have, in effect, bragging rights, but
13 would allow us to act in a responsible manner to deal
14 with the truly pressing need to make substantial systemic
15 revisions to guarantee the long-term solvency of both
16 Social Security and Medicare. I think it is a very
17 responsible approach. It gives both sides something to
18 take home, and I hope it would be the pleasure of this
19 committee to adopt the amendment.

20 Senator Nickles. Mr. Chairman?

21 The Chairman. The Senator from Oklahoma.

22 Senator Nickles. Mr. Chairman, just reading the
23 amendment, I am kind of amused, because I just left the
24 Budget Committee and the Budget Committee just passed a
25 resolution that says, well, we direct the Finance

1 Committee to pass a drug benefit, and oh, yes, if you can
2 do it responsibly, fine, but if you cannot, do it anyway.
3 I am kind of amused, because that would just blow the
4 heck out of the last part of Medicare Part A.

5 Senator Moynihan. Was that Senator Graham's
6 proposal?

7 Senator Nickles. I do not think it was Senator
8 Graham's proposal. I think it came from a couple of
9 other Senators. My point being, is that that type of
10 philosophy, I guess somebody can say, well, we will have
11 a drug benefit, therefore there will never be a tax cut.
12 Or we will have some other change, and therefore you will
13 never have any tax cut. We will just postpone any tax
14 cuts because Congress can figure out ways to spend it.
15 So, anyway, I would urge our colleagues to vote no on the
16 amendment.

17 Senator Graham. If I could just respond to that. I
18 disassociate myself from whatever happened in the Budget
19 Committee. [Laughter]. This is as clear as a statement
20 as I can construct, which states that our two first
21 priorities are to meet the contractual obligation that
22 the Federal Government has to tens of millions of
23 Americans, including most of us in this room today in the
24 not-too-distant future, to fulfill the obligation of the
25 Social Security trust fund and the Medicare Part A trust

1 fund. Those two obligations should be met before we
2 consider or before we make effective other uses of the
3 non-Social Security surplus. I urge the adoption of this
4 amendment.

5 Senator Gramm. Mr. Chairman, I will be brief.

6 The Chairman. Senator Gramm.

7 Senator Gramm. I never ceases to amaze me that,
8 when the President proposes a budget that increases non-
9 defense discretionary spending by 14 percent, you have
10 got to go all the way back to the first year Lyndon
11 Johnson was President to equal that, people do not think
12 those spending programs ought to be tied to whether or
13 not we are meeting all of these obligations. The only
14 time anybody is ever concerned about these things, is
15 when we are talking about letting working people keep
16 more.

17 The incredible paradox is that, if we spend money on
18 these new programs, we will never be able to get the
19 money back if we need it. If we give people a tax cut,
20 if we have a crisis and need the money back, we can raise
21 taxes, as has been done on numerous occasions.

22 So I just do not understand the logic of this. If
23 this said none of the new spending and none of the tax
24 cuts would go into effect if you did not meet these
25 obligations, then you would automatically overturn all

1 these new programs, then I would say this is a logic
2 amendment, you could be for it or against it. But why we
3 single out tax cuts and do not single out spending, I do
4 not know.

5 Senator Graham. Mr. Chairman, if I could just
6 respond to that.

7 The Chairman. The Senator from Florida.

8 Senator Graham. I am certain that my teutonic
9 cousin joined me last year in opposing all of those
10 egregious provisions that exceeded the budget ceilings,
11 and I hope that we will have an opportunity----

12 Senator Gramm. I do not know if you were there or
13 not, but I was.

14 Senator Graham. I voted against, for instance, that
15 last humongous proposal that we had that pushed us so far
16 beyond our 1997 commitments, and I look forward to
17 joining with you on the floor in doing so again this
18 year.

19 But today in the Finance Committee, the only issue
20 that we can deal with is the jurisdiction of the Finance
21 Committee, which happens to be on the tax side of the
22 fiscal equation.

23 Today, I will take the step that I can take today,
24 which is to say that this tax provision should not become
25 effective until we have dealt with the other major

1 responsibilities of the Finance Committee, which is
2 solvency of Social Security and solvency of the Medicare
3 Part A program.

4 I would urge the adoption of the amendment.

5 The Chairman. If there is no further request for
6 time, I urge the Clerk to call the roll.

7 The Clerk. Mr. Grassley?

8 Senator Grassley. No.

9 The Clerk. Mr. Hatch?

10 Senator Hatch. No.

11 The Clerk. Mr. Murkowski?

12 The Chairman. No, by proxy.

13 The Clerk. Mr. Nickles?

14 Senator Nickles. No.

15 The Clerk. Mr. Gramm, of Texas?

16 Senator Gramm. No.

17 The Clerk. Mr. Lott?

18 Senator Lott. No.

19 The Clerk. Mr. Jeffords?

20 Senator Jeffords. No.

21 The Clerk. Mr. Mack?

22 Senator Mack. No.

23 The Clerk. Mr. Thompson?

24 Senator Thompson. No.

25 The Clerk. Mr. Coverdell?

1 Senator Coverdell. No.
2 The Clerk. Mr. Moynihan?
3 Senator Moynihan. Aye.
4 The Clerk. Mr. Baucus?
5 Senator Moynihan. Aye, by proxy.
6 The Clerk. Mr. Rockefeller?
7 Senator Rockefeller. Aye.
8 The Clerk. Mr. Breaux?
9 Senator Breaux. Aye.
10 The Clerk. Mr. Conrad?
11 Senator Conrad. Aye.
12 The Clerk. Mr. Graham, of Florida?
13 Senator Graham. Aye.
14 The Clerk. Mr. Bryan?
15 Senator Bryan. Aye.
16 The Clerk. Mr. Kerrey?
17 Senator Moynihan. Aye, by proxy.
18 The Clerk. Mr. Robb?
19 Senator Robb. Aye.
20 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman?
21 The Chairman. No.
22 Senator Baucus. Mr. Chairman?
23 The Chairman. The Senator from Montana?
24 Senator Baucus. I vote aye.
25 The Clerk. Mr. Baucus votes aye. Mr. Chairman, the

1 tally is 9 ayes and 11 nays.

2 The Chairman. The amendment is not agreed to. We
3 will now proceed with the vote on final passage of the
4 Chairman's mark.

5 Senator Rockefeller. Mr. Chairman, with your
6 permission?

7 The Chairman. The Senator from West Virginia.

8 Senator Rockefeller. I have an amendment at the
9 desk which I am not going to call forward because I
10 recognize it would be declared non-germane.

11 But last year when we discussed this, the Chairman
12 and the Ranking Member of the committee indicated that we
13 would have a chance this year to do what I have been
14 striving to do for nine years now, and that is, since the
15 passage of the Coal Act, to provide security for retired
16 miners who, at the time that we passed it, there were
17 about 122,000, now there are about 66,000.

18 It is something, as members know very well, that I
19 feel very passionately about. These are people who are,
20 on average, age 77 years old. Yes, they get Medicare,
21 but these are people that average 10-12 pills per day,
22 and they get Medigap wrap-around that pays for some of
23 their medication, it does not for others.

24 I really think that people who have worked as hard
25 and long as they have in the coal mines in the world's

1 most dangerous job, most of these working back in the
2 pick and shovel days, that they, if they are still
3 living, or their widows, deserve health benefits.

4 These health benefits were removed by the companies
5 who had promised to give them health care benefits, and
6 health care benefits are the most important thing in an
7 aged miner's life, or a widow's life.

8 The situation, very simply, is that because of some
9 legislation that was passed and because of inflation
10 adjustments on a medical basis for this combined fund,
11 the fund is now losing, and will lose in perpetuity,
12 about \$40-50 million per year unless we do something.
13 The result of that will be, in absolute terms, that there
14 will be a cut in benefits for these people.

15 Now, we faced a situation last year, and at the last
16 second it was bailed out in the Appropriations Committee,
17 but it was simply a one-year fix. So the administration
18 has included, over a 10-year period, \$346 million that
19 would, in fact, solve this problem. They have put it in
20 the baseline, so it is secure in that respect. But, of
21 course, we have to pass it.

