



CONGRESSIONAL PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS **BACK** TO **WORK** BUDGET

7 million new jobs in one year
\$4.4 trillion in deficit reduction

We're in a jobs crisis that isn't going away. Millions of hard-working American families are falling behind, and the richest 1 percent is taking home a bigger chunk of our nation's gains every year. Americans face a choice: we can either cut Medicare benefits to pay for more tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires, or we can close these tax loopholes to invest in jobs. We choose investment. The *Back to Work Budget* invests in America's future because the best way to reduce our long-term deficit is to put America back to work. In the first year alone, we create nearly 7 million American jobs and increase GDP by 5.7%. We reduce unemployment to near 5% in three years with a jobs plan that includes repairing our nation's roads and bridges, and putting the teachers, cops and firefighters who have borne the brunt of our economic downturn back to work. We reduce the deficit by \$4.4 trillion by closing tax loopholes and asking the wealthy to pay a fair share. We repeal the arbitrary sequester and the Budget Control Act that are damaging the economy, and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, which provide high quality, low-cost medical coverage to millions of Americans when they need it most. This is what the country voted for in November. It's time we side with America's middle class and invest in their future.

Job Creation

- *Infrastructure* – substantially increases infrastructure investment to the level the American Society of Civil Engineers says is necessary to close our infrastructure needs gap
- *Education* – funds school modernizations and rehiring laid-off teachers
- *Aid to States* – closes the recession-caused gap in state budgets for two years, allowing the rehiring of cops, firefighters, and other public employees
- *Making Work Pay* – boosts consumer demand by reinstating an expanded tax credit for three years
- *Emergency Unemployment Compensation* – allows beneficiaries to claim up to 99 weeks of unemployment benefits in high-unemployment states for two years
- *Public Works Job Programs and Aid to Distressed Communities* – includes job programs such as a Park Improvement Corps, Student Jobs Corps, and Child Care Corps

Fair Individual Tax

- Immediately allows Bush tax cuts to expire for families earning over \$250K
- Higher tax rates for millionaires and billionaires (from 45% to 49%)
- Taxes income from investments the same as income from wages

Fair Corporate Tax

- Ends corporate tax bias toward moving jobs and profits overseas
- Enacts a financial transactions tax
- Reduces deductions for corporate jets, meals, and entertainment

Defense

- Returns Pentagon spending to 2006 levels, focusing on modern security needs

Health Care

- No benefit cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, or Social Security
- Reduces health care costs by adopting a public option, negotiating drug prices, and reducing fraud

Environment

- Prices carbon pollution with a rebate to hold low income households harmless
- Eliminates corporate tax subsidies for oil, gas, and coal companies

GETTING AMERICANS BACK TO WORK

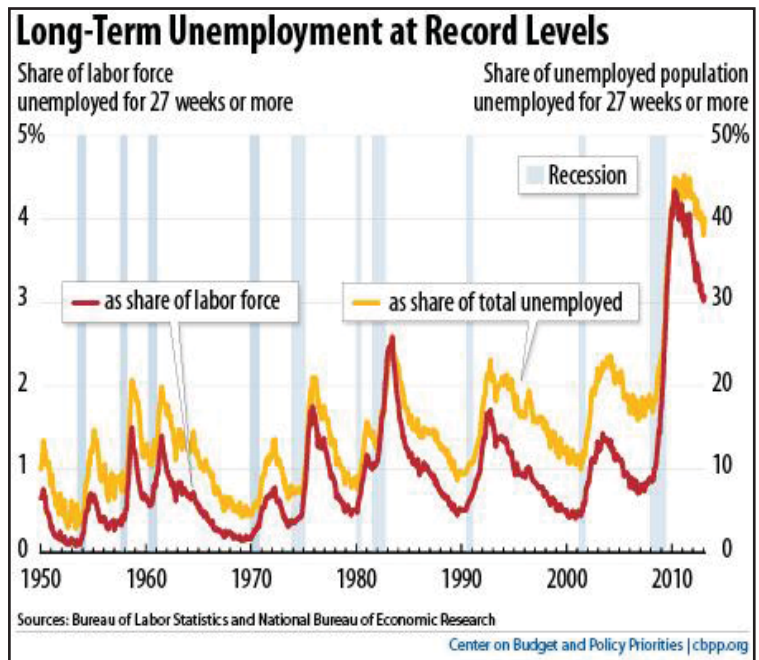
The *Back to Work Budget* creates nearly **7 million jobs** in its first year alone and brings unemployment down to around 5.3% within three years by including robust investments in America's number one priority: job creation. While the U.S. economy is growing, ordinary Americans continue to struggle and unemployment remains unacceptably high. Our budget invests in construction workers, teachers, cops, firefighters, and our youth to help the economy grow and reduce the deficit by creating good jobs. As more people get back to work, this will reduce the deficit even further.

Investment, not austerity, is what our economy needs to get moving again. Working families have been working harder and harder for less and less. Our budget rebuilds our economy so that it works for everyone, not just the privileged few.

Infrastructure – We are significantly underfunding our national infrastructure, creating safety hazards, harming our economic potential, and failing to capitalize on the opportunity to employ millions of Americans. The American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE) estimates that the United States will need to invest \$1.1 trillion above current levels over the next decade to close our infrastructure needs gap. The *Back to Work Budget* eliminates this gap by substantially increasing investment in our roads, bridges, transit, energy, and water infrastructure. According to the ASCE, if we do not make these investments the aggregate loss of GDP will be \$3.1 trillion by 2020 and the economy will lose 3.5 million jobs. Instead of continually underfunding repair of our deteriorating infrastructure, our budget puts Americans back to work rebuilding our country and enhancing our competitiveness. We create an infrastructure bank to attract private investment toward critical projects and facilitate private-public partnerships with our states and localities.

Aid to States – State budgets have suffered significantly during the economic downturn. According to the National Governor's Association, half of all states are projecting lower total revenues in 2013 than they saw in 2008. The *Back to Work Budget* closes the gap in state budgets for two years through block grants, allowing the rehiring of cops, firefighters, and other public employees. It also increases funding for Medicaid – the single largest portion of total state spending – through the Federal Medical Assistance Percentages, or FMAP program. This will help stabilize Medicaid, which is a vital program for low-income and middle-class families, providing health and long-term care services to those stricken with catastrophic illness, injury, or disability, or facing prolonged infirmity.

Education – Nearly 300,000 teachers have been laid off since 2008, leading to overcrowded classrooms. Our budget would allow for the rehiring of these laid-off teachers, improving student



performance and laying the foundation for our economic future. The budget funds the modernization and rehabilitation of at least 35,000 public schools. We also increase base education funding so that American children are not falling behind the rest of the world and that we are making America's future bright starting with each and every child.

Emergency Unemployment Compensation – The *Back to Work Budget* allows those who have lost a job through no fault of their own to claim up to 99 weeks of unemployment benefits in high-unemployment states for two years. This will help those who have struggled in an economy that still suffers from high unemployment and will also improve the economy through increased consumer demand. According to the Economic Policy Institute, this would boost real GDP growth by 0.4 percentage points and increase employment by 539,000 jobs in 2013.

Public Works Job Programs and Aid to Distressed Communities – The budget includes Rep. Jan Schakowsky's Emergency Jobs to Restore the American Dream Act, which creates job programs to make American communities stronger and ease the short-term jobs emergency. These include the Park Improvement Corps for youth ages 16 to 25 to restore our public lands, the Student Jobs Corps to provide part-time work study positions to college students, and the Child Development Corps to provide jobs in early childhood development. Priority hiring is given to the unemployed and veterans.

Making Work Pay – Our budget boosts consumer demand by reinstating the Making Work Pay tax credit for two years. This will relieve the economic drag from the expiration of the payroll tax cut, but will be more targeted at needy households and will not impact Social Security.

Targeted Economic Improvement Tax Incentives – The *Back to Work Budget* includes several of President Obama's proposals to spur clean energy, manufacturing, and cutting-edge technological investments in the private sector. These specifically targeted approaches will help make our nation competitive in the 21st century, and boost much-needed private sector job growth in the near term.

