BETTER OFF BUDGET

8.8 MILLION JOBS BY 2017

$4 TRILLION IN DEFICIT REDUCTION

During our economy's best decades, Congress invested in the American workforce and every family was better off for it. But recent years have been dominated by growing inequality and a Republican majority in Congress obsessed with slashing the budget, making it harder for working Americans to find decent jobs and save for the future. The Congressional Progressive Caucus' *Better Off Budget* reverses the damage budget austerity has inflicted on hard-working families and restores our economy to its full potential by creating 8.8 million jobs by 2017.

The *Better Off Budget* reverses harmful cuts that have hit working families the hardest—starting with repealing across-the-board budget cuts known as the "sequester." It creates a fairer tax code so that low and middle-income families no longer pay more than they should while the world's biggest corporations benefit from unnecessary loopholes. Our budget reverses harmful pay freezes, expands benefits for federal retirees and strengthens federal health care and retirement programs Americans rely on.

When the federal budget invests resources wisely, we can meet the needs of working families and shrink the deficit. The *Better Off Budget* not only creates jobs, it reduces deficits by $4.08 trillion over the next 10 years. It's the right budget for the country, for working families and for our future.

MAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BETTER OFF

Creating Good Jobs – creates 8.8 million jobs by 2017.

- *Long-term Unemployed* – provides access to training and employment services to match employee potential with employer demand**.**
- *Infrastructure* – creates jobs in building and construction industries to repair and modernize our ailing roads, bridges and water infrastructure.
- *State Aid* – provides assistance to states to allow them to hire and rehire public employees such as police, firefighters and health care workers.
- *Public Works and Education* – a direct hire program that includes seven jobs corps to hire physicians, students, construction and community workers and an education program boost to hire more teachers and improve schools.

Reversing Harmful Cuts – repeals the Budget Control Act and Sequester, restores Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits, restores unemployment insurance, fully funds the Prevention and Public Health Fund, and ends the federal worker pay freeze.

Equity for Women and People of Color – enhances federal programs targeted at creating equity and improving outcomes for women, people of color, and their families.

Protecting Veterans and Workers through Retirement –adopts a cost-of-living adjustment that takes into account realistic retiree expenses and fully funds veterans programs in advance.

FAIR INDIVIDUAL TAXES

- Implements a new Hard Work Tax Credit for households earning less than $150,000.
- Returns to Clinton tax rates for households making over $250,000 and implements new brackets for those making over $1 million.
- Equalizes tax rates for investment income and income from a hard day's work.

FAIR CORPORATE TAXES

- Eliminates the ability of U.S. corporations to defer taxes on offshore profits.
- Enacts a Financial Transaction tax on various financial market transactions.
- Implements Chairman Dave Camp's financial institution excise tax.

HEALTH CARE

- Protects and strengthens Medicare and Medicaid without cutting benefits for seniors.
- Builds on *Affordable Care Act* savings and successes, including implementing a public option and expanding payment reforms.
- Allows states to transition to single-payer health care systems.

ENVIRONMENT

- Closes tax loopholes and ends subsidies provided to oil, gas and coal companies.
- Addresses the climate change crisis by enacting a price on carbon pollution while holding low-income families harmless.
- Invests in clean and renewable energy, which creates middle class jobs, boosts the economy, and cuts pollution.

DEFENSE

- Modernizes our defense posture to create sustainable baseline defense spending.
- Ends emergency funding for Overseas Contingency Operations.
- Increases funding for diplomacy to stabilize key world regions and for the Office of Economic Adjustment to assist in responding to defense program shifts.

IMMIGRATION

- Implements comprehensive immigration reform, including a pathway to citizenship.

PRIVACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

- Calls for transparency in national security budgets to bring accountability to bulk data collection programs.

HOUSING

- Meets funding needs for programs that help struggling families stay in their homes after the housing crisis.

PUBLIC FINANCING OF CAMPAIGNS

- Funds public financing of campaigns to curb special interest influence in politics.

SOCIAL SECURITY

- Endorses "Scrapping-the-Cap" and expanding Social Security benefits separately from the federal budget process.

MAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BETTER OFF

CREATING GOOD JOBS

By investing in the American people, the *Better Off Budget* creates 8.8 million jobs and drops the unemployment rate to 5.5% nationwide in the first three years. Our budget creates jobs that pay a livable wage by establishing a public works program and by rebuilding our aging roads, pipes, and energy systems. Our budget makes Americans better off by starting with guaranteeing a minimum wage of $10.10 per hour and working towards a living wage for every working man and woman. To bring relief to the record number of long-term unemployed Americans, our budget reverses deep cuts to unemployment insurance, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and job training programs. It accelerates the recovery of the manufacturing sector that has been decimated by free trade agreements that export jobs. Putting Americans back to work is not only the right thing to do, it's good economic policy. Money spent in these areas is more likely to be circulated back into the economy instead of being tucked away in offshore accounts that make the richest even richer.

The era of manufactured austerity crises is over. The *Better Off Budget* is the road map to get the United States back to its full economic potential.

***Long-term Unemployed* -** scales up programs funded under the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) that provide training and employment opportunities to the long-term unemployed. Under our budget, the services offered at comprehensive workforce development centers would expand dramatically, ensuring that every unemployed American will have access to the training, employer-employee matching services, child care, and transportation assistance needed to return to the workforce.

Infrastructure – puts a down payment of $820 billion toward meeting our infrastructure needs by substantially increasing investment in our roads, bridges, transit, energy, and water infrastructure. Our national infrastructure is significantly underfunded, creating safety hazards, harming our economic potential, and failing to capitalize on the opportunity to employ millions of Americans. Instead of continually underfunding repair of our deteriorating infrastructure, our budget puts Americans back to work rebuilding our country and enhancing our competitiveness. It creates an infrastructure bank to attract private investment toward critical projects and facilitate private-public partnerships with our states and localities.

***State Aid* -** closes the gap in state budgets through $95 billion in grants, allowing the rehiring of cops, firefighters, health care workers, and other public employees. State budgets have suffered significantly from the economic downturn and more recently, across-the-board cuts to federal funding known as sequester. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, state revenues are still less than they were before the Great Recession.

***Public Works and Education* –** establishes an expansive direct hire jobs program by adopting Representative Jan Schakowsky's Emergency Jobs to Restore the American Dream Act. Her plan includes the Park Improvement Corps for youth to restore our public lands, the Student Jobs Corps to provide work study positions to college students, and the Child Development Corps to provide jobs in early childhood development, among others. Priority hiring is given to veterans and the unemployed. Our budget also includes $100 billion in stimulus for teachers and schools at a time when school funding in most states is flat or falling. This provides desperately needed funding to rehire hundreds of thousands teachers that have been laid off and for school construction and modernization.

REVERSING HARMFUL CUTS

Repealing the *Budget Control Act* and Sequester – repeals the Budget Control Act, which includes the misguided and irresponsible across-the-board cuts known as the "sequester." According to the Congressional Budget Office, repealing the sequester would increase the level of real GDP by $113 billion and create up to 900,000 jobs per year, while at the same time providing funds to valuable domestic priorities like pre-K tutoring through the Head Start program and cancer research at the National Institutes of Health.

Prioritizing Access to Care and Public Health – restores the $5.5 billion worth of cuts to the Affordable Care Act's Prevention and Public Health Fund, as well as the $454 million in funds diverted to set up the federal health insurance exchange. Eliminating these cuts would help reverse the spending disparity in which only 3 percent of our health care dollars are spent on preventing diseases, while 75 percent of our health care costs go towards treating preventable conditions.