22 Mr. Chairman, I want to work very much with the
23 members of the committee to try and solve this problem,
24 because I know they sometimes get tired of my talking
25 about it. But Senator Nickles has asked for, along with

1 Senator Roth, for a GAO report on it, and I understand
2 that. There are super reach-back questions, and these
3 are technical terms, but the members of the committee----

4 The Chairman. I would say to the distinguished
5 Senator----

6 Senator Rockefeller. I was just going to ask, will
7 there be a chance this year to try to solve this problem,
8 Mr. Chairman?

9 The Chairman. Well, as you know, last year I
10 committed myself to work with you, as well as the other
11 interested Senators and the administration, on this issue
12 in the context of appropriate legislation. I would just
13 point out, besides yourself we have Senators Grassley,
14 Nickles, and Thompson interested in this manner, so we
15 will proceed to work with you.

16 Senator Rockefeller. I thank the Chair.

17 The Chairman. With that, we will proceed with the
18 vote on enactment of the Chairman's mark. I move its
19 adoption. Those in favor will signify by saying aye,
20 those opposed, nay.

21 I do move that we report the modified Chairman's mark
22 as an original bill to the Senate, and that the staff is
23 authorized to make technical changes in drafting.

24 The Clerk will please to proceed.

25 The Clerk. Mr. Grassley?

1 Senator Grassley. Aye.
2 The Clerk. Mr. Hatch?
3 Senator Hatch. Aye.
4 The Clerk. Mr. Murkowski?
5 Senator Murkowski. Aye.
6 The Clerk. Mr. Nickles?
7 Senator Nickles. Aye.
8 The Clerk. Mr. Gramm, of Texas?
9 Senator Gramm. Aye.
10 The Clerk. Mr. Lott?
11 Senator Lott. Aye.
12 The Clerk. Mr. Jeffords?
13 Senator Jeffords. Aye.
14 The Clerk. Mr. Mack?
15 Senator Mack. Aye.
16 The Clerk. Mr. Thompson?
17 Senator Thompson. Aye.
18 The Clerk. Mr. Coverdell?
19 Senator Coverdell. Aye.
20 The Clerk. Mr. Moynihan?
21 Senator Moynihan. No.
22 The Clerk. Mr. Baucus?
23 Senator Baucus. No.
24 The Clerk. Mr. Rockefeller?
25 Senator Rockefeller. No.

1 The Clerk. Mr. Breaux?
2 Senator Breaux. No.
3 The Clerk. Mr. Conrad?
4 Senator Conrad. No.
5 The Clerk. Mr. Graham, of Florida?
6 Senator Graham. No.
7 The Clerk. Mr. Bryan?
8 Senator Bryan. No.
9 The Clerk. Mr. Kerrey?
10 Senator Moynihan. Votes no, by proxy.
11 The Clerk. Mr. Robb?
12 Senator Robb. No.
13 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman?
14 The Chairman. Aye.
15 The Clerk. Mr. Chairman, we have 11 ayes and 9
16 nays.
17 The Chairman. The modified Chairman's mark is
18 adopted and will be appropriately reported to the floor.
19 Senator Moynihan. Congratulations, Mr. Chairman.
20 As little as we hoped for this outcome, we respect the
21 skill with which you have brought it about.
22 The Chairman. Thank you very much, Senator
23 Moynihan.
24 The committee is in recess.
25 [Whereupon, at 12:00 p.m., the meeting was

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concluded.]

**UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE**

Thursday, March 30, 2000

10:00 a.m.

215 Dirksen Senate Office Building

**OPEN EXECUTIVE SESSION
AGENDA**

Chairman's Mark regarding Marriage Tax Penalty Relief

**DESCRIPTION OF A CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000**

Scheduled for Markup

by the

SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

on March 30, 2000

Prepared by the Staff

of the

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION



March 28, 2000

JCX-34-00

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C. Increase the Beginning Point and Ending Point of the Earned Income Credit Phase-out for Married Couples	6
D. Preserve Family Tax Credits from the Alternative Minimum Tax	8

INTRODUCTION

This document,¹ prepared by the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, provides a description of a chairman's mark of "The Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000," scheduled for markup by the Senate Committee on Finance on March 30, 2000.

¹ This document may be cited as follows: Joint Committee on Taxation, *Description of a Chairman's Mark of The Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000* (JCX-34-00), March 28, 2000.

I. MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF PROVISIONS

A. Standard Deduction for Married Couples Set at Two Times the Standard Deduction for Single Individuals

Present Law

Marriage penalty and bonus in general

A married couple generally is treated as one tax unit that must pay tax on the couple's total taxable income. Although married couples may elect to file separate returns, the rate schedules and other provisions are structured so that filing separate returns usually results in a higher tax than filing a joint return. Other rate schedules apply to single persons and to single heads of households.

A "marriage penalty" exists when the combined tax liability of a married couple filing a joint return is greater than the sum of the tax liabilities of each individual computed as if they were not married. A "marriage bonus" exists when the combined tax liability of a married couple filing a joint return is less than the sum of the tax liabilities of each individual computed as if they were not married.

While the size of any marriage penalty or bonus under present law depends upon the individuals' incomes, number of dependents, and itemized deductions, as a general rule married couples whose incomes are split more evenly than 70-30 suffer a marriage penalty. Married couples whose incomes are largely attributable to one spouse generally receive a marriage bonus.

Under present law, the size of the standard deduction and the tax bracket breakpoints follow certain customary ratios across filing statuses. The standard deduction and tax bracket breakpoints for single filers are roughly 60 percent of those for joint filers.² Thus, two single individuals have standard deductions whose sum exceeds the standard deduction for a married couple filing a joint return.

Basic standard deduction³

Taxpayers who do not itemize deductions may choose the basic standard deduction (and additional standard deductions, if applicable), which is subtracted from adjusted gross income

² This is not true for the 39.6-percent rate. The beginning point of this rate bracket is the same for all taxpayers regardless of filing status.

³ Additional standard deductions are allowed with respect to any individual who is elderly (age 65 or over) or blind.

("AGI") in arriving at taxable income. The size of the basic standard deduction varies according to filing status and is indexed for inflation. For 2000, the size of the basic standard deduction for each filing status is shown in the following table:

Table 1.—Basic Standard Deduction Amounts

<u>Filing status</u>	<u>Basic standard deduction</u>
Single return	\$4,400
Head of household return	\$6,450
Married, joint return	\$7,350
Married, separate return	\$3,675

For 2000, the basic standard deduction for joint returns is 1.67 times the basic standard deduction for single returns.

Description of Proposal

The proposal would increase the basic standard deduction for a married couple filing a joint return to twice the basic standard deduction for a single individual beginning in 2001. The basic standard deduction for a married taxpayer filing separately would continue to equal one-half of the basic standard deduction for a married couple filing jointly.

Effective Date

The proposal would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2000.

**B. 15-Percent Rate Tax Bracket for Married Couples Set at Two Times
the 15-Percent Rate Tax Bracket for Single Individuals**

Present Law

To determine regular income tax liability, a taxpayer generally must apply the tax rate schedules (or the tax tables) to his or her taxable income. The rate schedules are broken into several ranges of income, known as income brackets, and the marginal tax rate increases as a taxpayer's income increases. The income bracket amounts are indexed for inflation. Separate rate schedules apply based on an individual's filing status. In order to limit multiple uses of a graduated rate schedule within a family, the net unearned income of a child under age 14 may be taxed as if it were the parent's income. For 2000, the individual regular income tax rate schedules are shown below. These rates apply to ordinary income; separate rates apply to capital gains.