Domestic Investment – The *Back to Work Budget* outlines a plan for \$2.2 trillion in widespread domestic investment, getting badly needed funds to valuable programs that are scheduled for starvation under current law. A breakdown of discretionary increases and priorities can be found in the functionary increase chart.

A National Strategy to Eradicate Poverty – The Congressional Progressive Caucus supports a national strategy to eliminate poverty, with the initial goal of cutting poverty in half in 10 years, and extending equitable access to economic opportunity to all Americans. As Congress works to protect low income and middle class Americans from the negative impacts of budget cuts on the critical domestic programs that millions of American families rely on to get by, priority must be given to creating a national poverty strategy to maximize the impact of anti-poverty programs across federal state and local governments.

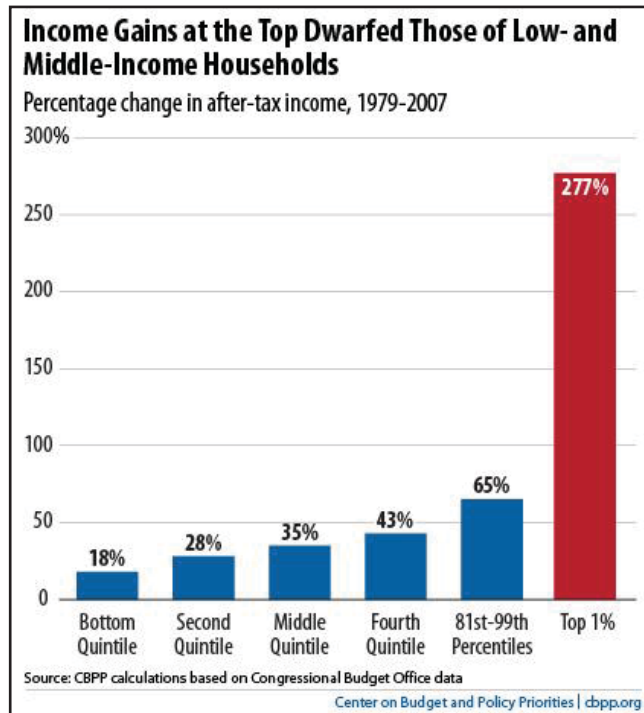
The Caucus recognizes that it is not enough to simply put people back to work. We also need a robust minimum wage to ensure that we are creating good paying, family supporting jobs, such as by enacting Rep. George Miller's Fair Minimum Wage Act.

FAIR INDIVIDUAL TAXATION

American support for a fairer tax code is clear. The *Back to Work Budget* adopts common-sense proposals that require the wealthiest to pay their fair share while alleviating the tax burden on low and middle income individuals who have already absorbed more than their share. It does so by closing loopholes designed to benefit the very rich and providing targeted tax credits to families struggling to stay afloat. Tax policy is economic policy, and unaffordable tax giveaways are a form of spending. We must prioritize our spending through the tax code to remove expenditures that disproportionately benefit the wealthy, while protecting those that create ladders of opportunity, reward work, and protect the poor.

Tax Rates and Tax Relief – As our economy continues through a fragile recovery, the *Back to Work Budget* extends tax relief by maintaining current rates for approximately 98% of Americans for the next 10 years. For the richest 2% who make more than \$250,000 annually, rates will return to Clinton levels. A recent Congressional Research Service report found that reductions in top tax rates have little association with economic growth.

The Budget maintains marriage penalty relief (standard deduction, EITC phase-out, and the 15% bracket), preferential treatment of Coverdell Education Savings Accounts, employer provided education assistance, student loan interest, select tax free scholarships, and tax exempt bonds for school construction.



Enhanced Tax Credits Established Under ARRA – The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act expanded a number of tax credits targeted at working families to boost relief during hard economic times. The *Back to Work Budget* retains the improvements made to the Earned Income Tax Credit (qualifying children and phase-out range), Child and Dependent Care Credit, and the American Opportunity Tax Credit. These credits fuel demand for American businesses by putting money in the hands of families that truly need it.

Millionaire and Billionaire Tax Rates – The budget adopts Rep. Jan Schakowsky’s tax rate plan, which asks the extraordinarily wealthy to pay a sensible share by creating five additional income tax brackets, the highest of which is still lower than the top bracket in place during most of the Reagan administration:

- \$1 – 10 million: 45%
- \$10 – 20 million: 46%
- \$20 – 100 million: 47%,
- \$100 million – \$1 billion: 48%
- \$1 billion and over: 49%

Tax Capital Gains as Ordinary Income & Eliminate Step Up Basis – This policy eliminates preferential treatment on long-term capital gains and qualified dividends, similar to the policy established by the 1986 tax reform signed by President Reagan. Our nation must end special tax breaks for investment income, which are one of the leading drivers of income inequality in this country. Further, by replacing the step-up basis with the carryover standard, where capital gains taxes are levied upon the sale of assets, the basis for that tax will be founded on the true appreciation in the assets' value.

Progressive & Sensible Estate Tax – The *Back to Work Budget* makes important estate tax reform including a \$2.5 million exemption (\$5 million for couples) followed by a progressive series of marginal rates ranging from 55 percent to 65 percent, as seen in Senator Bernie Sanders' Progressive Estate Tax Act. Further, the Progressive Caucus adopts the reforms and loopholes closures as proposed by President Obama and as seen in Rep. Jim McDermott's Sensible Estate Tax Act.

Cap the Benefit of Itemized Deductions at 28% – Only 30% of taxpayers itemize their deductions because the majority of Americans claim the standard deduction. Further, the value of a deduction corresponds to an individual's marginal tax rate, making itemization highly regressive. Itemized deductions totaling \$10,000 reduce taxes for a person in the 15 percent bracket by \$1,500 (15 percent of \$10,000) but cut taxes by \$3,500 for a person in the 35 percent bracket (35 percent of \$10,000). While "itemizers" fall in every income level, our proposal holds lower earners completely harmless, only affecting those currently in the top two income brackets.

Eliminate the Mortgage Interest Deduction for Vacation Homes and Yachts – The home mortgage interest deduction should not be used to subsidize the lifestyles of the rich and the famous. This proposal would eliminate the mortgage interest deduction for vacation homes and yachts currently being subsidized by the hard-earned tax dollars of working people.

Protecting Working Families – The *Back to Work Budget* prioritizes funding for programs that enable families to remain economically secure or move into the middle class. Our budget increases non-defense discretionary funding for income security programs by \$312 billion over 10 years. This includes programs such as child nutrition, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). These programs protect low income families, particularly in times of high unemployment. Additionally, they help stabilize the economy by maintaining demand for food. According to Moody's Analytics every \$1 increase in SNAP benefits generates \$1.71 in economic activity in a weak economy.

Housing – Millions of families have already lost their homes and an estimated twelve million Americans now owe more money than their home is worth. One in four homeowners is at high risk of foreclosure and the problem is far from over. Our budget protects and invests in important programs that are staving off further pain by providing additional funding to Housing and Commerce, Education, Training and Social Services, and Veterans Benefits and Services budget functions. Programs such as the Community Development Block Grants prop up a sputtering construction industry and provide local governments funding to renovate and resell homes as well as to stop foreclosures and maintain overall property values.

FAIR CORPORATE TAXATION

Plain and simple, corporations are not paying a fair share of the tax burden. As a share of total revenues, corporate taxes have dropped precipitously to 10.4% in the 2000s from an average of 27.6% in the 1950s. In 2012, the effective corporate tax rate was just 12%, the lowest recorded level in the past 40 years and far lower than the effective tax rate on many middle class families. When evaluated on *average* corporate tax rates, the United States is second lowest among its competitors in the G8. The *Back to Work Budget* closes corporate tax loopholes and cracks down on offshore tax abuses that encourage corporations to move jobs offshore. Our budget affirms that a revenue-neutral approach to corporate tax reform is not an option.