Nutrition Assistance for Families – reverses cuts to the SNAP program – formerly known as Food Stamps – that were included in the recent Farm Bill. The Congressional Budget Office estimates restoring these funds will boost SNAP benefits by an average of $90 per month for 850,000 families living in 15 states. Our budget also boosts SNAP benefits by an average of $36 per month for a family of four by permanently adopting the enhanced levels established in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. According to Moody's Analytics, every $1 increase in SNAP benefits generates about $1.70 in economic activity.

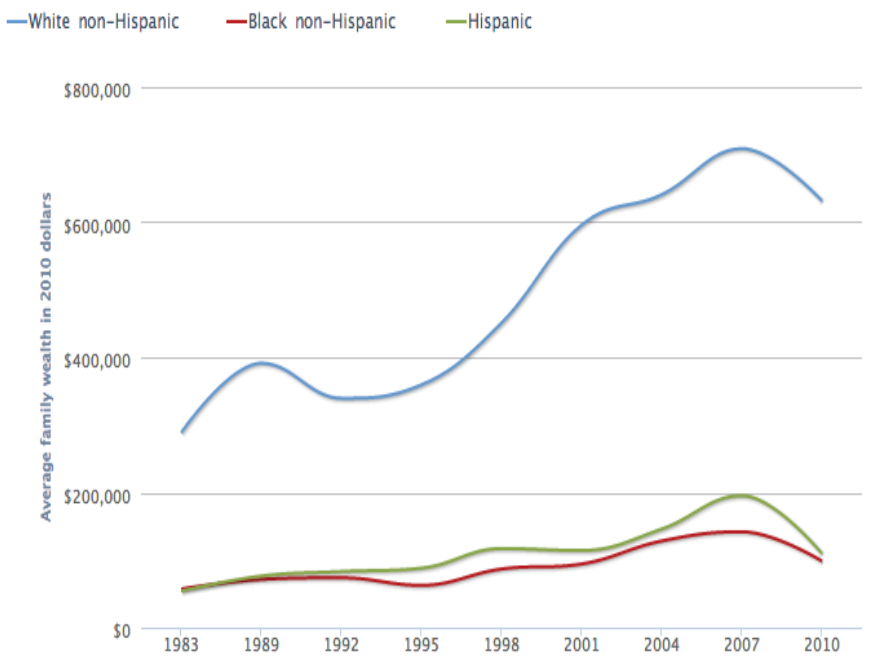
Emergency Unemployment Compensation – allows those who have lost a job through no fault of their own to claim up to 99 weeks of unemployment benefits in high-unemployment states for up to two years. According to the Economic Policy Institute, this would boost real GDP growth by 0.4 percentage points and increase employment by 539,000 jobs in 2014.

Investing in Federal Public Servants – invests in the federal employees who make Americans better off every day by providing these workers with a four percent pay raise this year. Furloughs and three years of pay freezes have made the federal government a less attractive place to work. Our budget ensures that the federal government will again be able to compete for the best and the brightest candidates in the years ahead.

EQUITY FOR WOMEN AND PEOPLE OF COLOR

The *Better Off Budget* enhances programs that close the growing wealth gap, including ensuring equal access to job opportunities, properly funding public education and enhancing programs that allow American families to get through tough times. Women and communities of color have been disproportionately impacted by recent budget cuts, particularly at the state and local levels. Our budget increases the Education, Training and Social Services budget function by $340 billion and the Income Security budget function by $393 billion over 10 years. This provides desperately needed funds to programs such as Head Start, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Women, Infants, and Children program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, and Child Care and Development Block Grant, among many others. Our budget rescinds funding for disproven abstinence-only education and does not subscribe to discriminatory funding restrictions that harm low income women including the ban on local abortion funding in Washington D.C.

Average Family Wealth by Race and Ethnicity



Source: Urban Institute, 2013

PROTECTING VETERANS AND WORKERS THROUGH RETIREMENT

The *Better Off Budget* adopts the Experimental Price Index for the Elderly (CPI-E) to calculate Cost of Living Adjustments (COLA) for federal retirement programs other than Social Security. Affected programs include civil service retirement, military retirement, Supplemental Security Income, veteran's pensions and compensations. CPI-E is the most sensible and accurate measure of the real costs that seniors face in retirement. Other measures do not adequately take into account rising expenditures in retirement, such as health care costs, and amount to cutting benefits for those on fixed incomes. To provide additional stability to veterans we provide advance funding to all discretionary VA programs to make sure benefits and health care get to our veterans even when Congress can't reach agreement on funding. *The Better Off Budget* meets funding levels called for by the Independent Budget authored by AMVETS, Disabled American Veterans (DAV), Paralyzed Veterans of America (Paralyzed Veterans), and Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States (VFW).

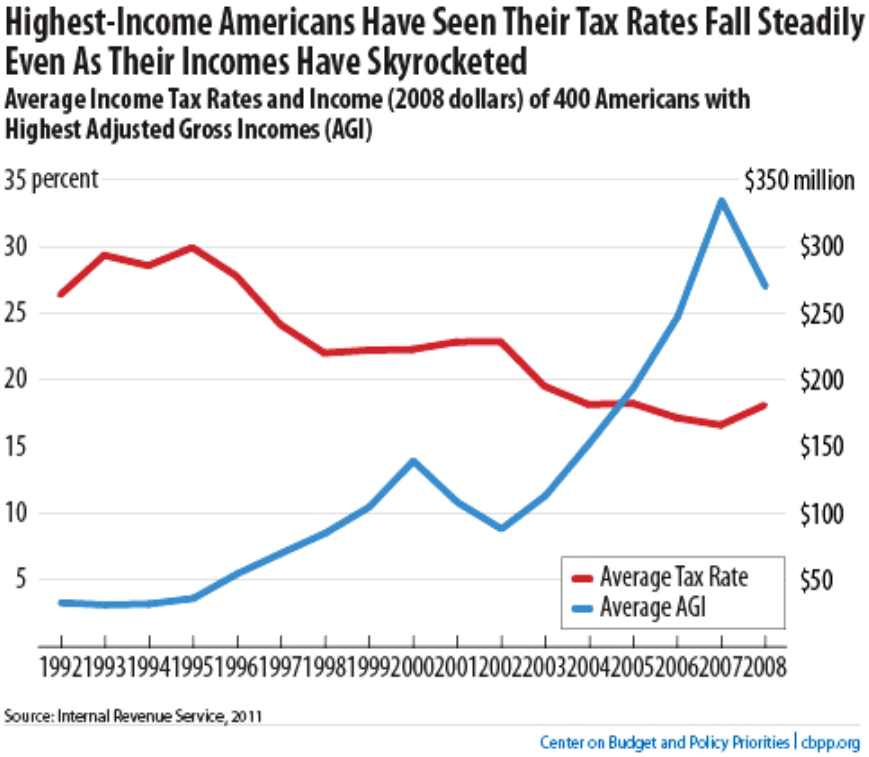
FAIR INDIVIDUAL TAXATION

Current tax policies have helped wealth inequality rise to levels not seen since before the Great Depression. The *Better Off Budget* requires the wealthiest to pay their fair share and reduces the burden on low- and middle-income individuals struggling to make ends meet. It closes loopholes that only benefit the very rich and provides targeted tax credits to families struggling to stay afloat. Tax policy is one of the clearest measures of our national priorities. Our budget generates enough revenue and savings to invest in building new ladders of opportunity all over the country.

Tax Rates and Tax Relief – provides tax relief by maintaining current rates for the vast majority of American households for the next 10 years as our economy continues its fragile recovery. For the richest 2% who make more than $250,000 annually rates will return to Clinton levels. The budget maintains marriage penalty relief, 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.