Table 2.--Federal Individual Income Tax Rates for 2000

If taxable income is:	Then income tax equals:
	<i>Single individuals</i>
\$0-26,250	15 percent of taxable income
\$26,250-\$63,550	\$3,937.50, plus 28% of the amount over \$26,250
\$63,550-\$132,600	\$14,381.50 plus 31% of the amount over \$63,550
\$132,600-\$288,350	\$35,787 plus 36% of the amount over \$132,600
Over \$288,350	\$91,857 plus 39.6% of the amount over \$288,350
	<i>Heads of households</i>
\$0-\$35,150	15 percent of taxable income
\$35,150-\$90,800	\$5,272.50 plus 28% of the amount over \$35,150
\$90,800-\$147,050	\$20,854.50 plus 31% of the amount over \$90,800
\$147,050-\$288,350	\$38,292 plus 36% of the amount over \$147,050
Over \$288,350	\$89,160 plus 39.6% of the amount over \$288,350
	<i>Married individuals filing joint returns⁴</i>
\$0-\$43,850	15 percent of taxable income
\$43,850-\$105,950	\$6,577.50 plus 28% of the amount over \$43,850
\$105,950-\$161,450	\$23,965.50 plus 31% of the amount over \$105,950
\$161,450-\$288,350	\$41,170.50 plus 36% of the amount over \$161,450
Over \$288,350	\$86,854.50 plus 39.6% of the amount over \$288,350

⁴ Married individuals filing separately must apply a separate rate structure with tax rate brackets one-half the width of those for married individuals filing joint returns.

Description of Proposal

The proposal would increase the size of the 15-percent regular income tax rate bracket for a married couple filing a joint return to twice the size of the corresponding rate bracket for a single individual. This increase would be phased-in over six years as shown in the following table. Therefore, this provision would be fully effective (i.e., the size of the 15-percent regular income tax rate bracket for a married couple filing a joint return would be twice the size of the 15-percent regular income tax rate bracket for an single individual) for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2006.

<u>Taxable year</u>	<u>Percentage of 15-percent rate bracket for unmarried individuals</u>
2002	170.3
2003	173.8
2004	183.5
2005	184.3
2006	187.9
2007 and thereafter	200

Effective Date

The proposal would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2001.

C. Increase the Beginning Point and Ending Point of the Earned Income Credit Phase-out for Married Couples

Present Law

Certain eligible low-income workers are entitled to claim a refundable earned income credit ("EIC") on their income tax return. A refundable credit is a credit that not only reduces an individual's tax liability but allows refunds to the individual of amounts in excess of income tax liability. The amount of the credit an eligible individual may claim depends upon whether the individual has one, more than one, or no qualifying children, and is determined by multiplying the credit rate by the individual's earned income up to an earned income amount. The maximum amount of the credit is the product of the credit rate and the earned income amount. The credit is phased out above certain income levels. For individuals with earned income (or modified AGI, if greater) in excess of the beginning of the phase-out, the maximum credit amount is reduced by the phase-out rate multiplied by the earned income (or modified AGI, if greater) in excess of the beginning of the phase-out. For individuals with earned income (or modified AGI, if greater) in excess of the end of the phase-out, no credit is allowed. In the case of a married individual who files a joint return, the income for purposes of these tests is the combined income of the couple.

The parameters of the credit for 2000 are provided in the following table.

Table 3.--Earned Income Credit Parameters (2000)

	Two or more qualifying children	One qualifying child	No qualifying children
Credit rate (percent)	40.00	34.00	7.65
Earned income amount	\$9,720	\$6,920	\$4,610
Maximum credit	\$3,888	\$2,353	\$353
Phase-out begins	\$12,690	\$12,690	\$5,770
Phase-out rate (percent)	21.06	15.98	7.65
Phase-out ends	\$31,152	\$27,413	\$10,380

Description of Proposal

The proposal would increase the beginning point of the phase-out of the EIC for married couples filing a joint return by \$2,000. Because the rate of the phase-out would not be changed by the proposal, the ending point of the phase-out would also be increased by \$2,000. The effect of the increase in the beginning of the phase-out would be to increase the EIC for taxpayers in the income phase-out by an amount up to \$2,000 times the phase-out rate. For example, for couples with two or more qualifying children, the maximum increase in the EIC as a result of the

proposal would be \$2,000 times 21.06 percent, or \$421.20. The proposal would also expand the number of married couples eligible for the EIC. Specifically, the \$2,000 increase in the ending point of the phase-out would make married couples with earnings up to \$2,000 beyond the present-law phase-out eligible for the EIC. The beginning and ending points of the phase-out range of the EIC (including the \$2,000 increase for joint returns) would continue to be indexed for inflation, as under present law.

Effective Date

The proposal would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2000.

D. Preserve Family Tax Credits from the Alternative Minimum Tax

Present Law

In general

Present law provides for certain nonrefundable personal tax credits (i.e., the dependent care credit, the credit for the elderly and disabled, the adoption credit, the child tax credit, the credit for interest on certain home mortgages, the HOPE Scholarship and Lifetime Learning credits, and the D.C. homebuyer's credit). Except for taxable years beginning during 1998-2001, these credits are allowed only to the extent that the individual's regular income tax liability exceeds the individual's tentative minimum tax, determined without regard to the minimum tax foreign tax credit. For taxable years beginning during 1998 and 1999, these credits are allowed to the extent of the full amount of the individual's regular tax (without regard to the tentative minimum tax). For taxable years beginning during 2000 and 2001, the nonrefundable personal credits may offset both the regular tax and the minimum tax.⁵

An individual's tentative minimum tax is an amount equal to (1) 26 percent of the first \$175,000 (\$87,500 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return) of alternative minimum taxable income ("AMTI") in excess of a phased-out exemption amount plus (2) 28 percent of the remaining AMTI, if any. The maximum tax rates on net capital gain used in computing the tentative minimum tax are the same as under the regular tax. AMTI is the individual's taxable income adjusted to take account of specified preferences and adjustments. The exemption amounts are: (1) \$45,000 in the case of married individuals filing a joint return and surviving spouses; (2) \$33,750 in the case of other unmarried individuals; and (3) \$22,500 in the case of married individuals filing a separate return, estates and trusts. The exemption amounts are phased out by an amount equal to 25 percent of the amount by which the individual's AMTI exceeds (1) \$150,000 in the case of married individuals filing a joint return and surviving spouses, (2) \$112,500 in the case of other unmarried individuals, and (3) \$75,000 in the case of married individuals filing separate returns or an estate or a trust. These amounts are not indexed for inflation.

Reduction of refundable credits by alternative minimum tax

Refundable credits may offset tax liability determined under present-law tax rates and allows refunds to an individual in excess of income tax liability. However, the refundable child credit (beginning in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2001) and the earned income credit are reduced by the amount of the individual's alternative minimum tax.

⁵ The foreign tax credit is allowed before the personal credits in computing the regular tax for these years.

Description of Proposal

The proposal would permanently extend the provision that allows the personal nonrefundable credits to offset both the regular tax and the minimum tax.⁶

Also, the proposal would permanently repeal the reduction of the refundable credits by the amount of an individual's alternative minimum tax.

Effective Date

The proposals would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2001.

⁶ The foreign tax credit will continue to be allowed before the personal credits in computing the regular tax.



DESCRIPTION OF MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK

The Senate Committee on Finance has scheduled a markup of a Chairman's Mark of the "Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000"¹ on March 30, 2000. This document,² prepared by the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, contains a description of a modification to the Chairman's Mark.

A. Increase in the EIC Phase-out for Married Couples

The modification would increase the beginning and ending income levels of the phase-out of the EIC for married couples filing a joint return by \$2,500, instead of the \$2,000 increase in the Chairman's mark. The beginning and ending income levels of the EIC phase-out (including the \$2,500 increase for joint returns) would continue to be indexed for inflation, as under present law. For couples with two or more qualifying children, the maximum increase in the EIC as a result of the modification would be \$2,500 times 21.06 percent, or \$526.50.