End Bias Toward Overseas Investment – Right now, U.S. corporations can “defer” paying U.S. taxes on their offshore profits, creating an incentive to move jobs and operations offshore and costing U.S. taxpayers billions in lost revenue. This system also encourages American corporations to set up shady tax havens in places like the Cayman Islands, disguising their U.S. profits as offshore profits to avoid paying their fair share. The *Back to Work Budget* would end these tax dodging practices by eliminating deferral, while continuing to credit U.S. corporations for taxes they pay to foreign governments to avoid double taxation. The Congressional Progressive Caucus rejects calls for a full “territorial system,” which would reduce the U.S. tax rate on foreign income to zero. The non-partisan Congressional Research Service found this approach would push even more investment to flow abroad.

Close Corporate Deductions for Stock Options Loophole – Our budget repeals the “Facebook loophole,” which allows companies to deduct stock options cashed in by an employee at the inflated current market value, rather than the original cost to the corporation. Using this loophole, Facebook will be able to write off \$3.2 billion in total taxes, and in 2012 it can claim a \$429 million tax refund in a year the company made over \$1 billion in profits.

Close Corporate Jet Loophole – Our budget ends the tax advantage provided to owners of private jets, removing the more generous five-year depreciation available to jet owners and replacing it with the seven years provided to commercial airlines.

Reduce Corporate Meal and Entertainment Deduction to 25% – Our budget lowers the corporate deduction of the cost of meals and entertainment to 25%. Current law allows businesses to write off 50% of the cost of meals and entertainment, even though eating and entertaining are personal expenses and this exception is subject to frequent abuse.

Financial Transactions Tax – Our budget includes a modest Wall Street sales tax. At least 29 countries including the U.K. have such a tax, as did the U.S. until 1966. This tax would reduce dangerous financial market speculation, discourage high-volume, high-speed trading, and dampen the proliferation of ever more complex derivatives. This policy would use tax bases and rates as follows: stock transactions at 0.25%, bond transactions at 0.004%, option premiums at 0.25% per year to maturity, foreign exchange transactions at 0.004%, and futures and swaps at 0.01%

Financial Crisis Responsibility Fee – To repay the cost of the financial calamity of 2008, our budget levies a small tax on large banks with more than \$50 billion in assets that still pose a structural danger to our economy as “too big to fail” institutions.

REDUCING PENTAGON SPENDING

Pentagon spending has doubled over the last decade, straining our military and economy to the brink. With the war in Iraq over and the war in Afghanistan drawing to a close, we need a leaner, more agile force to combat 21st century risks. The *Back to Work Budget* responsibly ends operations in Afghanistan, brings our troops home, and focuses Pentagon spending on a more nimble armed forces aligned with modern security threats. While we do not support the cuts mandated by sequestration, there are significant and more responsible savings on par with sequestration levels that can be achieved over the next decade by adopting a modern global security strategy.

End Emergency War Funding Beginning in FY 2015 – The Congressional Progressive Caucus believes it is time to swiftly and safely end the war in Afghanistan. An expedited withdrawal from Afghanistan would save billions. Further, the use of emergency funding via the Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) account masks the true impact of war spending and should be discontinued. The *Back to Work Budget* limits OCO funding to redeployment out of Afghanistan in FY 2014, and zeroes out OCO thereafter, saving \$939 billion compared to current law and \$357 billion compared to CBO's troop reduction scenario.

Reduce Base Pentagon Spending – Our budget reduces baseline military spending to ensure Pentagon spending does not continue to contribute significantly to our current fiscal burden. Instead, it redirects these funds to priorities such as caring for our veterans and smart diplomacy. The *Back to Work Budget* achieves \$897 billion in savings by modernizing the Pentagon budget. A modern defense strategy must focus our armed forces on their strengths of crisis response, smart security, and deterrence. Our military needs to adapt to current threats and challenges, particularly cyberwarfare, nuclear proliferation, and non-state actors. To suit modern strategy, the *Back to Work Budget* gradually achieves a smaller force structure with fewer personnel through attrition. It is notable that **no savings are obtained by reducing military personnel wages or benefits, including TRICARE and pensions.** The proportion of private contractor personnel would be significantly reduced, curbing needless “outsourcing” that creates excessive cost overruns. The reapportioned force structure would reduce expensive modernization requirements, especially for older or unnecessary platforms designed to fight an extinct Soviet army. Additional reforms include decommissioning our Cold War-era nuclear weapons infrastructure, as outlined by Rep. Ed Markey's Smarter Approach to Nuclear Expenditures (SANE) Act.

Audit the Pentagon – With more than a decade of war coming to a close, every dollar spent at the Pentagon must be reviewed with scrutiny. As the only federal agency not subject to an audit, the Pentagon loses tens of billions of dollars annually to waste, fraud, and abuse. It is past time to check the wasteful practices with little oversight that weaken our financial outlook and ultimately our national security. The Caucus supports auditing the Pentagon, a move that would lead to substantial savings by bringing a culture of financial accountability to the Pentagon.

Diplomacy and Development – Our budget increases investment in diplomacy and development to stabilize key regions of the world through smart security, provide vital development and humanitarian assistance, and increase tools to combat the horrors of drug and human trafficking and nuclear proliferation. Our plan rebalances goals and risks to achieve a more effective mix of defense, diplomacy, and development aid. By adopting this new global security posture, investing in domestic priorities and creating a cost-effective military aligned with 21st century threats, the U.S. can achieve significant deficit reduction goals while simultaneously enhancing global security.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

The way the U.S. budget currently deals with the environment is entirely upside down. We allow unlimited carbon pollution from big polluters while requiring them to pay nothing, yet we provide massive subsidies to hugely profitable fossil fuel corporations. The *Back to Work Budget* corrects this imbalance, requiring polluters to pay for their impact on our health and the global climate while eliminating tax breaks that subsidize fossil fuel energy over cleaner energy.

Impose a Price on Carbon Pollution – We can no longer afford to ignore our responsibility to future generations to address climate change before it is irreversible. The *Back to Work Budget* would impose on polluters a \$25 per ton price on carbon dioxide (increasing at 5.6% a year), rebating 25% of all revenues as refundable credits to protect low income families. The Energy Information Administration found that a similar proposal would result in carbon emissions reductions of 26% below 2005 levels by 2020. This would go a long way toward setting the United States on a path to avoid increasingly extreme and destructive weather, particularly when combined with air pollution controls measures under the Clean Air Act and enhanced energy efficiency.

Eliminate Corporate Welfare for Oil, Gas, and Coal Companies – It's time to put people, not fossil fuel companies, back in charge of our democracy. The fossil fuel industry enjoys dozens of permanent subsidies thanks to decades of successful lobbying. Just one of these loopholes, the “percentage depletion allowance” that will cost taxpayers \$12 billion over the next decade, has been in place for more than a century. Yet these companies are perhaps the ones that need tax subsidies the least – in 2012, the Big Five oil companies alone earned \$118 billion in profit. Fossil fuel companies are subsidized at nearly 6 times the rate of renewable energy producers. The *Back to Work Budget* repeals \$112 billion in fossil fuel subsidies over 10 years. This includes a loophole that allows fossil fuel companies to claim they are manufacturers and use a deduction aimed at American manufacturing. It also includes a tax break that allows oil companies such as BP to deduct the money they spend cleaning up oil spills.

Reinstate Superfund Taxes – The Environmental Protection Agency's Superfund program, once largely funded by dedicated taxes, is now funded primarily by general revenue. Having a stable source of funding, rather than relying on year-to-year appropriations, would help plan multi-year cleanup of hazardous chemical waste. The *Back to Work Budget* would reinstate the Superfund excise taxes that expired in 1995 in order to finance cleanup of hazardous waste.

End Certain Agricultural Commodity Subsidies – The bulk of agriculture commodity subsidies go to large corporate farms that grow commodity crops such as corn, wheat, cotton, rice, and soybeans. These crops are often grown using unsustainable methods that require high levels of fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides, leading to polluted waterways and degraded soil. Eliminating these commodity subsidies will cut billions from our budget, while reducing environmental impacts.