Millionaire and Billionaire Tax Rates – adopts Rep. Jan Schakowsky's tax rate plan, which asks those with income over $1 million to contribute a little more to America's economic growth. The highest of the new tax rates 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 - 1billion: 48%
- $1 billion and over: 49%



Hard Work Tax Credit – implements a new Hard Work Tax Credit to reward Americans for their hard work. This policy would provide a refundable tax credit for 2014 and 2015 for up to $600 for working individuals earning less than $95,000 and up to $1,200 for households earning less than $190,000. The credit would be continued in 2016 with the maximum amounts of $300 for individuals and $600 for households. Modeled off the Making Work Pay tax credit, this targeted tax credit would immediately raise disposable income for low and middle income families.

EITC Expansion and Enhanced ARRA Tax Credits – adopts President Obama's EITC expansion proposal which benefits 13.5 million workers. Provides enhanced credits implemented by The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act to help working families during hard economic times, including extending the enhanced Earned Income Tax Credit, Child and

Dependent Care Credit, and the American Opportunity Tax Credit through 2024. These credits make American families better off and create customers for struggling American businesses.

Tax Capital Gains as Ordinary Income & Eliminate Step Up Basis – eliminates preferential treatment on long-term capital gains and qualified dividends. Those low rates widen the wealth gap and reduce federal revenues. We also eliminate the step-up basis with the carryover standard, shifting from a system that benefits inheritances to one that accurately reflects the appreciation of assets.

Progressive & Sensible Estate Tax – implements estate tax reform including setting a $2.5 million exemption ($5 million for couples) while taxing the remainder at 55 percent to 65 percent, as seen in Senator Bernie Sanders' Progressive Estate Tax Act. The budget also adopts other reforms and loophole closures as proposed by President Obama and as seen in Rep. Jim McDermott's *Sensible Estate Tax Act*. Today, the first $5.34 million in inheritance can be passed to heirs tax free, with the remainder taxed at 40 percent.

Cap the Benefit of Itemized Deductions at 28% – caps itemized deductions benefits at 28%. Only 30% of taxpayers currently itemize their deductions. Itemized deductions are based on the tax rate of the filer, which makes them very regressive. For example, 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 protects working families and only affects those currently in the top two income tax brackets.

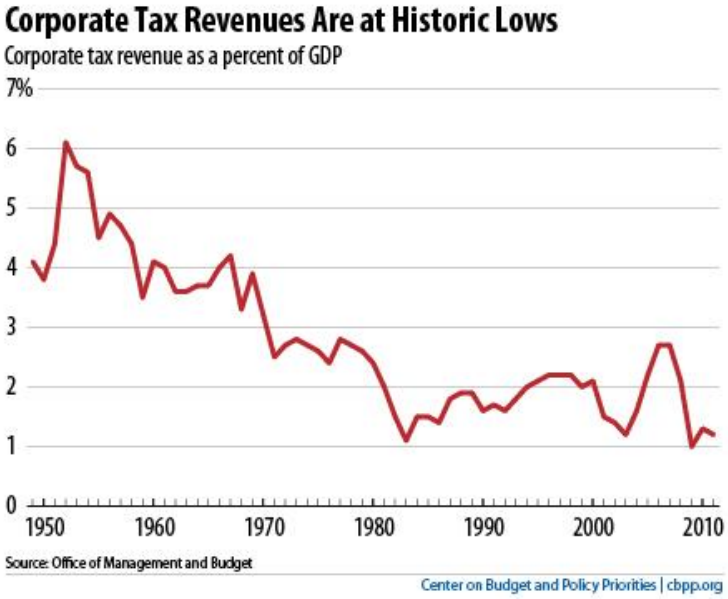
Eliminate the Mortgage Interest Deduction for Vacation Homes and Yachts – maintains the mortgage interest deduction for primary residences but eliminate the mortgage interest deduction for vacation homes and yachts. The home mortgage interest deduction should not be used to subsidize the luxuries of the wealthiest Americans.

FAIR CORPORATE TAXATION

Corporations are not paying a fair share of the tax burden. The effective corporate tax rate - the rate actually paid after deductions, offshoring and other avoidance measures - was just 12.6% last year. Some of America's most successful corporations pay no taxes at all. Some others actually got a refund last year despite making record profits that never trickled down into private sector hiring. America's richest corporations should not be able to pay less in taxes than middle class families. The *Better Off Budget* raises revenue by closing corporate tax loopholes and cracks down on offshore tax abuses that encourage corporations to move jobs offshore.

End Bias Toward Overseas Investment – eliminates tax dodging practices by ending deferral. Right now, U.S. companies pay federal income taxes wherever they earn it. Tax "deferral" allows companies to avoid paying U.S. taxes on overseas profits as long as they keep those profits offshore. Corporations can – and do – form subsidiaries in the countries where they do business, allowing them to avoid paying taxes on foreign income held by a subsidiary until the profits are returned to the United States. This system also encourages American corporations to set up shady tax havens in places like the Cayman Islands to avoid paying their fair share.

Financial Transactions Tax – includes a modest tax on Wall Street transactions. More than 30 countries around the world have some form of financial transactions tax, as did the U.S. until 1966. 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%. The tax would reduce reckless speculation that adds uncertainty while driving up prices of key commodities.



Dave Camp's Financial Institution Excise Tax – imposes a quarterly 3.5 basis-point tax on assets exceeding $500 billion, as Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dave Camp outlined in his tax reform proposal. The Camp tax would raise needed revenue from some of America's most profitable corporations, many of which played a major role in the 2008 financial collapse – including Citigroup, J.P. Morgan Chase, Bank of America, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, Wells Fargo, and American International Group.

Stop Subsidizing Multimillion Dollar Corporate Bonuses Act – closes a major loophole in current corporate tax law by putting an end to unlimited tax write-offs on executive pay. The disparity between CEO to worker pay has skyrocketed to 272-to-1. This loophole currently costs U.S. taxpayers over $50 billion.

Close Corporate Deductions for Stock Options Loophole – 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.

Close Corporate Jet Loophole – 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 – lowers the corporate deduction on meals and entertainment to 25%. Today, American businesses can write off 50% of the cost of meals and entertainment. The write off is subject to frequent abuse.

Ending Excessive Fed Dividends for Wall Street – cuts yearly dividend payment to our country's largest banks by 50%. Each year, the Federal Reserve pays dividends to private banks, who are technically stockholders of its regional system.

HEALTH CARE

An aging population and rising health care costs represent one of the greatest federal budget challenges. To meet this challenge, the *Better Off Budget* lowers health care costs while protecting consumers. We build on the positive reforms in the Affordable Care Act that are known to bend the health care cost curve over time. Medicare operates more efficiently than private health care systems; our budget protects Medicare's integrity and creates savings to improve long-term solvency. Our budget also provides states the freedom to improve on the Affordable Care Act by transitioning to a single payer system of care.

Medicare Part D Prescription Drug Negotiation – permits 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.

Payment Improvements – builds on Affordable Care Act solutions by accelerating the use of bundled payments as an alternative to fee-for-service. Single payments are provided for a group of related services which creates incentives for providers to coordinate care. Paying for quality of care instead of quantity leads to better outcomes and cost savings.

Offer a Public Option – improves the Affordable Care Act by allowing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to offer a public health insurance option within the health insurance marketplaces. This ensures choice, competition, and stability in coverage. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the premium costs for Americans under the public option would be between 7 and 8 percent lower than costs in private exchange plans.

Cigarette Tax – raises the federal excise tax on cigarettes by 50 cents per pack. CBO finds that younger smokers are especially deterred by higher prices, resulting in a decline of smoking rates by approximately 3 percent.

Junk Food and Fast Food Marketing – ends the tax deductibility of advertising and marketing junk food and fast food to children. One out of every three children is overweight or obese, disproportionately affecting communities of color and low-income children.