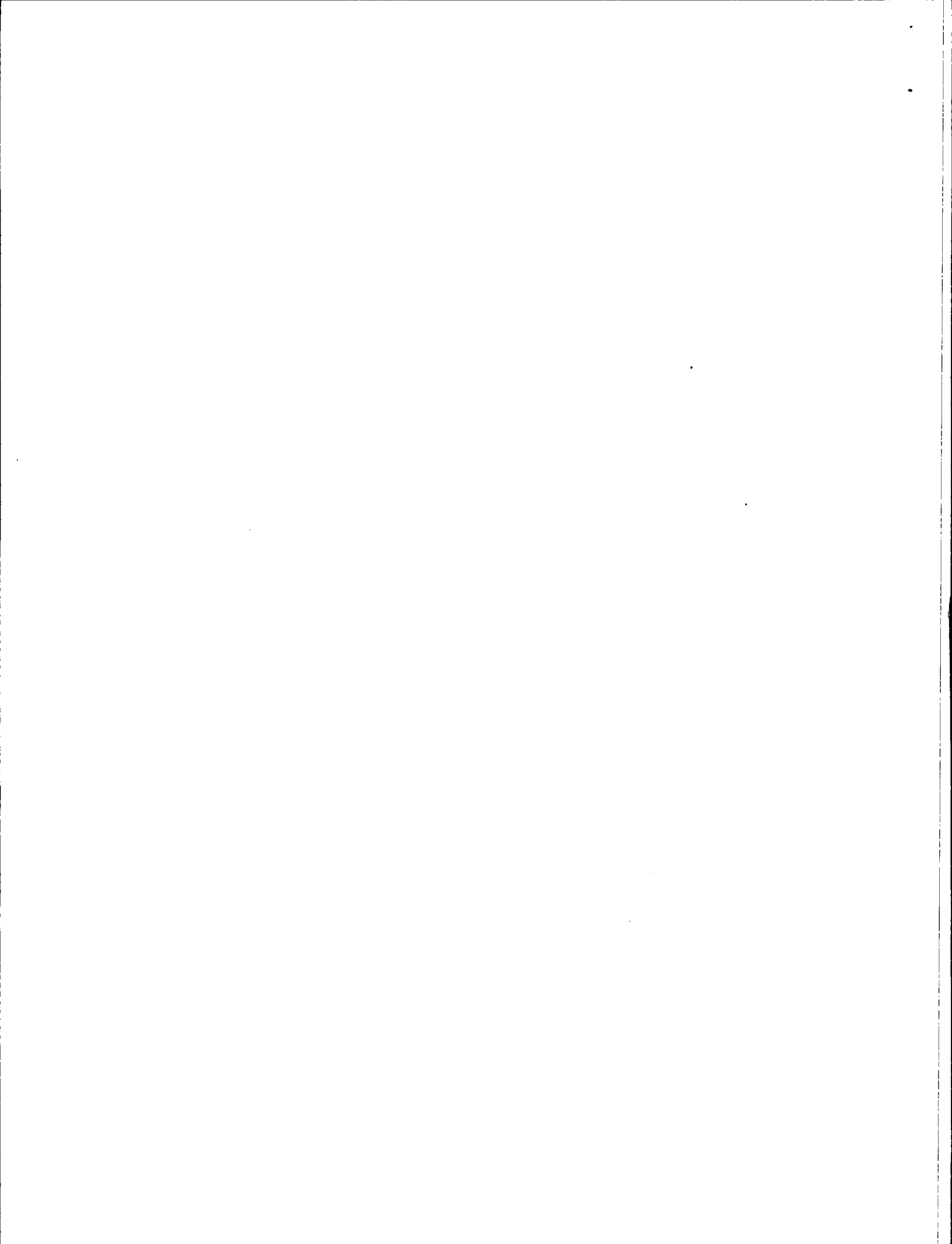
The modification relating to the EIC phase-out would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2000.

B. Increase in Rate Brackets for Married Couples

The modification would adjust the phase in of the 15-percent regular income tax rate bracket in the Chairman's Mark, and would add a new provision to increase the size of the 28-percent regular income tax rate bracket for married couples filing a joint return to twice the size of the corresponding rate bracket for a single individual. The increase in the 15-percent and 28-percent rate brackets would be phased-in over six years as follows:

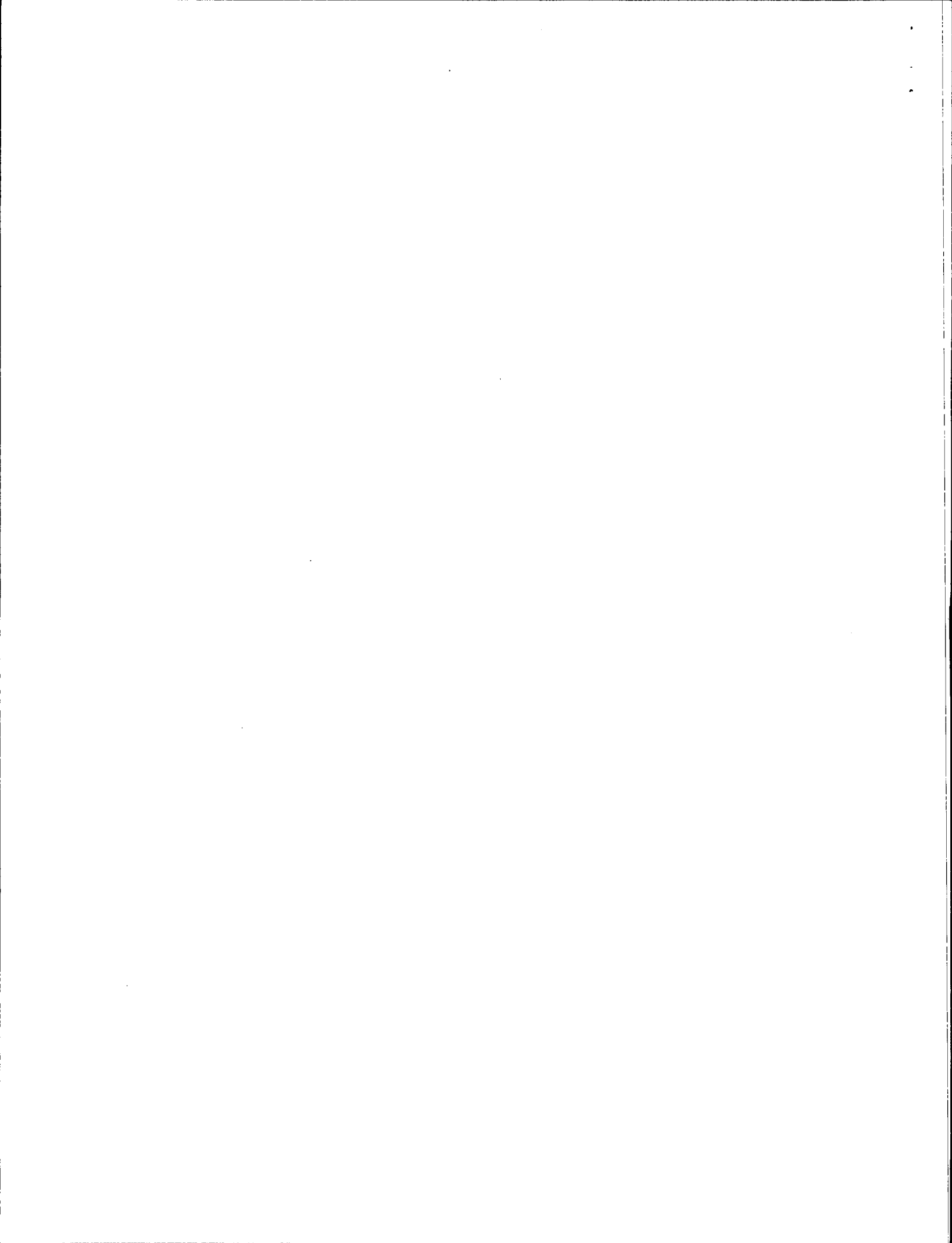
¹ A description of the provisions of the Chairman's Mark of the Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000 may be found in Joint Committee on Taxation, *Description of a Chairman's Mark of the Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000 (JCX-34-00)*, March 28, 2000.

² This document may be cited as follows: Joint Committee on Taxation, *Description of Modification to the Chairman's Mark (JCX-39-00)*, March 30, 2000.



<u>Taxable year</u>	<u>Joint return rate bracket as a percentage of single return rate bracket</u>
2002	170.3
2003	173.8
2004	180.0
2005	183.2
2006	185.0
2007 and thereafter	200

The modification to the 15-percent and 28-percent rate brackets would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2001.



**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Prepared by the Staff

of the

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION



March 30, 2000

JCX-40-00

**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000" (1)
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Calendar Year 2001

INCOME CATEGORY (2)	CHANGE IN FEDERAL TAXES (3)		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PRESENT LAW		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PROPOSAL		Effective Tax Rate (4)	
	Millions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
Less than \$10,000.....	-\$18	-0.3%	\$7	0.4%	\$7	0.4%	8.6%	8.6%
10,000 to 20,000.....	-287	-1.1%	26	1.5%	25	1.5%	7.2%	7.1%
20,000 to 30,000.....	-946	-1.5%	62	3.7%	61	3.7%	12.5%	12.3%
30,000 to 40,000.....	-1,123	-1.2%	95	5.7%	94	5.6%	16.2%	16.0%
40,000 to 50,000.....	-1,013	-1.0%	105	6.3%	104	6.3%	17.5%	17.4%
50,000 to 75,000.....	-1,900	-0.7%	276	16.6%	274	16.5%	20.1%	20.0%
75,000 to 100,000.....	-1,285	-0.5%	246	14.8%	245	14.8%	22.6%	22.5%
100,000 to 200,000.....	-735	-0.2%	393	23.6%	392	23.7%	25.0%	25.0%
200,000 and over.....	-109	(5)	457	27.4%	457	27.5%	28.4%	28.4%
Total, All Taxpayers.....	-\$7,416	-0.4%	\$1,665	100.0%	\$1,658	100.0%	21.5%	21.4%

Source: Joint Committee on Taxation
Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

- (1) Includes increases in the standard deduction, 15% and 28% brackets, and EIC phaseout level for married couples and repeal of AMT limit on refundable and nonrefundable personal credits.
- (2) The income concept used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income (AGI) plus: [1] tax-exempt interest, [2] employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, [3] employer share of FICA tax, [4] worker's compensation, [5] nontaxable social security benefits, [6] insurance value of Medicare benefits, [7] alternative minimum tax preference items, and [8] excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2000 levels.
- (3) Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of the EIC), employment tax (attributed to employees), and excise taxes (attributed to consumers). Corporate income tax is not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of the tax. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.
- (4) The effective tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote (3) divided by: income described in footnote (2) plus additional income attributable to the proposal.
- (5) Less than 0.005%.

**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000" (1)
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Calendar Year 2002

INCOME CATEGORY (2)	CHANGE IN FEDERAL TAXES (3)		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PRESENT LAW		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PROPOSAL		Effective Tax Rate (4)	
	Millions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
							Percent	Percent
Less than \$10,000.....	-\$18	-0.2%	\$7	0.4%	\$7	0.4%	9.0%	9.0%
10,000 to 20,000.....	-282	-1.1%	26	1.5%	26	1.5%	7.3%	7.2%
20,000 to 30,000.....	-948	-1.5%	63	3.6%	62	3.6%	12.4%	12.2%
30,000 to 40,000.....	-1,172	-1.2%	97	5.6%	96	5.5%	16.1%	15.9%
40,000 to 50,000.....	-1,099	-1.0%	109	6.3%	108	6.3%	17.6%	17.4%
50,000 to 75,000.....	-2,465	-0.9%	287	16.5%	284	16.5%	20.0%	19.8%
75,000 to 100,000.....	-2,710	-1.1%	257	14.8%	254	14.7%	22.5%	22.3%
100,000 to 200,000.....	-2,318	-0.6%	417	24.0%	415	24.0%	25.1%	24.9%
200,000 and over.....	-555	-0.1%	474	27.3%	474	27.4%	28.5%	28.5%
Total, All Taxpayers....	-\$11,566	-0.7%	\$1,738	100.0%	\$1,726	100.0%	21.5%	21.4%

Source: Joint Committee on Taxation

Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

- (1) Includes increases in the standard deduction, 15% and 28% brackets, and EIC phaseout level for married couples and repeal of AMT limit on refundable and nonrefundable personal credits.
- (2) The income concept used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income (AGI) plus: [1] tax-exempt interest, [2] employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, [3] employer share of FICA tax, [4] worker's compensation, [5] nontaxable social security benefits, [6] insurance value of Medicare benefits, [7] alternative minimum tax preference items, and [8] excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2000 levels.
- (3) Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of the EIC), employment tax (attributed to employees), and excise taxes (attributed to consumers). Corporate income tax is not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of the tax. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.
- (4) The effective tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote (3) divided by: income described in footnote (2) plus additional income attributable to the proposal.
- (5) Less than 0.005%.

**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000" (1)
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Calendar Year 2003

INCOME CATEGORY (2)	CHANGE IN FEDERAL TAXES (3)		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PRESENT LAW		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PROPOSAL		Effective Tax Rate (4)	
	Millions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
Less than \$10,000.....	-\$19	-0.2%	\$7	0.4%	\$7	0.4%	9.3%	9.2%
10,000 to 20,000.....	-276	-1.0%	27	1.5%	26	1.5%	7.4%	7.3%
20,000 to 30,000.....	-932	-1.4%	65	3.6%	64	3.5%	12.4%	12.2%
30,000 to 40,000.....	-1,223	-1.2%	100	5.5%	99	5.5%	16.0%	15.8%
40,000 to 50,000.....	-1,205	-1.1%	111	6.1%	110	6.1%	17.4%	17.2%
50,000 to 75,000.....	-2,823	-0.9%	299	16.5%	296	16.5%	19.9%	19.8%
75,000 to 100,000.....	-3,905	-1.4%	270	14.9%	266	14.8%	22.4%	22.0%
100,000 to 200,000.....	-3,928	-0.9%	441	24.3%	437	24.3%	25.1%	24.9%
200,000 and over.....	-1,019	-0.2%	493	27.2%	492	27.4%	28.6%	28.6%
Total, All Taxpayers.....	-\$15,329	-0.8%	\$1,813	100.0%	\$1,798	100.0%	21.5%	21.4%

Source: Joint Committee on Taxation

Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

- (1) Includes increases in the standard deduction, 15% and 28% brackets, and EIC phaseout level for married couples and repeal of AMT limit on refundable and nonrefundable personal credits.
- (2) The income concept used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income (AGI) plus: [1] tax-exempt interest, [2] employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, [3] employer share of FICA tax, [4] worker's compensation, [5] nontaxable social security benefits, [6] insurance value of Medicare benefits, [7] alternative minimum tax preference items, and [8] excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2000 levels.
- (3) Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of the EIC), employment tax (attributed to employees), and excise taxes (attributed to consumers). Corporate income tax is not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of the tax. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.
- (4) The effective tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote (3) divided by: income described in footnote (2) plus additional income attributable to the proposal.
- (5) Less than 0.005%.

**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000" (1)
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Calendar Year 2004

INCOME CATEGORY (2)	CHANGE IN FEDERAL TAXES (3)		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PRESENT LAW		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PROPOSAL		Effective Tax Rate (4)	
	Millions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
							Percent	Percent
Less than \$10,000.....	-\$19	-0.2%	\$8	0.4%	\$8	0.4%	9.5%	9.5%
10,000 to 20,000.....	-273	-1.0%	27	1.4%	27	1.4%	7.3%	7.3%
20,000 to 30,000.....	-935	-1.4%	67	3.5%	66	3.5%	12.4%	12.3%
30,000 to 40,000.....	-1,232	-1.2%	102	5.4%	101	5.4%	15.9%	15.7%
40,000 to 50,000.....	-1,233	-1.1%	113	6.0%	112	6.0%	17.3%	17.1%
50,000 to 75,000.....	-3,164	-1.0%	312	16.5%	309	16.5%	19.8%	19.6%
75,000 to 100,000.....	-5,669	-2.0%	280	14.8%	274	14.6%	22.2%	21.7%
100,000 to 200,000.....	-6,808	-1.5%	468	24.7%	461	24.6%	25.1%	24.7%
200,000 and over.....	-1,860	-0.4%	517	27.3%	515	27.5%	28.8%	28.7%
Total, All Taxpayers.....	-\$21,192	-1.1%	\$1,893	100.0%	\$1,872	100.0%	21.6%	21.3%

Source: Joint Committee on Taxation

Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

- (1) Includes increases in the standard deduction, 15% and 28% brackets, and EIC phaseout level for married couples and repeal of AMT limit on refundable and nonrefundable personal credits.
- (2) The income concept used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income (AGI) plus: [1] tax-exempt interest, [2] employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, [3] employer share of FICA tax, [4] worker's compensation, [5] nontaxable social security benefits, [6] insurance value of Medicare benefits, [7] alternative minimum tax preference items, and [8] excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2000 levels.
- (3) Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of the EIC), employment tax (attributed to employees), and excise taxes (attributed to consumers). Corporate income tax is not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of the tax. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.
- (4) The effective tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote (3) divided by: income described in footnote (2) plus additional income attributable to the proposal.
- (5) Less than 0.005%.

**DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS OF A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000" (1)
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000**

Calendar Year 2005

INCOME CATEGORY (2)	CHANGE IN FEDERAL TAXES (3)		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PRESENT LAW		FEDERAL TAXES (3) UNDER PROPOSAL		Effective Tax Rate (4)	
	Millions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Billions	Percent	Present Law	Proposal
Less than \$10,000.....	-\$19	-0.2%	\$8	0.4%	\$8	0.4%	9.8%	9.8%
10,000 to 20,000.....	-273	-1.0%	27	1.4%	27	1.4%	7.4%	7.4%
20,000 to 30,000.....	-923	-1.4%	67	3.4%	66	3.4%	12.2%	12.0%
30,000 to 40,000.....	-1,292	-1.2%	105	5.3%	104	5.3%	15.9%	15.7%
40,000 to 50,000.....	-1,363	-1.1%	119	6.0%	118	6.0%	17.3%	17.1%
50,000 to 75,000.....	-3,531	-1.1%	320	16.2%	317	16.2%	19.7%	19.5%
75,000 to 100,000.....	-6,738	-2.3%	294	14.8%	287	14.7%	22.1%	21.6%
100,000 to 200,000.....	-8,596	-1.7%	497	25.1%	489	25.0%	25.0%	24.6%
200,000 and over.....	-2,266	-0.4%	543	27.4%	540	27.6%	28.9%	28.7%
Total, All Taxpayers.....	-\$25,001	-1.3%	\$1,980	100.0%	\$1,955	100.0%	21.6%	21.3%

Source: Joint Committee on Taxation

Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

- (1) Includes increases in the standard deduction, 15% and 28% brackets, and EIC phaseout level for married couples and repeal of AMT limit on refundable and nonrefundable personal credits.
- (2) The income concept used to place tax returns into income categories is adjusted gross income (AGI) plus: [1] tax-exempt interest, [2] employer contributions for health plans and life insurance, [3] employer share of FICA tax, [4] worker's compensation, [5] nontaxable social security benefits, [6] insurance value of Medicare benefits, [7] alternative minimum tax preference items, and [8] excluded income of U.S. citizens living abroad. Categories are measured at 2000 levels.
- (3) Federal taxes are equal to individual income tax (including the outlay portion of the EIC), employment tax (attributed to employees), and excise taxes (attributed to consumers). Corporate income tax is not included due to uncertainty concerning the incidence of the tax. Individuals who are dependents of other taxpayers and taxpayers with negative income are excluded from the analysis. Does not include indirect effects.
- (4) The effective tax rate is equal to Federal taxes described in footnote (3) divided by: income described in footnote (2) plus additional income attributable to the proposal.
- (5) Less than 0.005%.

**COMPARISON OF FEDERAL TAX LIABILITIES UNDER PRESENT LAW
AND UNDER A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000,
FOR HYPOTHETICAL MARRIED COUPLES**

Prepared by the Staff

of the

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION



March 30, 2000

JCX-41-00

**COMPARISON OF FEDERAL TAX LIABILITIES UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000,
FOR HYPOTHETICAL MARRIED COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN**

Calendar Year 2001

Annual Income (Wages Only)	Income Taxes Under Present Law	Income Taxes Under Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000	Change in Income Taxes	Percentage Reduction in Income Taxes
\$20,000	-\$2,518	-\$3,045	-\$527 *	20.9% *
30,000	215	-529	-744	346.0%
50,000	3,628	3,410	-218	6.0%
75,000	8,795	8,389	-406	4.6%
100,000	15,795	15,389	-406	2.6%
200,000	47,807	47,285	-522	1.1%

Joint Committee on Taxation

NOTE: This table shows the effect of the "Marriage Tax Penalty Relief Act of 2000" in 2001. The elements of the proposal that are in effect in 2001 are:
(1) the doubling of the standard deduction for married couples filing a joint return to twice that for single filers; and (2) the increase of \$2,500 in the beginning point of the phaseout of the earned income credit ("EIC") for married couples filing a joint return. Each child is assumed to be eligible for the child credit, subject to income limitations. All income is assumed to be wage income, and taxpayers are assumed to take the standard deduction. For taxpayers that itemize their deductions, the reduction in taxes would be less than shown here.

* Denotes increase in refundable portion of the EIC.

**COMPARISON OF FEDERAL TAX LIABILITIES UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000,
FOR HYPOTHETICAL MARRIED COUPLES WITH NO CHILDREN**

Calendar Year 2001

Annual Income (Wages Only)	Income Taxes Under Present Law	Income Taxes Under Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000	Change in Income Taxes	Percentage Reduction in Income Taxes
\$20,000	\$998	\$780	-\$218	21.8%
30,000	2,498	2,280	-218	8.7%
50,000	5,498	5,280	-218	4.0%
75,000	11,419	11,013	-406	3.6%
100,000	18,419	18,013	-406	2.2%
200,000	49,853	49,331	-522	1.0%

Joint Committee on Taxation

NOTE: This table shows the effect of the "Marriage Tax Penalty Relief Act of 2000" in 2001. The elements of the proposal that are in effect in 2001 are: (1) the doubling of the standard deduction for married couples filing a joint return to twice that of single filers; and (2) the increase of \$2,500 in the beginning point of the phaseout of the earned income credit ("EIC") for married couples filing a joint return. All income is assumed to be wage income, and taxpayers are assumed to take the standard deduction. For taxpayers that itemize their deductions, the reduction in taxes would be less than shown here.

**COMPARISON OF FEDERAL TAX LIABILITIES UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000,
FOR HYPOTHETICAL MARRIED COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN**

Calendar Year 2005

Annual Income (Wages Only)	Income Taxes Under Present Law	Income Taxes Under Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000	Change in Income Taxes	Percentage Reduction in Income Taxes
\$20,000	-\$3,206	-\$3,787	-\$581 *	18.1% *
30,000	-765	-1,601	-836 *	109.3% *
50,000	3,335	3,080	-255	7.6%
75,000	7,800	6,830	-970	12.4%
100,000	14,651	13,557	-1,094	7.5%
200,000	45,424	43,925	-1,499	3.3%

Joint Committee on Taxation

NOTE: This table shows the effect of the "Marriage Tax Penalty Relief Act of 2000" in 2005. The elements of the proposal that are in effect in 2005 are: (1) the doubling of the standard deduction for married couples filing a joint return to twice that for single filers; (2) the partial phasein of the expansion of the size of the 15-percent and 28-percent regular income tax brackets for a married couple filing a joint return to twice the size of the corresponding rate bracket for an unmarried individual; (3) the increase of \$2,500 in the beginning point of the phaseout of the earned income credit ("EIC") for married couples filing a joint return; and (4) the permanent extension of the allowance of personal credits against the regular tax and the minimum tax. Each child is assumed to be eligible for the child credit, subject to income and alternative minimum tax credit limitations. All income is assumed to be wage income, and taxpayers are assumed to take the standard deduction. For taxpayers that itemize their deductions, the reduction in taxes would be less than shown here.

* Denotes increase in refundable portion of the EIC.

**COMPARISON OF FEDERAL TAX LIABILITIES UNDER PRESENT LAW AND UNDER A MODIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN'S MARK OF
THE "MARRIAGE TAX RELIEF ACT OF 2000,"
SCHEDULED FOR MARKUP BY THE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE ON MARCH 30, 2000,
FOR HYPOTHETICAL MARRIED COUPLES WITH NO CHILDREN**

Calendar Year 2005

Annual Income (Wages Only)	Income Taxes Under Present Law	Income Taxes Under Marriage Tax Relief Act of 2000	Change in Income Taxes	Percentage Reduction in Income Taxes
\$20,000	\$795	\$540	-\$255	32.1%
30,000	2,295	2,040	-255	11.1%
50,000	5,295	5,040	-255	4.8%
75,000	10,443	9,349	-1,094	10.5%
100,000	17,443	16,349	-1,094	6.3%
200,000	47,545	45,962	-1,583	3.3%

Joint Committee on Taxation

NOTE: This table shows the effect of the "Marriage Tax Penalty Relief Act of 2000" in 2005. The elements of the proposal that are in effect in 2005 are: (1) the doubling of the standard deduction for married couples filing a joint return to twice that for single filers; (2) the partial phase-in of the expansion of the size of the 15-percent and 28-percent regular income tax brackets for a married couple filing a joint return to twice the size of the corresponding rate bracket for an unmarried individual; (3) the increase of \$2,500 in the beginning point of the phaseout of the earned income credit ("EIC") for married couples filing a joint return; and (4) the permanent extension of the allowance of personal credits against the regular tax and the minimum tax. Each child is assumed to be eligible for the child credit, subject to income and alternative minimum tax credit limitations. All income is assumed to be wage income, and taxpayers are assumed to take the standard deduction. For taxpayers that itemize their deductions, the reduction in taxes would be less than shown here.

HATCH AMENDMENT TO ELIMINATE MARRIAGE PENALTIES IN THE TAXATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Current Law: For computing the amount of Social Security benefits included in gross income, there are two thresholds. The first threshold, which requires 50 percent of benefits to be included in income, occurs at \$25,000 for single filers but only \$32,000 for joint filers. The second threshold, requiring 85 percent inclusion of Social Security benefits, occurs at \$34,000 for singles but only \$44,000 for married couples filing a joint return.

Reason For Change: Because the two thresholds for married couples filing a joint return are less than twice the thresholds for single filers, egregious marriage penalties can occur.

Amendment: The Hatch amendment would eliminate the marriage penalties for Social Security benefits taxation by raising the thresholds for married couples filing joint returns to levels that are twice those for single taxpayers. Thus, the thresholds for the 50 percent inclusion would be \$25,000 for single filers and \$50,000 for joint returns, and the thresholds for the 85 percent inclusion would be \$34,000 for single returns and \$68,000 for joint filers.

**HATCH-MACK AMENDMENT TO ELIMINATE
MARRIAGE PENALTY IN THE PHASEOUT
OF THE STUDENT LOAN INTEREST DEDUCTION**

Current Law: The student loan interest deduction begins to be phased out for single taxpayers with Adjusted Gross Income (AGI) over \$40,000, and is fully phased out at an AGI of \$55,000. For joint returns, however, the threshold for the phaseout begins at AGI of \$60,000, with the deduction fully phased out at an AGI of \$75,000.

Reason For Change: Current law creates a significant marriage penalty for many couples where both partners are repaying student loans. For example, a recently-graduated couple who individually make \$40,000 would be allowed to each deduct \$2,000 in student loan interest if they filed as single taxpayers. However, if married, filing a joint return, they would forfeit the entire \$4,000 deduction because the income threshold for joint returns is only \$60,000 – less than double the threshold for single filers.

Amendment: The Hatch-Mack amendment would increase the threshold for the phaseout to \$80,000 – double that of single taxpayers. The income phaseout range would also be doubled (to \$30,000) to prevent another marriage penalty from occurring. Thus, the phaseout range for a joint return would be \$80,000 to \$110,000.

Senator Phil Gramm
Amendment to further eliminate the marriage tax penalty

Present Law

An individual whose filing status is single will have the income between \$25,750 and \$62,450 taxed at the rate of 28 percent.

A married couple who file a joint return will have the income between \$43,050 and \$104,050 taxed at the rate of 28 percent.

Proposed Amendment

The Chairman's mark would increase the size of the 15 percent income tax bracket for a married couple filing a joint return to twice the size of the corresponding rate bracket for a single individual.

The proposed amendment provides for a similar increase in the size of the 28 percent bracket, so that a married couple would pay a 28 percent rate on taxable income between \$51,500 and \$124,900, double the income level at which the 28 percent rate now applies to a single person.

Effective Date

The expansion of the 28 percent bracket would be phased-in over six years beginning in 2002. This is the same timetable as proposed in the Chairman's mark for expansion of the 15 percent bracket.

Estimated Revenue Effect

The Joint Committee on Taxation has estimated that the first year cost of such a proposal would be \$200 million; a five year cost would be \$3.8 billion; and an eight year cost would be \$8.4 billion.

After full phase-in, the annual cost is approximately \$1.5 billion.

Amendment Offered by Senator Jeffords

An additional \$500 increase in the beginning and ending points of the Earned Income Tax Credit phase-out range for married couples.

Explanation: The Chairman's mark calls for a \$2000 increase, for married couples, in the beginning and ending points of the Earned Income Credit phase-out range. This amendment would increase those points by an additional \$500, for a total increase of \$2500.

There are substantial marriage penalties built into the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). For taxpayers with children, the EITC begins to phase out when income reaches \$12,690. This beginning point is the same for all taxpayers, regardless of whether they are joint filers or unmarried individuals. When two low-income workers marry, their combined income may exceed the beginning point of the EITC phase-out range, resulting in a smaller EITC. If they had remained single, the sum of their individual earned income tax credits may well have been higher than the EITC for which they are eligible as a married couple filing jointly.

Example: In calendar year 2000, two unmarried taxpayers, each with an income of \$11,000 and one child, are both eligible for an EITC of \$2353, a total of \$4706. If these taxpayers marry, the couple's combined income of \$22,000 will be in the EITC phase-out range, and as a married couple, they will be eligible for a combined EITC of \$1888. This represents a marriage penalty of \$2818. A \$2500 increase in the beginning point of the EITC phase-out range for married taxpayers would reduce this marriage penalty by approximately \$526.

MACK AMENDMENT No. 1

Amendment: Eliminate the marriage penalty in the D.C. First-Time Homebuyer tax credit.

Current law: First-time homebuyers of a principal residence in the District of Columbia receive a tax credit of up to \$5,000 (Code Section 1400C). This credit phases out for single filers with AGI between \$70,000 and \$90,000. A marriage penalty is built into this provision, as the phase out range for joint filers is less than twice what it is for single filers--the joint filer phase-out range is \$110,000 to \$130,000. The credit sunsets at the end of 2001.

Proposal: The marriage penalty in this provision is eliminated, by increasing the joint filer phase-out range to \$140,000-\$180,000, effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1999. This proposal was included in the Taxpayer Refund Act of 1999 reported out of the Finance Committee last year, and was in the vetoed Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999.

Score: Based on the revenue estimate for last year's proposal, revenue loss should be about \$5 million.

MACK AMENDMENT No. 2 (with Senator Hatch)

Amendment: Eliminate the marriage penalty in the Education IRA.

Current law: Individuals can contribute \$500 annually to a designated beneficiary's education IRA (Code section 530). There is no tax on the earnings in this education IRA, provided that distributions are used to pay qualified higher education expenses of the beneficiary. The contribution amount is phased out for single filers with AGI between \$95,000 and \$110,000. A marriage penalty is built into this provision, as the phase out range for the contributions of joint filers is less than twice what it is for single filers--the joint filer phase-out range is \$150,000 to \$160,000.

Proposal: The marriage penalty in this provision is eliminated, by increasing the phase out range for the contributions of joint filers to \$190,000-\$220,000, effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1999. This proposal was included in S.1134, the Affordable Education Act of 1999, as passed by the Senate earlier this month.

Score: The revenue estimate for the amendment to S.1134 was \$7 million over 10 years. Since that was based on a \$2,000 annual contribution, the revenue loss due to this amendment should be less than \$2 million over 10 years, perhaps negligible.

MACK AMENDMENT No. 3

Amendment: Eliminate the marriage penalties in the Roth IRA provisions.

Current law: The phase-out range for the \$2,000 maximum contribution to a Roth IRA has a marriage penalty built into it, as the single filer phase-out is between AGI of \$95,000 and \$110,000, but for joint filers is between \$150,000 and \$160,000.

Taxpayers may convert a traditional IRA to a Roth IRA, and pay tax on the accumulated earnings. Conversions may only be done by taxpayers with an AGI of less than \$100,000. As the same AGI is used for single and joint filers' conversions, this provision contains a significant marriage penalty, and prevents many joint filers who are eligible for Roth IRAs from rolling over their existing IRAs.

Proposal: The phase-out range for contributions to a Roth IRA by joint filers is increased so that it is twice that for single filers. Effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1999, the joint filer phase-out range will be \$190,000-\$220,000. For married taxpayers filing separate returns, the phase-out range will be \$95,000-\$110,000.

The marriage penalty in conversions to a Roth IRA is eliminated by increasing the AGI limit for joint filers to \$200,000 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2002. For married taxpayers filing separate returns, the limit will be \$100,000.

Score: The conversion provision, included in the vetoed Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999, was estimated to raise \$1.634 billion over 5 years and reduce taxes by \$299 million over 10 years.

MACK AMENDMENT No. 4

Amendment: Eliminate the marriage penalty in traditional Individual Retirement Accounts.

Current law: The \$2,000 maximum deductible contribution to an IRA, by active participants in an employer-sponsored retirement plan, is reduced over a phase-out range for joint filers that is less than twice the range for single filers. For example, for the 2000 tax year the single filer phase-out range is \$32,000 to \$42,000, while it is only \$52,000 to \$62,000 for joint filers.

Proposal: The phase-out ranges for deductible contributions to IRAs by joint filers are increased to be twice the ranges for single filers, effective for tax years beginning after December 31, 1999. Thus, the phase out ranges will be: in 2000, \$64,000-\$84,000; in 2001, \$66,000-\$86,000; in 2002, \$68,000-\$88,000; in 2003, \$80,000-\$100,000; in 2004, \$90,000-\$110,000; and in 2005 and thereafter, \$100,000-\$120,000. The phase-out range for married taxpayers filing separately shall be the same as that for single filers. This amendment does not change the phase-out range for the contributions by a spouse who is not an active participant in an employer-sponsored retirement plan.

Score: Unknown.

DEMOCRATIC AMENDMENT NUMBER 1

Amendment in the nature of a substitute, as follows.

Optional Separate Filing. Allow married couples to file as two single filers on the same return. Income, deductions, credits, exemptions and other tax attributes would be allocated among the spouses as follows:

1. earned income to the taxpayer who earned it; unearned income to the taxpayer owning the underlying property giving rise to the unearned income (with such ownership considered 50-50 regarding joint tenancy property);
2. deductions proportionate to income;
3. deductions allowable by Section 151(b) (relating to personal exemptions for taxpayer and spouse), one exemption allocated to each spouse;
4. credits proportionate to income;
5. regarding the Earned Income Credit (EIC), dependents would be allocated proportionate to income (rounded to the nearest whole number). A total income cap for EIC eligibility would be imposed at two times the maximum EIC phase-out point;
6. eligibility for credits which require joint filing status would be satisfied under this proposal;
7. taxpayers would also be allowed to compute as if they were two single filers for purposes of the alternative minimum tax.

Effective date: Tax years beginning after December 31, 2001.

The benefit of this amendment would be phased in according to the following schedule: 10% in 2002 and 2003, 20% in 2004, 25% in 2005, 30% in 2006, 40% in 2007, 50% in 2008, 70% in 2009, and 100% in 2010 and thereafter. For phase-in purposes, the benefit would be the difference between a couple's tax liability under current-law joint filing and the couple's liability when this amendment is fully phased-in.

The estimated cost of this amendment would be \$151 billion over 10 years.

DEMOCRATIC AMENDMENT NUMBER 2

Amendment in the nature of a substitute, as follows.

Optional Separate Filing. Allow married couples to file as two single filers on the same return. Income, deductions, credits, exemptions and other tax attributes would be allocated among the spouses as follows:

1. earned income to the taxpayer who earned it; unearned income to the taxpayer owning the underlying property giving rise to the unearned income (with such ownership considered 50-50 regarding joint tenancy property);
2. deductions proportionate to income;
3. deductions allowable by Section 151(b) (relating to personal exemptions for taxpayer and spouse), one exemption allocated to each spouse;
4. credits proportionate to income;
5. regarding the Earned Income Credit (EIC), dependents would be allocated proportionate to income (rounded to the nearest whole number). A total income cap for EIC eligibility would be imposed at two times the maximum EIC phase-out point;
6. eligibility for credits which require joint filing status would be satisfied under this proposal;
7. taxpayers would also be allowed to compute as if they were two single filers for purposes of the alternative minimum tax.

Effective date: Tax years beginning after December 31, 2001.

The benefit of this amendment would be phased in according to the following schedule: 15% in 2002, 30% in 2003, 50% in 2004, 70% in 2005, 80% in 2006, 90% in 2007, and 100% in 2008 and thereafter. For phase-in purposes, the benefit would be the difference between a couple's tax liability under current-law joint filing and the couple's liability when this amendment is fully phased-in. The annual benefit would be phased out at joint adjusted gross income between \$100,000 and \$150,000.

The total cost of this amendment is estimated at \$150 billion over 10 years.

DEMOCRATIC AMENDMENT NUMBER 3

Amendment in the nature of a substitute, as follows.

Second-earner credit and increase in the earned income credit.

- a. Provide a credit of 3% of the second earner's income, with a maximum credit of \$500.
- b. Increase the beginning and ending points of the earned income credit phase-out range for couples by \$4,500.

Effective date: Tax years beginning after December 31, 2001.

The total cost of this amendment is estimated at \$117 billion over 10 years.

Rockefeller Retired Coalminers Amendment

Transfer General Revenue to Maintain Current Benefits under the Coal Act and Restore Solvency to the Retired Miners' Health Care Trust Fund (the Combined Benefit Fund).

- a. Transfer \$346 million of general revenue to the Combined Benefit Fund over the next ten years, (with specified annual transfers).
- b. Clarify a provision in the Coal Act related to the timing of the Social Security Administration's assignment of retired miners to the companies that employed them and that had agreed to pay for their health benefits. This provision has no revenue effects that may be scored.

Effective Date. Date of Enactment.

Cost: \$346 million over ten years, as scored by the Office of Management and Budget.

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	<u>2001-2010</u>
49	47	46	45	43	42	41	40	40	39	346 million

Rationale:

The Coal Act was passed as part of the Energy Policy Act of 1992. It now covers a closed population of approximately 67,000 retired miners and their widows, average age, 77. Without Congressional action this year, these retired miners and their widows -- who earned and were explicitly promised lifetime health benefits by their former employers and the federal government -- will have their health benefits cut. Currently, the Combined Benefit Fund is projecting annual deficits of \$40-50 million a year due to an inadequate inflation adjustor, and a series of adverse court decisions.

Graham/Robb Amendment #1

Chairman's Mark

The tax cuts proposed in the Chairman's Mark go into effect without regard to whether Congress and the Administration reach agreement on legislation extending the solvency of either the Social Security or Medicare programs.

Graham Amendment

The Graham amendment would delay the effective date of the tax cuts in the Chairman's mark until after enactment of legislation that extends the solvency of the Social Security trust fund through 2075 and the Medicare Part A program through 2025.

Graham Amendment #2

Chairman's Mark

The tax cuts proposed in the Chairman's Mark become effective without regard to whether or not the projected budget surpluses on which they are based materialize.

Graham Amendment

The Graham amendment would require the Congressional Budget Office to certify, in December 2000, that the cumulative on-budget surplus for the fiscal years 2001 through 2005 is no less than \$396 billion. If the on-budget surplus falls below \$396 billion, the tax cuts scheduled to become effective on January 1, 2001 would not go into effect. The certification required by this amendment is to be made with reference to a baseline that reflects current law at the time the certification is made.

The Graham amendment would require the Congressional Budget Office to certify, in December 2001, that the cumulative on-budget surplus for the fiscal years 2002 through 2006 is no less than \$564 billion. If the on-budget surplus falls below \$564 billion, the tax cuts scheduled to become effective on January 1, 2002 would not go into effect. The certification required by this amendment is to be made with reference to a baseline that reflects current law at the time the certification is made.

Rationale

The amendment would ensure that the on-budget surpluses being used to pay for the proposed tax cuts occur before the tax cuts are implemented.