Clean Energy – The *Back to Work Budget* invests in the energy of the future, substantially increasing research and deployment support for renewable energy and the smart grid. It also boosts weatherization programs to save consumers money while reducing energy use.

Conserve Natural Resources – Our budget ensures that we are responsible stewards of our natural resources and public lands, reestablishing the Civilian Conservation Corps, and boosting funding for the Land and Water Conservation fund and the Wetlands Reserve Program, among others.

HEALTH CARE: BENDING THE COST CURVE

Our budget recognizes that health care costs have ballooned out of control at the expense of American families, and must be reined in. Instead of making short-sighted cuts that push costs onto consumers, our budget slows health spending and moves towards a more efficient system.

Thanks to the Affordable Care Act, health care spending is beginning to slow. An annual *Report of National Health Expenditure* found that total U.S. health spending grew at 3.9 percent in 2011. That's the same rate of growth as in 2009 and 2010, and slower than in any other year in the 51-year history of the report. Our budget builds off proven reforms and provides states flexibility to move towards a more efficient single payer system.

Medicare & Part D Prescription Drug Negotiation – Medicare is a cornerstone of the American health care system for more than 45 million American seniors. It is an exemplary program that provides the most efficient care to a segment of the population that costs more to treat. While some budgets suggest ending Medicare or turning it into a voucher program, our budget protects beneficiaries and makes the system even more efficient. Our budget amends Part D of Medicare to allow the Secretary of Health and Human Services to negotiate prescription drug prices with pharmaceutical manufacturers. Giving HHS the ability to negotiate prices, as the Department of Veterans Affairs currently does, will save Medicare \$157 billion over 10 years and will reduce costs for seniors.

Offer a Public Option – Republicans are pushing to repeal the health reform law before it has been fully implemented. They want to return us to days when health insurance premiums rose uncontrollably and the ranks of the uninsured continued to swell. Our budget improves the Affordable Care Act by allowing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to offer a public health insurance option that ensures choice, competition, and stability in affordable, high-quality coverage throughout the United States. This will save at least \$104 billion over 10 years.

Junk Food and Fast Food Marketing – One out of every three children is overweight or obese, disproportionately affecting African American, Hispanic, Native American and Asian American and Pacific Islander, and low-income children. Our budget ends the tax deductibility of advertising and marketing junk food and fast food to children.

Closing the Medicare Tax Loophole (NEWT Act) – Under current law, certain self-employed individuals, like lobbyists or lawyers, can avoid paying full Medicare taxes by routing their income through an S corporation. Newt Gingrich used this loophole to avoid paying \$69,000 in Medicare taxes in 2010 by declaring much of his income as S Corporation profits. To close this loophole, our budget adopts Rep. Charles Rangel's Narrowing Exceptions for Withholding Taxes (NEWT) Act, which would clarify that individuals engaged in professional service businesses are unable to avoid employment taxes by routing their earnings through a limited liability corporation or a limited partnership.

Generic Prescription Drug Development and Release – Sky rocketing prescription costs put Americans in danger when they skip needed medication. The Affordable Care Act increases the affordability of prescriptions for Medicare beneficiaries but prescriptions are still unaffordable to many. Our budget adopts policies to prohibit "pay for delay" agreements that reduce competition and modifies periods of exclusivity to increase availability of needed therapies.

Payment and Administrative Cost Improvements – Paying for quality of care instead of quantity leads to better outcomes and cost savings. Our budget accelerates the use of bundling payments as an alternative to fee-for-service payments. Additionally, the *Back to Work Budget* builds on Affordable Care Act efficiencies in administration of information and payments. Using standardized electronic systems for administration information such as claims, billing, payments and eligibility creates a more efficient and less fragmented health care system.

State Waivers – The Congressional Progressive Caucus believes that until we guarantee universal access to quality care, our work is not complete. As states continue to struggle with their budgets, we will provide them with the ability to set up and administer more efficient state-level single payer health programs. Our budget allows necessary waivers, including State Innovation Waivers starting in 2014, three years earlier than under current law, and protects existing federal funding for those states establishing a state single payer program.

ESSENTIAL REFORMS: IMMIGRATION AND ELECTIONS

Comprehensive Immigration Reform – It is time for our immigration laws to reflect our values and interests as Americans. As a nation of immigrants, we must uphold our commitments to equality. There is no doubt that our current system is broken. Millions of individuals are forced to live in the shadows, rather than being able to openly support their families and contribute to their communities. Supporting comprehensive immigration reform is humane and fiscally responsible, generating substantial economic benefits for years to come. The *Back to Work Budget* allows immigrants to integrate into U.S. society and help stimulate the economy by becoming entrepreneurs, small business owners, innovators, and future job-creators. A study conducted by the Council of Economic Advisers under President George W. Bush found that in 2007 immigrants contributed \$37 billion per year to the economy because of increased productivity. A path to legalization for undocumented workers also results in a net gain for the Treasury. During these tough economic times, we must bring people out of the shadows and allow them to begin a process to become citizens and maximize their contributions to society.

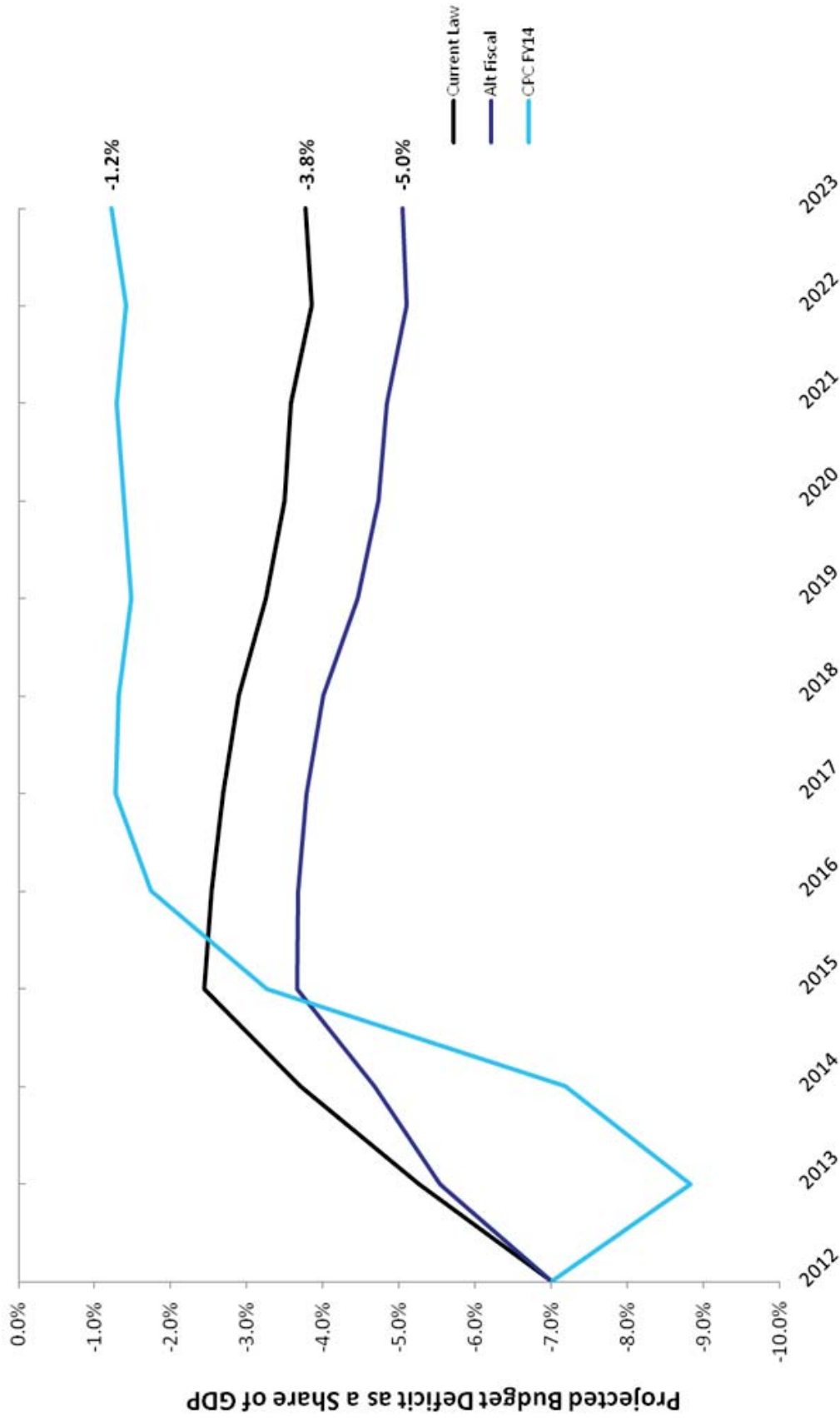
Public Financing of Campaigns – In order to establish a representative democracy that truly reflects the diversity and values of our nation the *Back to Work Budget* provides funding for the public financing of campaigns. This gives a voice to small donors that have been drowned out by dark money. Public financing keeps politicians accountable to the voters that elect them instead of to special interest money. In the era of the misguided *Citizens United* decision, big money has taken the reins of our election process. It is more important now than ever to provide candidates with effective alternatives to finance their campaigns.