Closing the Medicare Tax Loophole (NEWT Act) – adopts Rep. Charles Rangel's Narrowing Exceptions for Withholding Taxes (NEWT) Act, which would clarify that individuals are unable to avoid employment taxes by routing their earnings through a limited liability corporation or a limited partnership. Newt Gingrich has used this loophole to avoid paying some Medicare taxes.

Generic Prescription Drug Development and Release – prohibits "pay for delay" agreements that brand name manufacturers use to reduce competition and prevent lower cost alternatives from entering the market.

State Waivers – 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 and protects existing federal funding for those states establishing a state single payer program.

ENVIRONMENT

Destabilizing our climate is costing American taxpayers. We provide massive subsidies to hugely profitable fossil fuel corporations. Then we allow big polluters to release unlimited carbon pollution without having to do anything to clean up the damage they are causing. The rapidly growing renewable energy sector simply can't compete with those kinds of subsidies. The *Better Off Budget* corrects this course, 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 – imposes 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. We can no longer afford to ignore our responsibility to future generations to address climate change before it is irreversible. 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 minimize the impact of extreme and destructive weather, particularly when combined with air pollution control measures under the Clean Air Act and enhanced energy efficiency.

Eliminate Corporate Welfare for Oil, Gas, and Coal Companies – repeals $118 billion in fossil fuel subsidies over 10 years. 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 $13 billion over the next decade, has been in place for more than a century. These companies are perhaps the ones that need tax subsidies the least – in 2013, the Big Five oil companies alone earned $93 billion in profit. Fossil fuel companies are subsidized at nearly 6 times the rate of renewable energy producers. 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 – reinstates the Superfund excise taxes that expired in 1995.
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 result in more cleanup of hazardous chemical waste that would allow impacted businesses and neighborhoods to flourish again.

Reduce Crop Insurance Subsidies – reduces the federal government's subsidy to from 60% to 40% premiums, on average. Insurance policies purchased through the program are sold and serviced by private insurance companies, which are reimbursed by the federal government.

Targeted Economic Improvement Tax Incentives – 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.

DEFENSE

Pentagon spending has doubled over the last decade, straining our military and economy to the brink. With the war in Afghanistan drawing to a close this year, we need a leaner, more agile force to combat realistic twenty-first century risks. The *Better Off Budget* responsibly ends operations in Afghanistan, brings our troops home, and focuses Pentagon spending on modern security threats instead of Cold War-era weapons contracts. The Congressional Progressive Caucus does not support Pentagon cuts mandated by sequestration and believes there are more responsible savings - on par with sequestration levels - achievable over the next decade that do less damage to soldiers and veterans.

End Emergency War Funding Beginning in FY2015 – limits OCO funding to redeployment out of Afghanistan in FY2015 and zeroes out OCO thereafter, saving $949 billion compared to current law. 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.

Reduce Base Pentagon Spending – reduces baseline military spending to ensure Pentagon spending does not continue to contribute significantly to our current fiscal burden, and establishes a responsible, targeted approach towards a sustainable defense budget. Our budget would repeal the damaging across-the-board cuts and caps proposed by the Budget Control Act, while providing equivalent savings through the enactment of reforms endorsed in bipartisan fiscal reform proposals. It redirects funds to priorities such as caring for our veterans and smart diplomacy, Congressionally Directed Medical Research Programs (CDMRP), the Office of Economic Adjustment (OEA) to assist communities impacted by defense program changes, and environmental cleanup and climate change mitigation programs within the DOD Strategic Sustainability Performance Plan (SSPP).

Modernizing our Defense Posture – achieves a smaller force structure with fewer personnel through attrition. 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. 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 20th century wars. Additional reforms include decommissioning our Cold War-era nuclear weapons infrastructure, as outlined by the 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.

Diplomacy and Development – 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 United States can achieve significant deficit reduction goals while simultaneously enhancing global security.

Adjusting to Pentagon Downsizing – increases investment in DOD's Office of Economic Adjustment to assist state and local governments to respond to major defense program shifts by helping communities adjust to defense contract losses with planning grants and technical assistance. By responding to domestic priorities at home, this budget would help communities chart a path to new economic activity not dependent on excessive levels of Pentagon spending.

COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM

Our country needs an immigration system that honors our values of inclusion, diversity and equality. Today's outdated immigration laws have failed workers, families, businesses and, increasingly, our nation's immigrants. Employers are unable to hire the workers they need. Immigrant workers are exploited. Families trying to reunite legally are separated for many years, and millions of individuals are forced to live in the shadows. Our budget adopts comprehensive immigration reform which will generate substantial economic benefits. It's the humane and fiscally responsible solution.

The *Better Off Budget* helps immigrants integrate into American society and participate in the economy by becoming entrepreneurs, small business owners, innovators and future job creators. A report by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) found that comprehensive immigration reform would reduce the federal budget deficit by $197 billion over the next decade and $700 billion over the next 20 years. Comprehensive immigration reform will build a stronger society and economy. The time for reform is now.

PRIVACY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The Congressional Progressive Caucus believes that taxpayer-funded government surveillance programs must not infringe on American taxpayers' constitutionally-protected rights to privacy and free expression. The *Better Off Budget* seeks to provide accountability for these vast, highly technical, and often unwieldy programs by requiring that the President disclose in his annual budget submissions to the Congress the total dollar amount requested for intelligence activities at each intelligence agency. By shining sunlight on our nation's intelligence budget, Congress will be better equipped to adopt meaningful reforms that ensure our intelligence programs strike the proper balance between national security and individual liberty.

HOUSING

We have an affordable housing crisis: Only one in four families eligible for housing assistance receives any. There is shortage of seven million apartments that are affordable to extremely low-income households. The self-inflicted sequester took housing assistance from 70,000 families – our budget moves us from trying to preserve existing affordable housing to making significant investment in new production. The budget preserves existing affordable housing by rebuilding public housing and restores and expands vouchers to house some of the millions of families who have been on waiting lists for years. We provide resources for new developments through successful HUD and USDA housing programs such as the Community Development Block Grant, HOME and programs for the elderly and people with disabilities. We also call for two new sources for affordable housing, the National Housing Trust Fund and the Capital Magnet Fund, to be fully funded by contributions from Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac – as is required by law. The *Better Off Budget* gives families and communities devastated by foreclosure the resources to renovate and resell homes and maintain overall property values.

PUBLIC FINANCING OF CAMPAIGNS

In order to establish a representative democracy that truly reflects the diversity and values of our nation the *Better Off 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 devastating *Citizens United* decision, big money has taken the reins of our election process. It is now more important than ever to provide candidates with effective alternatives to finance their campaigns.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The Congressional Progressive Caucus does not include Social Security in the *Better Off Budget*, but endorses Social Security improvements separate from the federal budget process. We support increasing Social Security's modest benefits, separate and apart from budget discussions. Social Security is a solution to a looming retirement income crisis, the disappearing middle class, and growing income inequality. It is the most secure, universal, fair and efficient insurance against the loss of wages in the event of disability, death, or old age, but its vitally important benefits are modest by virtually any measure. They average just around $15,530 a year for retired workers Moreover, Social Security's current cost of living measure, which is intended to keep those modest benefits from eroding over time, under-measures the inflation experienced by seniors and people with disabilities.

The *Better Off Budget* calls for increasing Social Security's benefits for all and employing a more accurate measure of inflation as called for by the Strengthening Social Security Act. These benefits, as well as improvements to Social Security's projected deficit that is modest in size and still two decades away, can be funded by gradually phasing out the cap on Social Security contributions. All working Americans and their employers would pay contributions at the same rate on all their earnings, just as they have been doing for Medicare since 1994. This plan increases Social Security's revenue by a net amount (i.e., once all benefits have been paid) of $1.2 trillion over the next ten years and by $4.7 trillion over the next seventy-five years.

