



REPORT OF ACTIVITIES ON BUILD BACK BETTER & OTHER PROJECTS

March 7, 2022

Note: Activities described in this report were and are consistent with charitable purposes under sections 501(c)(3) and 509(a)(1), (2) or (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. ATF complied with all provisions and restrictions contained in its foundation grant agreements, for example and without limitation, those provisions related to lobbying and political activity.

SUMMARY

- **Successfully Advanced the Build Back Better Plan:** In 2021, the ATF coalition engaged hundreds of national and state organizations in pursuit of its top goal of securing passage of President Biden's Build Back Better (BBB) Act. That measure started out in May as a historic \$3.5 trillion of new investments in healthcare, childcare, education, housing, clean energy and more, paid for by making the rich and corporations pay their fair share of taxes. The tax plan reflected priorities outlined in ATF's earlier advocacy to the Biden transition team and administration. By September, the plan had been cut in half (\$1.75 trillion) by Sens. Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema. A \$2.1 trillion version of the plan passed the House of Representatives in November, with \$1.9 trillion paid for by higher taxes on the rich and corporations. It has been stalled in the Senate ever since then, but there is a good chance that a version of BBBA will become law this year, which includes the House-passed tax changes but a lower amount of spending for investments and an equal amount dedicated to deficit reduction. **ATF's work has been central to shaping the tax reform agenda in the legislation and the messaging on tax fairness in this debate—polls consistently show that this is a top reason for supporting the bill. This work also greatly advances our long-term goal of making sure that lawmakers and the public understand that to create an economy that works for all it is necessary to raise taxes on the rich and corporations to finance investments benefiting working families.**
- **Led the Push for a Billionaires Income Tax:** ATF led efforts to promote a Billionaires Income Tax (BIT), which would tax the rising wealth of billionaires each year as income, as workers wages are taxed. ATF produced numerous studies showing the enormous wealth growth of billionaires during the pandemic: 70% in the first 19 months. The BIT would raise more than \$550 billion by taxing wealth gains at the 23.8% capital gains tax rate. It is more likely to get majority support than a wealth tax, and it is more likely to withstand a certain constitutional challenge to taxing the wealth of the ultrarich. While the Billionaires Income Tax is unlikely to be included in a final Build Back Better Act package enacted into law, it has been established as a very viable reform that offers the best chance at taxing the growth in billionaire wealth gains. And once it is law, the measure can be adjusted to apply to the ultrarich who are making on the order of \$10 million a year, thereby raising substantially more money.
- **Groundbreaking Dynasty Trust Work:** ATF initiated a special project to expose and confront the massive accumulation of wealth in so-called dynasty trusts, which are used by the ultrarich to shelter dynastic wealth from taxation. ATF estimates that ultrarich family dynasties are poised to hoard \$21 trillion in wealth between now and 2045, and that tax loophole could allow them to avoid as much as \$8.4 trillion in estate and gift-tax revenue.

- **Coalition Leadership, Mobilization and Communications:**

- ATF continued to lead and provide strategic direction and coordination to the coalition and to the BBB fight. We coordinated legislative activities, public education, polling and messaging research, national and state communications strategies, field mobilization, and production of public education materials. Our coalition partners give us very high marks for our coalition leadership as evidenced by this [survey of more than 50 coalition partners](#).
- The ATF coalition met nearly every week for much of 2021 with 50 to 60 people from about 40 organizations regularly in attendance. [See Appendix for most active groups] ATF had robust engagement of dozens of national organizations in our legislative committee and a field and communications committee, which coordinated work outside the beltway to shape the policy debate. We also regularly engaged members of the research and policy committee to help ATF develop positions on public policy issues.
- ATF continued to shape the successful overall narrative on tax reform issues by polling, providing a steady stream of messaging, running a robust digital communications operation and securing significant media coverage. In 2021, ATF appeared 4,500 times in the media, which garnered an audience of over 5.3 billion views according to Critical Mention, a media monitoring service. A four-page highlights of 2021 ATF media coverage is [here](#).
- In 2021, ATF coordinated tax fairness lobby meetings with Senate and House leadership staff, committee staff, all 50 Democratic Senate offices, and dozens of Democratic House offices, including key leaders from each of the Caucus's formal and informal subgroups. These meetings were attended by a core group of coalition lobbyists representing labor unions, small business advocates, antipoverty groups, wealthy donors, grassroots activists, faith groups, and more.
- One expression of the level of engagement in the ATF coalition is that we [secured support from 715 organizations](#) in favor of the Biden tax and investment agenda: [97 national groups](#) and [620 state groups](#).

A more detailed explanation of all these activities is below.

A. BUILD BACK BETTER PLAN

In 2021, ATF was engaged in a historic battle over tax and investment policies unlike any seen in generations. It was the Super Bowl of tax reform debates, which we hope will be enacted into law relatively early in 2022.

The debate itself represents the successful culmination of ATF's first ten years of work, which began in May 2012. Over the last decade, we have methodically changed the conversation in Washington, elevating the popularity of taxing the wealthy and corporations and steadily dismantling the fear that has held sway among Democrats since the Reagan Revolution that raising taxes on the wealthy and corporations will hurt the economy—and hurt the party politically. Our work against the GOP's marquee legislative accomplishment of the Trump era, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017, highlighting that bill's egregious giveaways to those who needed it least, helped generate deep and lasting public opposition. Ironically, one example of our success can be seen in the attacks that Republicans lodged against House Democrats following passage of the House BBBA this year: far from attacking the tax increases on the wealthy, Republicans mirrored our own messaging and

accused Democrats of *cutting taxes on the wealthy* because the measure increased the State and Local Tax Deduction (SALT), which mostly benefits wealthier taxpayers.

It was responding to the climate that ATF played a significant role in creating over the last decade that candidate Biden ran and won on a tax fairness agenda. Then, pursuing his campaign pledge to Build Back Better, President Biden proposed to Congress \$4.2 trillion in new investments over the next 10 years that were fully paid for by making the wealthy and corporations begin paying their fair share of taxes, as explained in this [ATF fact sheet](#).

The president then decided to pursue a bipartisan deal on a major infrastructure plan, which incorporated parts of his earlier spending package, shrinking the new plan to [\\$3.5 trillion in “human needs” and clean-energy investments](#) and tax increases. This was released in August with the leaders of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives as the basis of a budget reconciliation bill. Budget reconciliation is a special procedure for tax and investment legislation that allows lawmakers to enact legislation in the Senate with a simple majority, avoiding a filibuster.

By September, Senators Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ) said they would not support spending on investments and raising taxes above \$1.75 trillion. In November, a \$2.1 trillion version of the Build Back Better plan passed the House, but it has yet to be taken up by the Senate. All but \$300 billion of the package is paid for by increasing taxes on the rich and corporations.

Even with a scaled down plan, this is tax and investment reform on a historic scale. The \$1.8 trillion tax plan would recoup nearly all of the revenue given away by the Trump-GOP tax law in 2017, which mostly benefited the wealthy and corporations. While Sen. Sinema refused to endorse a direct repeal of the 2017 provisions, the net effect of the BBBA’s tax provisions is a reversal of those giveaways.

This [ATF fact sheet](#) explains the key tax and investment features of the House-passed Build Back Better plan, which are summarized below:

Lowers Costs of Healthcare & Housing (\$740 Billion)

- Caps Medicare prescription drug costs at \$2,000 a year (\$297 billion in savings) [[KFF](#)]
- Expands Medicare to cover hearing benefits (\$37 billion) [[White House](#), [KFF](#), [CBO](#)]
- Lowers healthcare premiums an average of \$600 per year for 9 million people and expands free coverage through Medicaid to 4 million more (\$256 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#)]
- Lowers the cost and improves the quality of home care for seniors and people with disabilities, currently costing families an average of \$5,800 a year (\$150 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#)]

Lowers Costs of Caregiving, Education & Housing (\$929 Billion)

- Provides free preschool to every 3- and 4-year-old in America and lowers childcare costs (Costs: \$383 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#)]
- Guarantees workers four weeks of paid family and medical leave (\$205 billion) [[New America](#), [CBO](#)]
- Expands the Child Tax Credit (CTC) and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) for one year (\$169 billion) [[White House](#), [Washington Post](#), [CBO](#)]
- Lowers rents and mortgages by adding over 1 million homes to the housing supply (\$151 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#)]
- Lowers college costs by increasing federal tuition grants (\$11 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#)]

- Expands free meals for millions of students during the school year and summer (\$10 billion) [[White House](#); [CBO](#)]

Combats Climate Change While Reducing Family Energy Costs & Creating Jobs
(\$555 billion) [[White House](#), [CBO](#), [JCT](#)]

Pays for it All with Fairer Taxes on the Rich & Corporations (\$1.8 Trillion)
[[Joint Committee on Taxation](#), [White House](#)]

Makes Corporations Pay a Fairer Share (\$750 billion)

- Assesses a 15% minimum tax on very large firms, eliminating the scandal of tax-free mega-corporations (Revenue raised: \$319 billion)
- Curbs tax breaks that encourage corporations to ship jobs and profits offshore (\$307 billion)
- Taxes corporations that enrich shareholders with stock buybacks (\$124 billion)

Makes the Wealthy Pay a Fairer Share (\$640 billion)

- Levies surtaxes on incomes over \$10 million (\$228 billion)
- Closes two tax loopholes exploited by rich business owners (\$412 billion)

Collects More Revenue Already Due by Catching Rich Tax Cheats (\$400 billion) [[Treasury](#)]

ATF has been leading the entire progressive community to educate the public, media and lawmakers on the benefits of the Biden tax and investment plan.

- ATF has produced [scores of policy materials](#)—fact sheets, issue briefs and reports—explaining the benefits of various components of the tax plan.
- We created the [Biden Build Back Better website](#) to maintain public education and communications materials for activists to have at the ready.
- Our legislative and policy team has conducted hundreds of policy briefings on the benefits of the plan. We coordinated lobby meetings on the BBBA’s tax provisions with Senate and House leadership staff, committee staff, all 50 Democratic Senate offices, and dozens of Democratic House offices, including key leaders from each of the House Democratic Caucus’s formal and informal subgroups—including Ways and Means Committee members, the Congressional Progressive Caucus, the New Democrat Coalition, the Blue Dog Coalition, the Problem Solvers, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and informal groups such as the Squad, frontliners, freshmen, and more.

These meetings were attended by a rotating group of 30 coalition lobbyists representing labor unions, small business advocates, antipoverty groups, wealthy donors, grassroots activists, faith groups, and more who each spoke up forcefully to explain why the president’s tax provisions mattered to their organizations’ constituencies.

In the beginning of the year, some of our allies were already fluent in tax lobbying with experience discussing the complex policy issues under consideration. Others, however, were intimidated by the prospect of speaking authoritatively on issues that were far outside their

traditional areas of expertise. ATF engaged in significant peer-to-peer coaching and large group trainings by webinar to bolster the knowledge and confidence of lobbyists from organizations focused on human needs, child poverty, education, labor, and faith to give them the tools needed to speak up during ATF-led meetings and to incorporate ATF messaging and asks into their own issue-area focused lobbying.

As a result, ATF's reach increased exponentially. One example of many: ATF worked closely with multiple organizations representing different parts of the faith community. Their D.C.-based lobbyists used our messaging and materials in their own lobbying; those lobbyists in turn then proposed to their organizations three different broad-based training webinars for their grassroots faith activists that incorporated ATF messaging, materials, and speakers. Those grassroots activists then used our messaging and materials in their home state-based outreach to congressional offices, local media, and more.

- We have led efforts and assisted others to [secure support for the Biden agenda](#) from a wide range of organizations and constituencies—including racial justice groups, women's advocacy groups, and more who had not previously engaged in tax fights. Highlights include these letters from:
 - 715 organizations, [620 state groups](#) and [97 national groups](#), supporting Biden's Build Back Better tax and investment plans. (Aug. 2021)
 - [101 national organizations](#) urge the Senate to adopt tax reforms in Build Back Better—and more—that passed the House (Feb. 1, 2022)
 - [58 groups](#) urging Congress to support enact Biden's plan to close offshore tax loopholes. (Sep. 2021)
 - [14 international unions](#) supporting strong international corporate tax reform (Aug. 2021)
 - [28 organizations](#) advocating for racial equity supporting a \$3.5 trillion budget reconciliation package. (Sep. 2021)
 - [82 national organizations](#) supporting Biden's Build Back Better agenda. (March 2021)
 - [55 national organizations](#) urging support of the Sanders-Gomez Estate Tax Reform Bill: "For The 99.5% Act," March 2021
 - [90 NGOs calling on Congress](#) to end the corporate tax preference for shifting jobs and profits offshore. (March 2021)
 - [88 national organizations](#) calling for stronger tax enforcement for wealthy individuals and corporations Feb. 2021
- ATF has secured 4,500 media hits in 2021. A four-page highlights of 2021 ATF media coverage is [here](#). In 2021, ATF appeared 4,500 times in the media, which garnered an audience of over 5.3 billion views according to Critical Mention, a media monitoring service.
- ATF also drafted op-eds and letters to the editor for other organizations' grassroots activists. One example, the influential antipoverty group RESULTS successfully placed op-eds and letters incorporating our tax fairness messaging into their issues in hundreds of local papers around the country, including key target states. In Arizona alone, RESULTS members placed letters in the Arizona Daily Sun, Arizona Daily Star, News-Herald, The Miner, Anthem Independent, Kingman Daily Miner, Arizona Republic, Havasu News, and Daily Independent. A typical letter [reads](#): "Sen. Kyrsten Sinema has concerns over the cost of Build Back Better,

but we already have a solution overwhelmingly supported by the American people — make the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share in taxes.”

One concrete result of all of this work: **the U.S. House of Representatives passed a historic \$1.8 trillion increase in taxes on the wealthy and corporations while losing only a single Democratic vote.** The lone NAY vote, Rep. Jared Golden of Maine, stated that his **opposition was due to the House bill not going far enough to tax the ultrawealthy.** While we share the frustration of many in the movement that action in the Senate has been slower than hoped, we must not overlook the tremendous achievement of what has been accomplished thus far.

B. BILLIONAIRES INCOME TAX

A major achievement of ATF in 2021 and this year has been our ongoing work exposing the growth in wealth of the country’s 750 or so billionaires during the pandemic and our advocacy for including a Billionaires Income Tax in the Build Back Better plan. ATF launched its billionaires project in Spring 2020 to shape the election-year narrative by focusing on the extraordinary increase in the wealth and political power of billionaires to help a broader audience understand the harms of inequality and propel major tax reforms, such as a wealth tax.

ATF launched this [Billionaires by the Numbers website](#) in May of 2020, and we have [issued about 25 national reports](#) since then showing how much billionaire wealth has increased during the pandemic. The October 18, 2021, report shows that [total U.S. billionaire wealth increased by \\$2.1 trillion](#), or 70%, over 19 months. That’s more than enough to pay for the \$1.75 trillion Build Back Better investment plan now before Congress. This work has significantly shaped the national narrative around billionaire wealth, securing thousands of media stories and mentions and helping propel calls for the Billionaires Income Tax. [Here is President Biden](#) making a speech about his investment and tax plan and discussing billionaire wealth growth in September 2021, which features ATF’s research.

In the summer of 2021 ATF began working closely with Sen. Ron Wyden, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, to get a Billionaires Income Tax included in the Build Back Better plan. The measure came too late in the debate to be included in the House-passed plan. But it is still in play in the Senate in February 2022, as it is a tax reform that both [Sens. Manchin and Sinema support](#). This is a remarkable achievement in a relatively short period of time.

The Billionaires Income Tax would tax the growth in wealth of billionaires, as if it were income. So, they would start paying taxes each year as workers pay taxes on their wages. Currently, the wealth growth of billionaires is not taxed unless the assets—stocks, real estate, business interests—are sold. The tax assessed would be at the discounted capital gains tax rate (23.8%) rather than at the top income tax rate of 40.8% (37% top rate plus a 3.8% net investment income tax). The tax is estimated to raise \$557 billion, according to government estimates—about one-third the cost of the revenue needed under the BBB. For more details see this [ATF fact sheet](#).

While the Billionaires Income Tax is unlikely to be included in a final Build Back Better Act package enacted into law, it has been established as a very viable reform that offers the best chance at taxing the growth in billionaire wealth gains. And once it is law, the measure can be adjusted to apply to the ultrarich who are making on the order of \$10 million a year, thereby raising substantially more money.

ATF has done considerable building of support for this measure, including conducting polling (with Blue Haven Initiative) and preparing public education materials, as follows:

- [ATF's Billionaires Income Tax website](#)
- **Letters of support from constituencies organized by ATF and allies:**
 - [219 Economists and Law Professors Support the Billionaires Income Tax](#), Dec. 2021
 - [Letter from 250+ Millionaires Supporting the Billionaires Income Tax](#), Nov. 2021
 - [105 National Groups Urge Inclusion of Billionaires Income Tax in the Build Back Better Plan](#), Oct. 2021
- **Polling**
 - [Polling: Supermajority & Bipartisan Support for the Billionaires Income Tax](#), Oct. 2021
 - [BBB & BIT poll in four Senate battleground states](#), Oct. 2021
 - [West Virginia Poll Shows Voters Support \\$3.5 Trillion Investment Package in Congress When Paid for by Billionaires and Corporations](#), Sep. 2021
- **Fact Sheets and Reports**
 - [8 Reasons the Billionaires Income Tax Is a Great Idea](#), Nov. 2021
 - [America's Billionaires Got \\$1 Trillion Richer Last Year \(2021\)](#)
 - [Report: U.S. Billionaires' Wealth Increased 70%, or \\$2.1 Trillion, During the Pandemic](#), Oct. 2021
 - [Senator Ron Wyden's Billionaires Income Tax](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Ways & Means Committee Plan Under Fire for Being Too Easy on Billionaires](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Summary of ProPublica's Report on Billionaire Tax Dodgers](#), July 2021
 - Many other reports on billionaire wealth growth can be found [here](#).

C. DYNASTY TRUST WORK

In January 2021, thanks to a very generous anonymous donor, ATF was able to initiate a special project to expose and confront the massive accumulation of wealth in so-called dynasty trusts, which are used by the ultrarich to shelter dynastic wealth from taxation. "Dynasty trust" is the term for a variety of wealth-accumulating structures that remain in place for multiple generations to ensure their fortunes cascade down to children, grandchildren and beyond undiminished by wealth-transfer taxes. They typically are employed by estates of \$10 million or more.

Gaping tax loopholes allow the ultrarich to avoid estate and gift tax entirely, and lodge their wealth into these trusts that are exempt from all forms of wealth transfer taxation in perpetuity.

ATF issued a major report, [Dynasty Trusts: Giant Tax Loopholes that Supercharge Wealth Accumulation](#), showing that America's wealthy family dynasties are poised to hoard \$21 trillion in wealth between now and 2045 using these loopholes in wealth-transfer tax rules. The report estimates there could be as much as \$8.4 trillion in foregone revenue from estate-, gift- and generation-skipping tax avoidance by dynasty trusts between now and 2045 based on the current estate tax rate of 40%. Most or all of this is legal due to huge loopholes built into the tax system over the years, in some cases by clever tax lawyers and in others by Congress.

ATF prioritized four areas of dynasty trust work: building the substantive case for reform; crafting detailed policy reforms; educating members of Congress about those reforms, especially the two tax-writing committees in the Senate and House; and making our case to the media.

By September, ATF's dynasty trust work appeared to be bearing fruit when the House Ways and Means Committee advanced a BBBA tax reform package that included provisions recommended by ATF to substantially narrow the three major loopholes driving the accumulation of wealth inside dynasty trusts. Although those provisions needed strengthening, they were a giant step in the right direction. Ultimately, however, due to pressure from the life insurance industry and an aversion to potentially controversial estate tax reforms, those loophole closers were stripped from the BBBA package that was brought to the House floor for a vote.

ATF's proposed reforms were even more warmly received by the Senate Finance Committee, which indicated they might go even further than the Ways and Means Committee proposed. But that option was rendered moot when the reforms were stripped from the House bill. Probably the biggest factor in killing these reforms was a desire to avoid having a fight over reforming the estate tax – a lightning rod issue for some Democrats. President Biden proposed such reforms when he ran for president, but he did not propose them to Congress. Instead, he prioritized closing the stepped-up basis loophole, so that the wealthy could not pass the capital gains from their accumulated wealth to their heirs tax free. This met with a buzzsaw of resistance in the Senate from rural Democrats, which effectively killed any estate tax reforms in that chamber too.

Clearly much more remains to be done to secure this reform, but through ATF's work the case has been made and a foundation has been established.

Here is a partial list of materials produced in connection with ATF's dynasty trust project:

- [Dynasty Trusts: Giant Tax Loopholes that Supercharge Wealth Accumulation](#), Feb. 2, 2022
- [Ways & Means Committee Bill Improves Estate & Gift Taxes, But More Reforms Needed to Rein in Huge Dynasty Fortunes](#), Sept. 20, 2021
- [Close Down the Estate Tax Manipulations that Benefit Billionaires](#), Sept. 13, 2021
- [Revitalizing the Generation-Skipping Transfer Tax](#) (with Prof. Daniel Hemel), Sept. 10, 2021
- [How One Little-Known Loophole Fuels Toxic Dynastic Wealth](#), Sept. 10, 2021
- [Closing Gaps in the Estate and Gift Tax Base](#) (with Prof. Daniel Hemel), Aug. 16, 2021
- [America's Future: Trillionaire Trust Fund Babies](#) (Institute for Policy Studies report), Feb. 17, 2021

Here is a partial list of media reporting assisted by ATF work:

- [The Great Inheritors: How Three Families Shielded Their Fortunes from Taxes for Generations](#), ProPublica, Dec. 15, 2021
- [The Hidden ways the Ultrarich Pass Wealth to Their Heirs Tax-Free](#), Bloomberg, Oct. 21, 2021
- [More Than Half of America's 100 Richest People Exploit Special Trusts to Avoid Estate Taxes](#), ProPublica, Sept. 28, 2021

D. POLLING AND MESSAGING WORK

1. National Poll on Tax Fairness and the Biden Tax Agenda

In May 2021, ATF hired ALG Research (President Biden's polling firm) and Hart Research (ATF's longtime polling firm) to conduct a national survey to test core messages for the tax reform

debate and the popularity of tax policies Biden had proposed and the investments he wanted the revenues to pay for. The poll sampled 800 registered voters and oversampled another 300 Independents to provide assurance to moderates that the tax fairness agenda is a winner. The poll has been critical to determining the best messaging to use for the budget reconciliation debate and to convincing policymakers that they should support a tax fairness agenda.

Top findings from the survey:

- About two-thirds of the public supported raising taxes on the rich and corporations to pay for Biden's then \$4 trillion investment plan—by taxing those making more than \$400,000 a year and by raising the corporate tax rate to 28%.
- Taxing the rich and corporations significantly increased support for the president's agenda. Without saying whether or how it will be paid for, support for the investments is still strong but just not as strong, especially with independent voters.
- Voters supported the tax fairness agenda more than most of the president's investment agenda—tax fairness is essentially a value that tops many other voters' priorities.
- By a 7 to 1 margin voters overwhelmingly want the president's investments paid for by taxing the rich and corporations, rather than by increasing the deficit.

The polling materials are available at this [webpage](#) and include the following:

- [ATF's talking points based on poll findings](#)
- [ATF press release summarizing the poll](#)
- [Polling memo from polling firms](#)
- [Messaging memo from polling firms](#)
- [Poll Deck: National groups version](#) – longer version
- [Poll Deck: State groups version](#)– medium length version
- [Poll Deck: 15-minute version](#)
- [Poll Toplines](#)
- [Video of John Anzalone of ALG Research](#): chief pollster to President Biden explaining poll findings

2. State Polls on Tax Fairness and the Biden Agenda

In July 2021, ATF conducted six state polls to assess voter attitudes on the tax fairness agenda and the tax proposals advocated by ATF and President Biden. The purpose of these polls was to show swing vote policymakers there was strong public support for the Build Back Better plan and for the specific reforms being proposed, and to determine the best messaging for communicating with the public. This [table summarizes the results](#) from all six state polls. There was strong public support across the board in Arizona, Colorado, New Hampshire and Virginia. The public was not nearly as supportive in deep red states Montana and West Virginia, and those polls were not publicly released.

In each of the four more favorable states, ATF and state groups organized separate briefings with policy makers and the media, where the pollsters presented, and briefings with coalition partners. Polling materials are available below, including some of the media coverage:

- **Arizona:** [Press Release](#) [Polling memo](#) [PowerPoint](#) [Media briefing recording](#)
- **Colorado:** [Press Release](#) [Polling memo](#) [PowerPoint](#) [Media briefing recording](#)

- Colorado Newslines: [Poll: 61% of Coloradans support key provisions in Democrats' budget bill](#)
- Denver Post: [Opinion: Coloradans aren't anti-tax; they just want fair taxes like in Build Back Better](#)
- **New Hampshire:** [Press Release](#) [Polling memo](#) [PowerPoint](#)
 - WMUR Primary Source, NH Primary Source: [Poll for progressive groups shows NH support for tax hikes on wealthy, corporations, 7.29.21](#)
 - InDepth NH: [Taxing the Wealthy and Corporations Favored in Recent NH Poll, 7.29.21](#)
 - Public News Service: [Poll: Granite Staters Support Taxing Wealthy, Corporations](#)
- **Virginia:** [Press Release](#) [Polling memo](#) [PowerPoint](#) [Media briefing recording](#)
 - **Richmond Times Dispatch:** [Warner proclaims 'biggest infrastructure investment in our lifetimes,' but path is uncertain in House](#)
 - **Public News Service:** [Poll: Majority of Virginians Back Taxing Wealthy to Pay for Biden Relief Plan](#)
 - **NPR-affiliate, WCVE-FM:** [New VA Polling on President Biden's Build Back Better Plan](#). The NPR piece also ran on WAMU (DC/Northern Virginia) and on WHRO (Norfolk).
 - **Blue Virginia:** [New Poll: By >2 to 1, Virginia Voters Support President Biden's \\$3.5t Build Back Better Plan To Help Working Families](#)

3. General Messaging

In addition to these polls, ATF produced a steady stream of talking points for policy makers and coalition allies to use and maintained websites and other materials to continue to drive the narrative on tax fairness issues. For example:

- Shortly after the 2020 election ATF launched a website, [Biden's Tax Fairness Mandate](#), to illustrate and emphasize the president's electoral mandate to create a tax system in which the rich and corporations pay their fair share. It included:
 - Video of Biden laying out his tax reform agenda
 - Election Analysis: Biden-Harris Win a Tax Fairness Mandate
 - Talking Points: Joe Biden's Tax-Fairness Mandate
 - Joe Biden's Bold Investment Agenda
 - Biden's Stump Speech: Key Excerpts
 - Wall Street Analysts Praise Biden's Plan
- ATF secured a very influential [memo from Biden pollster John Anzalone](#) (and who now polls for ATF) explaining that the tax fairness message was central to Biden's economic narrative during the campaign and to his governing agenda.
- ATF made this [10-minute Anzalone video presentation](#) explaining the importance of tax fairness issues to governing and to winning in 2022.
- ATF regularly updates this [compilation of polling data](#) from multiple outlets showing strong public support for a range of progressive tax reform options.

E. MEDIA COVERAGE

ATF continued to execute a robust earned media program in 2021. In general, we secure media coverage by issuing reports, working with state groups on events, placing op-eds and educating opinion writers.

In 2021, ATF appeared 4,500 times in the media, which garnered an audience of over 5.3 billion views according to Critical Mention, a media monitoring service. A four-page highlights of 2021 ATF media coverage is [here](#). Go [here](#) for the list of clips, with links to all the media coverage from online sources, print sources, television, radio, and podcasts. This media coverage count includes all clips that mention “Americans for Tax Fairness” specifically. The estimate is conservative because it does not include instances where ATF worked with reporters or columnists to shape their stories, but we are not mentioned by name.

F. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND ADVOCACY REACH THROUGH DIGITAL MEDIA

In 2021 ATF ran a strong digital media program that informs the public and media, mobilizes activists through email and social media and engages Netroots groups and other coalition partners in coordinated activities. This program is carried out on a number of digital media platforms described below. This enables us to serve as communications central for the entire progressive community, daily pumping out content promoting tax fairness messaging and activism. ATF punches way above its weight compared with other groups on most measures below.

- **Websites and Webpages**

ATF maintains two websites, AmericansforTaxFairness.org and [Millionaires Surtax](https://MillionairesSurtax.org), which are very rich in content. (A form of the Millionaires Surtax is included in the Build Back Better Act and would raise \$228 billion—far short of the \$650 billion the ATF proposal would raise, which is sponsored by Sen. Chris Van Hollen and Rep. Don Beyer.) On the ATF website we have created webpages that have a special focus and content. Examples include:

- [President Biden’s Plan for Jobs, Investments, and Fairer Taxes](#)
- [The Billionaires Income Tax](#)
- [Billionaires by the Numbers](#)
- [Biden’s Tax Fairness Mandate](#)
- [#WealthTax](#)

- **Email Program**

ATF (and its sister organization ATF Action Fund) runs a very active email program with two to three unique actions each week. The program mobilizes people to take actions to influence policy debates, share educational content with their friends and contribute financially.

In 2021:

- ATF’s email subscribers took 673,000 actions, including 274,000 letters to Congress, 387,000 petition signatures, and thousands of calls to elected officials. We partnered with 31 other organizations to drive 685,000 more actions on key issues like the Billionaires Income Tax, the size and revenue-raisers of the Build Back Better package, and the Child Tax Credit.
- At the end the year ATF had an active email list of about 423,000 and a full list of more than 1,040,000.
- ATF raised about \$227,000 in 2021, 27% more than the \$178,075 raised in 2020.

- **Social Media**

- **Facebook:** ATF grew to more than [221,000 Facebook followers](#) at the end of 2021. A more important measure is the reach of our posts. Reach refers to how many people on Facebook

are served your page's content: in 2021, ATF's Facebook account reached over 53 million users.

- **Twitter:** ATF had [20,200 Twitter followers](#) at the end of 2021. But again, perhaps even more important than audience growth, ATF has focused on influencing Twitter users by reaching far more users than its built-in audience. According to internal Twitter data, which measures the impressions (number of times your content is viewed) of your platform alone and does not include the even greater reach of influential users that helped spread our content, in 2021 ATF reached over 26.4 million impressions. That is nearly triple the 8.6 million impressions gained in 2020. This is partly due to our work engaging influential users and building a list of high-follower users to help boost content, including reporters and Congressional staffers.
- **Instagram and TikTok:** ATF maintains smaller profiles on the youth-focused platforms of Instagram and TikTok. While these platforms do not have a dedicated strategy like our Twitter and Facebook platforms do, we achieved good reach toward an audience that might not have otherwise been exposed to our content. Our content on Instagram gained 338,000 impressions, bringing us to just over 2,000 followers for the year. Our content on TikTok gained 642,000 views, putting us at 56,200 likes and 3,175 followers for the year.
- **Coordination and mobilization of coalition partners:** ATF regularly coordinates joint actions (email petition and letter-writing efforts, tweet storms, call-Congress days) with coalition partners, often engaging scores of groups in an action to maximize the reach. Our most recent action is a good example, where 37 national groups, 23 state groups, and over a dozen high-profile influencers and members of Congress joined our "tweetstorm" to collectively achieve 30 million impressions on our unified message for Congress to pass tax reform legislation that Rewards Work Not Wealth. Here are a few recent examples of successful coordinated actions during the grant period:
 - Child Tax Credit action (Dec. 2021): 100 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - Build Back Better Call-in day of action (Nov. 2021) [Toolkit](#)
 - Billionaires Income Tax launch (Oct. 2021): 25.4 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #RewardWorkNotWealth day of action (Sep. 2021): 38 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #RewardWorkNotWealth day of action (Sep. 2021): 26 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #RewardWorkNotWealth day of action (Aug. 2021): 17 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #RewardWorkNotWealth day of action (July 2021): 33 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - Child Tax Credit Awareness Day (June 2021): 366 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #TaxFairnessDay Tax Day 2021 (April 2021): 12.6 million impressions [Toolkit](#)
 - #WealthTax launch in coordination with Sen. Warren (Mar. 2021): 281 million impressions [Toolkit](#)

Independent of these tweetstorms, ATF also coordinates coalition group allies on a daily basis. The above metrics are available because these were instances where a specific hashtag was pushed by all users, but groups are given content to use and spread consistently regardless of hashtag use. In 2021, ATF convened our most reliable groups on Twitter in two Direct Message (DM) large rooms for constant sharing of Twitter content.

- **Social Media Content:** A successful social media program requires generating high-quality content each day and posting numerous times per day. ATF's staff produce consistent, high-

quality graphic memes, snappy and popular tweets, informative and engaging videos, and they post and distribute them to reach the widest audience possible. Below are a few examples of the type of content ATF's staff produces on a regular basis:

Recent Digital Toolkits

- [Child Tax Credit Toolkit](#), Dec. 2021
- [#LowerCostsFairerTaxes Inflation Video Toolkit](#), Dec. 2021
- [Billionaires Income Tax Toolkit](#), Nov. 2021
- [House passage of Build Back Better](#), Nov. 2021
- [Billionaires Income Tax Toolkit](#), Oct. 2021
- [Reward Work Not Wealth Digital Toolkit](#), Sep. 2021
- [Reward Work Not Wealth Digital Toolkit](#), July 2021
- [Virginia Polling Toolkit](#), Aug. 2021
- [Pressuring 9 House Democrats Toolkit](#), Aug. 2021
- [Child Tax Credit Toolkit](#), July 2021
- [Millionaires Surtax Reintroduction Toolkit](#), June 2021
- [Infrastructure Pay-Fors Toolkit](#), June 2021
- [Biden's Tax and Investment Agenda Toolkit](#), June 2021
- [Biden's Made in America Tax Plan Toolkit](#), May 2021
- [#TaxFairnessDay Tax Day Toolkit](#), May 2021
- [Taxes and the American Families Plan](#), May 2021
- [Capital Gains Toolkit](#), Apr. 2021
- [No Tax Breaks for Outsourcing Act](#), Mar. 2021
- [For the 99.5% Act Toolkit](#), Mar. 2021

Videos

- [Build Back Better will lower costs for families and is fully paid for](#), Nov. 2021
- [15% corporate minimum tax, explained](#), Nov. 2021
- [ATF West Virginia polling on the Rachel Maddow Show](#), Oct. 2021
- [Billionaires Income Tax, explained](#), Oct. 2021
- [Video: President Biden on Making Billionaires Pay Their Fair Share in the Build Back Better Agenda](#), Sep. 2021
- [Video: Tell Congress: Close the Billionaires Stepped-Up Basis Loophole](#), Sep. 2021
- [Reward Work, Not Wealth](#), Aug. 2021
- [Video: How Biden Plans to Pay for His Build Back Better Plan](#), Jan. 2021

G. POLICY MATERIALS, FACT SHEETS AND OTHER PUBLIC EDUCATION MATERIALS

ATF staff, often in collaboration with our coalition partners in think tanks and advocacy groups produced a large amount of authoritative content in 2021 and early in 2022. These materials are designed to promote progressive tax reform policies; educate policymakers, coalition partners and grassroots activists; and to inform the media. In 2021 and early 2022, ATF produced 15 reports and more than 35 fact sheets and other materials listed below.

1. Reports on Billionaires Wealth Growth During the Pandemic

In 2021, ATF prepared at least [14 reports on billionaire wealth growth](#) and one round of about 15 state reports showing billionaire wealth growth. A few examples:

- [Billionaires Are Spending 39 Times More on Federal Elections Since Citizens United Supreme Court Decision In 2010](#), Jan. 2022. 661 Billionaires pumped \$1.2 billion into the 2020 elections—about \$1 out of every \$10 contributed.
- [America’s Billionaires Got \\$1 Trillion Richer Last Year](#), Jan. 2022
- [Report Shows Billionaires Found in Almost Every State Got Richer During Pandemic & Would Be Subject to New Federal Tax](#), Oct. 2021
- [U.S. Billionaires Wealth Surged by 70%, or \\$2.1 Trillion, During Pandemic; They Are Now Worth a Combined \\$5 Trillion](#), Oct. 2021
- [American Billionaires Got 62% Richer During Pandemic — Almost All That Wealth Growth Will Go Income-Tax Free, Showing Need for Biden’s Tax Reforms & Investment Plan](#), Aug. 2021
- [Warren Wealth Tax Would Have Raised \\$114 Billion in 2020 from Nation’s 650 Billionaires Alone](#), Mar. 2021
- [Billionaires Sports Owners Like Chiefs’ Hunts & Bucs’ Glazers Are Champs of Economic Super Bowl](#), Feb. 2021

2. Other Major Reports

- [Report: American Wealth Dynasties Poised to Reach Trillion-Dollar Levels and Escape Estate Tax in Perpetuity](#), Feb. 2, 2022. A 40-page analysis of federal estate and gift tax loopholes the ultrawealthy use to avoid these taxes, allowing families to accumulate enormous fortunes tax free. The report criticizes Congress for not fixing these loopholes in the Build Back Better Act. In 2021, ATF extensively lobbied the tax-writing committees to close the most egregious loopholes. The House Ways and Means included some reforms in the BBBA, but they were removed before the full House voted on the measure due to heavy pressure from the life insurance industry.
- [Analysis of House Ways and Means Committee-Passed Tax Plan and Some Ways to Significantly Strengthen It](#), Sep. 2021. A detailed critique of the strengths and shortcomings of the plan.
- [Legislative Recommendations to President Joe Biden for Creating a Fair-Share Tax System](#), Feb. 2021. A 28-page report analyzing the president’s tax plan from the presidential campaign and recommending ways to strengthen the plan. His campaign plan formed the basis of his Build Back Better plan that is now before Congress.
- [Proposed Executive Actions by President Biden to Ensure Tax Fairness, Racial Equity, Defend the Tax Base & Restore Taxpayer Trust](#), April 2021. A 28-page set of recommendations on executive actions that can be taken to create a fairer tax system.

3. Fact Sheets and Other Materials

- **Biden’s Build Back Better Plan & Budget Reconciliation**
 - [Sen. Manchin’s Opposition to Build Back Better Act Is Not Based on the Facts](#), Dec. 2021
 - [Build Back Better Act Will Raise Tax Rates on Millionaires](#), Dec. 2021
 - [Build Back Better Act Will Fight Inflation](#), Dec. 2021
 - [Fact Sheet: President Biden’s Build Back Better Plan Lowers Costs for Families and Is Fully Paid For](#), Nov. 2021
 - [Wall Street Analysts’ Praise for Biden’s Tax & Investment Plans](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Ways & Means Committee Tax Plan Under Fire for Being Too Easy on Billionaires](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Four Requirements for Tax Reform in Budget Reconciliation](#), Sep. 2021

- [Highlights of the \\$3.5 Trillion Senate Budget Resolution](#), Aug. 2021
- [Options for Ensuring the Wealthy Pay Their Fair Share of Taxes](#), June 2021
- [Biden Budget Offers Blueprint to Build Back Better](#), May 2021
- [Leaflet: Biden’s Plan for Jobs, Investments & Fairer Taxes](#), May 2021
- [Fact Sheet: Biden’s Plan for Jobs, Investments & Fairer Taxes](#), May 2021
- [Biden’s American Families Plan Would Boost Services for Working Families by Taxing the Wealthy](#), April 2021
- [Jobs, Taxes & Investments: How Biden’s Made in America Tax Plan raises taxes on corporations to invest in the American Jobs Plan](#), April 2021
- [Overview of Biden’s Fair-Share Tax Reforms & Summary of Proposed Modifications](#), Feb. 2021.

- **Billionaires Income Tax**
 - [Musk’s \\$11 Billion Tax Bill Is Big News—Because It’s Just 10% of His Wealth Increase So Far This Year](#), Dec. 2021
 - [8 Reasons the Billionaires Income Tax Is a Great Idea](#), Nov. 2021
 - [Sen. Ron Wyden’s Billionaires Income Tax](#), Sep. 2021

- **Corporate & Business Taxes**
 - [6 Reasons for the Corporate Profits Minimum Tax](#), Nov. 2021
 - [Biden Team Gets Global OK for Minimum Corporate Tax Rate, Paving Way for Domestic Corporate Tax Reforms](#), Oct. 2021
 - [Comment to Senate Finance Committee on International Tax Proposal](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Six Reasons to Support Sen. Wyden’s Small Business Tax Fairness Act](#), July 2021
 - [The Case for a 28% Corporate Tax Rate](#), June 2021
 - [ATF-FACT Comments on Senate Finance Proposal on International Corporate Taxes](#), May 2021

- **Capital Gains Reform**
 - [Close The Billionaires Loophole—It’s Not About Farmers](#), Sep. 2021
 - [The American Families Plan Taxes Billionaires and Protects Family Farms and Businesses](#), Aug. 2021
 - [Summary of ProPublica’s Report on Billionaire Tax Dodgers](#), July 2021
 - [Stop Protecting Billionaires: Close the Stepped-Up Basis Loophole](#), June 2021
 - [Biden Would Tax Wealth Like Work by Reforming Capital Gains Taxes](#), Apr. 2021

- **Estate Tax & Dynasty Trusts**
 - [Ways & Means Committee Bill Improves Estate & Gift Taxes, But More Reforms Needed to Rein in Huge Dynasty Fortunes](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Revitalizing the Generation-Skipping Tax](#), Sep. 2021
 - [Closing Gaps in the Estate and Gift Tax Base](#), Aug. 2021

- **Other Issues & Materials**
 - [Restoring Taxpayer Trust and Advancing Economic and Racial Justice Through Strong and Equitable Tax Enforcement](#), Mar. 2021
 - [Investing in People & Public Services Provides a Much Bigger Bang for the Buck Than Do Tax Cuts](#), Feb. 2021

APPENDIX: ORGANIZATIONS MOST ACTIVE IN THE ATF COALITION

Organization	Organization Type
AFL-CIO	Union
AFSCME	Union
American Federation of Government Employees	Union
American Federation of Teachers	Union
Blue Haven Initiative	Wealthy Donors
Build Back Together	Political
Center for American Progress	Think Tank
Center for Popular Democracy	National Grassroots
Center on Budget & Policy Priorities	Think Tank
Center on Law & Social Policy (CLASP)	Advocacy - Human Needs
Coalition on Human Needs	Advocacy - Human Needs
Communications Workers of America	Union
Community Change	National Grassroots
Daily Kos	Netroots
Economic Policy Institute	Think Tank
Economic Security Project	Advocacy - Human Needs
FACT Coalition	Tax
Friends Coalition on National Legislation	Faith
First Focus	Advocacy - Children
Groundwork Collaborative	Think Tank
Health Care for America Now	National Grassroots
Indivisible	National Grassroots
Institute for Policy Studies	Think Tank
Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy	Tax
Main Street Alliance	Small Business
MoveOn	National Grassroots
National Education Association	Union
National Treasury Employees Union	Union
National Women's Law Center	Advocacy - Women
NETWORK	Faith
NYU Tax Law Center	Think Tank

Our Revolution	National Grassroots
Oxfam	Advocacy - Human Needs
Patriotic Millionaires	Wealthy Donors
Progressive Change Campaign Committee	Netroots
Public Citizen	Consumer
Responsible Wealth	Wealthy Donors
RESULTS	Advocacy - Human Needs
SEIU	Union
Small Business Majority	Small Business
Take On Wall Street	Advocacy - Human Needs
Tax March	Tax
Teamsters	Union
United Food & Commercial Workers	Union
United Auto Workers	Union
Voices for Progress	Wealthy Donors
Washington Center for Equitable Growth	Think Tank
Women's March	Advocacy - Women