Functional Increases in the Back to Work Budget (FY2014 – 2023)

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| <p>Function:150 International Affairs (increase of \$156.2 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reconstruction assistance ▪ SMART Security ▪ U.S. Institute of Peace ▪ McGovern-Dole International Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program ▪ Bilateral Global HIV\AIDS Programs (PEPFAR) ▪ Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (The Global Fund) ▪ USAID ▪ Microfinance ▪ Child Survival and Health Programs ▪ Peace Corps |
| <p>Function 250: General Science, Space and Technology (increase of \$78.1 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Science, Aeronautics and Technology ▪ Advanced Manufacturing Research ▪ Clean Energy Technologies Research ▪ STEM Education Research |
| <p>Function 270: Energy (increase of \$156.2 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Renewable energy technology and deployment ▪ Energy Innovation Fund ▪ Geothermal Technology ▪ Weatherization and Intergovernmental Activities ▪ Smart Grid Research and Development |
| <p>Function 300: Natural Resources and Environment (increase of \$78.1 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reestablishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps ▪ Natural Resources Conservation Service ▪ Wetlands Reserve Program ▪ Conservation Stewardship Program ▪ Land and Water Conservation fund ▪ Multinational Species Conservation |
| <p>Function 370: Commerce and housing credit (increase of \$78.1 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National Network for Manufacturing Innovation ▪ Homeless Assistance Grants ▪ Choice Neighborhoods Initiative ▪ SBA 7(a) and 504 business loan programs ▪ National Veterans Entrepreneurship Training (VET) Program |
| <p>Function 400: Transportation (increase of \$1 trillion included in job creation section)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Highways and bridges ▪ Mass transit ▪ Aviation ▪ Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) |
| <p>Function 450: Community and Regional Development (increase of \$78.1 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) ▪ Community Development Fund ▪ Community Development Financial Institutions |

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| <p>Function 500: Education, Training, and Social Services (increase of \$234.3 billion over 10 yrs, in addition to \$25 billion increase in job section)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ESEA ▪ IDEA ▪ Drop-out prevention ▪ Head Start ▪ Youth Summer Jobs ▪ Pell Grant interest rate protection ▪ Senior Community Service Employment Program ▪ Green Jobs Innovation Fund ▪ National Endowment for the Humanities ▪ Workforce Investment Act (WIA) ▪ Adult Employment and Training Activities ▪ TRIO ▪ National Endowment for the Arts Home and Community-based Supportive Services ▪ Social Services Block Grants (SSBG) ▪ On-the-Job Training ▪ Early Learning Challenge Fund ▪ Dislocated Workers Program ▪ Public Telecommunications Facilities Program ▪ Library Services and Technology |
| <p>Function 550: Health (increase of \$156.2 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Domestic HIV/AIDS ▪ Maternal Health ▪ Enhanced Federal Medical Assistance Percentages (FMAP) ▪ Community Services Block Grant (CSBG) ▪ Mentoring of Children of Prisoners ▪ Community Health Centers ▪ Center for Disease Control and Prevention ▪ Title VII programs ▪ National Diabetes Prevention ▪ Nursing Workforce Development Programs ▪ National Institutes of Health (NIH) ▪ Division of Viral Hepatitis |
| <p>Function 600: Income Security (increase of \$312.4 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extend and Safeguard Unemployment Insurance ▪ Child Nutrition ▪ Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP) ▪ Food and Nutrition Service (w/ WIC) ▪ Section 8 Housing Vouchers (Project and Tenant Based Rental Assistance) ▪ Home Investment Partnership Program ▪ Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) ▪ Public Housing Operating Fund ▪ Affordable Housing Trust Fund ▪ Low Income Housing Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) ▪ Foster and Adoption Assistance for States ▪ Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) ▪ Public Housing Capital Fund |
| <p>Function 700: Veterans Benefits and Services (increase of \$156.2 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Veterans & Military Families ▪ Wounded Warriors K-9 Corps ▪ VA Medical and Prosthetic Research ▪ Veterans Employment and Training ▪ Veterans Housing Benefit Program |
| <p>Function 750: Administration of Justice (increase of \$78.1 billion over 10 yrs)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance ▪ Juvenile Justice ▪ DOJ Administrative Review and Appeals ▪ Violent crime reduction programs ▪ Juvenile Justice Programs ▪ Violence against Women Prevention and Prosecution Programs ▪ Byrne Justice Assistance Grants ▪ Legal Services Corporation |

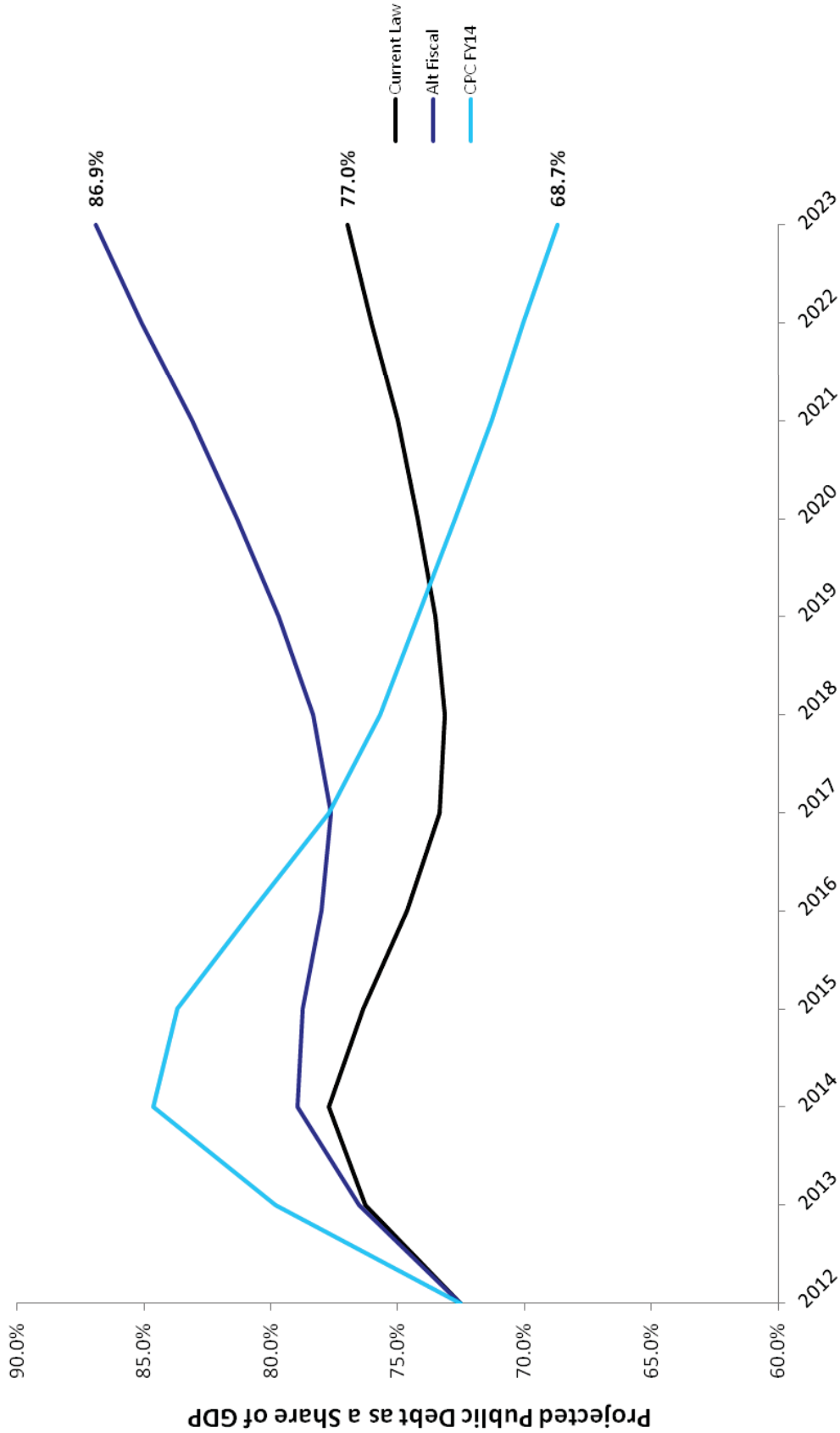
Figure A. Projected Budget Deficit Relative to Current Law and Current Policy