Better Off Budget

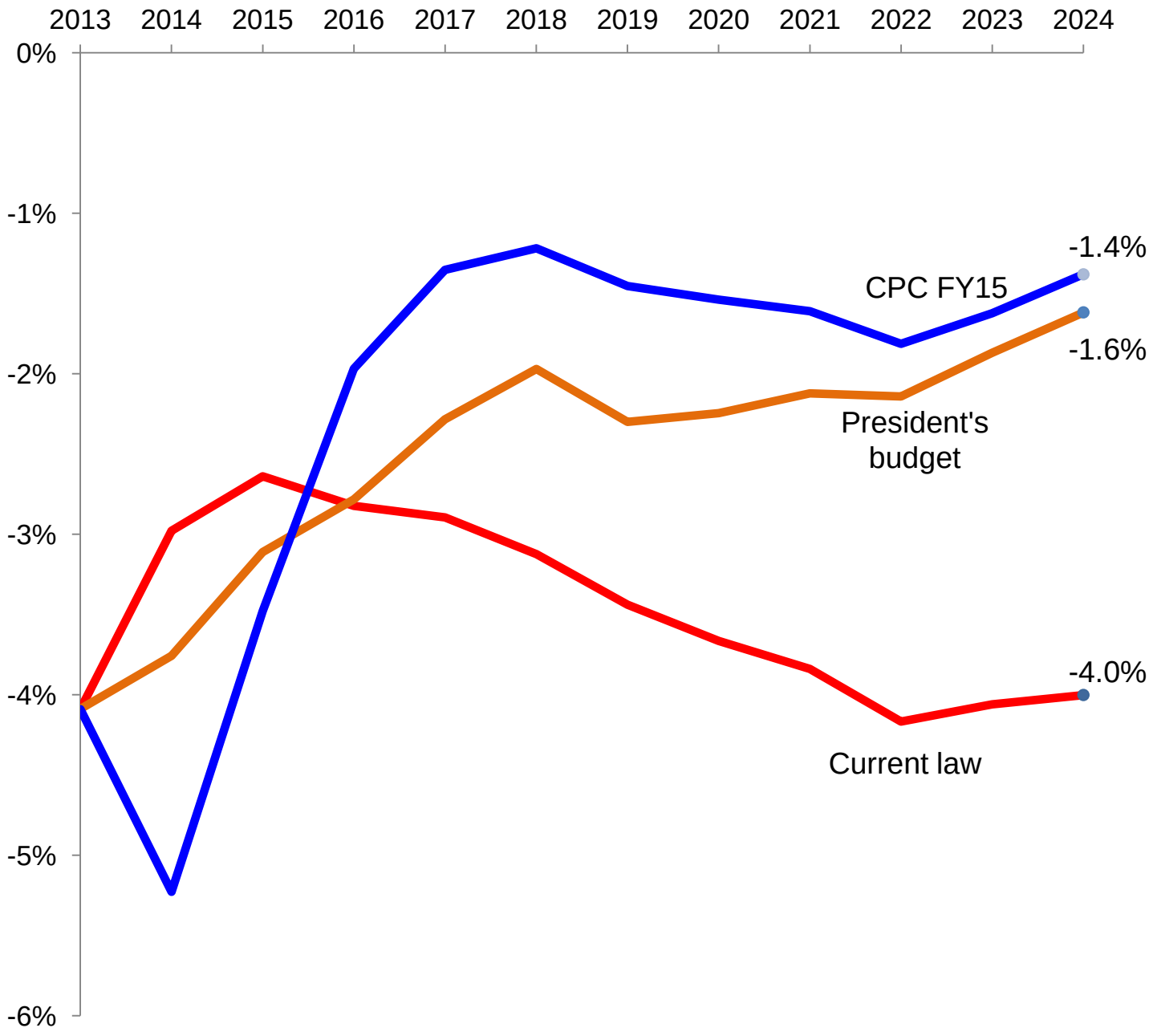
Functional Increases relative to current law: FY2015 – FY2024

Function: 050 National Defense	▪ Office of Economic Adjustment ▪ Congressionally Directed Medical Research Programs ▪ Strategic Sustainability Performance Plan
Function:150 International Affairs Increase of $144B	▪ 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
Function 250: General Science, Space and Technology Increase of $112B	▪ Science, Aeronautics and Technology ▪ Advanced Manufacturing Research ▪ Clean Energy Technologies Research ▪ STEM Education Research
Function 270: Energy Increase of $167B	▪ Renewable energy technology and deployment ▪ Energy Innovation Fund ▪ Geothermal Technology ▪ Weatherization and Intergovernmental Activities ▪ Smart Grid Research and Development
Function 300: Natural Resources and Environment Increase of $119B	▪ Reestablishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps ▪ Natural Resources Conservation Service ▪ Wetlands Reserve Program ▪ Conservation Stewardship Program ▪ Land and Water Conservation fund ▪ Multinational Species Conservation

Function 370: Commerce and Housing Credit Increase of $78B	▪ 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 ▪
Function 400: Transportation Increase of $745B included in job stimulus	▪ Highways and bridges ▪ Mass transit ▪ Aviation ▪ Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER)
Function 450: Community and Regional Development Increase of $99B	▪ Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) ▪ Community Development Fund ▪ Community Development Financial Institutions
Function 500: Education, Training, and Social Services Increase of $340B, in addition to $100B increase in job stimulus	▪ ESEA ▪ IDEA ▪ Drop-out prevention ▪ Head Start ▪ Youth Summer Jobs ▪ Pell Grants, including interest rate protection ▪ Senior Community Service Employment Program ▪ Green Jobs Innovation Fund ▪ National Endowment for the Humanities ▪ 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 ▪ Workforce Investment Act (WIA)
Function 550: Health Increase of $223B	▪ Domestic HIV/AIDS ▪ Maternal Health ▪ Enhanced Federal Medical Assistance Percentages (FMAP) ▪ Community Services Block Grant (CSBG) ▪ Mentoring of Children of Prisoners ▪ Community Health Centers ▪ National Health Service Corps ▪ Center for Disease Control and Prevention ▪ Title VII programs ▪ National Diabetes Prevention Budget for All ▪ Nursing Workforce Development Programs ▪ National Institutes of Health (NIH) ▪ Division of Viral Hepatitis ▪ Teaching Health Center GME

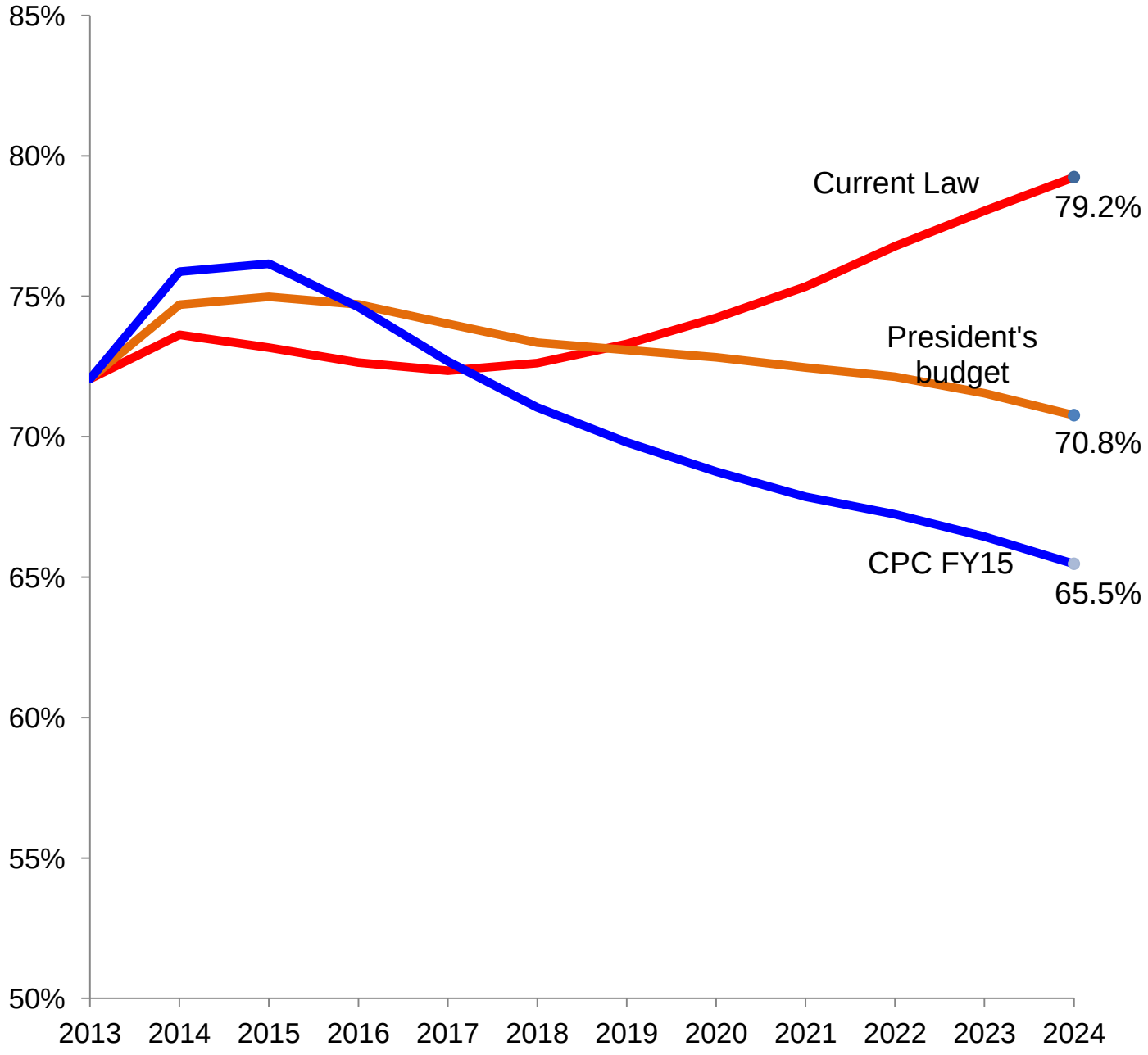
Function 600: Income Security Increase of $393B	▪ Extend and Safeguard Unemployment Insurance ▪ Child Nutrition ▪ Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP) ▪ Food and Nutrition Service (including WIC) ▪ Section 8 Housing Vouchers (Project and Tenant Based Rental Assistance) ▪ Choice Neighborhoods ▪ Public Housing Capital Fund ▪ 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)
Function 700: Veterans Benefits and Services Increase of $233B	▪ Veterans & Military Families ▪ Wounded Warriors K-9 Corps ▪ VA Medical and Prosthetic Research ▪ Veterans Employment and Training ▪ Veterans Housing Benefit Program
Function 750: Administration of Justice Increase of $140B	▪ 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 deficit as share of GDP



Note: For President's budget, this figure uses CBO's projections of GDP.
Source: Economic Policy Institute Policy Center analysis of CBO, CTJ, JCT, OMB, and TPC data

Figure B. Projected public debt as share of GDP



Note: For President's budget, this figure uses CBO's projections of GDP.
Source: Economic Policy Institute Policy Center analysis of CBO, CTJ, JCT, OMB, and TPC data.

Table 1. Policy modifications of CPC FY15 budget alternative (billions of dollars)

CBO February 2014 current law baseline													***Total***	
	2014	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**	**2022**	**2023**	**2024**	**2015 -2019**	**2015 -2024**	**2014 -2024**
Total Deficit	-514	-478	-539	-581	-655	-752	-836	-912	-1,031	-1,047	-1,074	-3,005	-7,904	-8,418
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	48	121	127	132	124	127	135	142	150	160	552	1,268	1,268
Repeal the step-up basis for capital gains at death	0	21	30	31	33	35	36	38	40	42	44	150	352	352
Cap the value of item. deductions at 28%	0	16	42	46	50	54	57	61	65	68	72	208	531	531
End exclusion of foreign-earned income	0	5	7	7	7	8	8	8	9	9	10	34	78	78
Deny the home mortgage interest deduction for yachts and vacation homes	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	6	14	14
Close S Corporation Loophole	0	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	5	5	16	38	38
End deferral and reform foreign tax credit	0	37	72	70	68	67	65	63	61	59	58	315	620	620
Curb corporate deductions for stock options	0	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	12	26	26
Limit deductibility of executive bonus pay	4	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	4	4	4	29	51	54
Eliminate corporate jet provisions	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3
Reduce the deductibility of corporate meals & entertainment (25%)	0	5	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	32	70	70
End direct advertising of certain foods	0	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	7	15	15
Increase the excise tax on cigarettes by 50 cents per pack	0	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	19	38	38
Eliminate fossil fuel preferences (EPWA)	0	14	17	14	11	10	10	10	11	11	11	67	119	119
Price carbon at $25 (refunding 25%)	0	73	102	107	112	118	125	131	138	145	153	513	1,205	1,205
Reinstate superfund taxes	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	9	20	20
Unemployment Insurance Solvency Act	0	-3	-3	9	11	7	7	2	7	8	7	21	52	52
Financial transactions tax	0	59	82	86	88	91	94	97	100	103	106	407	908	908
Excise tax on systemically important financial institutions	0	3	8	9	10	10	11	11	12	13	13	40	100	100
Progressive estate tax reform	0	7	12	14	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	65	178	178
Comprehensive immigration reform (total budgetary effect)	-5	2	12	17	18	19	21	26	31	34	40	68	220	215

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2015 -2019	Total 2015 -2024	2014 -2024
Additional spending policy adjustments (Impact on primary budget deficit, billions of dollars)														
Repeal BCA mandatory and discretionary cuts (both phases)	-8	-38	-61	-74	-82	-90	-97	-104	-109	-116	-104	-345	-875	-883
Infrastructure investments	-75	-115	-85	-85	-75	-70	-60	-61	-63	-64	-66	-430	-745	-820
Additional job creation credits and provisions	-249	-243	-141	-44	-18	-19	-19	-21	-21	-23	-24	-465	-573	-822
Investments (NDD increases over removing BCA)	-41	-103	-160	-171	-159	-153	-151	-149	-152	-158	-165	-746	-1,521	-1,562
Restore SNAP benefit levels	-5	-5	-2	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-11	-15	-21
OCO wind-down (both 050 and 150)	0	56	80	90	95	99	101	103	106	108	110	421	949	949
Base DOD adjustments (to remain at current law funding levels)	0	6	16	20	23	26	29	31	33	35	36	91	255	255
Repeal Medicare SGR	-5	-11	-11	-11	-11	-12	-13	-15	-17	-17	-16	-55	-133	-138
Negotiate Rx payments for Medicare	0	0	3	8	10	11	13	15	16	19	23	31	117	117
Public option	0	0	2	12	18	21	24	25	28	29	31	53	190	190
Reform rules for Rx development/release	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	5	15	15
Reduce fraud, waste, and abuse in Medicaid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	4
Payment and administrative cost improvements	0	0	0	1	3	5	8	9	10	10	11	10	58	58
Replace growth rate of civilian and veteran retirement programs with CPI-E	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1	-1	-2	-2	-3	-4	-3	-15	-15
Reduce agriculture subsidies	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	14	14
Public financing of campaigns	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-5	-11	-12
Net policy adjustments (primary)	**-386**	**-147**	**169**	**312**	**389**	**408**	**442**	**466**	**497**	**518**	**565**	**1,131**	**3,619**	**3,234**
Debt service impact of policy adjustments	-2	-6	-6	-2	10	27	43	63	86	111	138	-4	464	461
Net impact of policy adjustments	**-389**	**-152**	**163**	**310**	**400**	**435**	**485**	**529**	**583**	**628**	**703**	**1,128**	**4,083**	**3,695**
CPC FY14 deficit	**-903**	**-631**	**-376**	**-271**	**-255**	**-317**	**-351**	**-383**	**-449**	**-418**	**-370**	**-1,877**	**-3,821**	**-4,723**
Memorandum:														
CPC defense discretionary outlays relative to current law defense discretionary outlays, less 050 OCO wind-down		*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
CPC defense discretionary budget authority relative to President's FY15 budget's proposed discretionary BA (excluding OCO)		*-28*	*-38*	*-33*	*-29*	*-24*	*-19*	*-14*	*-9*	*-8*	*-9*	*-151*	*-209*	*-209*