Source: Economic Policy Institute Policy Center analysis of CBO, JCT, OMB, CTJ, and TPC data

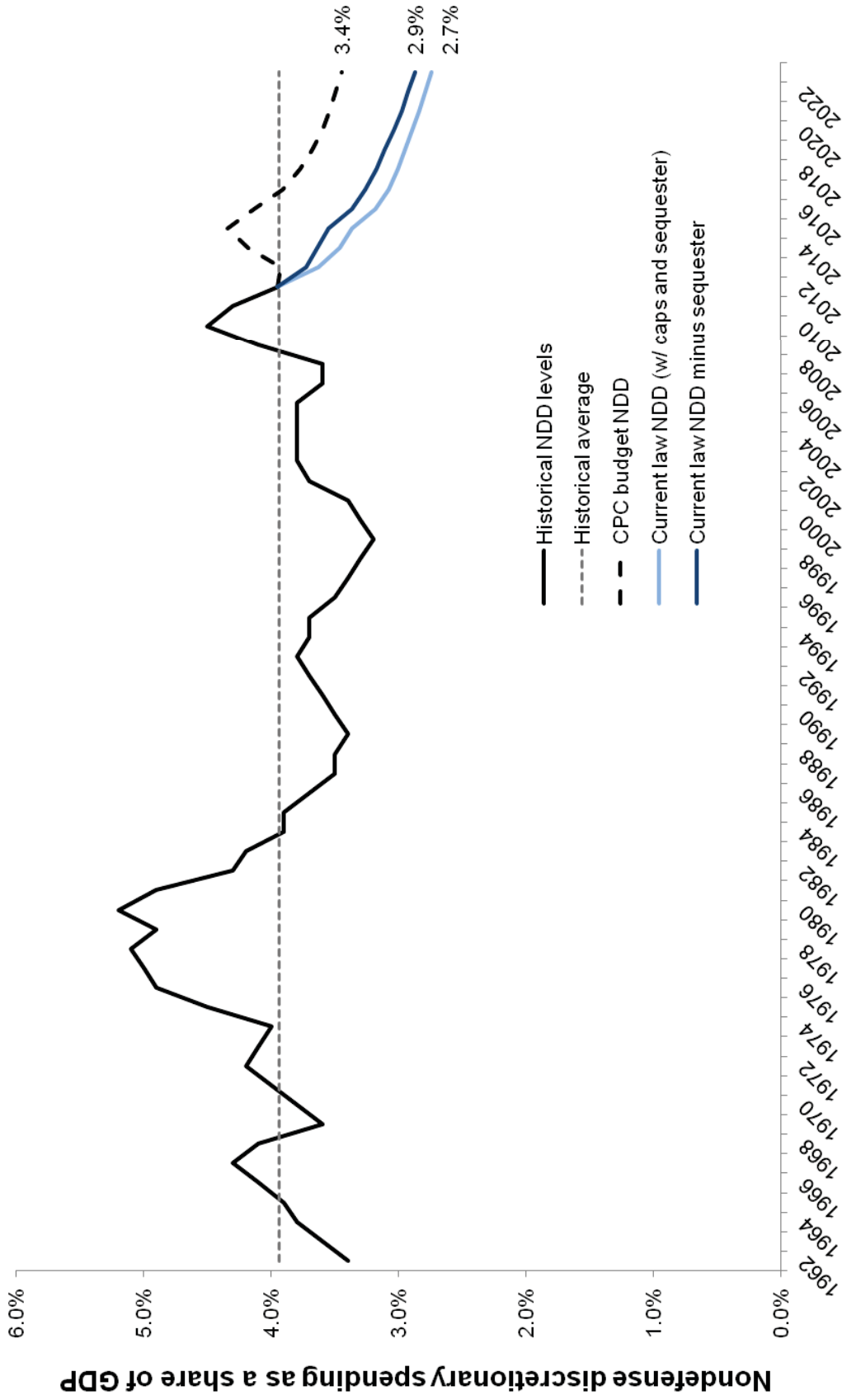
Figure B. Projected Public Debt

Relative to Current Law and Current Policy



Source: Economic Policy Institute Policy Center analysis of CBO, JCT, OMB, CTJ, and TPC data

Figure C. Historical nondefense discretionary spending (1962-2012) and projected levels (2013-2023)



Source: EPIPC analysis of OMB and CBO data and other sources.