Note: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

Table 2. Public investments and job creation (billions of dollars)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total 2015 -2019	Total 2015 -2024	Total 2014 -2024
Job creation measures														
Sustained infrastructure program	75	115	85	85	75	70	60	61	63	64	66	430	745	820
Restore EUC to 99 weeks (CY2014-2016)	19	26	26	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	59	78
Hard Work Tax Credit (CY2013-2015)	71	96	65	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	178	178	248
Public works jobs program and aid to distressed communities	65	41	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50	116
Invest in teachers and K-12 schools	52	31	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	47	47	100
Block grants to states (first responders, Medicaid, safety net etc.)	42	42	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	53	95
Job creation credits (R&E, green manufacturing)	0	7	10	11	12	12	13	14	15	16	17	52	126	126
Expand EITC for childless workers	0	0	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	26	60	60
Subtotal, job creation measures	*324*	*358*	*226*	*129*	*93*	*89*	*79*	*82*	*84*	*87*	*90*	*895*	*1,318*	*1,642*
Additional non-defense discretionary (NDD) public investments														
Repeal BCA NDD cuts, both phases	0	17	31	40	45	49	54	57	60	62	64	183	480	480
Investments (NDD increases over removing BCA)	41	103	160	171	159	153	151	149	152	158	165	746	1,521	1,562
Subtotal, additional NDD increases relative to current law	**41**	**120**	**191**	**211**	**204**	**202**	**204**	**206**	**212**	**221**	**229**	**929**	**2,002**	**2,042**
Total, job creation measures and public investments	**365**	**479**	**417**	**340**	**297**	**291**	**284**	**288**	**297**	**308**	**318**	**1,824**	**3,319**	**3,684**

Note: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

Table S-1. Budget totals (in billions of dollars)

													Total	
	Actual, 2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2015 -2019	2015 -2024
Revenues														
Individual income taxes	1,316	1,359	1,610	1,844	1,990	2,114	2,211	2,330	2,462	2,603	2,748	2,906	9,768	22,817
Social insurance taxes	948	1,033	1,072	1,126	1,193	1,248	1,297	1,350	1,404	1,474	1,540	1,609	5,936	13,313
Corporate income taxes	274	355	460	535	550	542	532	529	531	536	546	555	2,620	5,317
Other	236	263	463	523	513	516	550	581	610	641	670	703	2,565	5,769
Total	**2,774**	**3,011**	**3,605**	**4,029**	**4,246**	**4,420**	**4,590**	**4,791**	**5,007**	**5,253**	**5,503**	**5,773**	**20,889**	**47,216**
On-budget	2,101	2,267	2,832	3,212	3,375	3,507	3,642	3,802	3,982	4,178	4,382	4,604	16,567	37,515
Off-budget	673	744	773	816	871	913	949	989	1,025	1,076	1,122	1,169	4,322	9,701
Outlays														
Mandatory	2,032	2,499	2,763	2,827	2,854	2,930	3,083	3,240	3,421	3,656	3,805	3,961	14,457	32,540
Discretionary	1,201	1,179	1,199	1,246	1,257	1,262	1,284	1,310	1,337	1,376	1,408	1,440	6,247	13,119
Net interest	221	235	274	332	406	483	542	592	631	670	708	742	2,063	5,379
Total	**3,454**	**3,914**	**4,236**	**4,404**	**4,517**	**4,675**	**4,908**	**5,141**	**5,389**	**5,702**	**5,921**	**6,143**	**22,767**	**51,038**
On-budget	2,821	3,209	3,490	3,615	3,677	3,781	3,957	4,126	4,305	4,544	4,686	4,822	18,549	41,004
Off-budget	634	705	745	789	840	894	951	1,016	1,085	1,158	1,236	1,322	4,219	10,034
Deficit (-) or surplus	**-680**	**-903**	**-631**	**-376**	**-271**	**-255**	**-318**	**-351**	**-383**	**-449**	**-418**	**-370**	**-1,878**	**-3,822**
On-budget	-720	-942	-659	-403	-302	-275	-315	-324	-323	-366	-304	-217	-1,981	-3,488
Off-budget	40	38	28	28	31	19	-3	-27	-60	-83	-114	-153	103	-333
Debt held by the public	**11,982**	**13,106**	**13,804**	**14,239**	**14,575**	**14,887**	**15,263**	**15,674**	**16,119**	**16,639**	**17,124**	**17,567**	**n.a.**	**n.a.**
Memorandum:														
Gross domestic product	16,627	17,273	18,126	19,083	20,052	20,954	21,867	22,799	23,755	24,746	25,774	26,830	100,082	223,984

Table S-2. Budget totals (as percentage of GDP)

	Actual, 2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total 2015 -2019	Total 2015 -2024
Revenues														
Individual income taxes	7.9%	7.9%	8.9%	9.7%	9.9%	10.1%	10.1%	10.2%	10.4%	10.5%	10.7%	10.8%	9.8%	10.2%
Social insurance taxes	5.7%	6.0%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	6.0%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	6.0%	6.0%	6.0%	5.9%	5.9%
Corporate income taxes	1.6%	2.1%	2.5%	2.8%	2.7%	2.6%	2.4%	2.3%	2.2%	2.2%	2.1%	2.1%	2.6%	2.4%
Other	1.4%	1.5%	2.6%	2.7%	2.6%	2.5%	2.5%	2.5%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%
Total	**16.7%**	**17.4%**	**19.9%**	**21.1%**	**21.2%**	**21.1%**	**21.0%**	**21.0%**	**21.1%**	**21.2%**	**21.4%**	**21.5%**	**20.9%**	**21.1%**
On-budget	12.6%	13.1%	15.6%	16.8%	16.8%	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%	16.8%	16.9%	17.0%	17.2%	16.6%	16.7%
Off-budget	4.0%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	4.4%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	4.4%	4.4%	4.3%	4.3%
Outlays														
Mandatory	12.2%	14.5%	15.2%	14.8%	14.2%	14.0%	14.1%	14.2%	14.4%	14.8%	14.8%	14.8%	14.4%	14.5%
Discretionary	7.2%	6.8%	6.6%	6.5%	6.3%	6.0%	5.9%	5.7%	5.6%	5.6%	5.5%	5.4%	6.2%	5.9%
Net interest	1.3%	1.4%	1.5%	1.7%	2.0%	2.3%	2.5%	2.6%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.8%	2.1%	2.4%
Total	**20.8%**	**22.7%**	**23.4%**	**23.1%**	**22.5%**	**22.3%**	**22.4%**	**22.6%**	**22.7%**	**23.0%**	**23.0%**	**22.9%**	**22.7%**	**22.8%**
On-budget	17.0%	18.6%	19.3%	18.9%	18.3%	18.0%	18.1%	18.1%	18.1%	18.4%	18.2%	18.0%	18.5%	18.3%
Off-budget	3.8%	4.1%	4.1%	4.1%	4.2%	4.3%	4.3%	4.5%	4.6%	4.7%	4.8%	4.9%	4.2%	4.5%
Deficit (-) or surplus	**-4.1%**	**-5.2%**	**-3.5%**	**-2.0%**	**-1.4%**	**-1.2%**	**-1.5%**	**-1.5%**	**-1.6%**	**-1.8%**	**-1.6%**	**-1.4%**	**-1.9%**	**-1.7%**
On-budget	-4.3%	-5.5%	-3.6%	-2.1%	-1.5%	-1.3%	-1.4%	-1.4%	-1.4%	-1.5%	-1.2%	-0.8%	-2.0%	-1.6%
Off-budget	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	-0.1%	-0.3%	-0.3%	-0.4%	-0.6%	0.1%	-0.1%
Debt held by the public	**72.1%**	**75.9%**	**76.2%**	**74.6%**	**72.7%**	**71.0%**	**69.8%**	**68.8%**	**67.9%**	**67.2%**	**66.4%**	**65.5%**	**n.a.**	**n.a.**

Table S-3. CPC FY15 budget vs. current law (billions of dollars)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total 2015 -2019	Total 2015 -2024
Revenues													
Individual income taxes	-22	67	197	238	262	263	279	301	324	345	373	1,027	2,649
Social insurance taxes	0	2	11	29	33	31	33	31	42	46	50	106	309
Corporate income taxes	4	58	96	91	85	82	79	76	73	71	68	412	778
Other	0	173	243	257	269	282	296	310	324	340	356	1,224	2,850
Total	**-18**	**300**	**548**	**615**	**650**	**658**	**687**	**718**	**763**	**801**	**847**	**2,769**	**6,586**
On-budget	-18	298	536	586	616	627	654	687	722	755	797	2,663	6,277
Off-budget	0	2	11	29	33	31	33	31	42	46	50	106	309
Outlays													
Mandatory	383	439	325	240	208	206	201	208	219	232	224	1,418	2,503
Discretionary	-15	8	54	63	52	45	44	44	47	52	57	221	465
Net interest	2	6	6	2	-10	-27	-43	-63	-86	-111	-138	4	-464
Total	**371**	**452**	**384**	**305**	**250**	**224**	**202**	**189**	**181**	**173**	**144**	**1,643**	**2,504**
On-budget	371	452	384	305	250	224	202	189	181	173	144	1,643	2,504
Off-budget	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Primary policy impact	**-386**	**-147**	**169**	**312**	**389**	**407**	**442**	**466**	**497**	**518**	**565**	**1,130**	**3,618**
Deficit (-) or surplus	**-389**	**-152**	**163**	**310**	**399**	**434**	**485**	**529**	**583**	**628**	**703**	**1,126**	**4,082**
On-budget	-389	-154	152	281	366	403	451	498	541	582	653	1,020	3,773
Off-budget	0	2	11	29	33	31	33	31	42	46	50	106	309
Debt held by the public	12,717	13,263	13,861	14,507	15,218	16,028	16,925	17,899	19,001	20,115	21,260	n.a.	n.a.
Cumulative Impact on the debt	**-389**	**-541**	**-378**	**-68**	**331**	**765**	**1,250**	**1,779**	**2,362**	**2,990**	**3,693**	n.a.	n.a.

Table S-4. CPC FY15 budget vs. current law (as percentage of GDP)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2015 -2019	Total 2015 -2024
Revenues													
Individual income taxes	-0.13%	0.37%	1.03%	1.19%	1.25%	1.20%	1.22%	1.27%	1.31%	1.34%	1.39%	1.03%	1.18%
Social insurance taxes	0.00%	0.01%	0.06%	0.14%	0.16%	0.14%	0.15%	0.13%	0.17%	0.18%	0.19%	0.11%	0.14%
Corporate income taxes	0.02%	0.32%	0.50%	0.45%	0.41%	0.37%	0.34%	0.32%	0.30%	0.27%	0.25%	0.41%	0.35%
Other	0.00%	0.95%	1.28%	1.28%	1.29%	1.29%	1.30%	1.31%	1.31%	1.32%	1.33%	1.22%	1.27%
Total	**-0.10%**	**1.65%**	**2.87%**	**3.06%**	**3.10%**	**3.01%**	**3.01%**	**3.02%**	**3.08%**	**3.11%**	**3.16%**	**2.77%**	**2.94%**
On-budget	-0.11%	1.64%	2.81%	2.92%	2.94%	2.87%	2.87%	2.89%	2.92%	2.93%	2.97%	2.66%	2.80%
Off-budget	0.00%	0.01%	0.06%	0.14%	0.16%	0.14%	0.15%	0.13%	0.17%	0.18%	0.19%	0.11%	0.14%
Outlays													
Mandatory	2.22%	2.42%	1.70%	1.20%	0.99%	0.94%	0.88%	0.88%	0.89%	0.90%	0.84%	1.42%	1.12%
Discretionary	-0.09%	0.04%	0.28%	0.31%	0.25%	0.21%	0.19%	0.19%	0.19%	0.20%	0.21%	0.22%	0.21%
Net interest	0.01%	0.03%	0.03%	0.01%	-0.05%	-0.12%	-0.19%	-0.27%	-0.35%	-0.43%	-0.51%	0.00%	-0.21%
Total	**2.15%**	**2.50%**	**2.01%**	**1.52%**	**1.19%**	**1.02%**	**0.89%**	**0.80%**	**0.73%**	**0.67%**	**0.53%**	**1.64%**	**1.12%**
On-budget	2.15%	2.50%	2.01%	1.52%	1.19%	1.02%	0.89%	0.80%	0.73%	0.67%	0.53%	1.64%	1.12%
Off-budget	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Primary policy impact	-2.24%	-0.81%	0.89%	1.56%	1.86%	1.86%	1.94%	1.96%	2.01%	2.01%	2.11%	1.13%	1.62%
Deficit (-) or Surplus	**-2.25%**	**-0.84%**	**0.86%**	**1.54%**	**1.91%**	**1.99%**	**2.13%**	**2.23%**	**2.35%**	**2.44%**	**2.62%**	**1.13%**	**1.82%**
On-budget	-2.25%	-0.85%	0.80%	1.40%	1.75%	1.84%	1.98%	2.10%	2.19%	2.26%	2.43%	1.02%	1.68%
Off-budget	0.00%	0.01%	0.06%	0.14%	0.16%	0.14%	0.15%	0.13%	0.17%	0.18%	0.19%	0.11%	0.14%
Debt held by the public	73.63%	73.17%	72.64%	72.35%	72.62%	73.30%	74.24%	75.35%	76.79%	78.04%	79.24%	n.a.	n.a.
Cumulative Impact on the debt	**-2.25%**	**-2.99%**	**-1.98%**	**-0.34%**	**1.58%**	**3.50%**	**5.48%**	**7.49%**	**9.55%**	**11.60%**	**13.77%**	**n.a.**	**n.a.**

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS

BETTER OFF BUDGET

The policies contained in the *Better Off Budget* are developed by Congressional Progressive Caucus. The Economic Policy Institute has scored the policies and assessed the macroeconomic impact of the budget in total.