Table 1. Policy Modifications for CPC FY14 Budget Alternative

CBO February 2013 current law baseline
(Billions of dollars)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2014-2018 | 2014-2023 | 2013-2023 |
| Total Deficit | -845 | -616 | -430 | -476 | -535 | -605 | -710 | -798 | -854 | -957 | -978 | -2,661 | -6,958 | -7,803 |
| Baseline policy adjustments (Impact on primary budget deficit, billions of dollars) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Repeal the BCA - both phases | -45 | -110 | -129 | -142 | -153 | -165 | -176 | -186 | -195 | -192 | -193 | -699 | -1,640 | -1,685 |
| Adjust for Sandy Relief | | 2 | 9 | 18 | 26 | 33 | 38 | 41 | 43 | 45 | 47 | 88 | 302 | 302 |
| Patch SGR | 0 | -14 | -16 | -13 | -12 | -12 | -13 | -14 | -14 | -15 | -16 | -67 | -138 | -138 |
| Net baseline adjustments (primary) | -45 | -122 | -135 | -137 | -140 | -144 | -151 | -158 | -166 | -161 | -161 | -678 | -1,476 | -1,522 |
| Additional revenue policy adjustments (Impact on primary budget deficit, billions of dollars) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Immediately revert to 36% and 39.6% rates for those above \$250k/\$200k. Leave in place other Bush tax cuts permanently. Enact Fairness in Taxation Act, equalization & Obama policy refundable tax credits. | 0 | 45 | 115 | 122 | 128 | 113 | 112 | 118 | 125 | 132 | 140 | 523 | 1,151 | 1,151 |
| Repeal the step-up basis for capital gains at death | 0 | 27 | 38 | 41 | 43 | 45 | 47 | 49 | 51 | 54 | 56 | 195 | 452 | 452 |
| Cap the value of item. deductions at 28% | 0 | 15 | 40 | 44 | 48 | 52 | 55 | 59 | 63 | 66 | 70 | 200 | 513 | 513 |
| End exclusion of foreign-earned income | 0 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 32 | 75 | 75 |
| Deny the home mortgage interest deduction for yachts and vacation homes | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 13 |
| Close S Corporation Loophole | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 14 |
| End deferral and reform foreign tax credit | 0 | 37 | 71 | 69 | 67 | 65 | 63 | 61 | 59 | 58 | 56 | 308 | 606 | 606 |
| Curb corporate deductions for stock options | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 25 | 25 |
| Eliminate corporate jet provisions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Reduce the deductibility of corporate meals & entertainment (| 0 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 32 | 70 | 70 |
| End direct advertising of certain foods | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 15 | 15 |
| Eliminate fossil fuel preferences (EPWA) | 0 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 66 | 112 | 112 |
| Price carbon at \$25 (refunding 25%) | 0 | 70 | 98 | 102 | 107 | 112 | 118 | 125 | 131 | 138 | 145 | 489 | 1,147 | 1,147 |
| Reinstate superfund taxes | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 20 | 20 |
| Unemployment Insurance Solvency Act | 0 | -4 | 22 | 20 | 10 | 2 | -3 | -2 | -3 | -2 | -3 | 52 | 42 | 38 |
| Financial transactions tax | 0 | 57 | 79 | 82 | 86 | 88 | 91 | 94 | 97 | 100 | 103 | 393 | 879 | 879 |
| Financial crisis responsibility fee | 0 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 42 | 90 | 90 |
| Progressive estate tax reform | 0 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 21 | 23 | 25 | 57 | 160 | 160 |
| Comprehensive immigration reform (non-discretionary) | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | -3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 24 | 25 |
| Additional spending policy adjustments (Impact on primary budget deficit, billions of dollars) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Infrastructure investments | -75 | -175 | -175 | -175 | -150 | -125 | -100 | -50 | -30 | -30 | -30 | -800 | -1,040 | -1,115 |
| Additional job creation credits and provisions | -411 | -502 | -320 | -71 | -11 | -12 | -12 | -13 | -14 | -15 | -16 | -916 | -985 | -1,396 |
| Investments (NDD increases over removing BCA) | -41 | -103 | -160 | -171 | -159 | -153 | -151 | -149 | -152 | -158 | -165 | -746 | -1,521 | -1,562 |
| OCO window (both 050 and 150) | 0 | 0 | 63 | 90 | 101 | 107 | 110 | 113 | 116 | 119 | 121 | 360 | 939 | 939 |
| Base DOD cuts (Project on Defense Alternatives) | 0 | 24 | 45 | 64 | 83 | 95 | 104 | 111 | 116 | 123 | 130 | 313 | 897 | 897 |
| Negotiate Rx payments for Medicare | 4 | 9 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 18 | 21 | 24 | 28 | 32 | 61 | 184 | 188 |
| Public option | 0 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 42 | 121 | 121 |
| Reform rules for Rx development/release | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 17 |
| Reduce fraud, waste, and abuse in Medicaid | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Payment and administrative cost improvements | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 20 | 20 |
| Reduce agriculture subsidies | 1 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 20 | 52 | 53 |
| Public financing of campaigns | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -5 | -11 | -12 |
| Net policy adjustments (primary) | -568 | -571 | -134 | 163 | 299 | 343 | 391 | 470 | 514 | 550 | 581 | 104 | 2,609 | 2,038 |
| Debt service impact of policy adjustments | -2 | -9 | -11 | -15 | -19 | -13 | -4 | 12 | 31 | 55 | 82 | -67 | 110 | 108 |
| Net impact of policy adjustments | -570 | -580 | -145 | 148 | 280 | 330 | 387 | 482 | 545 | 605 | 662 | 37 | 2,719 | 2,146 |
| CPC FY14 deficit | -1,415 | -1,196 | -574 | -328 | -255 | -275 | -323 | -317 | -308 | -352 | -315 | -2,624 | -4,239 | -5,657 |
| Memorandum: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>CPC FY14 deficit less current law</i> | -570 | -580 | -145 | 148 | 280 | 330 | 387 | 482 | 545 | 605 | 662 | 34 | 2,716 | 2,146 |
| <i>CPC FY14 deficit less CL ex Sandy adjustment</i> | -570 | -582 | -154 | 130 | 253 | 293 | 345 | 434 | 493 | 548 | 601 | -59 | 2,363 | 1,793 |
| <i>CPC FY14 deficit less alternative fiscal scenario</i> | -528 | -418 | 70 | 363 | 500 | 564 | 654 | 763 | 845 | 916 | 991 | 1,079 | 5,249 | 4,721 |
| <i>CPC FY14 deficit less AFS ex Sandy adjustment</i> | -528 | -420 | 61 | 345 | 473 | 527 | 611 | 716 | 793 | 860 | 930 | 986 | 4,897 | 4,369 |

Note: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

Table 2. Public investments and job creation
(Billions of dollars, relative to current law)

| | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2014- 2018 | 2014- 2023 | 2013- 2023 | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| Job creation measures | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sustained infrastructure program (ASCE) | 75 | 175 | 175 | 175 | 150 | 125 | 100 | 50 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 800 | 1,040 | 1,115 | 1,115 |
| Restore EUC to 99 weeks (CY2013-2015) | 13 | 40 | 49 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 101 | 101 | 113 | 113 |
| Reinstate expanded Making Work Pay (CY2013-2015) | 92 | 124 | 126 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 281 | 281 | 373 | 373 |
| Public works jobs program and aid to distressed communities | 155 | 217 | 79 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 303 | 303 | 459 | 459 |
| Invest in teachers and K-12 schools | 80 | 43 | 21 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 74 | 74 | 154 | 154 |
| Block grants to states (first responders, Medicaid, safety net, etc.) | 72 | 72 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 107 | 107 | 179 | 179 |
| Job creation credits (R&E, green manufacturing) | 0 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 49 | 118 | 118 | 118 |
| Subtotal, job creation measures | 486 | 677 | 495 | 246 | 161 | 137 | 112 | 63 | 43 | 45 | 46 | 1,716 | 2,025 | 2,511 | 2,511 |
| Public investments in the NDD budget | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Undo NDD cuts in the Budget Control Act (both phases) | 17 | 38 | 48 | 54 | 59 | 65 | 69 | 73 | 78 | 82 | 85 | 263 | 651 | 668 | 668 |
| Increased investments (NDD increases beyond removing BCA) | 41 | 103 | 160 | 171 | 159 | 153 | 151 | 149 | 152 | 158 | 165 | 746 | 1,521 | 1,562 | 1,562 |
| Subtotal, NDD increases relative to current law | 57 | 141 | 208 | 225 | 218 | 217 | 220 | 223 | 230 | 240 | 250 | 1,009 | 2,172 | 2,230 | 2,230 |
| Total, job creation and public investments relative to current law | 544 | 819 | 702 | 471 | 379 | 354 | 332 | 286 | 274 | 285 | 296 | 2,725 | 4,197 | 4,741 | 4,741 |
| Addendum: Job creation and investments relative to repealing BCA | 527 | 781 | 655 | 417 | 320 | 289 | 263 | 212 | 196 | 203 | 211 | 2,462 | 3,546 | 4,074 | 4,074 |

Note: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

Table S-1. Budget Totals (\$ billions)

| | Actual | | | | | | | | | | | Total | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2014-2018 | 2014-2023 |
| In Billions of Dollars | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Individual income taxes | 1,132 | 1,233 | 1,409 | 1,705 | 1,882 | 2,041 | 2,155 | 2,272 | 2,404 | 2,543 | 2,689 | 2,842 | 9,193 | 21,944 |
| Social insurance taxes | 845 | 953 | 1,017 | 1,093 | 1,155 | 1,212 | 1,266 | 1,319 | 1,378 | 1,438 | 1,502 | 1,568 | 5,743 | 12,948 |
| Corporate income taxes | 242 | 251 | 406 | 536 | 574 | 591 | 587 | 569 | 561 | 560 | 564 | 569 | 2,694 | 5,517 |
| Other | 229 | 241 | 434 | 547 | 540 | 502 | 504 | 527 | 548 | 593 | 644 | 676 | 2,527 | 5,515 |
| Total | 2,449 | 2,678 | 3,267 | 3,881 | 4,151 | 4,346 | 4,512 | 4,688 | 4,892 | 5,134 | 5,399 | 5,654 | 20,157 | 45,923 |
| On-budget | 1,880 | 2,008 | 2,539 | 3,090 | 3,313 | 3,468 | 3,595 | 3,731 | 3,891 | 4,090 | 4,311 | 4,522 | 16,004 | 36,550 |
| Off-budget | 570 | 670 | 728 | 791 | 838 | 879 | 917 | 957 | 1,001 | 1,043 | 1,088 | 1,132 | 4,153 | 9,373 |
| Outlays | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mandatory spending | 2,031 | 2,589 | 2,903 | 2,872 | 2,854 | 2,901 | 2,986 | 3,118 | 3,233 | 3,391 | 3,620 | 3,772 | 14,516 | 31,650 |
| Discretionary spending | 1,285 | 1,277 | 1,308 | 1,301 | 1,287 | 1,269 | 1,270 | 1,295 | 1,320 | 1,352 | 1,392 | 1,422 | 6,435 | 13,216 |
| Net interest | 223 | 226 | 252 | 282 | 338 | 431 | 530 | 597 | 655 | 699 | 739 | 776 | 1,833 | 5,300 |
| Total | 3,538 | 4,093 | 4,462 | 4,455 | 4,479 | 4,601 | 4,787 | 5,010 | 5,208 | 5,442 | 5,751 | 5,969 | 22,784 | 50,166 |
| On-budget | 3,031 | 3,450 | 3,745 | 3,692 | 3,666 | 3,737 | 3,872 | 4,041 | 4,179 | 4,348 | 4,589 | 4,734 | 18,713 | 40,604 |
| Off-budget | 508 | 643 | 717 | 763 | 812 | 864 | 915 | 969 | 1,030 | 1,094 | 1,162 | 1,235 | 4,071 | 9,562 |
| Deficit (-) or Surplus | -1,089 | -1,415 | -1,196 | -574 | -328 | -255 | -275 | -323 | -317 | -308 | -352 | -315 | -2,627 | -4,242 |
| On-budget | -1,151 | -1,442 | -1,206 | -602 | -353 | -270 | -278 | -310 | -288 | -258 | -277 | -212 | -2,709 | -4,054 |
| Off-budget | 62 | 27 | 10 | 28 | 26 | 15 | 3 | -13 | -29 | -51 | -75 | -103 | 82 | -188 |
| Primary Budget Deficit | -867 | -1,189 | -944 | -292 | 10 | 176 | 255 | 274 | 339 | 390 | 387 | 460 | -794 | 1,057 |
| Debt Held by the Public | 11,280 | 12,799 | 14,087 | 14,756 | 15,171 | 15,508 | 15,852 | 16,241 | 16,624 | 16,998 | 17,419 | 17,798 | n.a. | n.a. |

Table S-2. Budget Totals (% GDP)

| | Actual | Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 | 2022 | 2023 | 2014- | 2014- | 2018 | 2018 | 2023 | 2023 |
| As a percentage of Gross Domestic Product | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenues | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Individual income taxes | 7.3% | 7.7% | 8.5% | 9.7% | 10.0% | 10.2% | 10.3% | 10.4% | 10.5% | 10.7% | 10.8% | 11.0% | 9.8% | 10.3% | 9.8% | 11.0% | 10.3% | 10.3% | 10.3% |
| Social insurance taxes | 5.4% | 5.9% | 6.1% | 6.2% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.0% | 6.0% | 6.0% | 6.0% | 6.0% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 6.1% |
| Corporate income taxes | 1.6% | 1.6% | 2.4% | 3.0% | 3.1% | 3.0% | 2.8% | 2.6% | 2.5% | 2.3% | 2.3% | 2.2% | 2.9% | 2.6% | 2.9% | 2.2% | 2.9% | 2.6% | 2.6% |
| Other | 1.5% | 1.5% | 2.6% | 3.1% | 2.9% | 2.5% | 2.4% | 2.4% | 2.4% | 2.5% | 2.6% | 2.6% | 2.7% | 2.6% | 2.7% | 2.6% | 2.7% | 2.6% | 2.6% |
| Total | 15.8% | 16.7% | 19.6% | 22.0% | 22.1% | 21.8% | 21.5% | 21.4% | 21.4% | 21.5% | 21.7% | 21.8% | 21.4% | 21.5% | 21.4% | 21.8% | 21.4% | 21.5% | 21.5% |
| On-budget | 12.1% | 12.5% | 15.3% | 17.5% | 17.6% | 17.4% | 17.2% | 17.0% | 17.0% | 17.2% | 17.3% | 17.5% | 17.0% | 17.1% | 17.0% | 17.5% | 17.0% | 17.1% | 17.1% |
| Off-budget | 3.7% | 4.2% | 4.4% | 4.5% | 4.5% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.4% |
| Outlays | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mandatory spending | 13.1% | 16.1% | 17.4% | 16.3% | 15.2% | 14.5% | 14.3% | 14.2% | 14.1% | 14.2% | 14.6% | 14.6% | 15.4% | 14.8% | 15.4% | 14.6% | 15.4% | 14.8% | 14.8% |
| Discretionary spending | 8.3% | 8.0% | 7.9% | 7.4% | 6.8% | 6.4% | 6.1% | 5.9% | 5.8% | 5.7% | 5.6% | 5.5% | 6.8% | 6.2% | 6.8% | 5.5% | 6.8% | 6.2% | 6.2% |
| Net interest | 1.4% | 1.4% | 1.5% | 1.6% | 1.8% | 2.2% | 2.5% | 2.7% | 2.9% | 2.9% | 3.0% | 3.0% | 2.0% | 2.5% | 2.0% | 3.0% | 2.0% | 2.5% | 2.5% |
| Total | 22.8% | 25.5% | 26.8% | 25.3% | 23.8% | 23.1% | 22.9% | 22.9% | 22.8% | 22.8% | 23.1% | 23.0% | 24.2% | 23.5% | 24.2% | 23.0% | 24.2% | 23.5% | 23.5% |
| On-budget | 19.5% | 21.5% | 22.5% | 20.9% | 19.5% | 18.7% | 18.5% | 18.5% | 18.3% | 18.2% | 18.5% | 18.3% | 19.9% | 19.0% | 19.9% | 18.3% | 19.9% | 19.0% | 19.0% |
| Off-budget | 3.3% | 4.0% | 4.3% | 4.3% | 4.3% | 4.3% | 4.4% | 4.4% | 4.5% | 4.6% | 4.7% | 4.8% | 4.3% | 4.5% | 4.3% | 4.8% | 4.3% | 4.5% | 4.5% |
| Deficit (-) or Surplus | -7.0% | -8.8% | -7.2% | -3.3% | -1.7% | -1.3% | -1.3% | -1.5% | -1.4% | -1.3% | -1.4% | -1.2% | -2.8% | -2.0% | -2.8% | -1.2% | -2.8% | -2.0% | -2.0% |
| On-budget | -7.4% | -9.0% | -7.2% | -3.4% | -1.9% | -1.4% | -1.3% | -1.4% | -1.3% | -1.1% | -1.1% | -0.8% | -2.9% | -1.9% | -2.9% | -0.8% | -2.9% | -1.9% | -1.9% |
| Off-budget | 0.4% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% | -0.1% | -0.1% | -0.2% | -0.3% | -0.4% | 0.1% | -0.1% | 0.1% | -0.4% | 0.1% | -0.1% | -0.1% |
| Primary Budget Deficit | -5.6% | -7.4% | -5.7% | -1.7% | 0.1% | 0.9% | 1.2% | 1.3% | 1.5% | 1.6% | 1.6% | 1.8% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 1.8% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Debt Held by the Public | 72.5% | 79.8% | 84.6% | 83.7% | 80.7% | 77.7% | 75.7% | 74.2% | 72.7% | 71.3% | 70.1% | 68.7% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 68.7% | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |