

118TH CONGRESS }
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

{ REPORT
118-568

**CONCURRENT RESOLUTION
ON THE BUDGET—
FISCAL YEAR 2025**

R E P O R T

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

TO ACCOMPANY

H. Con. Res. 117

ESTABLISHING THE BUDGET FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERN-
MENT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025 AND SETTING FORTH APPRO-
PRIATE BUDGETARY LEVELS FOR FISCAL YEARS 2026 THROUGH
2034

together with
MINORITY VIEWS



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U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE

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LEVELS FOR FISCAL YEAR 2026 THROUGH 2034

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Mr. ARRINGTON, from the Committee on the Budget,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

together with

MINORITY VIEWS

[To accompany H. Con. Res. 117]

INTRODUCTION

In a letter to Henry Lee in 1790, James Madison said “A public debt is a public curse.” Today, the Nation’s unsustainable debt and out-of-control deficit spending embodies this curse and poses the greatest long-term threat to the country’s future. Both parties have contributed to creating not a Republican problem or Democrat problem, but an American problem. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projects that over the next decade \$20 trillion will be added to the national debt, and interest payments will more than double and become the third largest expenditure item in the Federal Government. According to the 2024 Trustees Report, Social Security and Medicare face looming insolvency. CBO projects in its 30-year outlook that the country will have \$120 trillion in unfunded liabilities. If leaders of this country do not act on the mathematical reality the Nation faces, one of two scenarios could emerge. The country could see a slow and painful economic demise from sustained stagnation, or a swift and catastrophic sovereign debt crisis. Both scenarios would imperil the Nation’s future, making this the first generation of leaders to fail to leave the country better than they found it for their children. The fiscal state of the Nation is unsustainable, but not unfixable.

The Fiscal Year 2025 Concurrent Resolution on the Budget (budget resolution) reverses the curse of the national debt by focusing on two main objectives: reducing spending and promoting economic growth. Over the next decade, the budget resolution reduces deficit spending by \$14 trillion and results in a \$44 billion dollar surplus in fiscal year 2034. The budget resolution calls for spending \$241 billion lower than in the CBO baseline in fiscal year 2025. Reducing spending will help to reduce inflationary pressures and reverse the cost-of-living crisis that has been escalated by irresponsible fiscal and monetary policy. The budget resolution also incorporates pro-growth policies including eliminating the regulatory state, locking in tax cuts and unlocking opportunities for all, expanding America first trade, restoring the dignity of work, and unleashing American energy dominance. These policies create an average economic growth rate of three percent over ten years, one percentage point faster than CBO’s projected growth rate, and comparable to the long-term United States average growth rate of 3.1 percent. The economic growth created by this budget resolution will be the tide that lifts all boats, resulting in more jobs, higher wages, lower unemployment and poverty rates, and an overall improved standard of living for all Americans. The budget resolution represents a bold and optimistic vision for America’s fiscal future by centering on five important strategies:

Rightsizing the Bloated Bureaucracy

The budget resolution right sizes the bureaucracy and reins in wasteful Washington spending by setting discretionary spending at \$1.606 trillion for fiscal year 2025 and providing additional savings thereafter by aligning spending with the Limit, Save, Grow Act. The budget resolution does not negatively impact national priorities such as a strong defense, a commitment to veterans, and other critical services by incorporating the flexibility to prioritize mission essential areas. The budget resolution makes the investment to refocus on American troops, as well as recognizing that border security is national security and providing the necessary resources to the Department of Homeland Security.

Reversing Biden's Spending Spree

President Biden's reckless spending has led to record inflation. The budget resolution dismantles the army of Internal Revenue Service agents established with the \$80 billion allocated by the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA). The IRA also included hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars for unreliable, unproven, and expensive green technologies. The budget resolution repeals this green corporate welfare, in addition to rolling back the Obamacare subsidies granted to the highest earners, saving taxpayers billions of dollars.

Reining in Runaway Mandatory Spending

To reverse the curse and put America back on track, the budget resolution addresses the biggest drivers of the United States' debt. The American people deserve affordable, accessible, and personalized health care from a competitive market that delivers low-cost, high-value options. The budget resolution relies on four pillars to put health care decisions back in the hands of individuals, families, and their doctors: enhancing the doctor-patient relationship and empowering effective consumers; combating waste, fraud, and abuse; unleashing the power of American innovation; and fostering healthy and competitive markets. The Federal Government operates nearly 100 different welfare programs, and as welfare enrollment has grown, welfare spending has skyrocketed. The budget resolution promotes opportunity and temporary assistance, instead of cradle-to-grave dependence. As the debt continues to grow, so do interest payments. By 2034, interest payments will consume over 20 percent of revenue. American families are seeing more and more of their money going toward government interest payments for which they get nothing in return. The budget resolution reduces interest payments on the debt by \$2.7 trillion—over 20 percent—compared to CBO projections.

Rooting Out Waste and Fraud in Entitlement Programs

The Federal Government is estimated to have made \$2.7 trillion in improper payments since 2003. According to the Office of Management and Budget, some of the error rates include 33.5 percent for the Earned Income Tax Credit, 32.3 percent for the Unemployment Insurance system, 8.6 percent for Medicaid, and 6.5 percent for Medicare. These figures are not mere rounding errors. The

budget resolution includes efforts to aggressively curtail the government-wide waste, fraud, and abuse, with a goal of saving \$1 trillion over ten years.

Reigniting Growth and Prosperity

Economic growth is essential to reducing the Nation's indebtedness. Growth generates more revenues for the country, lifts American families out of poverty and off of government dependence, and allows more people to keep their hard-earned money, which in turn will strengthen America's credit-worthiness, bring down interest costs, and fund the Nation's priorities. The budget resolution unleashes growth by eliminating the Biden Administration's regulatory burden and rolling back big government interference which will provide historic relief and permanently prevent unaccountable Washington bureaucrats from adding costly and unnecessary red tape to the economy. To reduce the tax burden on American families and job creators, the budget resolution assumes permanent extension of policies such as the nearly doubled standard deduction and lower individual income tax rates, and that Congress will lock in key provisions that have successfully boosted investment and job creation. The budget resolution supports free and fair trade policies by expanding trade with U.S. allies and moving supply chains out of adversarial nations, and ensuring fair and reciprocal trade for American farmers, workers, and manufacturers. The dignity of work—an essential part of the American story—is restored and participation in the workforce is encouraged through expanded work requirements for able-bodied adults. The budget resolution unleashes American energy production by enacting H.R. 1, the Lower Energy Costs Act, which increases the production and export of American energy and reduces the regulatory burdens that make it harder to build American infrastructure and grow the economy.

TABLE 1 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION TOTAL SPENDING AND REVENUE

Fiscal Year	[in millions of dollars]										
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2025-2034
Summary											
Total Spending:											
BA.....	6,407,560	6,567,873	6,571,643	6,715,064	6,981,357	7,173,133	7,398,904	7,665,789	7,885,349	8,192,655	33,243,518
OT.....	6,526,102	6,563,743	6,641,238	6,732,460	6,951,221	7,148,223	7,363,940	7,596,397	7,852,280	8,120,583	33,444,883
On-Budget.....											
BA.....	4,886,064	5,059,066	4,976,652	5,025,096	5,193,282	5,292,574	5,402,963	5,553,314	5,685,969	5,888,865	25,240,140
OT.....	5,112,497	5,092,701	5,064,300	5,050,716	5,171,200	5,296,020	5,375,556	5,493,701	5,644,312	5,805,139	25,481,115
Off-Budget.....											
BA.....	1,421,496	1,508,807	1,594,992	1,689,968	1,788,075	1,890,559	1,996,941	2,110,455	2,217,379	2,323,789	8,803,393
OT.....	1,413,605	1,501,041	1,590,936	1,682,144	1,780,021	1,882,203	1,986,384	2,101,696	2,207,968	2,315,424	7,985,749
Revenues:											
BA.....	4,996,131	5,350,574	5,692,543	5,970,138	6,146,584	6,414,206	6,655,946	6,889,735	7,168,216	7,474,444	28,045,970
OT.....	3,711,238	4,013,146	4,295,087	4,620,126	4,950,450	5,049,791	5,040,638	5,212,522	5,426,517	5,671,517	21,099,657
Recommended Change in Revenues (vs. CBO Baseline)	1,294,883	1,337,428	1,367,456	1,440,402	1,596,134	1,554,415	1,615,318	1,677,213	1,739,689	1,802,927	6,946,313
Total.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
On-Budget.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Off-Budget.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surplus/Deficit(-):											
Total.....	-1,506,971	-1,213,169	-986,695	-722,422	-574,637	-414,017	-297,894	-215,662	-104,064	43,881	-4,888,693
Macroeconomic Impact on the Deficit.....	20,000	30,000	90,000	140,000	230,000	320,000	410,000	490,000	590,000	690,000	3,000,000
On-Budget.....	-1,401,259	-1,079,355	-789,213	-620,560	-520,750	-408,239	-281,779	-215,795	-133,822	-78,343	-4,381,458
Off-Budget.....	-123,712	-163,613	-189,482	-241,742	-323,887	-327,788	-373,066	-424,463	-465,269	-512,497	-2,007,235
Direct Relief by the Public (end of year)	29,743,153	39,727,631	31,768,262	32,469,767	33,768,068	35,072,427	36,376,827	37,681,247	38,985,667	40,290,088	341,628,229
Direct Relief to State (end of year)	26,576,974	37,247,974	29,763,864	30,716,119	32,832,295	34,227,556	35,215,457	36,253,143	37,242,779	38,232,458	304,628,229
By Function											
National Defense (80)											
BA.....	921,721	932,396	940,663	961,573	983,641	1,006,040	1,029,362	1,054,675	1,079,250	1,104,032	4,739,994
OT.....	884,364	910,781	921,707	943,569	951,460	976,545	997,102	1,018,063	1,052,673	1,076,524	4,611,881
International Affairs (150)											
BA.....	68,208	66,682	68,136	69,496	71,023	72,524	74,102	75,664	77,311	78,943	343,545
OT.....	64,005	64,577	66,371	68,768	67,975	69,091	70,256	71,549	72,925	74,262	329,686
General Science, Space and Technology (240)											
BA.....	43,200	44,126	45,060	45,940	46,908	47,864	48,902	49,934	50,964	52,077	225,238
OT.....	43,115	43,400	44,101	44,793	45,518	46,447	47,421	48,419	49,440	50,484	221,025
Energy (270)											
BA.....	35,389	34,674	35,933	36,556	41,251	39,197	38,187	46,455	34,197	28,817	397,626
OT.....	38,323	42,663	46,137	46,238	46,567	41,677	36,829	36,670	32,942	27,927	386,073
Natural Resources & Environment (300)											
BA.....	77,574	78,928	72,892	74,504	76,853	77,689	79,300	81,511	83,151	85,124	390,061
OT.....	75,528	83,476	85,681	82,547	80,791	78,987	78,179	77,837	75,672	81,614	408,023
Agriculture (350)											
BA.....	28,698	29,215	30,693	31,783	32,839	31,093	30,061	30,501	30,740	31,012	151,248
OT.....	31,376	31,145	31,660	32,295	32,198	30,186	29,156	29,236	29,468	30,072	156,573
											306,693

TABLE 1 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION TOTAL SPENDING AND REVENUE

Fiscal Year		2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035-2039	2025-2034
Commitments & Funding Credits (\$M)		[in millions of dollars]											
On-Budget		20,380	21,548	17,703	16,778	5,597	14,223	13,939	13,062	16,371	7,180	81,798	148,571
BA	OT	-8,385	-775	8,833	-40,888	-4,878	-800	-7,311	-12,314	-12,511	-23,482	-45,813	-102,031
Off-Budget		4,334	5,045	305	316	308	337	348	360	372	385	10,338	12,128
BA	OT	4,454	5,145	405	716	828	837	848	860	872	885	11,528	15,078
Transportation (409)		186,653	189,058	135,073	136,694	137,529	133,622	134,357	142,698	143,927	146,595	744,207	1,445,226
BA	OT	133,488	147,688	148,502	142,404	140,597	138,692	135,656	143,975	141,258	142,563	717,689	1,414,155
Community & Regional Development (459)		58,613	59,691	69,856	61,814	63,176	64,449	65,638	68,874	68,096	69,477	394,290	638,824
BA	OT	59,931	57,342	57,857	58,273	58,046	59,344	58,117	58,168	58,121	59,091	298,649	581,680
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services (506)		107,932	124,853	124,064	126,849	128,547	130,445	132,538	135,010	136,988	138,741	612,375	1,287,095
BA	OT	137,483	138,134	123,578	125,533	127,558	129,535	131,488	133,831	135,933	138,281	650,284	1,319,352
Health (552)		778,720	759,173	716,149	723,160	752,616	789,569	778,478	799,992	833,092	866,907	3,727,818	7,775,556
BA	OT	774,440	756,843	708,883	713,466	734,415	751,140	760,501	790,580	816,550	850,546	3,688,047	7,688,384
Medicare (276)		943,220	975,943	1,044,659	1,190,996	1,112,283	1,269,590	1,354,215	1,448,338	1,662,881	1,660,081	5,287,271	12,690,366
BA	OT	943,410	977,283	1,045,317	1,191,172	1,112,568	1,269,902	1,354,396	1,448,523	1,663,928	1,660,281	5,270,050	12,695,078
Medicaid Security (669)		679,542	641,678	630,747	645,438	636,085	639,645	655,236	664,455	678,473	678,992	3,224,348	6,551,089
BA	OT	684,255	635,980	625,530	642,443	622,787	640,106	646,086	653,363	674,272	667,745	3,185,463	6,476,065
Social Security (850)		61,928	72,896	78,788	82,852	87,480	92,440	97,117	102,107	107,855	113,513	383,924	856,556
BA	OT	61,928	72,896	78,788	82,852	87,480	92,440	97,117	102,107	107,855	113,513	383,924	856,556
Off-Budget		1,497,840	1,567,050	1,670,353	1,763,843	1,858,535	1,955,840	2,056,614	2,159,438	2,264,486	2,373,248	8,372,821	19,182,347
BA	OT	1,480,849	1,574,184	1,662,189	1,755,088	1,849,980	1,947,084	2,047,557	2,150,179	2,254,825	2,364,883	8,331,801	19,088,329
Voluntary Benefits and Services (746)		379,832	403,405	428,024	449,038	469,388	490,327	510,081	531,528	553,427	575,637	2,129,095	4,790,665
BA	OT	373,983	410,455	427,082	467,269	445,293	488,112	506,335	527,745	573,551	575,445	2,124,022	4,783,210

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Fiscal Year	[In millions of dollars]											
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035-2039	2025-2034
Administration of Justice (750)												
BA.....	82,693	84,818	86,985	89,174	91,531	93,928	96,449	99,289	101,225	104,043	435,201	930,135
OT.....	83,635	87,645	84,991	86,628	88,588	90,972	93,566	96,885	98,341	101,063	426,087	905,834
General Government (869)												
BA.....	-60,120	26,116	31,013	33,081	33,675	34,568	35,318	36,441	37,148	38,334	74,865	256,774
OT.....	25,676	32,621	36,889	36,264	36,183	35,705	35,406	21,511	36,556	37,730	167,613	334,521
Net Interest (900)												
On-Budget												
BA.....	888,406	1,006,814	1,008,279	1,007,445	1,011,862	1,009,960	1,015,815	1,023,756	1,022,469	1,025,264	5,024,966	10,122,179
OT.....	888,406	1,006,814	1,008,279	1,007,445	1,011,862	1,009,960	1,015,815	1,023,756	1,022,469	1,025,264	5,024,966	10,122,179
Off-Budget												
BA.....	-57,323	-54,146	-50,751	-48,678	-44,323	-38,452	-31,929	-26,401	-17,664	-19,134	-255,021	-382,601
OT.....	-57,323	-54,146	-50,751	-48,678	-44,323	-38,452	-31,929	-26,401	-17,664	-19,134	-255,021	-382,601
Allotments (920)												
BA.....	-100,210	-102,657	-104,968	-106,901	-109,473	-112,072	-114,754	-117,411	-120,213	-123,165	-524,209	-1,111,764
OT.....	-68,930	-87,299	-96,062	-100,645	-104,487	-107,514	-110,277	-112,952	-115,721	-118,546	-485,623	-1,020,633
Government Wide Savings (930)												
BA.....	-164,297	-227,865	-335,075	-504,717	-330,655	-477,197	-311,280	-550,326	-754,126	-659,566	-1,572,628	-4,525,123
OT.....	-63,735	-177,191	-251,251	-427,096	-257,471	-413,286	-449,447	-489,112	-487,913	-465,264	-1,177,644	-3,832,647
Unaffiliated Offsetting (990)												
On-Budget												
BA.....	-130,498	-134,436	-138,633	-145,467	-149,872	-155,250	-160,678	-171,368	-177,274	-184,073	-700,098	-1,548,739
OT.....	-133,998	-140,436	-147,373	-151,314	-151,641	-155,641	-160,869	-171,359	-177,365	-183,964	-725,065	-1,573,963
Off-Budget												
BA.....	-23,355	-24,142	-24,915	-25,683	-26,462	-27,266	-28,092	-28,942	-29,815	-30,710	-124,557	-289,382
OT.....	-23,355	-24,142	-24,915	-25,683	-26,462	-27,266	-28,092	-28,942	-29,815	-30,710	-124,557	-289,382

Notes:

1. Only on-budget amounts for fiscal years 2025-2034 are entered into the budget resolution/legislative text. Off-budget amounts are shown for display purposes only.

TABLE 2 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

	Fiscal Year											
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2025-2029	2025-2034
Total Spending	1,699,513	1,593,300	1,544,802	1,580,437	1,572,126	1,587,947	1,601,579	1,617,175	1,632,428	1,648,518	7,570,178	10,057,824
BA	1,751,864	1,706,466	1,892,145	1,675,628	1,658,213	1,657,035	1,654,402	1,667,133	1,671,791	1,674,318	8,474,318	16,780,534
Base Discretionary:												
BA	1,605,900	1,506,546	1,516,551	1,530,707	1,546,014	1,561,474	1,577,089	1,592,859	1,608,788	1,624,476	7,698,718	15,063,605
OT	1,700,903	1,647,843	1,610,751	1,600,743	1,597,305	1,596,359	1,604,865	1,615,102	1,634,112	1,643,000	8,116,435	16,246,063
by function												
Natural Defense (50)												
BA	685,212	955,000	912,428	932,948	954,296	975,990	998,423	1,021,184	1,044,890	1,068,659	4,599,884	9,705,130
OT	659,177	682,790	692,961	914,345	921,661	946,233	965,247	985,300	1,017,625	1,034,567	4,471,134	9,424,117
International Affairs (50)												
BA	65,152	66,620	68,054	69,697	71,015	72,513	74,063	75,652	77,283	78,907	340,138	718,776
OT	64,911	65,890	67,470	67,649	68,106	70,278	71,487	72,830	74,247	75,949	335,138	699,637
General Science, Space and Technology (50)												
BA	42,970	43,897	44,819	45,744	46,707	47,678	48,669	49,706	50,769	51,848	224,137	472,823
OT	42,542	43,113	43,899	44,586	45,418	46,298	47,230	48,227	49,245	50,293	219,558	460,809
Energy (270)												
BA	19,932	18,467	19,062	19,448	19,851	20,269	20,698	21,114	21,553	22,007	98,780	202,401
OT	16,163	18,785	20,330	19,530	19,192	18,886	19,059	19,563	20,286	20,817	94,000	192,633
Natural Resources & Environment (200)												
BA	68,291	69,643	71,317	72,995	74,749	76,598	78,263	80,121	82,065	84,090	356,995	750,022
OT	62,091	66,253	68,872	70,545	72,511	73,780	75,256	76,686	78,515	80,587	340,372	725,114
Agriculture (50)												
BA	8,142	8,353	8,558	8,764	8,992	9,199	9,427	9,658	9,893	10,137	43,798	91,112
OT	9,269	8,892	9,071	9,277	9,509	9,608	9,766	9,859	9,986	10,137	45,279	92,597
Commerce & Housing Credit (270)												
On-Budget												
BA	470	30	-1,591	-4,329	-4,151	-4,097	-4,332	-4,657	-5,108	-5,571	-32,693	
OT	3,040	4,708	5,139	3,592	3,523	2,061	-1,198	-3,227	-4,784	-5,391	20,002	7,463
Off-Budget												
BA	284	295	305	316	326	337	348	360	372	385	1,528	3,328
OT	284	295	305	316	326	337	348	360	372	385	1,528	3,328
Transportation (400)												
BA	85,242	86,535	88,537	88,796	90,564	92,598	94,723	96,824	99,120	101,411	439,674	924,418
OT	135,641	145,829	147,496	139,655	137,803	139,024	139,613	138,947	139,157	140,143	706,364	1,403,248
Community & Regional Development (400)												
BA	58,030	59,108	60,307	61,508	62,766	64,027	65,352	66,675	68,001	69,444	301,719	635,278
OT	52,617	54,254	54,686	56,262	56,790	57,269	57,763	58,039	58,384	58,686	275,059	560,292
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services (500)												
BA	114,548	116,873	119,195	121,517	123,960	126,403	128,960	131,513	134,195	136,893	596,093	1,254,047
OT	119,995	129,453	117,153	119,644	121,561	124,008	126,466	129,022	131,607	134,264	598,408	1,243,813
Health (550)												
BA	97,711	99,983	102,029	104,186	106,440	108,769	111,078	113,469	115,852	118,505	510,229	1,077,942
OT	97,523	97,725	97,834	98,009	98,653	101,189	103,033	105,267	107,483	109,782	490,844	1,017,558
Medicare (570)												
BA	8,588	9,000	9,424	9,950	10,276	10,688	11,098	11,495	11,901	12,324	47,138	104,634
OT	8,566	9,064	9,538	9,968	10,400	10,819	11,069	11,476	11,883	12,223	47,536	105,006
Income Security (600)												
BA	101,396	104,076	106,189	108,256	110,555	112,775	115,090	117,390	119,777	122,196	531,101	1,118,329
OT	104,425	104,350	106,235	107,640	109,266	110,989	113,186	115,404	117,574	119,967	532,226	1,106,656

TABLE 2 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Fiscal Year	(In millions of dollars)											
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2025-2029	2025-2034
Social Security (SSO)												
On-Budget												
BA.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OT.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
On-Budget												
BA.....	6,659	6,864	7,067	7,270	7,480	7,692	7,914	8,139	8,375	8,621	35,240	76,061
OT.....	6,568	6,798	7,019	7,218	7,425	7,638	7,857	8,080	8,314	8,556	35,020	75,463
Veterans Benefits and Services (VBS)												
BA.....	157,557	162,079	166,535	170,990	175,596	180,270	185,109	190,108	195,278	200,643	832,757	1,784,216
OT.....	155,255	160,008	164,294	168,838	173,459	177,964	182,754	187,623	192,714	197,985	821,634	1,760,674
Administration of Justice (JO)												
BA.....	89,240	82,718	85,194	87,649	90,158	92,699	95,374	97,818	100,572	103,559	425,958	915,939
OT.....	77,349	78,798	82,292	85,698	87,712	90,229	92,894	95,258	97,914	100,760	412,149	869,224
General Government (GGO)												
BA.....	21,922	22,647	23,370	24,090	24,822	25,568	26,352	27,150	27,983	28,847	116,951	292,751
OT.....	21,528	22,785	23,814	24,688	24,895	25,277	25,908	26,593	27,408	28,259	117,488	290,933
Altenheim (SBO)												
BA.....	-100,210	-102,657	-104,988	-106,901	-109,473	-112,072	-114,754	-117,411	-120,213	-123,105	-524,209	-1,111,764
OT.....	-96,850	-97,299	-96,062	-100,845	-104,487	-107,614	-110,277	-112,952	-115,721	-118,546	-455,623	-1,020,633
Government-Wide Savings (SBO)												
BA.....	-33,203	-196,130	-241,029	-282,195	-292,793	-319,693	-350,357	-379,193	-410,470	-441,675	-985,590	-2,986,937
OT.....	-18,159	-98,455	-140,445	-170,184	-207,010	-246,972	-283,124	-319,553	-354,740	-387,954	-834,254	-2,228,598

TABLE 3 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION MANDATORY SPENDING

Fiscal Year	[In millions of dollars]										
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2025-2029
Medicare (570)											
BA.....	934,632	966,943	1,035,405	1,161,146	1,102,007	1,258,892	1,343,127	1,434,843	1,650,980	1,677,757	5,220,133
OT.....	934,844	968,219	1,035,770	1,161,504	1,102,188	1,259,083	1,343,327	1,435,047	1,652,043	1,678,058	5,222,514
Income Security (600)											
BA.....	570,526	537,600	524,598	534,143	526,430	536,670	540,146	547,065	558,695	556,706	2,693,257
OT.....	559,828	534,710	519,295	535,603	513,521	529,107	531,910	537,669	556,698	547,778	2,662,957
Social Security (650)											
On-Budget											
BA.....	61,928	72,896	78,768	82,852	87,480	92,440	97,117	102,107	107,855	113,513	383,924
OT.....	61,928	72,896	78,768	82,852	87,480	92,440	97,117	102,107	107,855	113,513	383,924
Off-Budget											
BA.....	1,491,181	1,575,186	1,663,286	1,756,573	1,851,055	1,948,248	2,048,700	2,151,299	2,256,111	2,364,627	8,337,281
OT.....	1,483,281	1,567,386	1,655,186	1,748,373	1,842,555	1,939,448	2,039,700	2,142,099	2,246,511	2,356,327	8,296,781
Veterans Benefits and Services (700)											
BA.....	222,275	241,326	260,289	278,648	293,780	310,057	325,501	341,420	356,149	374,594	1,296,328
OT.....	218,728	250,447	262,788	298,371	271,854	308,148	323,581	340,122	380,837	377,460	1,302,188
Administration of Justice (750)											
BA.....	2,453	2,100	1,791	1,526	1,373	1,229	1,075	1,471	653	534	9,243
OT.....	6,286	2,837	2,289	1,540	876	743	692	627	427	283	13,538
General Government (800)											
BA.....	72,042	3,469	8,543	8,991	9,153	9,000	8,966	9,291	9,165	9,487	41,866
OT.....	4,150	9,836	13,075	11,796	11,268	10,428	9,498	5,082	9,148	9,471	50,125
Net Interest (900)											
On-Budget											
BA.....	988,406	1,008,814	1,008,279	1,007,445	1,011,962	1,009,860	1,015,815	1,023,756	1,022,459	1,025,284	5,024,906
OT.....	988,406	1,008,814	1,008,279	1,007,445	1,011,962	1,009,860	1,015,815	1,023,756	1,022,459	1,025,284	5,024,906
Off-Budget											
BA.....	57,323	54,146	50,751	48,478	44,323	38,452	31,929	20,401	17,664	19,134	255,021
OT.....	57,323	54,146	50,751	48,478	44,323	38,452	31,929	20,401	17,664	19,134	255,021
Allowances (920)											
BA.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OT.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Government's Make Savings (930)											
BA.....	-131,054	-71,755	-94,046	-242,522	-37,962	-157,504	-160,523	-171,133	-345,656	-217,691	-577,279
OT.....	-45,585	-78,736	-110,886	-257,802	-50,461	-166,294	-166,523	-169,559	-343,173	-217,510	-543,590
Undistributed Offsetting Receipts (950)											
On-Budget											
BA.....	-130,498	-134,436	-139,623	-145,467	-148,872	-155,250	-160,678	-171,368	-177,274	-184,073	-700,096
OT.....	-133,998	-140,436	-147,373	-151,314	-151,964	-156,441	-160,869	-171,359	-177,365	-183,664	-725,085
Off-Budget											
BA.....	-23,355	-24,142	-24,915	-25,683	-26,462	-27,268	-28,092	-28,942	-29,815	-30,710	-124,557
OT.....	-23,355	-24,142	-24,915	-25,683	-26,462	-27,268	-28,092	-28,942	-29,815	-30,710	-124,557

THE LONG-TERM BUDGET OUTLOOK

The United States faces a perilous long-term fiscal trajectory. Gross Federal debt as a share of the economy is 123.6 percent this year and will rise to 130.6 percent of the economy over the next ten years, according to the Congressional Budget Office.¹ That debt share would be the highest in American history and twice the average level over the past 50 years. Under long-term fiscal projections of current law, the debt share of gross domestic product (GDP) will rise even higher in subsequent decades, increasing to \$152 trillion or more than \$1 million per American household, equivalent to 179 percent of GDP by 2054. As a result, debt service costs will absorb a growing share of national income and the country will have to increase borrowing each year, likely in the face of higher interest rates, in order to fund ongoing services and support previous debt commitments.

Over the past three years, interest costs on the debt have risen from \$352 billion in 2021 to \$870 billion in 2024, an increase of \$518 billion or 147 percent. Interest spending on the debt is projected to grow from 3.1 percent of GDP in 2024 to 6.3 percent by 2054. Annual interest payments on the national debt are poised to exceed annual defense spending this year, all discretionary spending by 2044, spending on Medicare next year, and Social Security by 2051. Interest spending will consume 35 percent of all tax revenues by 2054, growing from less than ten percent as recently as 2022.

Expanding Federal debt tends to soak up private domestic savings and, therefore, “crowds out” private investment that would otherwise contribute to growing the economy. Elevated debt levels also tend to lead to higher government borrowing rates as investors become more cautious about the country’s fiscal situation and its ability to repay debt commitments. A sharp rise in interest rates would immediately ripple throughout the economy. It would increase the economy-wide cost of credit because nearly all consumer-borrowing rates are linked to longer-term Treasury rates. As Treasury rates increase, rates on mortgages, credit cards, and car loans would soon follow. Higher interest rates and a crowding out of private investment would ultimately have a severe, negative impact on growth and jobs and would lead to a reduced standard of living for future generations.

The main driver of long-term deficits and debt is ever-growing Federal spending, which will grow from its 50-year average of 21.0

¹ Congressional Budget Office, “The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2024–2034,” February 2024, <https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2024-02/59710-Outlook-2024.pdf>.

percent of GDP to 27.3 percent of GDP by 2054. It is imperative that policymakers in Congress work to improve the budget outlook in order to keep the promise of future prosperity for all Americans.

THE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS

President Biden's Reckless Spending and Failed Economic Policies

During President Biden's first two years in office, Democrats financed their radical agenda and vast expansion of the Federal Government with an unprecedented \$11 trillion in spending—\$6 trillion of which has been added to the national debt. Under the guise of COVID relief, Democrats' unbridled spending and President Biden's failed economic policies have lit the fuse on an inflationary firestorm resulting in soaring interest rates, a fragile economy, and a Nation barreling towards the precipice of an irreparable debt crisis.

President Biden's "Inflation Reduction Act" (IRA) tax-and-spend monstrosity imposed massive tax hikes on job creators, strangled domestic oil and gas production, unleashed an army of Internal Revenue Service agents on working families and small businesses, expanded Obamacare subsidies for wealthy Americans, and handed out hundreds of billions of dollars in green energy tax breaks.

The President exacerbated inflation and weakened America's competitiveness with higher taxes.

He enacted policies that pay people more to stay home than to return to their jobs and waived work requirements for able-bodied adults—creating a labor shortage and trapping a whole new generation of Americans in poverty and government dependence.

He has unleashed an unprecedented barrage of regulations and executive actions, adding a record \$1.5 trillion in new regulatory costs on the economy. To put this into perspective, this is five times the regulatory costs added under President Obama (\$303 billion) over the same period in his Administration.²

In addition, the President has launched a whole-of-government attack on American energy—the lifeblood of our economy, a cornerstone of our national security, and the blessing of affordable electricity and gas for families across the country.

Americans are suffering from a cost-of-living crisis as prices have skyrocketed by 19 percent while real wages remain 4.0 percent less per week than they were just three years ago, the equivalent of more than \$6,000 in lost income per worker.

In the President's budget last year, President Biden had the opportunity to recognize this somber economic reality, reverse course, and do what the American people have had to do—tighten their belts and change their spending habits. Instead, the President doubled down on his socialist spending and failed economic policies, his

²Dan Goldbeck, "A Trillion-dollar Year," American Action Forum, April 29, 2024, <https://www.americanactionforum.org/week-in-regulation/a-trillion-dollar-year/>.

woke and weaponized bureaucracy, and the big government that is bankrupting our country.

President Biden's vast expansion of the Federal bureaucracy and radical reimagining of the government's role in the lives of our citizens not only jeopardizes economic prosperity and security for future generations, but threatens to unravel the very fabric of our great Nation.

The Economic Outlook

As a result of these policies, forecasters expect modest economic growth and high interest rates throughout the decade—with the Biden Administration holding a more optimistic view of the economy. During the next ten years, the Administration expects average real gross domestic product (GDP) growth of 2.1 percent, compared to expected growth of 2.0 and 1.9 percent by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and Blue Chip, respectively.

Expectations for inflation and short-term interest rates are nearly identical across each of the forecasts. However, CBO projects higher unemployment rates and higher yields on 10-year Treasury notes than either the Administration or Blue Chip.

On average, CBO projects an unemployment rate of 4.4 percent over the decade compared to projections from the Administration and Blue Chip of 3.8 and 4.0 percent, respectively. The yield on 10-year Treasury notes is expected to average 4.0 percent by CBO while the Administration and Blue Chip project 3.8 and 3.6 percent, respectively.

This budget resolution breaks from the status quo of sluggish growth and high interest rates by supporting fiscal and economic policies that restrain spending, reduce interest costs, and ignite the economy.

Economic Assumptions of the Budget Resolution

Economic growth is essential to reining in our deficits and reducing our Nation's indebtedness. Growth generates more revenue for our country, reduces spending by lifting American families out of poverty and off of government dependence, and allows people to keep more of their hard-earned money. These lower deficits will strengthen America's credit-worthiness, bring down our interest costs, and fund our Nation's priorities.

In order to achieve \$14 trillion in deficit reduction and a balanced budget, this budget resolution combines spending restraint with pro-growth policies including:

- Eliminating the regulatory state
- Locking in tax cuts, unlocking opportunities for all
- Expanding America first trade
- Restoring the dignity of work
- Unleashing American energy dominance

As a result of these policies, the Committee on the Budget estimates that economic growth will average three percent over ten years—one percentage point faster than CBO's projected growth rate—generating a substantial \$3 trillion in deficit reduction. The Committee on the Budget's growth rate is comparable to the long-

term U.S. average growth rate of 3.1 percent and the growth experienced during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

TABLE 4.—ECONOMIC PROJECTIONS: ADMINISTRATION, CBO, AND PRIVATE FORECASTERS

	[Calendar years]											
	Estimated											
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034
	Year to Year, Percent Change											
Real GDP												
Administration Budget (March 2024)	2.4	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2
CBO (Feb. 2024)	2.4	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8
Blue Chip (March 2024)	2.5	2.3	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9
Consumer Price Index												
Administration Budget (March 2024)	4.2	2.9	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
CBO (Feb. 2024)	4.1	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3
Blue Chip (March 2024)	4.1	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Annual Average, Percent											
Unemployment Rate												
Administration Budget (March 2024)	3.6	4.0	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8
CBO (Feb. 2024)	3.7	4.2	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
Blue Chip (March 2024)	3.6	3.9	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
3-Month Treasury Bill												
Administration Budget (March 2024)	5.1	5.1	4.0	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7
CBO (Feb. 2024)	5.1	4.9	3.8	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Blue Chip (March 2024)	5.1	4.9	3.6	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
10-Year Treasury Note												
Administration Budget (March 2024)	4.1	4.4	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7
CBO (Feb. 2024)	4.0	4.6	4.6	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.1
Blue Chip (March 2024)	4.0	4.0	3.7	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7

Sources: Congressional Budget Office, Office of Management and Budget, and Blue Chip Economic Indicators

TABLE 5.—ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION

	[Calendar years]										
	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034
	Year to Year, Percent Change										
Real GDP											
HBC (March 2024)	1.8	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.8
Consumer Price Index											
HBC (March 2024)	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3
	Annual Average, Percent										
Unemployment Rate											
HBC (March 2024)	4.7	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
3-Month Treasury Bill											
HBC (March 2024)	4.9	3.8	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
10-Year Treasury Note											
HBC (March 2024)	4.6	4.5	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.1

MACROECONOMIC FEEDBACK EFFECTS OF PRO-GROWTH POLICIES

Economic growth is one of the major determinants of revenue and spending levels—and therefore the size of budget deficits—over a given period. For instance, a higher rate of gross domestic product (GDP) growth can lead to lower projected spending if it translates into reduced burdens on government safety net programs. It can also generate higher revenue due to increases in taxable incomes. Naturally, such a pattern would cause a reduction in Federal deficits and debt relative to current law projections. Conversely, lower rates of growth can cause the opposite outcomes: higher rates of spending increases and slower revenue growth.

Federal policies themselves can affect the economy's potential to grow, generating positive feedback into budgetary outcomes. Consequently, fiscally responsible policies that improve the economy's long-term growth prospects can help reduce the size of budget deficits over a given period.

As noted in the previous section, this budget resolution is based on an economic forecast that incorporates all of the pro-growth policies advanced in this budget resolution, including: regulatory reform; expanding domestic energy production; building on the success of Republican tax reform; eliminating disincentives to work; reducing barriers to trade; and lower deficits and debt.

These initiatives are all a departure from the policies embedded in current law. Meanwhile, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) is obligated to produce an economic forecast that assumes an indefinite extension of current law, including the explosion of deficit and debt levels over the next decade. This is partly why CBO is forecasting average real GDP growth of just 2.0 percent over the next ten years, well below the long-term growth trend of 3.1 percent in the United States.

The Committee on the Budget estimates that under the pro-growth policies in the fiscal year 2025 budget resolution, real economic growth can average 3.0 percent over the budget window—one percentage point higher than the CBO baseline average and roughly equal to the long-term U.S. historical average.

FUNCTION-BY-FUNCTION PRESENTATION

FUNCTION 050: NATIONAL DEFENSE

Function Summary

The National Defense budget function includes funds to compensate, train, maintain, and equip the military forces of the United States. The majority of National Defense programs are discretionary and funded through the annual appropriations process. These programs include all military activities of the Department of Defense (DOD); activities of the Department of Energy (DOE), including the National Nuclear Security Administration, environmental clean-up of weapons production, and research sites; and other defense-related activities (primarily in connection with counterterrorism). Mandatory spending primarily funds benefits for military retirees within the National Defense budget function.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$921.7 billion in budget authority and \$884.4 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 is \$895.2 billion in budget authority and \$859.2 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 is \$26.5 billion in budget authority and \$25.2 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$10.0 trillion and \$9.7 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The committees of jurisdiction—the Committee on Armed Services and Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense—should continue effective oversight of DOD to ensure resources are used efficiently to achieve desired results. The Committee on the Budget’s authority applies solely to the budgetary parameters for each committee of jurisdiction. Some illustrative options the committees of jurisdiction might consider include the following.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Providing for the Common Defense. This budget resolution preserves critical defense spending to protect vital national interests today and modernize the military to tackle tomorrow’s challenges

and the ever-evolving threats around the globe. For fiscal year 2025, this budget resolution provides \$895.2 billion in base defense discretionary funding. For the remainder of the budget window, the budget resolution's defense spending continues to grow, ultimately reaching \$1.1 trillion in fiscal year 2034. This level provides steady and sustained growth. Continued growth is critical to provide DOD with the resources it needs to strengthen our national defense and deter the most complex and varied threats in our history, especially strategic competition with China and Russia.

In order to effectively deter these threats and ensure success on future battlefields, we need to modernize our military and provide our warfighters with advanced training and innovative capabilities. Specifically, it is imperative that we improve force proficiency on new battlefields such as cyber; revitalize the defense industrial base to ensure a ready supply of munitions and supplies to our warfighters; continue work at DOD and the National Nuclear Security Administration to modernize our nuclear triad; grow our naval and projection forces; and quickly incorporate the latest innovations and enhancements into warfighting capabilities, including air and sealift, space, missile defense, munitions, and electronic warfare.

Address Politization at the Pentagon. Through oversight investigations and policy language, we should ensure that professional military education and other DOD training programs are focused on core military functions that advance U.S. national defense, not political or ideological agendas that harm readiness and unit cohesion.

Support Continued Department of Defense Audit Progress. Since beginning department-wide financial statement audits in 2018, DOD has utilized tools developed from the audit process to improve performance management and decision-making. Congress should work with DOD to continue efforts to modernize the defense resourcing process and leverage automation and better data collection to improve DOD operations, with the goal of an unmodified audit opinion.

Improving Defense Efficiency. Like all government agencies, DOD has a responsibility to the taxpayer to responsibly manage its resources. The Committee on the Budget commends the Committee on Armed Services for its work in this area and encourages further oversight hearings to ensure DOD maximizes the value of every taxpayer dollar. It will be critical to scrutinize legacy systems and divest those that are not relevant to future battlefields, as well as streamline DOD's bureaucracy, and eliminate duplicative or wasteful programs to achieve savings.

FUNCTION 150: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Function Summary

The International Affairs budget function includes the Federal Government's spending for the following programs: international development, food security, and humanitarian assistance; international security assistance; the conduct of foreign affairs; foreign information and exchange activities; and international financial programs. The primary agencies responsible for executing these programs are the Departments of Agriculture, State, and the Treasury; the U.S. Agency for International Development; and the Millennium Challenge Corporation. The Department of State's basic operations and foreign aid account for the majority of discretionary spending within the International Affairs budget function.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$68.2 billion in budget authority and \$64.0 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$65.2 billion in budget authority and \$64.9 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in this function—totaling \$3.1 billion in budget authority and –\$906 million in outlays for fiscal year 2025—includes loan guarantee programs, payments to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund, and foreign-military sales programs. The negative figures reflect receipts from foreign-military sales and financing programs. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$722.1 billion and \$687.8 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The committees of jurisdiction—the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs—should continue effective oversight of the Department of State and related foreign operations to ensure resources are used efficiently to achieve desired results. The Committee on the Budget's authority applies solely to the budgetary parameters for each committee of jurisdiction. Some illustrative options the committees of jurisdiction might consider include the following.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Reduce Contributions to International Organizations and Programs. The United States makes voluntary contributions to more

than 40 multilateral organizations and programs such as the United Nations Population Fund and the United Nations Development Program. These often duplicate funding provided in the Contributions to International Organizations account, which makes payments to organizations pursuant to treaties and conventions the U.S. has signed. This budget resolution funds the organizations the U.S. is required to by treaty, while reducing voluntary funding made in the International Organizations and Programs account.

FUNCTION 250: GENERAL SCIENCE, SPACE, AND TECHNOLOGY

Function Summary

The largest component of Function 250—comprising about half of its total spending—is the space-flight, research, and supporting activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Function 250 also contains general science funding, including the budgets for the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the Department of Energy’s (DOE) Office of Science.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$43.2 billion in budget authority and \$43.1 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$43.0 billion in budget authority and \$42.5 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$230 million in budget authority and \$573 million in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$475.0 billion and \$463.2 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The principal authorizing committee in this function is the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. Funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Restore Core Government Responsibilities. Spending on research and development within NSF, DOE’s Office of Science, and NASA’s Earth Science Division should be more transparent and should clearly illustrate how each agency serves the national interest. In response, this budget resolution prioritizes resources for basic scientific research. It recommends responsibly paring back applied and commercial research and development and addressing areas of wasteful spending that do not provide a high return on taxpayer investment.

Reduce Expenses for the Department of Homeland Security’s Directorate of Science and Technology. Much of the research done within this office is duplicative of work conducted by other agencies. This budget resolution recommends reductions in management and administrative expenses for the Department of Homeland

Security's Directorate of Science and Technology, while shifting funding to frontline missions and capabilities.

FUNCTION 270: ENERGY

Function Summary

Discretionary spending in this function includes some of the civilian energy and environmental programs of the Department of Energy (DOE). It also includes funding for the operations of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. A large majority of the DOE discretionary budget is allocated to applied research and development (R&D), commercialization, and deployment of energy technologies in renewable energy, energy efficiency, fossil energy, nuclear energy, and electricity delivery and energy reliability. Mandatory spending in this function includes the remaining civilian energy and environmental programs of the DOE. It also includes the Rural Utilities Service of the Department of Agriculture, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$35.4 billion in budget authority and \$36.5 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$19.9 billion in budget authority and \$16.2 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$15.5 billion in budget authority and \$20.4 billion in outlays. The ten-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$367.6 billion and \$398.1 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

Authorizing committees of jurisdiction for Function 270 include the Committee on Energy and Commerce and the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. Funding is provided primarily by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, and Related Agencies, and Subcommittee on Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Reduce Funding for Commercial Research and Development. The budget resolution supports maintaining current funding levels for basic R&D activities within DOE, while significantly reducing funding for applied R&D. Focusing on basic R&D allows DOE to zero in on cutting-edge discoveries in the physical sciences that may benefit society and the Nation's security, including energy se-

curity, while leaving the application, commercialization, and deployment of new technologies to the private sector.

Regulations placed on the private sector paired with ill-advised Federal and state investment incentives focused on renewable energy have hampered the Nation's ability to deploy innovative technologies that advance energy security, affordable energy supplies, and the general welfare. Policies that focus on creating a predictable regulatory environment and timely permitting will do more to attract private capital investments than flooding Wall Street and favored, politically connected companies with taxpayer dollars. The DOE maintains world-class infrastructure and resources that provide basic research, development, and engineering that serves the most critical national and energy security needs unmatched by the private sector, such as certain nuclear and radiological operations. When limited Federal dollars flow to support the deployment of energy technologies, there are fewer funds for these critical missions. The private sector is better suited to commercialize and deploy energy technology than the Federal Government. The DOE should focus on core missions: maintaining and modernizing the national nuclear stockpile, environmental cleanup, energy supply security, and the basic research and engineering programs that cannot be duplicated in the private sector and that ensure American leadership in discovery science and national and energy security.

FUNCTION 300: NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT

Function Summary

The discretionary programs in Function 300 conserve and manage air, water, and other natural resources as well as the environment. The activities in this function include maintaining infrastructure, dams, coastland, and waterways; sustaining fish, birds, and other wildlife; managing national parks, forests and other Federal lands; and providing daily weather forecasts. The major mandatory spending programs in this function are conservation programs authorized in the Farm Bill, outlays from programs supported by excise taxes, and Superfund activities. The departments and agencies under this function are the Department of the Interior (DOI), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Army Corps of Engineers, conservation and land management activities within the Department of Agriculture, including the Forest Service, and the water resources and conservation activities of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Notable agencies within the DOI include the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$77.6 billion in budget authority and \$75.5 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$68.3 billion in budget authority and \$62.1 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$9.3 billion in budget authority and \$13.4 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$786.8 billion and \$804.2 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The Committee on Natural Resources is the primary authorizing committee in this function. Funding is provided primarily by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, and Related Agencies, and Subcommittee on Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Streamline Climate-Change Activities Across Government. This budget resolution reduces spending for numerous climate-change-related activities and research within this function, primarily by reducing overlapping or unproductive policies. It also recommends better coordination of programs and funds to eliminate duplicative and unnecessary spending. Many of these programs are funded within NOAA as well as EPA and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Reduce and Refocus Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Funding. This budget resolution calls for reducing annual funding levels for the EPA to allow the agency to refocus on its core mission of simply enforcing laws passed by Congress rather than continually attempting to rewrite them through regulations.

FUNCTION 350: AGRICULTURE

Function Summary

Discretionary funding in Function 350 supports agricultural research, education, and economics; marketing and information services; and animal and plant health inspection services. Function 350 is the primary source of funding for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), which includes the Farm Service Agency, the Foreign Agricultural Service, the Risk Management Agency, and other related programs and activities.

The Committee on Agriculture has complete authority to determine mandatory spending policies under its jurisdiction and nothing in this report is intended to predetermine those specific choices. The Committee on the Budget will work with the Committee on Agriculture to ensure it has adequate flexibility to confront the significant challenges faced by America's farmers and ranchers, including an estimated reduction in net farm income and an uncertain international trade environment.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$26.8 billion in budget authority and \$31.4 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$8.1 billion in budget authority and \$9.3 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$18.7 billion in budget authority and \$22.1 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$304.6 billion and \$306.7 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Funding for discretionary agriculture programs and activities will be determined by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies. This budget resolution supports rural development and competitive grant-based research in an effort to spur agricultural study and place the United States at a competitive level internationally through opening new markets. Additionally, this budget resolution recommends that continued attention be given to streamlining and, where possible, consolidating operations and activities across USDA agencies, including its large network of county field offices.

Address and Eliminate the Continuous Usage of Unbudgeted Ad Hoc Disaster Funding. Due to the inadequacies of the Farm Safety

Net, ad hoc disaster funding has drastically increased in recent years through unbudgeted supplemental appropriations and administrative spending. While there have been unanticipated challenges over the last several years from trade disruptions with China, a global pandemic, and extreme weather events that necessitated assistance for the agriculture sector, the level of emergency ad hoc assistance has grown considerably, representing more than 70 percent of Federal agriculture spending since 2018. In order to provide more certainty for American producers, this budget resolution supports identifying ways to properly budget and pay for disaster spending instead of relying on unbudgeted ad hoc spending.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Address the Ineffectiveness of the Farm Safety Net. The Farm Safety Net refers to various agricultural support programs that provide farmers, ranchers, and producers with income assistance when experiencing natural disasters, market losses, or problematic growing conditions. Due to recent increases in unbudgeted ad hoc spending, the Farm Safety Net has been ineffective in providing certainty to the Nation's various producers. The budget resolution supports improving and strengthening the Farm Safety Net to provide stability to the agriculture sector and certainty to farmers, ranchers, and producers, by reducing unbudgeted and untimely ad hoc disaster spending, ceasing USDA's discretionary use of the Section 5 CCC Charter Act authority, and enhancing program compliance and integrity enforcement at USDA. Any yielded savings from these examinations should be reinvested into Farm Safety Net programs in the most fiscally responsible manner.

Continued Reform of Agricultural Programs. While several reforms have been made to various agricultural programs, the Committee on Agriculture is encouraged to continue identifying streamlined solutions and program integrity improvements across USDA. Additional savings would be in conjunction to significant benefits realized from other functions in this budget resolution, including regulatory relief, improper payments, and robust economic growth as Congress continues to address rising debt and deficits.

FUNCTION 370: COMMERCE AND HOUSING CREDIT

Function Summary

Function 370 consists of programs that support commercial activities, including housing credit, deposit insurance, financial services, and the advancement of commerce. Specific departments and agencies that are funded within Function 370 include the U.S. Department of Commerce, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), some activities and programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), and the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). Function 370 also includes an off-budget category which is comprised of the U.S. Postal Service (USPS). The largest discretionary spending programs in Function 370 are the FHA's mortgage insurance program, securitization of Government National Mortgage Association loans, the Census Bureau, and the National Institute of Standards and Technology. The major mandatory spending programs in this function are deposit insurance, the USPS, the Universal Service Fund, and the CFPB.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for \$24.7 billion in budget authority and –\$4.0 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$754 million in budget authority and \$3.3 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$24.0 billion in budget authority and –\$7.3 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$158.7 billion and –\$87.0 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committees of jurisdiction for Function 370 programs include the Committee on Financial Services, Committee on Small Business, Committee on Energy and Commerce, and the Committee on Oversight and Accountability. Funding is provided primarily by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies and Subcommittee on Financial Services and General Government. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Tightening the Belts of Government Agencies. Duplication, hidden subsidies, and large bureaucracies are symptomatic of many agencies within Function 370. For example, the SEC now has more than 4,500 employees. Since 2000, the SEC’s budget authority has increased over 400 percent.³ Despite these large increases, the SEC has consistently requested additional funding. The premise that more funding for the SEC means better, smarter regulation is highly questionable. Congress should assess the ever-growing spending of Federal agencies, determine what levels are necessary to execute their missions effectively and efficiently, while adjusting their funding accordingly.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Repeal the Orderly Liquidation Authority. Through the Orderly Liquidation Fund, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has the authority to access taxpayer dollars to bail out the creditors of large, “systemically significant” financial institutions. This increases moral hazard on Wall Street by explicitly guaranteeing future bailouts. The budget resolution suggests the repeal of this authority and the associated fund.

Subject all Federal Financial Regulators to Appropriations. With the exception of the SEC and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, all Federal financial regulators are mandatory spending programs and not subject to congressional oversight through appropriations. This budget resolution recommends that the budgets of these financial regulators be moved to the discretionary side of the ledger and funded by Congress through the annual appropriations process.

Eliminate the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). Dodd-Frank provided the CFPB off-budget financing and complete, unfettered autonomy. Currently, the Federal Reserve returns its excess earnings from monetary operations to the U.S. Treasury to reduce the deficit. Instead of prioritizing deficit reduction, Dodd-Frank requires diverting a portion of these earnings to pay for a new bureaucracy with the authority to write far-reaching rules on financial products and restrict credit to the very customers it seeks to “protect.” The budget resolution calls for the elimination of Federal Reserve funding of the CFPB.

³U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, “Budget History—BA vs. Actual Obligations (\$ in 000s),” November 13, 2019, <https://www.sec.gov/foia/docs/budgetact>.

FUNCTION 400: TRANSPORTATION

Function Summary

Function 400 is comprised of the Nation's land, air, water, and other transportation funding, consisting of both discretionary and mandatory spending programs. The budget resolution proposes initiatives to provide the country with a more competent, well-rounded, and innovative transportation system that strengthens efficiency and bolsters development at the state and local levels. The departments and agencies under this function include: the Department of Transportation, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Federal Highway Administration, and the highway, motor-carrier safety, and rail components of the Federal Transit Administration, among others.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$166.1 billion in budget authority and \$138.5 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$85.2 billion in budget authority and \$135.6 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$80.8 billion in budget authority and \$2.8 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$1.4 trillion and \$1.4 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The primary authorizing committee for Function 400 is the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. Funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions for future legislation.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Prohibit Extension of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA). The IIJA is a one-time investment funding multiple modes of transportation and infrastructure. However, the IIJA was too broad, too expensive, and too progressive, spending tens of billions of taxpayer dollars on wasteful and unnecessary projects, such as subsidized electric vehicle charging stations and other Green New Deal projects. Upon expiration of the IIJA in fiscal year 2026, Congress should endeavor to authorize and appropriate fiscally respon-

sible surface transportation legislation that is both paid for and beneficial to all Americans.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Deficit Neutral Solution for the Highway Trust Fund (HTF). The budget resolution proposes sensible reforms to align spending with incoming revenue for the HTF. Doing so will provide the HTF with financial stability without any further General Fund bailouts or increases to the deficit. According to the Government Accountability Office, from 2008–2021, the HTF has received over \$270 billion in taxpayer funded bailouts. It is imperative to improve the HTF's solvency, which is currently projected to hit insolvency in 2028, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

FUNCTION 450: COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Function Summary

Function 450 includes programs to improve community economic conditions and promote rural development. Programs in this function also assist in natural disaster response and preparation.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$58.6 billion in budget authority and \$58.9 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$58.0 billion in budget authority and \$52.6 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$583 million in budget authority and \$6.3 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$638.8 billion and \$581.5 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committees of jurisdiction in this function are the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, the Committee on Financial Services, and the Committee on Energy and Commerce. Funding is provided by the Appropriations Subcommittee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, and Related Agencies, and the Subcommittee on Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Eliminate Inefficient and Unnecessary Federal Spending. Congressional leaders are fiduciaries of taxpayer dollars with the sacred trust of fiscal stewardship. The budget resolution aims to root out woke and wasteful spending, which is of paramount importance to improving the Nation's fiscal health and providing long-term economic stability. It is clear that Washington is spending a lot of money on a lot of things that the Federal Government should not be funding—bailouts and handouts, growing the bureaucracy, and injecting wokeness into every aspect of government and as a result, divisiveness into every corner of our country. The states are closer to the problem, more accountable to the people, and best equipped to provide the most innovative and cost-effective solutions. Therefore, the budget resolution supports examining ways to improve the

delivery of government functions revolving around community and regional programs at the state level.

FUNCTION 500: EDUCATION, TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT, AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Function Summary

It is a national goal and focus of Federal policymakers to ensure that all Americans have access to high-quality education. A robust economy relies on having a well-trained and educated workforce. Function 500 consists of programs that receive both mandatory and discretionary funds, and the activities funded within it fund developmental services to low-income children, help fund programs for disadvantaged and other elementary- and secondary-school students, make grants and loans to post-secondary students, and fund job training and employment services for people of all ages. The principal agencies that administer these programs are the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Labor.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for \$107.9 billion in budget authority and \$137.5 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$114.5 billion in budget authority and \$120.0 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals –\$6.6 billion in budget authority and \$17.5 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$1.3 trillion and \$1.3 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The principal authorizing committee for Function 500 is the Committee on Education and the Workforce. Funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Encourage Innovation in Higher Education. In addition to focusing on financial aid, Federal higher-education policy should also focus on policies that maximize innovation and ensure a robust menu of institutional options for students and their families. Such policies should include ensuring students have the necessary information to assist them in making decisions about where to go to college and how to pay for it. Additionally, the Federal Government should remove regulatory barriers in higher education that act to

restrict flexibility and innovation in teaching, particularly as it relates to contemporary models, such as online coursework.

Encourage Private Funding for Cultural Agencies. It should not be the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide subsidies for cultural agencies, such as the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. This budget resolution recommends such agencies generate financial support from private-sector patrons.

Make Way for Increased State, Local, and Private Financial Support for Museums and Libraries. The Federal Government currently provides funding for museums and libraries across the Nation. State and local governments are best positioned to manage and invest in these museums and libraries. The budget resolution encourages charitable contributions from private-sector businesses, organizations, and individuals in civil society to properly augment this funding.

Encourage More Private Support for the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian Institution consists of 17 museums and galleries, a zoological park, and research and supporting facilities. Increased private funding can better enable the Smithsonian to expand its collections, improve existing facilities, and make better business decisions. Therefore, the budget resolution supports continued efforts by the Smithsonian to generate non-Federal revenue.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Repeal President Biden's Hijacked Income-Driven Repayment Plan. In response to the U.S. Supreme Court ruling President Biden's initial widespread student loan bailout unconstitutional⁴ last summer, the Administration unveiled an overhaul of the income-driven-repayment (IDR) program. Deemed the "SAVE Plan," this measure would transform the originally targeted IDR program into a vehicle in which 91 percent of new student loan debt would be eligible for reduced payments and eventual transfer onto taxpayers.⁵ The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates the SAVE Plan would cost Americans over \$260 billion;⁶ an outside group estimates President Biden's new IDR plan could cost up to \$559 billion.⁷ To protect taxpayer dollars, the budget resolution recommends repealing this form of back-door loan cancellation.

Prohibit Future Widespread Cancellations of Federal Borrowers' Student Loans. Since taking office, President Biden has attempted

⁴ Supreme Court of the United States, "Biden, President of The United States, Et Al. v. Nebraska Et Al," June 30, 2023, https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/22-506_nmip.pdf.

⁵ Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, "New Analysis: Biden's Newest Student Loan Scheme to Cost Taxpayers \$559 Billion," July 17, 2023, <https://www.help.senate.gov/ranking/newsroom/press/new-analysis-bidens-newest-student-loan-scheme-to-cost-taxpayers-559-billion>.

⁶ Congressional Budget Office, "H. J. Res. 88, a joint resolution providing for Congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Department of Education relating to 'Improving Income Driven Repayment for the William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program and the Federal Family Education Loan (FFEL) Program,'" September 18, 2023, <https://www.cbo.gov/publication/59565>.

⁷ Penn Wharton Budget Model, "Biden's New Income-Driven Repayment ("SAVE") Plan: Budgetary Cost Estimate Update," Penn Wharton at University of Pennsylvania, July 17, 2023, <https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2023/7/17/biden-income-driven-repayment-budget-update>.

to cancel over \$1 trillion⁸ worth of student loan debt—all without approval from Congress. Student loan debt cannot be canceled; President Biden’s actions shift the financial burden of loans from those who freely incurred them onto the backs of the working class, many of whom do not even have a college degree. In response, the budget resolution stops all forms of these unconstitutional, inflationary, and regressive student loan debt cancellations.

Simplify and Streamline Existing Higher Education Programs. The current Federal aid system is significantly complicated and comprised of numerous loan programs, repayment plans, loan forgiveness programs, and options for loan deferment and forbearance. The budget resolution supports streamlining student loan repayment plans so that students and parents are better able to navigate the student loan space. The committees of jurisdiction may consider several options, including ending the Public Service Loan Forgiveness (PSLF) program and the Teacher Loan Forgiveness program or limiting forgiveness under either program.

Eliminate the Duplicative Social Services Block Grant. The Social Services Block Grant is a payment sent to states to create a flexible program that helps provide services such as childcare, health care, and other employment services. States are allowed immense discretion in determining how to spend this money and are not required to demonstrate outcomes. Further, numerous other Federal programs provide the same services as the Social Services Block Grant. For these reasons, the budget resolution recommends eliminating funding for this program.

⁸House Committee on the Budget, “President Biden’s Student Loan Scheme Could Cost Taxpayers \$1.4 Trillion,” May 2, 2024, <https://budget.house.gov/press-release/president-bidens-student-loan-scheme-could-cost-taxpayers-14-trillion>.

FUNCTION 550: MEDICAID AND OTHER HEALTH

Function Summary

Function 550 includes all discretionary health programs, the health insurance marketplace, and Medicaid. This function is broken into three subfunctions: health care services, health research and training, and consumer and occupational health and safety.

Health care services comprise the vast majority of Function 550 spending. This covers most direct health care service programs run by the Federal Government, with the exception of Medicare and veterans' health care. The primary component of Function 550 in terms of spending levels is Medicaid, but this function also includes the State Children's Health Insurance Program, Federal employees' health benefits, spending related to the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, most programs run by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the Indian Health Service, and others. Most of this spending is mandatory in nature.

Health research and training includes activities such as National Institutes of Health research and some CDC activities. Consumer and occupational health and safety includes funding for the Food and Drug Administration, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, and others. Most spending for health research and training and consumer and occupational health and safety is discretionary in nature.

The center of all health care policy assumed in this budget resolution is the patient. Particularly on the mandatory spending side, this requires placing the emphasis on real Americans' health needs.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for \$776.7 billion in budget authority and \$774.4 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$97.7 billion in budget authority and \$97.5 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$679.0 billion in budget authority and \$676.9 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$7.8 trillion and \$7.7 trillion, respectively.

The budget resolution also accommodates fiscal year 2026 advance appropriations for the Indian Health Service.

Illustrative Policy Options

The principal authorizing committees in this function are the Committee on Energy and Commerce, the Committee on Ways and

Means, and the Committee on Oversight and Accountability. Funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies, Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies, and Subcommittee on the Legislative Branch. Illustrative options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions are below.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Rising government health care spending continues to be a key driver of deficits and the debt. Medicaid, the largest health care program in the United States by enrollment, has grown significantly from Obamacare's Medicaid expansion to the recent changes during the COVID pandemic.

Medicaid has grown so large that the program covered one in four Americans in 2022. In 2023, Federal spending on Medicaid was \$616 billion, a 51 percent increase from 2019, prior to COVID, and a 132 percent increase from 2013, before Obamacare's radical expansion of Medicaid to able-bodied adults went into effect.

A disappointing consequence of this spending growth is rampant fraud: the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) reported over \$50 billion in taxpayer dollars were spent on Medicaid improper payments in 2023.⁹ By 2034, the Congressional Budget Office projects Federal spending on Medicaid will grow to \$898 billion. Combined with state spending, total Medicaid costs are projected to exceed \$1 trillion annually.

This unrestrained growth in Medicaid spending is unsustainable, piling billions more on to existing Federal deficits. This is also putting tremendous pressure on state budgets, crowding out their ability to fund priorities such as education and infrastructure as well as to ensure access to health care for Medicaid enrollees.

To make matters worse, the Medicaid program is not producing quality results. Research suggests that in some cases, Medicaid recipients have worse health outcomes compared to uninsured individuals.¹⁰ Equally concerning is the Obamacare expansion for able-bodied adults crowding out services for the most vulnerable Medicaid populations. Medicaid expansion has shifted resources away from low-income children and at-risk Americans to healthy, work-capable adults.¹¹

This budget resolution makes health care more cost-effective by refocusing Medicaid resources on the most vulnerable Americans. It puts the Medicaid program on a sustainable path through common sense and compassionate reforms that protect this critical safety net for those that need it the most: children, pregnant

⁹ Office of Management and Budget, "Annual Improper Payments Datasets" 2023 Dataset, January 2024, <https://www.paymentaccuracy.gov/payment-accuracy-the-numbers/>.

¹⁰ Brian Blase and David Balat, "Is Medicaid Expansion Worth it?," Texas Public Policy Foundation, April 2020, <https://www.texaspolicy.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Blase-Balat-Medicaid-Expansion.pdf>.

¹¹ Charles Blahous and Liam Sigaud, "The Affordable Care Act's Medicaid Expansion Is Shifting Resources Away from Low-Income Children," Mercatus Center at George Mason University, December 13, 2022, <https://www.mercatus.org/research/research-papers/affordable-care-acts-medicare-expansion-shifting-resources-away-low-income>.

women, individuals with disabilities, and seniors. These reforms include:

Putting Medicaid on a Budget. The current Federal match financing model in Medicaid incentivizes states to shift costs to the Federal Government and discourages state-initiated programmatic oversight to drive down costs. The budget resolution proposes shifting to a per-capita-cap financing model where the Federal Government reimburses states for Medicaid costs up to a defined amount for each of the various beneficiary categories.

Establishing Work Requirements. The budget resolution seeks to restore the dignity of work by proposing work requirements for able-bodied adults without dependents to qualify for Medicaid coverage, as included in the House Republican-passed Limit, Save, Grow Act (H.R. 2811). Certain populations would be exempted, such as pregnant women, primary caregivers of dependents, individuals with disabilities or health-related barriers to employment, and full-time students.

Ending Preferential Status for Adults. Obamacare's Medicaid expansion provides preferential treatment of able-bodied adults over children or individuals with disabilities with a set 90 percent Federal Medical Assistance Percentage (FMAP) Federal reimbursement for the Obamacare adult expansion population. The budget resolution supports ending Obamacare's preferential treatment for adults over children by equalizing Federal reimbursement of expansion adults to the normal FMAP formula.

Enhancing Medicaid Program Integrity. The Government Accountability Office has listed Medicaid as a high-risk program since 2003 and OMB reported over \$50 billion in Medicaid improper payments in fiscal year 2023 alone. The budget resolution supports policies to enhance Medicaid program integrity, reduce improper payments, and bolster enrollee eligibility verification to ensure Medicaid provides quality health care coverage to those most in need.

Stopping D.C.'s Special Treatment. The Nation's capital unfairly benefits from special treatment in Federal Medicaid reimbursement with the Federal Government paying a larger share of the District of Columbia's Medicaid costs compared to every other state. The budget resolution supports equalizing the Federal reimbursement for Washington, D.C. to that of the 50 states.

FUNCTION 570: MEDICARE

Function Summary

Function 570 solely consists of the Medicare health insurance program. Medicare provides comprehensive health care coverage for over 65 million individuals who are age 65 or older, who have a disability that prevents them from working, or who have end-stage renal disease. Medicare's budget is almost entirely mandatory spending, which consists of payments to health care service providers and private insurers. Medicare's discretionary budget funds the administration of the Medicare program through the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services and other agencies.

Medicare program spending appears in Function 570 of the budget. The function reflects the Medicare Part A Hospital Insurance Program, Part B Supplementary Medical Insurance Program, Part C Medicare Advantage Program, and Part D Prescription Drug Benefit, as well as premiums paid by qualified aged and disabled beneficiaries.

The various parts of the program are financed in different ways. Part A benefits are financed primarily by a payroll tax, the revenues from which are credited to the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund. For Part B, premiums paid by beneficiaries cover about one quarter of outlays, and the Treasury General Fund covers the rest. Payments to private insurance plans under Part C are financed by a share of funds from Parts A and B.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget calls for \$943.2 billion in budget authority and \$943.4 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$8.6 billion in budget authority and \$8.6 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$934.6 billion in budget authority and \$934.8 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$12.7 trillion and \$12.7 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committees in this function are the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Energy and Commerce. Discretionary funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

MANDATORY SPENDING

The budget resolution protects Medicare beneficiaries and strengthens the Medicare program through policies that drive down out-of-pocket costs for seniors, stop overpayments, and enhance our health care workforce.

Creating Payment Parity for the Same Services. Patients, providers, and taxpayers should pay the same amount for the same service, regardless of the setting. Currently, a hospital outpatient department is paid substantially more by Medicare compared to other delivery settings such as a physician office or ambulatory surgery center. This difference in reimbursement rates for the same services has created a financial incentive for hospital systems to acquire freestanding physician offices, fueling consolidation that reduces competition, drives up costs for patients and limits health care provider choices for patients. This includes payment for lower-complexity services such as office visits, imaging, and drug administration, which the Medicare Payment Advisory Commission (MedPAC) has noted are safe and effective to be delivered in a physician's office.¹²

Because Medicare pays more, seniors also pay more in out-of-pocket cost sharing requirements, as well as Part B premiums and deductibles, which are indexed annually to a percentage of program costs. Accordingly, equalizing payments for certain outpatient services will decrease spending in Medicare and reduce costs for millions of seniors. The budget resolution supports equalizing Medicare payments for health care services that can be safely delivered in a physician's office.

Improving Uncompensated Care. Medicare currently provides additional financial support to hospitals that serve a disproportionate share of low-income patients related to uncompensated care. These payments are limited to hospitals, which fails to acknowledge the amount of uncompensated care delivered in non-hospital settings. Furthermore, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) has found that Medicare overpays hospitals for uncompensated care. The budget resolution supports reforming uncompensated care payments by removing the payment from the Medicare Trust Fund and establishing a new uncompensated care fund that will equitably distribute payments to providers based on their true share of charity care and non-Medicare bad debt.

Aligning Medicare with the Private Sector. Medicare currently reimburses hospitals for uncollected beneficiary cost sharing, or bad debt, while private payers do not typically reimburse providers for bad debt. While the intent of this policy may have been to prevent hospitals from shifting costs to other payers, limited evidence of cost shifting calls into question the need for bad debt Medicare payments.¹³ The budget resolution supports aligning Medicare with the private sector by gradually decreasing the amount that Medicare reimburses providers for bad debt, which reduces overall Medicare Trust Fund expenditures.

¹² Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, "Report to the Congress: Medicare and the Health Care Delivery System," June 2022.

¹³ Congressional Budget Office, "Options for Reducing the Deficit 2019 to 2028," December 2018 <https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2019-06/54667-budgetoptions-2.pdf>.

Streamline Support for Graduate Medical Education. The budget resolution recognizes that all Americans benefit from a strong physician work force. However, the current graduate medical education (GME) system is not meeting the Nation's needs in terms of specialty or geography, particularly for Americans in rural communities. According to the Health Resources and Services Administration, there is a projected shortage of 81,180 physicians across all specialties by 2035, an increase from the projected shortage of 56,259 by 2025.¹⁴ In rural areas alone, GAO projects a shortage of over 20,000 primary care physicians by 2025.¹⁵ Lastly, the current system fails to recognize the rapidly changing delivery model by discouraging resident training in lower cost outpatient settings.

Reforming GME to enhance accountability, transparency, flexibility, and outcomes has been advanced by the Institute of Medicine, MedPAC, and the American Enterprise Institute.¹⁶ Congress has taken steps to address physician workforce shortages, but instead of comprehensive GME reform to better target Federal resources, Federal support has simply been expanded.

Additionally, the current system is inefficient, and the complexity of payment formulas indexed to a hospital's inpatient volume has made accountability and oversight next to impossible. As MedPAC noted in 2021, the current GME payment policy linked to a hospital's inpatient volume discourages medical resident training in lower cost outpatient settings. MedPAC goes on to note, "Medicare overpays teaching hospitals for their indirect costs of medical education in inpatient settings and underpays for their costs in outpatient settings."¹⁷

Accordingly, by streamlining GME payments, incentivizing training in lower-cost outpatient settings and in rural or physician shortage areas, the budget resolution supports streamlining GME payments, providing greater flexibility for teaching institutions and states to develop innovative and cost-effective approaches to medical education. This will allow us to train more physicians to better meet our Nation's needs.

¹⁴ Health Resources and Services Administration, "Physician Workforce: Projections, 2020–2035," November 2022, <https://bhwh.hrsa.gov/sites/default/files/bureau-health-workforce/Physicians-Projections-Factsheet.pdf>.

¹⁵ Government Accountability Office, "Physician Workforce: Locations and Types of Graduate Training Were Largely Unchanged, and Federal Efforts May Not Be Sufficient to Meet Needs," May 25, 2017, report no. GAO–17–411, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-17-411.pdf>.

¹⁶ American Enterprise Institute, "Moving the Financing of Graduate Medical Education into the 21st Century," August 2020, <https://www.aei.org/articles/moving-the-financing-of-graduate-medical-education-into-the-21st-century/>; Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, "Graduate Medical Education that Meets the Nation's Health Needs," July 29, 2014: <http://www.nap.edu/read/18754/chapter/1#xi>.

¹⁷ Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, Report to Congress, "Revising Medicare's Indirect Medical Education Payments to Better Reflect Teaching Hospitals' Costs," June 2021, https://www.medpac.gov/wp-content/uploads/import_data/scrape_files/docs/default-source/default-document-library/jun21_ch6_medpac_report_to_congress_sec.pdf.

FUNCTION 600: INCOME SECURITY

Function Summary

Function 600 encompasses a variety of programs aimed at providing support across different aspects of income security. These programs are organized into six primary categories: general retirement and disability insurance, Federal employee retirement and disability (including military retirement), unemployment compensation, housing assistance, nutrition assistance, and an assortment of other income security programs. These programs cover a wide range of services and benefits designed to address various needs related to retirement, housing, nutrition, and financial stability.

Discretionary programs within this function include housing assistance programs such as tenant-based and project-based rental assistance, the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC).

Mandatory programs in Function 600 include the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), refundable tax credits, child nutrition programs, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Supplemental Security Income, Federal civilian and military retirement benefits, and Unemployment Compensation. Spending levels for these programs are determined by eligibility criteria and formulas set in law.

Mandatory spending includes a range of programs offering financial assistance, nutritional support, and retirement benefits. This includes SNAP, which provides nutrition assistance, and TANF, which offers temporary financial help and services aimed at employment. Federal retirement programs cover civilian and military personnel, providing retirement and disability benefits.

According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) February 2024 baseline excluding emergencies, the budget authority for discretionary programs in Function 600 for 2024 is projected to constitute six percent of the total discretionary budget. Meanwhile, outlays for mandatory programs in Function 600 for the same year are expected to represent 16 percent of total non-interest mandatory spending, excluding undistributed offsetting receipts. In the discretionary category, programs provide assistance with housing, nutrition, and energy costs, addressing the needs of low-income individuals and families.

Tax expenditures related to Function 600 include benefits such as the exclusion of pension contributions and earnings and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) and Child Tax Credit (CTC), which are designed to support income security through the tax

code. These tax expenditures are an integral part of the fiscal landscape within this function.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for \$672.5 billion in budget authority and \$664.3 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$102.0 billion in budget authority and \$104.4 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$570.5 billion in budget authority and \$559.8 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$6.6 trillion and \$6.5 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The main authorizing committees responsible for funding programs under Function 600 are the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Agriculture, the Committee on Oversight and Accountability, and the Committee on Education and the Workforce. Discretionary funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations across multiple subcommittees. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Strengthen Welfare Work Requirements. Welfare reforms in the 1990s led to substantial declines in poverty, increases in work, and decreases in government dependency. This budget resolution calls for reforms to restore and strengthen TANF work requirements so states will engage more recipients in activities leading to self-sufficiency. This budget resolution also calls for strengthening the work requirements for able-bodied adults without dependents in other welfare programs, such as SNAP and public housing programs. Closing loopholes in the Federal law that allow many states to waive work requirements will promote opportunity and reduce dependency.

Improve Program Integrity and Modernization. Many welfare programs are decades old and have never been seriously reevaluated or modernized. In 2023 alone, the Federal Government made at least \$236 billion in improper payments, many of which were in welfare programs.¹⁸ The budget resolution would implement a range of reforms to modernize and improve programs, including requiring Social Security numbers for all EITC and CTC payments in addition to requiring accountability from states and reporting on their use of Federal funds. SNAP eligibility enforcement would be strengthened by ending the broad-based categorical eligibility loophole and ending the heat and eat loophole.

Reinstate the Public Charge Rule. Longstanding immigration law states that an alien is “inadmissible” if he or she is “likely at any time to become a public charge.”¹⁹ The Trump Administration implemented a rule in 2019 to ensure that determinations took into

¹⁸ Government Accountability Office, “Improper Payments: Information on Agencies’ Fiscal Year 2023 Estimates,” report no. GAO-24-106927, March 26, 2024, <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-24-106927>.

¹⁹ Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 89-236, 79 Stat. 911 (1965).

consideration whether an immigrant was likely to rely on government assistance programs, such as Medicaid, SNAP, and housing programs. However, the Biden Administration repealed this rule. This budget resolution would reinstate the 2019 rule to protect taxpayers.

Reform Civil Service Pensions. This budget resolution adopts a policy proposed by former President Obama's National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility. The policy calls for Federal employees, including Members of Congress and staff, to make greater contributions toward their own defined benefit retirement plans. It would also end the "special retirement supplement," which pays Federal employees the equivalent of their Social Security benefit at an earlier age. It recognizes the need for new Federal employees to transition to a defined contribution retirement system, due to the cost of the program. Additionally, it creates parity with private sector retirement plans, which are often defined contribution plans. These plans put the ownership, flexibility, and portfolio risk on the employee as opposed to the employer. Similarly, Federal employees would have more control over their own retirement security under this option.

Reform the 2021 Reevaluation of Thrifty Food Plan. President Biden's 2021 revision to the Thrifty Food Plan (TFP) was careless, ill-conceived, and poorly executed, resulting in a cost estimate of \$300 billion over ten years. At the request of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) conducted a legal review of President Biden's reevaluated TFP. GAO found that the Department of Agriculture's actions violated the Congressional Review Act, which requires government agencies to submit significant policy updates to Congress.

FUNCTION 650: SOCIAL SECURITY

Function Summary

Function 650 consists of the Social Security program, including Old Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) benefits and Disability Insurance (DI) benefits. Social Security is the largest program in terms of dollars in the Federal Government's budget and is almost entirely mandatory spending.

DI provides income support for almost nine million persons with disabilities and their families who have not yet reached retirement age.²⁰ Similar to OASI, DI is funded primarily through payroll tax revenues.

OASI provides retirement benefits to more than 57 million older Americans or their surviving spouses and children.²¹ Benefits for current recipients are funded primarily through payroll taxes paid by current workers, and the size of the benefit is based on the beneficiary's earning history. The Congressional Budget Office projects the OASI Trust Fund will be insolvent in 2033.²² The Social Security Trustees project the OASI Trust Fund will be depleted in 2033, at which time the Fund will only be able to cover 79 percent of its scheduled benefits.²³

This budget resolution calls for bipartisan action to solve this pressing problem by creating a fiscal commission to save Social Security and ensure long-term program sustainability.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

Social Security contains both on-budget and off-budget spending—the latter consisting of benefit payments for the OASI and DI programs. In fiscal year 2025, on-budget spending totals \$61.9 billion in budget authority and \$61.9 billion in outlays. The 10-year on-budget totals \$897.0 billion in budget authority and \$897.0 billion in outlays.

For off-budget spending, the budget resolution calls for \$1.5 trillion in budget authority and \$1.5 trillion in outlays for fiscal year 2025. The 10-year off-budget totals are \$19.2 trillion in budget authority and \$19.1 trillion in outlays.

²⁰ Social Security Administration, "Annual Statistical Supplement to the Social Security Bulletin, 2023," November 2023, www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/statcomps/supplement/2023/supplement23.pdf.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Congressional Budget Office, "The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2024 to 2034," February 7, 2024, <https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2024-02/59710-Outlook-2024.pdf>.

²³ The Board Of Trustees, Federal Old-Age And Survivors Insurance and Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds, "The 2024 Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-Age And Survivors Insurance and Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds," May 6, 2024, <https://www.ssa.gov/OACT/TR/2024/tr2024.pdf>.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committee of jurisdiction for Function 650 is the Committee on Ways and Means. Discretionary funding is provided by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies.

Work Together to Save Social Security. With the OASI Trust Fund projected to be depleted within a decade, bipartisan action is needed to save the program from insolvency. Social Security should not be used as a political weapon. Instead, the President, the Senate, and the House must work collaboratively and respectfully together for real solutions for current beneficiaries and future generations.

This budget resolution recommends the creation of a bipartisan fiscal commission, consistent with H.R. 5779, the Fiscal Commission Act of 2024, as amended, to bring all sides together to identify policies to improve the Nation's fiscal trajectory, fix the insolvency of Social Security, and focus on the U.S. Government's long-term unfunded liabilities, in a depoliticized and responsible way.

FUNCTION 700: VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES

Function Summary

Function 700 includes discretionary and mandatory spending for veterans' benefits and services. Discretionary accounts fund medical care, medical research, construction programs, information technology, and general operating expenses, among other activities. Mandatory spending funds the new Toxic Exposures Fund, disability compensation, pensions, vocational rehabilitation and employment, education, life insurance, housing, and burial benefits, among other benefits and services.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for \$379.8 billion in budget authority and \$374.0 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$157.6 billion in budget authority and \$155.3 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals \$222.3 billion in budget authority and \$218.7 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$4.8 trillion and \$4.8 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The primary committees of jurisdiction for this function include the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies. The Committee on the Budget's authority applies solely to the budgetary parameters for each committee of jurisdiction. This budget resolution makes no changes to discretionary or mandatory spending in Function 700.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Veterans are a top priority in this budget resolution. Within the overall discretionary spending topline, the budget resolution provides the necessary resources to the Department of Veterans Affairs.

FUNCTION 750: ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Function Summary

The principal activities in Function 750 include Federal law enforcement programs, litigation and judicial activities, correctional operations, and border security. Function 750 includes most of the Department of Justice (DOJ) and several components of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Other agencies funded in this function include the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Drug Enforcement Administration; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives; the United States Attorneys; legal divisions within the DOJ; the Legal Services Corporation (LSC); the Federal Judiciary; and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The small amount of mandatory spending in the function funds certain immigration activities, the Crime Victims Fund, the Assets Forfeiture Fund, and the Treasury Forfeiture Fund.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$82.7 billion in budget authority and \$83.6 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. Of that total, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$80.2 billion in budget authority and \$77.3 billion in outlays. Mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals \$2.5 billion in budget authority and \$6.3 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$930.1 billion and \$905.9 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committees of jurisdiction for this function include the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Homeland Security. Funding is provided by the Appropriations Subcommittees on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Activities, and Homeland Security. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

DISCRETIONARY SPENDING

Secure the Border. Since taking office, President Biden has systematically dismantled effective border enforcement strategies. The Biden Administration has caused a surge of illegal alien encounters at the southwest border, created vulnerabilities that criminal aliens and gangs exploit to the detriment of Americans, and re-

leased en masse large numbers of illegal aliens who are unlikely to ever be found eligible for asylum.

This budget resolution provides the necessary resources to DHS to deter and prevent illegal immigration, secure the border, and effectively control the entry and exit of permanent and temporary workers and other valid visa holders.

Eliminate the Legal Services Corporation (LSC). The LSC is an independent nonprofit organization that provides Federal funding for legal aid to low-income individuals. It is the duty of state and local governments to provide legal services to those individuals unable to provide it for themselves. Local jurisdictions are more aware of their citizens' needs and can provide more responsive services than the Federal Government.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Permanently Extend Customs User Fees. The Consolidated Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1985 authorized U.S. Customs and Border Protection to collect user fees for various services, including processing fees for air and sea passengers, commercial trucks, rail cars, and other commercial vessels. The budget resolution assumes the U.S. Customs and Border Protection continues to collect customs user fees through fiscal year 2034, the last year of the budget window. This budget resolution assumes making these customs user fees permanent.

FUNCTION 800: GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Function Summary

Function 800 includes the activities of the White House and the Executive Office of the President, the legislative branch, and programs designed to carry out the legislative and administrative responsibilities of the Federal Government, including fiscal operations, personnel management, and real estate and other property management activities. Other major departments and agencies that comprise Function 800 include the U.S. Department of the Treasury, the General Services Administration, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the Federal Election Commission, the Library of Congress, the Government Accountability Office, and certain funding for the District of Columbia.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for –\$50.1 billion in budget authority and \$25.7 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals \$21.9 billion in budget authority and \$21.5 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending totals –\$72.0 billion in budget authority and \$4.2 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are \$256.8 billion and \$334.5 billion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

The authorizing committees of jurisdiction for Function 800 programs include the Committee on Oversight and Accountability, Committee on Natural Resources, and the Committee on House Administration. Funding is provided primarily by the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Legislative Branch, Subcommittee on Financial Services and General Government, and Subcommittee on Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies. Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Dismantling President Biden’s Army of IRS Agents. The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) allocates \$80 billion in new funding for the IRS—more than six times the agency’s annual budget. Included in the \$80 billion is funding that was originally intended to hire 87,000 new IRS agents under the guise of closing the tax gap. A Congressional Budget Office analysis determined that returning audit levels to “historic levels,” as directed by Treasury Secretary

Janet Yellen, would result in more audits and increased taxes on those making less than \$400,000. The best way to ensure tax compliance is to simplify the tax code, not supercharge the bureaucracy.

FUNCTION 900: NET INTEREST

Function Summary

As the Federal Government runs chronic deficits and adds to its debt, it continues running up interest costs. These payments provide no benefits and finance no government service or operations. They are simply excess costs resulting from a history of spending beyond the government's means. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), if government programs are not reformed, net interest payments are projected to increase from \$870 billion in fiscal year 2024 to \$1.6 trillion in fiscal year 2034.²⁴ In fiscal year 2024, CBO projects interest on the debt will become the government's third largest budget line item, following only Social Security and Medicare.

These costs are reflected in Function 900, which presents the interest paid for the Federal Government's borrowing minus the interest received by the Federal Government from trust fund investments and loans to the public. It is a mandatory payment, in the truest sense of the word, with no policy options and no discretionary components.

Reducing interest costs will require sustained spending restraint. This budget resolution provides such restraint, and it reduces net interest spending by \$2.7 trillion over ten years compared to the CBO baseline.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for \$931.1 billion in mandatory spending for net interest payments in fiscal year 2025. Over ten years, interest payments are expected to total \$9.7 trillion.

On-budget mandatory spending—or net interest payments unrelated to Social Security—totals \$988.4 billion in fiscal year 2025 and \$10.1 trillion over ten years. The on-budget figure is larger than the Function 900 total because the former is offset by off-budget interest payments to the Social Security Trust Fund. These off-budget payments are presented as negative numbers, as they reflect money coming into, rather than flowing out of, the U.S. Treasury. Off-budget mandatory spending is $-\$57.3$ billion in fiscal year 2025 and $-\$382.6$ billion over ten years.

²⁴ Congressional Budget Office, "The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2024 to 2034," February 2024, <https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2024-02/59710-Outlook-2024.pdf>.

FUNCTION 920: ALLOWANCES

Function Summary

Function 920 is a category called “allowances” that represents a placeholder for any budgetary impacts that the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has yet to assign to a specific budget function. CBO typically reassigns the budgetary effects of any legislation enacted within Function 920 once a new baseline update is released.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The CBO baseline for Function 920 includes reductions of \$1.1 trillion in budget authority and \$1.0 trillion in outlays over ten years, which is reflected in the budget resolution.

FUNCTION 930: GOVERNMENT-WIDE SAVINGS

Function Summary

A number of policies assumed in the budget resolution cut across multiple agencies or functional categories, and have government-wide effects. These are reflected in Function 930 and include changes in the Federal civilian workforce or reductions in the Federal Government's improper payments. For ease of understanding, the budget employs this function, Government-Wide Savings, to describe these assumptions.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

In fiscal year 2025, the budget resolution calls for –\$164.3 billion in budget authority and –\$63.7 billion in outlays. Of that total, discretionary spending totals –\$33.2 billion in budget authority and –\$18.2 billion in outlays, and mandatory spending in fiscal year 2025 totals –\$131.1 billion in budget authority and –\$45.6 billion in outlays. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are –\$4.5 trillion and –\$3.8 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Assume Savings in Budget Control Act (BCA) Continue. The BCA established an automatic enforcement mechanism—commonly known as a sequester—to ensure a promised level of savings from that law would be actually realized.²⁵ These savings were first implemented in 2013 and are scheduled to continue through 2032. The budget resolution proposes to extend the savings created by the BCA through 2034.

Repeal Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) Climate Spending. The IRA included significant levels of Federal funding in the form of tax incentives, grants, and loan guarantees to fight climate change by investing in clean energy and infrastructure. Over \$100 billion is reserved for increased loan authority and grant programs at the Department of Energy and various other agencies for office building efficiency programs, electrification, transmission, and other climate measures. The Environmental Protection Agency received its own

²⁵ Budget Control Act of 2011, Pub. L. No. 112–25, 125 Stat. 240 (2011).

\$27 billion “climate bank” slush fund to spend taxpayer dollars on green projects across the country. The climate measures in the IRA are not paid for, dramatically raise the cost of energy, harm reliable American energy sources, and subsidize President Biden’s green campaign donor companies.

Align the G-Fund Investment Return with an Appropriate Risk Profile. The budget resolution assumes savings by correctly aligning the rate of return on U.S. Treasury securities within the Federal Employee Retirement System’s Thrift Savings Plan with its investment risk profile. Securities within the G-Fund are not subject to risk of default. Payment of principal and interest is guaranteed by the U.S. Government. Yet, the interest rate paid is equivalent to a long-term security. As a result, those who participate in the G-Fund are rewarded with a long-term rate on what is essentially a short-term security.

Reduce Government-Wide Improper Payments by 50 Percent. Government-wide improper payments totaled an astounding \$236 billion in 2023, the fourth consecutive year Federal improper payments have exceeded \$200 billion. The budget resolution supports reducing government-wide improper payments by 50 percent within the next ten years. Improper payments can be reduced by requiring all Federal programs to annually report improper payment rates, streamlining the processes and mechanisms through which information is shared between Federal agencies, implementing new technologies and improving identity verification, incentivizing states and Federal agencies to comply with anti-fraud rules, and strengthening accountability standards for agencies with continued improper payments.

FUNCTION 950: UNDISTRIBUTED OFFSETTING RECEIPTS

Function Summary

Offsetting receipts to the Treasury are recorded in this function as negative budget authority and outlays. These receipts are either intra-budgetary (a payment from one Federal agency to another, such as agency payments to the retirement trust funds) or proprietary (a payment from the public for some kind of business transaction with the Federal Government). The main types of receipts presented are the payments Federal agencies make to employee retirement and health care funds; payments made by companies for the right to explore and produce oil and gas on the Outer Continental Shelf; and payments by those who bid for the right to buy or use public property or resources, such as the electromagnetic spectrum. The function also contains an off-budget component that reflects the Federal Government's share of Social Security contributions for Federal employees.

Summary of Committee-Reported Resolution

The budget resolution calls for –\$130.5 billion in budget authority and –\$134.0 billion in outlays in fiscal year 2025. The 10-year totals for budget authority and outlays are –\$1.5 trillion and –\$1.6 trillion, respectively.

Illustrative Policy Options

Below are options the committees of jurisdiction may wish to consider when making final policy and funding decisions.

MANDATORY SPENDING

Federal Land. Currently, the Federal Government owns nearly 650 million acres of land—almost 30 percent of the land area of the United States. In addition to Federal real-property reform, this budget resolution supports examining Federal lands, in consultation with state and local communities, to identify where certain lands may be more efficiently managed by states and localities, thus reducing the burden on the Federal Government. Excluded from this policy are National Parks, wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, and wild and scenic rivers.

Active Management of Electromagnetic Spectrum. Since 1994, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has auctioned certifications and permits for electromagnetic spectrum, which provides wireless and broadcast services throughout the Nation. The auc-

tions are available to any qualified company or entity, within the public or private sectors, that applies and provides upfront compensation. The FCC has been committed to providing these opportunities to the public and private sectors while encouraging Federal consumers to consolidate their spectrum usage and management. This budget resolution spurs the continued work of the FCC in recognizing specific bandwidths and providing frequency availability to the public and private market. As communication technology continues to improve, and wireless carriers grow and embrace more fifth generation systems (5G), the Federal Government must provide proactive oversight over spectrum and bandwidth capacity without barring further innovation.

REVENUE AND TAX REFORM

Summary of Revenue Projections

For the purpose of the budget resolution, revenues encompasses all collected tax monies, fees and fines, and customs duties. The budget resolution assumes the Congressional Budget Office's (CBO) projections for revenue levels while providing for the extension of expiring provisions the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017 (TCJA) and other improvements to the tax code.

The budget resolution assumes \$5.0 trillion in revenues in fiscal year 2025. The 10-year total projection for revenues is \$62.6 trillion.

Tax Cuts and Jobs Act

The TCJA made sweeping changes to the way tax law impacts Americans.²⁶ The goal of tax reform was to advance a bold, pro-growth overhaul of the Nation's tax code for the first time in over three decades. In reality, the TCJA accomplished that and much more, leading to more jobs, higher productivity, bigger paychecks for American families, and a stronger economy.

On the individual income side, the 2017 tax reform lowered individual taxes and doubled the standard deduction from \$6,500 and \$13,000 to \$12,000 and \$24,000 for individuals and married couples, respectively. These two changes enable Americans to keep more of their hard-earned paychecks. For example, a typical American family earning the median income saw a tax cut of \$2,059.²⁷ This is more than \$2,000 in the pockets of Americans—money that eases the strain of inflation on daily home budgeting.

On the business side, the TCJA lowered the corporate tax rate to 21 percent, down from 35 percent. This was vital to ensure American headquartered employers could remain internationally competitive. It enables businesses to grow and expand by allowing them to write off immediately the full cost of new. The TJCA eliminated the Corporate Alternative Minimum Tax and modernized the international tax structure. Taken together, these and other corporate tax reforms have already and will continue to provide widespread relief for job creators, helping expand the American economy—and expand opportunity in the process.

After the TCJA, American workers enjoyed the fastest wage growth in a decade. This spread to Americans across the income

²⁶ Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017, Pub. L. No. 115–97, 131 Stat. 2239 (2017).

²⁷ House Committee on Ways and Means and Senate Committee on Finance, “Tax Cuts & Jobs Act: Taxpayer Examples,” House and Senate Conference Committee Resources, https://waysandmeans.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/TCJA_TaxpayerExamples121817.pdf.

distribution, with lower-wage workers experiencing 50 percent higher wage growth than high-income workers.²⁸ Higher wages lead to a rapid growth in household income. In just the two years after enactment of the tax cuts, real median household income rose by over \$5,000.²⁹ In total, TCJA's pro-growth policies helped contribute to 2.9 percent growth in 2018 and 2.3 percent growth in 2019—well above CBO's pre-TCJA projections of 2.2 percent and 1.7 percent, respectively.

Making Tax Relief Permanent and Advancing Pro-Growth Tax Reform

The Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction on revenue measures.

While the TCJA has proven very successful, several of the law's most important provisions are not permanent policy. Much of the tax relief for families is set to expire. Vital provisions that removed tax disincentives for business investment have already expired or are phasing out, including expensing for capital expenditures (also known as bonus depreciation), expensing for research and development costs, and deductions for interest expenses.

This budget resolution includes a reserve fund to advance additional pro-growth tax reforms and improve the tax code.

²⁸The White House, "Two Years On, Tax Cuts Continue Boosting the United States Economy," December 20, 2019, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/press-release-two-years-tax-cuts-continue-boosting-the-united-states-economy>.

²⁹House Committee on Ways and Means, "Six Key Hearing Moments—Expanding on the Success of the 2017 Trump Tax Cuts," April 12, 2024, <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/2024/04/12/six-key-hearing-moments-expanding-on-the-success-of-the-2017-trump-tax-cuts/>.

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
National Defense											
Deduction for overnight-travel expenses of national guard and reserve members.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.5
Exclusion of military disability benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.8
Exclusion of combat pay.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.2	4.9
Exclusion of benefits and allowances to armed forces personnel.....	---	---	---	---	---	6.4	6.7	6.9	7.3	8.0	35.4
International Affairs											
Election to deduct foreign taxes instead of a credit.....	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.1	2.9	---	---	---	---	---	14.2
Deduction for foreign-derived intangible income derived from trade or business within the United States.....	12.7	13.0	14.5	13.9	12.2	---	---	---	---	---	66.3
Reduced tax rate on active income of controlled foreign corporations.....	50.9	51.8	47.1	36.5	31.9	---	---	---	---	---	218.2
Exclusion of foreign earned income:											
Salary.....	---	---	---	---	---	5.2	5.5	5.9	6.3	6.7	29.6
Housing.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	3.5
Exclusion of certain allowances for Federal employees abroad.....	---	---	---	---	---	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.9	9.0
Exclusion of certain income of CFCs under 951 and 951A.....	1.3	1.4	1.5	2.1	2.7	---	---	---	---	---	9.0
Special rules for interest-charge domestic international sales corporations.....	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	10.1
Election to be taxed on notional shipping income based on tonnage.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	---	---	---	---	---	0.5
General Science, Space, and Technology											
Credit for increasing research activities (section 41).....	18.0	20.0	21.6	23.1	24.4	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.6	118.0

Table 6. —Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 [1] — Continued

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total	
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023-27	2023-27
Energy												
Residential clean energy credit.....	---	---	---	---	---	3.6	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.5	13.1	13.1
Energy efficient home improvement credit.....	---	---	---	---	---	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	12.4	12.4
Credits for alternative technology vehicles:												
Clean vehicle credit.....	---	---	---	---	---	3.1	3.3	3.7	4.2	4.8	19.0	19.0
Credit for qualified commercial clean vehicles.....	1.7	2.5	3.0	3.5	4.2	---	---	---	---	---	14.9	14.9
Credit for production of clean hydrogen [4].....	0.1	0.4	0.7	1.4	2.0	---	---	---	---	---	4.7	4.7
Clean fuel production [4].....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	6.7	6.7
Credits for electricity production from renewable resources (section 45):												
Wind.....	4.2	5.9	7.3	9.1	11.0	[2]	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	39.3	39.3
Credit for carbon oxide sequestration.....	[2]	0.5	0.8	1.3	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	4.8	4.8
Energy credit (section 48):												
Solar.....	6.1	11.7	15.9	20.2	7.3	1.1	2.2	3.0	3.8	1.4	72.6	72.6
Fuel Cells.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.4	0.4
Energy storage.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.4	0.4
Qualified biogas property.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.4	0.4
Qualified interconnection property.....	0.7	1.2	1.4	1.7	1.6	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.3	0.3	8.0	8.0
Qualified Sec 45 property.....	[2]	[2]	0.5	2.5	3.4	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.5	0.6	7.9	7.9
Clean electricity ITC.....	---	---	---	[2]	12.3	---	---	---	[2]	2.4	14.8	14.8
Credit for alternative fuel vehicle refueling property.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.4	0.4
Credit for construction of energy-efficient new homes.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	1.1	1.1
Advanced manufacturing production credit.....	5.5	10.2	18.5	18.8	19.8	---	---	---	---	---	72.7	72.7
Advanced manufacturing investment credit.....	2.6	6.6	8.1	8.1	5.3	---	---	---	---	---	30.7	30.7
Zero emission nuclear power production credit.....	---	1.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	---	---	---	---	---	10.1	10.1
Amortization of geological and geophysical expenditures associated with oil and gas exploration.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.7	0.7
Depreciation recovery periods for energy-specific items [7]:												
Five-year MACRS for certain energy property (solar, wind, etc.).....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.5	0.5

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
10-year MACRS for smart electric distribution property.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
15-year MACRS for certain electric transmission property.....	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
15-year MACRS for natural gas distribution line.....	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
Amortization of air pollution control facilities.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
Excess of percentage over cost depletion:											
Oil and gas.....	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	3.8
Other fuels.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6
Expensing of exploration and development costs:											
Oil and gas.....	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	3.3
Exceptions for publicly-traded partnership with qualified income derived from certain energy-related activities.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	2.8
Natural Resources and Environment											
Expensing of timber-growing costs.....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	1.5
Amortization and expensing of reforestation expenditures.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Treatment of income from exploration and mining of natural resources as qualifying income under the publicly-traded partnership rules.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Agriculture											
Two-year carryback period for net operating losses attributable to farming.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5
Expensing of soil and water conservation expenditures.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Expensing by farmers for fertilizer and soil conditioner costs.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.7
Income averaging for farmers and fishermen.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0
Commerce and Housing											
Exclusion of State and local government private activity bonds for broadband.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.3
Reduced rates of tax on dividends and long-term capital gains.....	---	---	---	---	---	265.1	241.9	231.1	238.8	242.7	1,219.6
Credit for low-income housing.....	12.6	13.4	14.2	15.0	15.8	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	72.0
Credit for employer-paid FICA taxes on tips.....	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	8.1
Credit for rehabilitation of historic structures.....	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	8.4

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total	
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023-27	2023-27
Exclusion of capital gains on sales of principal residences.....	---	---	---	---	---	38.4	38.1	39.7	41.8	43.9	202.0	
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for rental housing.....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	5.9	
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for owner-occupied housing [8].....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	4.1	
Exclusion of interest on State and local government small-issue qualified private activity bonds.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	
Limitation on deduction for FDIC premiums*.....	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.6	-1.6	---	---	---	---	---	-7.7	
Deduction for mortgage interest on owner-occupied residences.....	---	---	---	---	---	24.7	25.4	25.6	81.3	100.6	257.6	
Exclusion of income attributable to the discharge of principal residence acquisition indebtedness.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.2	0.2	0.2	---	---	0.6	
Limitation on net interest deduction to 30 percent of adjusted taxable income*.....	-16.1	-17.5	-18.6	-20.0	-21.9	-1.5	-1.6	-1.7	-1.8	-2.0	-102.7	
Depreciation of equipment in excess of the alternative depreciation system [7].....	37.3	12.8	-6.0	-17.2	-24.6	18.9	7.1	-1.8	-6.8	-12.3	7.3	
Depreciation of rental housing in excess of alternative depreciation system.....	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	5.6	5.1	4.7	4.4	4.4	27.4	
Depreciation of buildings other than rental housing in excess of alternative depreciation system.....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	3.6	
Limit NOL deduction*.....	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	-2.3	
Insurance companies (other than life insurance companies) two-year NOL carryback.....	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.7	3.9	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	19.9	
Expensing under section 179 of depreciable business property.....	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.0	5.2	6.3	6.3	7.6	8.8	38.4	
Expensing of magazine circulation expenditures.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.3	
Amortization of business startup costs.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.3	
Expensing of costs to remove architectural and transportation barriers to the handicapped and elderly.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.3	
20-percent deduction for qualified business income.....	---	---	---	---	---	55.7	57.6	60.9	24.9	---	199.0	

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Distributions in redemption of stock to pay various taxes imposed at death.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Cash accounting, other than agriculture.....	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	3.0	3.3	16.8
Deferral of certain advance payments.....	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	9.7
Deferral of gain on non-dealer installment sales.....	4.4	4.7	5.0	5.3	5.6	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	32.2
Completed contract rules.....	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	5.1
Limitation on active passthrough losses in excess of \$500,000/\$250,000*.....	---	---	---	---	---	-34.7	-35.9	-35.4	-34.6	-31.7	-172.2
Inventory methods and valuation:											
Last in first out.....	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	7.6
Lower of cost or market.....	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.3
Exemption of credit union income.....	2.6	2.8	3.0	3.3	3.5	---	---	---	---	---	15.2
Special treatment of life insurance company reserves.....	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	---	---	---	---	---	11.9
Tax-exempt status and election to be taxed only on investment income for certain small property and casualty insurance companies.....	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	11.8
Proration for property and casualty insurance companies.....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	---	---	---	---	---	1.1
Special deduction for Blue Cross and Blue Shield companies.....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	---	---	---	---	---	1.6
Interest rate and discounting period assumptions for reserves of property and casualty insurance companies.....	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	8.4
Exclusion of capital gains at death.....	---	---	---	---	---	57.9	58.4	60.6	64.1	67.9	308.9
Carryover basis of appreciated property transferred by gift.....	---	---	---	---	---	2.1	1.5	8.6	4.8	0.1	17.2
Deferral of gain on like-kind exchanges.....	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1	9.1	8.5	8.2	7.7	7.5	46.8
Exclusion of gain from certain small business stock.....	---	---	---	---	---	7.3	6.7	6.6	6.7	7.1	34.4
Income recognition rule for gain or loss from section 1256 contracts.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	2.3	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.9	10.6
Exemptions from imputed interest rules.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	6.2
Surtax on net investment income*.....	---	---	---	---	---	-57.3	-54.2	-53.3	-53.5	-54.6	-273.0

Table 6.-- Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Minimum rate of interest for certain determinations related to life insurance contracts.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	1.4
Transportation											
Treatment of employer-paid transportation benefits (parking, van pools, and transit passes; black car services).....	-3.2	-3.3	-3.4	-3.5	-3.6	7.7	8.0	8.2	8.5	8.9	24.3
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for private airports, docks, and mass-commuting facilities.....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	4.3
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for highway projects and rail-truck transfer facilities.....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8
Deferral of tax on capital construction funds of shipping companies.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
Railroad track maintenance credit 40-percent rate.....	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	---	---	---	---	---	1.2
Community and Regional Development											
Empowerment zone tax incentives.....	0.2	0.2	0.2	---	---	0.2	0.2	0.2	---	---	1.0
New markets tax credit.....	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	6.8
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for sewage, water, and hazardous waste facilities.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.4
Recovery zone economic development bonds [3][4][9].....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.0
Qualified opportunity zones*.....	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.3	-5.2	4.3	4.3	4.5	1.4	-23.9	-11.3
National disaster relief.....	Estimate Contained in Other Provisions										
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services											
<i>Education and training:</i>											
Credits for tuition for post-secondary education [4].....	---	---	---	---	---	14.2	14.1	14.0	14.1	14.0	70.3
Credit for holders of qualified zone academy bonds [3][4][5].....	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8
Qualified school construction bonds [3][4][5].....	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	3.0
Deduction for teacher classroom expenses.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.1

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Exclusion of income attributable to the discharge of certain student loan debt and certain Federal and State education loan repayment programs.....	---	---	---	---	---	7.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	11.5
Exclusion of scholarship and fellowship income.....	---	---	---	---	---	4.7	4.9	5.1	6.0	6.4	27.1
Exclusion of employer-provided tuition reduction benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.8
Exclusion of employer-provided education assistance benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.4	7.8
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for private nonprofit and qualified public educational facilities.....	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.2	13.0
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for student loans.....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	1.3
Deduction for charitable contributions to educational institutions.....	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	7.4	7.8	8.2	9.8	13.5	53.0
Deduction for interest on student loans.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.2	2.7	2.5	3.0	3.2	11.6
Exclusion of tax on earnings of qualified tuition programs: Prepaid tuition programs.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.3
Savings account programs.....	---	---	---	---	---	4.4	4.9	5.1	5.7	6.1	26.3
Exclusion of earnings of Coverdell education savings accounts.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.4
Employment: Credit for family and medical leave.....	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	12]	12]	12]	12]	12]	1.2
Work opportunity tax credit.....	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	8.2
Exclusion of employee awards.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.4
Exclusion of housing allowances for ministers.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	4.9
Treatment of meals and lodging (other than military).....	-1.6	-1.6	-1.7	-3.1	-2.8	10.6	10.7	10.8	10.9	11.1	43.4
Exclusion of miscellaneous fringe benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	9.5	9.8	10.2	10.6	11.0	51.0
Treatment of employee moving expenses*.....	---	---	---	---	---	-1.0	-1.0	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-5.3
Exclusion of employer-provided (on-site) gyms.....	---	---	---	---	---	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	9.9
Limits on deductible compensation [10]*.....	-3.3	-3.6	-3.9	-3.9	-4.5	---	---	---	---	---	-19.1

Table 6.—Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Treatment of meals and entertainment*	-3.2	-3.4	-3.5	-3.7	-3.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	-12.8
Disallowance of deduction for excess parachute payments (applicable if payments to a disqualified individual are contingent on a change of control of a corporation and are equal to or greater than three times the individual's annualized includible compensation) [10]*	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-1.0
Special tax provisions for employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs)	2.6	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.7	4.0	4.3	4.6	35.0
Deferral of taxation on spread on acquisition of stock under incentive stock option plans*	-0.7	-0.7	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.7
Deferral of taxation on spread on employee stock purchase plans*	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	-1.2
Exclusion of income earned by voluntary employees' beneficiary associations	---	---	---	---	---	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.5	10.5
<i>Social services:</i>											
Credit for child and dependent care and exclusion of employer-provided child care [4][11]	---	---	---	---	---	5.1	5.3	5.4	5.8	5.9	27.4
Adoption credit and employee adoption benefits exclusion	---	---	---	---	---	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.3
Credit for children and other dependents [4]	---	---	---	---	---	122.2	121.9	121.3	62.6	42.7	470.8
Exclusion of certain foster care payments	---	---	---	---	---	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	2.7
Deduction for charitable contributions, other than for education and health [12]	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.1	42.8	45.2	47.8	56.6	78.3	284.9
Health											
Subsidies for insurance purchased through health benefit exchanges [4]	---	---	---	---	---	79.8	96.1	105.7	86.5	79.5	447.7
Credit for orphan drug research	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	---	---	---	---	---	7.0
Exclusion of workers' compensation benefits (medical benefits)	---	---	---	---	---	4.2	4.4	4.7	5.7	6.3	25.4
Exclusion of employer contributions for health care, health insurance premiums, and long-term care insurance premiums [13]	---	---	---	---	---	202.1	213.4	227.5	235.0	245.5	1,123.4

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Exclusion of medical care and TRICARE medical insurance for military dependents, retirees, and retiree dependents not enrolled in Medicare.....	---	---	---	---	---	6.8	7.1	7.4	8.3	9.0	38.6
Exclusion of health insurance benefits for military retirees and retiree dependents enrolled in Medicare.....	---	---	---	---	---	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.7	4.0	16.7
Exclusion of interest on State and local government qualified private activity bonds for private nonprofit hospital facilities.....	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	7.9
Deduction for health insurance premiums and long-term care insurance premiums by the self-employed.....	---	---	---	---	---	7.0	7.7	8.4	10.8	12.2	46.0
Deduction for charitable contributions to health organizations.....	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.6	5.4	5.7	6.0	7.1	9.8	41.5
Deduction for medical expenses and long-term care expenses.....	---	---	---	---	---	9.5	10.5	11.8	20.4	24.6	76.8
Health savings accounts [14].....	---	---	---	---	---	11.5	12.7	13.9	16.3	17.8	72.2
Income Security											
Credit for certain individuals for elective deferrals and IRA contributions.....	---	---	---	---	---	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.8	3.5	9.9
Earned income credit [4].....	---	---	---	---	---	71.2	74.1	76.0	77.6	79.3	378.2
Phase out of the personal exemption and disallowance of the standard deduction against the alternative minimum tax *.....	---	---	---	---	---	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-6.8	-9.6	-17.9
Additional standard deduction for the blind and the elderly.....	---	---	---	---	---	7.2	7.6	8.1	6.3	5.8	35.0
Tax credit for qualified sick leave and family leave equivalent amounts for self-employed individuals [4].....	---	---	---	---	---	0.9	0.5	0.2	[2]	[2]	1.5
Exclusion of other employee benefits:											
Premiums on group term life insurance.....	---	---	---	---	---	3.9	4.2	4.4	4.7	5.0	22.2
Premiums on accident and disability insurance.....	---	---	---	---	---	6.2	6.5	6.6	7.5	7.9	34.7
Exclusion of amounts received under life insurance contracts.....	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	14.6	15.3	16.0	18.4	19.2	92.6

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total 2023-27
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	
Exclusion of workers' compensation benefits (disability and survivors payments).....	---	---	---	---	---	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1	15.2
Exclusion of damages on account of personal physical injuries or physical sickness.....	---	---	---	---	---	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.1	10.3
Exclusion of disaster mitigation payments.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Deduction for casualty and theft losses.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.4
Net exclusion of pension contributions and earnings: Plans covering partners and sole proprietors (sometimes referred to as "Keogh plans").....	---	---	---	---	---	14.4	15.3	16.2	19.6	21.7	87.3
Defined benefit plans.....	---	---	---	---	---	102.2	113.1	127.1	141.3	173.6	657.2
Defined contribution plans.....	---	---	---	---	---	224.5	256.0	290.3	362.4	419.1	1552.0
Individual retirement arrangements: Traditional IRAs.....	---	---	---	---	---	17.0	18.1	19.2	23.8	26.0	104.2
Roth IRAs.....	---	---	---	---	---	10.9	11.9	13.0	16.6	18.7	71.2
Social Security and Railroad Retirement Exclusion of untaxed Social Security and railroad retirement benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	45.3	47.7	50.6	53.6	64.8	261.9
Veterans' Benefits and Services Exclusion of veterans' disability compensation.....	---	---	---	---	---	14.1	14.9	15.6	17.3	20.4	82.2
Exclusion of veterans' pensions.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
Exclusion of veterans' readjustment benefits.....	---	---	---	---	---	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	6.1
General Government Build America bonds [3][4][9].....	---	---	---	---	---	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	10.3
Exclusion of interest on public purpose State and local government bonds.....	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.5	19.4	19.9	19.6	19.8	20.1	125.8
Deduction of nonbusiness State and local government taxes.....	---	---	---	---	---	21.1	21.7	22.5	139.1	187.8	392.1
Eliminate requirement that financial institutions allocate interest expense attributable to tax-exempt interest.....	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	---	---	---	---	---	2.7

Table 6.-- Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ^[1]

[Billions of Dollars]

Function	Corporations					Individuals					Total
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023-27
Interest											
Deferral of interest on savings bonds.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	3.0

Joint Committee on Taxation

NOTE: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. An "s" indicates a negative tax expenditure for the 2023 - 2027 period.

[1] Reflects legislation enacted by August 31, 2023.

[2] Positive tax expenditure of less than \$50 million.

[3] Estimate includes an outlay to State and local governments. For the purposes of this table outlays are attributed to individuals.

[4] Estimate includes refundability associated with the following

	Corporations					Individuals					Total
	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2023-27
outlay effects:	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.7	1.0	---	---	---	---	---	2.2
Clean fuel for production of clean hydrogen.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clean fuel production credit.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Recovery zone economic development bonds.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Credits for tuition for post-secondary education.....	---	---	---	---	---	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.2	4.1	21.6
Credit for holders of qualified zone academy bonds.....	---	---	---	---	---	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]
Qualified school construction bonds.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	3.0
Credit for child and dependent care and exclusion of employer-provided child care.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	3.7
Credit for children and other dependents.....	---	---	---	---	---	47.8	48.1	48.2	31.9	26.6	202.7
Subsidies for insurance purchased through health benefit exchanges.....	---	---	---	---	---	68.7	82.7	88.7	67.5	68.3	376.0
Earned income credit.....	---	---	---	---	---	62.2	64.5	66.0	66.3	67.3	326.3
Tax credit for qualified sick leave and family leave equivalent amounts for self-employed individuals.....	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Build America bonds.....	---	---	---	---	---	0.7	0.4	0.1	[2]	[2]	1.2
Authority to issue new bonds was repealed by the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, Pub. L. No. 115-97, effective for bonds issued after December 31, 2017. Amounts shown relate to outstanding bonds.	---	---	---	---	---	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	10.3

[5] Authority to issue new bonds was repealed by the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, Pub. L. No. 115-97, effective for bonds issued after December 31, 2017. Amounts shown relate to outstanding bonds.

[Footnotes for Table 1 continue on the following page]

Table 6.--Tax Expenditure Estimates By Budget Function, Fiscal Years 2023 - 2027 ⁽¹⁾

[Billions of Dollars]

Footnotes continued:

- [6] Negative tax expenditure less than \$50 million.
- [7] Includes bonus depreciation and general acceleration under MACRS.
- [8] Estimate includes effect of credit for interest on certain home mortgages (section 25).
- [9] Bonds were required to be issued before January 1, 2011. Amounts shown relate to outstanding bonds.
- [10] Estimate does not include effects of changes made by the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008.
- [11] Estimate includes employer-provided child care purchased through dependent care flexible spending accounts.
- [12] In addition to the general charitable deduction, the tax expenditure accounts for the higher percentage limitation for public charities; the fair market value deduction for related-use tangible personal property, the enhanced deduction for inventory, the fair market value deduction for publicly traded stock and exceptions to the partial interest rules.
- [13] Estimate includes employer-provided health insurance purchased through cafeteria plans and TRICARE medical insurance, which are also included in other line items on this table.
- [14] Estimate includes employer contributions made through cafeteria plans to health savings accounts, which are also included in other line items on this table.

THE PRESIDENT’S BUDGET: A BRIEF SUMMARY

SUMMARY AND MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE PRESIDENT’S FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET REQUEST ³⁰

Spending. President Biden’s budget would spend \$86.6 trillion, or 24.4 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) (16 percent above the 50-year average), over ten years. This is the highest sustained level in American history. Federal spending would exceed the pre-COVID peacetime record, as a percentage of GDP, in every year of the budget. However, defense spending would fall to the lowest level as a percentage of GDP since Pearl Harbor. Annual spending is equivalent to \$66,000 per household.

Deficits. President Biden’s budget proposes deficits of \$16.3 trillion, or 4.6 percent of GDP (24 percent above the 50-year average), over ten years. This is the highest sustained level in American history. Annual deficits never fall back to pre-COVID levels.

Taxes. President Biden’s budget proposes \$70.3 trillion, or 19.7 percent of GDP (14 percent above the 50-year average), over ten years. This is the highest sustained level in American history. By 2031, Federal taxes would be more than a fifth of GDP, a level previously only reached during the height of World War II.

Interest Payments on the Debt. President Biden’s budget proposes to spend \$12.2 trillion (3.4 percent of GDP) for interest payments on the debt, over the next ten years. This is \$2.5 trillion more than spending for national defense over the same period. By 2034, interest payments will be more than quadruple such spending before President Biden took office.

³⁰ Office of Management and Budget, The White House, “The President’s Fiscal Year 2025 Budget Request to Congress,” March 2024, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/budget_fy2025.pdf.

TABLE 7 - SUMMARY OF FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION

	[As a percentage of GDP]											Average 2021-2024
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034		
Deficit/(Surplus):												
Committee Recommendation	+5.1%	+3.9%	+2.7%	+2.1%	+1.6%	+1.1%	+0.8%	+0.5%	+0.2%	-0.1%	+1.8%	
CEO	+6.1%	+5.5%	+5.2%	+5.6%	+5.0%	+5.4%	+5.5%	+5.8%	+6.4%	+6.2%	+5.7%	
President's Budget	+6.1%	+5.1%	+4.7%	+4.7%	+4.3%	+4.6%	+4.3%	+4.3%	+4.4%	+3.9%	+4.6%	
Debt Held by the Public:												
Committee Recommendation	99.8%	98.9%	97.0%	94.6%	91.9%	88.7%	85.3%	81.9%	78.3%	74.5%	n/a	
CEO	101.7%	103.3%	104.7%	106.3%	107.4%	108.7%	110.2%	111.9%	114.0%	116.0%	n/a	
President's Budget	102.2%	103.6%	104.5%	105.3%	105.6%	106.0%	106.0%	105.9%	106.0%	105.6%	n/a	
Outlays:												
Committee Recommendation	22.1%	21.2%	20.3%	19.6%	19.3%	18.9%	18.5%	18.2%	18.0%	17.7%	19.4%	
CEO	23.1%	23.1%	23.1%	23.3%	22.9%	23.3%	23.4%	23.6%	24.2%	24.1%	23.4%	
President's Budget	24.8%	24.3%	24.2%	24.4%	24.1%	24.5%	24.3%	24.4%	24.6%	24.2%	24.4%	
Revenues:												
Committee Recommendation	16.9%	17.2%	17.4%	17.1%	17.0%	16.9%	16.8%	16.5%	16.4%	16.3%	16.9%	
CEO	17.1%	17.5%	17.9%	17.8%	17.9%	17.9%	17.9%	17.8%	17.9%	17.9%	17.8%	
President's Budget	18.7%	18.2%	19.4%	19.6%	19.8%	19.9%	20.0%	20.1%	20.2%	20.3%	19.7%	

TABLE 8 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION VS. THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET
[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal Year 2025 Budget Resolution											
	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035-2039	2035-2034
Total Spending	6,407,560	6,567,673	6,571,643	6,711,084	6,881,357	7,173,133	7,399,904	7,665,769	7,883,349	8,192,655	33,243,518	71,558,327
BA	6,536,102	6,693,743	6,641,238	6,731,560	6,951,221	7,148,223	7,383,940	7,593,397	7,852,280	8,120,563	33,444,863	71,551,566
OT												
On-Budget:	4,986,064	5,059,066	4,976,652	5,050,046	5,193,282	5,282,574	5,402,683	5,553,314	5,684,569	5,868,865	25,240,149	53,015,835
OT	5,112,487	5,092,071	5,024,300	5,021,016	5,171,200	5,286,020	5,375,556	5,484,312	5,644,312	5,844,312	25,485,115	53,015,835
Off-Budget:	1,421,496	1,508,607	1,594,992	1,681,988	1,758,076	1,860,539	1,986,941	2,110,455	2,217,379	2,323,789	8,003,369	18,542,492
OT	1,431,605	1,501,041	1,598,938	1,682,144	1,780,021	1,880,539	1,988,384	2,101,686	2,207,968	2,314,424	7,863,749	18,459,424
Revenues:												
Total	4,996,131	5,350,274	5,662,543	5,870,138	6,146,384	6,414,306	6,655,546	6,889,735	7,168,216	7,474,444	28,054,970	62,648,317
On-Budget	3,711,238	4,031,346	4,295,087	4,427,736	4,650,450	4,859,791	5,040,623	5,212,522	5,458,537	5,671,157	21,099,657	47,312,632
Off-Budget	1,284,893	1,318,928	1,367,456	1,442,402	1,496,134	1,554,515	1,615,218	1,677,213	1,709,679	1,802,927	6,945,313	15,335,685
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	-1,509,291	-1,213,169	-668,695	-722,422	-574,637	-414,037	-297,894	-215,662	-104,064	-43,881	-4,888,893	-5,876,749
Macroeconomic Fiscal Impact	20,000	30,000	90,000	140,000	230,000	320,000	410,000	490,000	580,000	690,000	510,000	5,876,749
On-Budget	-1,401,159	-1,079,555	-799,213	-620,680	-520,750	-406,239	-334,928	-281,179	-215,795	-133,622	-4,381,458	-5,739,210
Off-Budget	-1,107,132	-163,613	-199,482	-241,742	-283,887	-373,788	-473,066	-584,499	-662,689	-512,497	-1,017,436	-3,133,539
Debt Held by Public (end of year)	29,975,133	30,762,031	31,705,264	32,469,137	33,120,708	33,730,152	34,324,543	34,918,275	35,544,228	36,148,229	n.a	n.a
Debt Subject to Limit (end of year)	36,578,674	37,947,274	38,794,984	39,451,216	39,982,390	40,437,559	40,935,462	41,420,143	41,902,778	42,353,143	n.a	n.a
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	7,844,915	7,438,365	7,669,585	8,064,335	8,382,886	8,872,614	9,211,154	9,657,669	10,160,288	10,460,681	39,019,200	87,401,616
BA	7,265,963	7,419,326	7,696,576	8,082,512	8,312,842	8,804,927	9,123,383	9,543,911	10,059,540	10,315,720	38,777,285	86,634,766
OT												
On-Budget:	5,680,382	5,952,538	6,100,557	6,407,299	6,633,654	7,093,103	7,270,154	7,616,424	8,206,401	8,305,432	31,974,350	69,310,633
OT	6,989,973	5,940,639	6,135,870	6,435,068	6,571,942	6,971,668	7,191,552	7,509,076	7,919,683	8,067,361	30,982,947	68,612,791
Off-Budget:	1,409,633	1,465,708	1,559,011	1,657,086	1,749,323	1,849,411	1,941,600	2,044,437	2,146,005	2,254,299	7,864,850	18,009,083
BA	1,395,980	1,478,753	1,560,708	1,641,444	1,740,950	1,833,359	1,931,821	2,034,835	2,139,898	2,243,359	7,823,735	18,011,975
Revenues:												
Total	4,984,948	5,872,742	6,186,239	6,509,624	6,829,921	7,164,446	7,509,456	7,872,871	8,258,096	8,633,191	30,883,474	70,337,374
On-Budget	4,200,568	4,930,502	5,042,586	5,304,074	5,573,904	5,973,904	6,383,074	6,751,334	7,047,558	7,387,180	23,867,180	54,642,538
Off-Budget	1,284,380	1,342,240	1,396,789	1,467,038	1,525,847	1,590,542	1,696,382	1,722,737	1,814,532	1,886,689	7,016,294	15,684,996
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	-1,781,015	-1,546,500	-1,510,337	-1,537,288	-1,482,921	-1,440,481	-1,413,927	-1,367,104	-1,301,444	-1,267,529	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
On-Budget	-1,116,110	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
Off-Budget	-1,110	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
Debt Held by Public (end of year)	29,983,731	31,639,275	33,249,552	34,889,214	36,441,138	38,039,372	39,748,449	41,501,598	43,305,961	45,056,678	n.a	n.a
Debt Subject to Limit (end of year)	37,174,857	39,116,150	40,865,009	42,536,771	44,241,401	45,889,385	47,678,521	49,370,659	51,073,915	52,756,483	n.a	n.a
Difference												
Total Spending	6,407,560	6,567,673	6,571,643	6,711,084	6,881,357	7,173,133	7,399,904	7,665,769	7,883,349	8,192,655	33,243,518	71,558,327
BA	6,536,102	6,693,743	6,641,238	6,731,560	6,951,221	7,148,223	7,383,940	7,593,397	7,852,280	8,120,563	33,444,863	71,551,566
OT												
On-Budget:	4,986,064	5,059,066	4,976,652	5,050,046	5,193,282	5,282,574	5,402,683	5,553,314	5,684,569	5,868,865	25,240,149	53,015,835
OT	5,112,487	5,092,071	5,024,300	5,021,016	5,171,200	5,286,020	5,375,556	5,484,312	5,644,312	5,844,312	25,485,115	53,015,835
Off-Budget:	1,421,496	1,508,607	1,594,992	1,681,988	1,758,076	1,860,539	1,986,941	2,110,455	2,217,379	2,323,789	8,003,369	18,542,492
OT	1,431,605	1,501,041	1,598,938	1,682,144	1,780,021	1,880,539	1,988,384	2,101,686	2,207,968	2,314,424	7,863,749	18,459,424
Revenues:												
Total	4,996,131	5,350,274	5,662,543	5,870,138	6,146,384	6,414,306	6,655,546	6,889,735	7,168,216	7,474,444	28,054,970	62,648,317
On-Budget	3,711,238	4,031,346	4,295,087	4,427,736	4,650,450	4,859,791	5,040,623	5,212,522	5,458,537	5,671,157	21,099,657	47,312,632
Off-Budget	1,284,893	1,318,928	1,367,456	1,442,402	1,496,134	1,554,515	1,615,218	1,677,213	1,709,679	1,802,927	6,945,313	15,335,685
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	-1,509,291	-1,213,169	-668,695	-722,422	-574,637	-414,037	-297,894	-215,662	-104,064	-43,881	-4,888,893	-5,876,749
Macroeconomic Fiscal Impact	20,000	30,000	90,000	140,000	230,000	320,000	410,000	490,000	580,000	690,000	510,000	5,876,749
On-Budget	-1,401,159	-1,079,555	-799,213	-620,680	-520,750	-406,239	-334,928	-281,179	-215,795	-133,622	-4,381,458	-5,739,210
Off-Budget	-1,107,132	-163,613	-199,482	-241,742	-283,887	-373,788	-473,066	-584,499	-662,689	-512,497	-1,017,436	-3,133,539
Debt Held by Public (end of year)	29,975,133	30,762,031	31,705,264	32,469,137	33,120,708	33,730,152	34,324,543	34,918,275	35,544,228	36,148,229	n.a	n.a
Debt Subject to Limit (end of year)	36,578,674	37,947,274	38,794,984	39,451,216	39,982,390	40,437,559	40,935,462	41,420,143	41,902,778	42,353,143	n.a	n.a
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	7,844,915	7,438,365	7,669,585	8,064,335	8,382,886	8,872,614	9,211,154	9,657,669	10,160,288	10,460,681	39,019,200	87,401,616
BA	7,265,963	7,419,326	7,696,576	8,082,512	8,312,842	8,804,927	9,123,383	9,543,911	10,059,540	10,315,720	38,777,285	86,634,766
OT												
On-Budget:	5,680,382	5,952,538	6,100,557	6,407,299	6,633,654	7,093,103	7,270,154	7,616,424	8,206,401	8,305,432	31,974,350	69,310,633
OT	6,989,973	5,940,639	6,135,870	6,435,068	6,571,942	6,971,668	7,191,552	7,509,076	7,919,683	8,067,361	30,982,947	68,612,791
Off-Budget:	1,409,633	1,465,708	1,559,011	1,657,086	1,749,323	1,849,411	1,941,600	2,044,437	2,146,005	2,254,299	7,864,850	18,009,083
BA	1,395,980	1,478,753	1,560,708	1,641,444	1,740,950	1,833,359	1,931,821	2,034,835	2,139,898	2,243,359	7,823,735	18,011,975
Revenues:												
Total	4,984,948	5,872,742	6,186,239	6,509,624	6,829,921	7,164,446	7,509,456	7,872,871	8,258,096	8,633,191	30,883,474	70,337,374
On-Budget	4,200,568	4,930,502	5,042,586	5,304,074	5,573,904	5,973,904	6,383,074	6,751,334	7,047,558	7,387,180	23,867,180	54,642,538
Off-Budget	1,284,380	1,342,240	1,396,789	1,467,038	1,525,847	1,590,542	1,696,382	1,722,737	1,814,532	1,886,689	7,016,294	15,684,996
Surplus/Deficit:-												
Total	-1,781,015	-1,546,500	-1,510,337	-1,537,288	-1,482,921	-1,440,481	-1,413,927	-1,367,104	-1,301,444	-1,267,529	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
On-Budget	-1,116,110	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-1,068,933	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
Off-Budget	-1,110	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-1,366,133	-7,889,811	-16,297,322
Debt Held by Public (end of year)	29,983,731	31,639,275	33,249,552	34,889,214	36,441,138	38,039,372	39,748,449	41,501,598	43,305,961	45,056,678	n.a	n.a
Debt Subject to Limit (end of year)	37,174,857	39,116,150	40,865,009	42,536,771	44,241,401	45,889,385	47,678,521	49,370,659	51,073,915	52,756,483	n.a	n.a
Difference												
Total Spending	6,407,560	6,567,673	6,571,643	6,711,084	6,881,357	7,173,133	7,399,904	7,665,769	7,883,349	8,192,655	33,243,518	71,558,327
BA	6,536,102	6,693,743	6,641,238	6,731,560	6,951,221	7,148,223	7,383,940	7,593,397	7,852,280	8,120,563	33,444,863	71,551,566
OT												
On-Budget:	4,986,064	5,059,066	4,976,652	5,050,046	5,193,282	5,282,574	5,402,683	5,553,314	5,684,569	5,868,865	25,240,149	53,015,835
OT	5,112,487	5,092,071	5,024,300	5,021,016	5,171,200	5,286,020	5,375,556	5,484,312	5,644,312	5,844,312	25,485,115	53,015,835
Off-Budget:	1,421,496	1,508,607	1,594,992	1,681,988	1,758,076	1,860,539	1,986,941	2,110,455	2,217,379	2,323,789	8,003,369	18,542,492
OT												

TABLE 8 - FISCAL YEAR 2025 BUDGET RESOLUTION VS. THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2025-2029	2025-2034
(In millions of dollars)												
Total	271,044	333,451	641,642	850,466	938,234	1,226,464	1,315,933	1,453,378	1,497,380	1,720,410	3,004,918	10,420,483
Macroeconomic Fiscal Impact	20,000	30,000	90,000	140,000	230,000	320,000	410,000	460,000	560,000	660,000	510,000	3,000,000
On-Budget	268,146	330,562	587,207	771,802	747,118	991,535	1,009,550	1,077,763	1,260,103	1,179,237	2,704,854	8,217,043
Off-Budget	-17,102	-27,100	-35,565	-41,336	-46,834	-85,071	-97,617	-112,385	-342,723	-148,827	-209,937	-796,560
Debt Held by the Public (end of year)	-506,640	-877,344	-1,541,288	29,004,983	-3,320,410	-4,569,220	-5,903,800	-7,377,448	-9,129,006	-10,907,449	n.a.	n.a.
Debt Subject to Limit (end of year)	-595,983	-1,188,276	-2,066,023	-3,083,555	-4,339,021	-5,751,706	-7,363,359	-9,117,466	-10,811,137	-12,449,015	n.a.	n.a.

SECTION-BY-SECTION DESCRIPTION

The Fiscal Year 2025 Concurrent Resolution on the Budget establishes an overall budgetary framework. As required under the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (Budget Act), this concurrent resolution includes aggregate levels of new budget authority, outlays, revenues, the amount by which revenues should be changed, the surplus or deficit, new budget authority and outlays for each major functional category, debt held by the public, and debt subject to the statutory limit. This concurrent resolution also sets appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

This concurrent resolution also includes rulemaking provisions necessary to enforce the budget resolution, procedures for adjusting the budget resolution, provisions to accommodate legislation not assumed in the budget resolution, and certain policy assumptions underlying the budget resolution.

Section 1. Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025

Subsection (a) establishes the budget for fiscal year 2025 and each of the nine ensuing fiscal years, 2026 through 2034, at the levels that appear subsequently in the resolution, replacing all prior concurrent resolutions on the budget. Section 301(a) of the Budget Act requires the budget resolution to establish budgetary levels for the fiscal year for which such resolution is adopted and for at least each of the four ensuing fiscal years.

Subsection (b) sets out the table of contents of the budget resolution.

TITLE I—RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS

Section 101. Recommended Levels and Amounts

Section 101, as required by section 301 of the Budget Act, establishes the recommended levels for revenue, the amount by which revenue should be changed, total new budget authority, total outlays, surpluses or deficits, debt subject to the statutory limit, and debt held by the public.

While the revenue level operates as a floor against which all revenue legislation is measured, the recommended levels of new budget authority and outlays serve as a ceiling for spending legislation. The surplus or deficit levels include only on-budget outlays and revenue.

Most outlays and receipts related to the Social Security program and United States Postal Service are not included because both accounts are statutorily off-budget.

Debt subject to the limit reflects the gross Federal debt, but excludes debt issued by the Federal Financing Bank or by non-Treas-

ury agencies. Debt held by the public is the amount of debt issued and held by entities or individuals other than the U.S. Government and includes Treasury debt held by the Federal Reserve system.

Section 102. Major Functional Categories

Section 102, as required by section 301(a) of the Budget Act, establishes the budgetary levels for each major functional category for fiscal year 2025 and for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

These major functional categories include:

- 050 National Defense
- 150 International Affairs
- 250 General Science, Space, and Technology
- 270 Energy
- 300 Natural Resources and Environment
- 350 Agriculture
- 370 Commerce and Housing Credit
- 400 Transportation
- 450 Community and Regional Development
- 500 Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services
- 550 Health
- 570 Medicare
- 600 Income Security
- 650 Social Security
- 700 Veterans Benefits and Services
- 750 Administration of Justice
- 800 General Government
- 900 Net Interest
- 920 Allowances
- 930 Government-Wide Savings and Adjustments
- 950 Undistributed Offsetting Receipts

TITLE II—BUDGET ENFORCEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Section 201. Point of Order Against Increasing Long-Term Direct Spending

Subsection (a) establishes a point of order against the consideration of any measure, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that increases long-term net direct spending by more than \$2.5 billion in any of the four 10-fiscal year periods after the budget window.

Subsection (b) requires the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), to the extent practicable, to prepare an estimate of whether a measure reported by a committee, other than an appropriation measure, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, would cause a net increase in direct spending in excess of \$2.5 billion in any of the four consecutive 10-fiscal year periods beginning with the first fiscal year that is ten fiscal years after the current fiscal year.

Subsection (c) states that application of this section in the House shall not apply to any measure, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, for which the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget adjusts the allocations, aggregates, or other budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution.

Subsection (d) affirms the authority of the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to determine the estimates that are used to enforce this section.

Section 202. Limitation on Changes in Certain Mandatory Programs

Section 202 strengthens the enforcement of the Committee on Appropriations' 302(a) allocation and 302(b) suballocations by limiting the amount Congress can use mandatory savings to meet the overall limit on discretionary spending.

Subsection (a) defines the term "change in mandatory programs" (CHIMPs) as a provision that: (1) would have been estimated as affecting direct spending or receipts under section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (as in effect prior to September 30, 2002) if such provision were included in legislation other than appropriations acts; and (2) results in a net decrease in budget authority in the budget year but does not result in a net decrease in outlays over the period of the current year, budget year, and all fiscal years covered under the most recently agreed to budget resolution.

Subsection (b) establishes a point of order against any provision in a bill or joint resolution, making appropriations for a full fiscal year that proposes a change in mandatory programs, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that, if enacted, would cause the absolute value of all such changes in mandatory programs enacted in relation to a full fiscal year to be more than \$15 billion for fiscal year 2025.

Subsection (c) stipulates that, for purposes of this section, budgetary levels shall be determined based on estimates provided by the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget.

Section 203. Limitation on Advance Appropriations

Section 203 establishes a limit on advance appropriations, defined as budget authority that first becomes effective following fiscal year 2025.

Subsection (a) establishes a general rule that prohibits the consideration of any general appropriation bill or bill or joint resolution continuing appropriations, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, from providing advance appropriations.

Subsection (b) provides exceptions to the general rule for three separate lists of accounts included in the report accompanying this concurrent resolution—one for miscellaneous accounts identified under the heading "Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations" in an aggregate amount not to exceed \$28.852 billion in new budget authority, one for veterans accounts under the heading "Veterans Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations", and one for Indian health accounts under the heading "Indian Health Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations" in an aggregate amount not to exceed the total budget authority provided for such accounts for fiscal year 2025 in bills or joint resolutions making appropriations for fiscal year 2025.

Subsection (c) defines an "advance appropriation" as any new discretionary budget authority provided in a general appropriation bill or bill or joint resolution continuing appropriations for fiscal year

2025, or any amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that first becomes available following fiscal year 2025.

Section 204. Estimates of Debt Service Costs

Section 204 stipulates that the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget may direct CBO to include an estimate of debt service costs (if any) resulting from carrying out legislation in any estimate prepared pursuant to section 402 of the Budget Act. These estimates are advisory and will not be used to determine whether a measure complies with the limits established in the budget resolution and other budget rules. This requirement is not intended to apply to the authorization of discretionary programs nor to appropriation bills or joint resolutions but is intended to apply to changes in the authorization level of appropriated entitlements.

Section 205. Fair-Value Credit Estimates

Subsection (a) directs CBO, at the request of the Chair of the House Committee of the Budget, to include a supplemental fair-value estimate in its cost estimate for any legislation modifying or establishing a loan or loan guarantee program.

Subsection (b) requires CBO to include estimates of loan and loan guarantee programs on a fair-value and credit reform basis in its *The Budget and Economic Outlook* to the extent practicable.

Subsection (c) permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to use the supplemental fair-value estimates provided pursuant to subsection (a) in determining whether legislation complies with the Budget Act and other budget rules.

Section 206. Adjustments for Improved Control of Budgetary Resources

Subsection (a) permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the budget resolution to accommodate legislation that subjects an existing mandatory spending program to annual appropriations. The Chair would increase the 302(a) allocation to the Committee on Appropriations by the amount of the new discretionary program and reduce the 302(a) allocation of the authorizing committee that reported the legislation. An adjustment would be made upon the enactment of the legislation.

Subsection (b) authorizes the Chair to make the adjustments under subsection (a) and affirms the Chair's authority to determine the estimates used to execute this section.

Section 207. Limitation on Transfers from the General Fund of the Treasury to the Highway Trust Fund

Section 207 stipulates that legislation that transfers funds from the General Fund of the Treasury to the Highway Trust Fund will count as new budget authority and outlays in the fiscal year the transfer occurs for purposes of budget enforcement.

Section 208. Budgetary Treatment of Administrative Expenses

Subsection (a) provides that the administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration and the United States Postal Service are reflected in the allocation to the Committee on Appropriations even though both are technically off-budget. This language is

necessary to ensure the Committee on Appropriations retains control over administrative expenses for these agencies through the annual appropriations process. This budgetary treatment is based on the long-term practice of the House and Senate Committees on the Budget.

Subsection (b) requires administrative expenses to be included in the cost estimates for the relevant appropriation measure, which are used to determine if a measure exceeds the budget resolution's spending limits.

Section 209. Application and Effect of Changes in Allocations and Aggregates

Subsection (a) specifies the procedure for adjusting the levels established by the budget resolution under the reserve funds and other special procedures in this concurrent resolution. It provides that the adjustments apply while the legislation is under consideration and take effect upon enactment of the legislation. The Chair of the House Committee on the Budget must submit any adjustments to the budget resolution for printing in the Congressional Record.

Subsection (b) clarifies that the adjusted levels in the budget resolution are fully enforceable under the Budget Act and other budget rules.

Subsection (c) stipulates that the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget is the ultimate arbiter of the cost estimates for legislation used to enforce the budget resolution and budget rules.

Subsection (d) clarifies that legislation for which an adjustment to the budget resolution is made, such as those in the reserve funds in Title III, is not subject to the point of order set forth in clause 10 of rule XXI of the Rules of the House Representatives, commonly referred to as the House Cut-As-You-Go rule.

Section 210. Adjustments to Reflect Changes in Concepts and Definitions

Section 210 authorizes the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the appropriate budgetary levels of this concurrent resolution for any change in budgetary concepts and definitions in accordance with section 251(b)(1) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

Section 211. Adjustment for Changes in the Baseline

Section 211 authorizes the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the applicable budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution to reflect changes from CBO's update to its baseline for fiscal years 2025 to 2034.

Section 212. Exercise of Rulemaking Powers

Section 212 affirms the adoption of this concurrent resolution is an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House of Representatives and that the House of Representatives has the constitutional right to change these rules.

TITLE III—RESERVE FUNDS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Title III establishes four reserve funds, which are special procedures that provide the committee reporting specific legislation flexibility as to the timing and composition of offsets in the legislation.

Section 301. Deficit Neutral Reserve Fund for Investments in National Infrastructure

Section 301 permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in the budget resolution for legislation that invests in national infrastructure if such a measure would not increase the deficit for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

Section 302. Reserve Fund for Pro-Growth Tax Policies

Section 302 permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in the budget resolution for legislation reported by the Committee on Ways and Means that advances pro-growth tax reforms and simplifies the tax code.

Section 303. Deficit Neutral Reserve Fund for Medical Innovation

Section 303 permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in the budget resolution for legislation related to promoting American medical innovation if such a measure would not increase the deficit for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

Section 304. Reserve Fund for Trade Agreements

Section 304 permits the Chair of the House Committee on the Budget to adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in the budget resolution for legislation reported by the Committee on Ways and Means that modifies tariffs on imports or implements trade agreements.

TITLE IV—POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Section 401. Policy Statement on Economic Growth

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to pursue policies that embrace the free market and promote economic growth through reducing Federal spending and deficits; expanding American energy production by eliminating excessive burdens and barriers placed on energy producers; lowering taxes that discourage work, savings, and investment; deregulating the economy and enacting reforms to restrict future bureaucratic red tape; eliminating barriers to work that keep Americans on the sidelines; expanding free and fair trade; and restructuring health care to focus on patients and cures instead of administrative control.

Section 402. Policy Statement on Unauthorized Appropriations

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House should enact legislation establishing a schedule for reauthorizing all Federal programs on a staggered basis with declining spending limits for each year a program is not reauthorized. Congress would be prohibited from funding programs above specified levels. These limits would gradually decrease the longer a program remained unauthorized. The policy further states that this new rule should be strictly enforced.

Section 403. Policy Statement on Improper Payments

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to lower improper payment rates by \$1 trillion over the next decade by working closely with authorizing committees throughout the budget process to: require all Federal programs to annually report improper payment rates; streamline the processes and mechanisms through which information is shared between Federal agencies; task Federal agencies to implement technologies to identify patterns indicative of fraudulent activities or errors, and enhance eligibility verification processes to ensure that only qualified receipts receive benefits; incentivize States and Federal agencies to comply with anti-fraud rules; and hold programs and agencies accountable for continued or prolonged failure to prevent and mitigate improper payments.

Section 404. Policy Statement on Budget Gimmick Reform

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House should pursue reforms to the budget and appropriations process that eliminate the use of budget gimmicks, to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and fiscal discipline; specific mechanisms should be implemented to correct the current fiscal path and safeguard the Nation's economic future, such as the use of budgetary caps, stricter criteria for emergency spending, the prohibition of "bad CHIMPs," and the requirement to direct savings towards deficit reduction; the House supports efforts to engage in discussions that refine and enact these reforms to restore fiscal responsibility; and that by pursuing reform, the House reaffirms its commitment to fiscal responsibility and the elimination of practices that obscure the Federal budget's true condition.

Section 405. Policy Statement on Higher Education and the American Workforce

Subsection (a) sets out findings on higher education.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to promote college affordability, access, and success by reserving Federal financial aid for those most in need and streamlining grant and loan programs to help students and families more easily assess their options for financing post-secondary education; removing regulatory barriers to reduce costs, increase access, and allow for innovative teaching models; increasing accountability for colleges and universities and ensuring students and taxpayers receive a return on investment; and championing policies that achieve these goals, including H.R. 6951, the College Cost Reduction Act.

Subsection (c) sets out findings on the American workforce.

Subsection (d) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to promote and advocate policies that benefit all American workers and businesses by further streamlining and consolidating Federal workforce development programs; empowering States with the flexibility to tailor funding and programs to the specific needs of their workforce and employers; and protecting employee freedom, promoting union accountability, supporting independent contractors, updating the Fair Labor Standards Act, and strengthening retirement security for workers and families.

Section 406. Policy Statement on Medicare

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to support bipartisan solutions to save Medicare for those in or near retirement and strengthen the program's solvency for future beneficiaries.

Section 407. Policy Statement on Promoting Patient-Centered Health Care Reform

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that Americans deserve affordable, accessible, and personalized health care coverage that best fits their needs; Congress should enact policies that increase competition and transparency in health care markets by targeting the incentives that drive consolidation, including bipartisan legislation to equalize payments between hospital outpatient departments and independent physician offices; the American health care system should encourage research, development, and innovation in the medical sector, rather than stymie growth through overregulation; States should determine the parameters of acceptable private insurance plans based on the needs of their populations and retain control over other health care coverage standards; reforms should protect patients with pre-existing conditions and create greater parity between benefits offered through employers and those offered independently; States should have greater flexibility in determining their Medicaid programs and State Children's Health Insurance Programs; and States should have the flexibility to implement medical liability policies to best suit their needs.

Section 408. Policy Statement on Medical Innovation

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that Congress should foster investment in health care innovation and maintain the Nation's world leadership status in medical science by encouraging competition; continue to support the critical work of medical innovators throughout the country through preserving free market incentives to conduct life-saving research and development; and unleash the power of private-sector medical innovation by removing regulatory obstacles and rejecting centralized government price controls for innovative cures and therapies that impede the development and adoption of new medical technology and pharmaceuticals and increase costs for patients.

Section 409. Policy Statement on Medicaid Work Requirements

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that Congress should enact legislation, similar to the provisions in the House-passed Limit, Save, Grow Act of 2023 (H.R. 2811), that encourages able-bodied adults without dependents to work, actively seek work, participate in a job-training program, or do community service in order to receive Medicaid benefits; legislation implementing Medicaid work requirements could require able-bodied adults without dependents to work, engage in community service, or participate in a work training program for at least 80 hours per month to remain eligible for Medicaid; States should be given flexibility to determine the specific parameters of qualifying program participation and work-equivalent experience; States should perform regular case checks to ensure taxpayer dollars are appropriately spent; and the Government Accountability Office or the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Inspector General should annually audit State Medicaid programs to ensure proper reporting and prevent waste, fraud, and abuse.

Section 410. Policy Statement on Combating the Opioid Epidemic

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that combatting opioid abuse using available budgetary resources remains a high priority; the House, in a bipartisan manner, should continue to examine the Federal response to the opioid abuse epidemic and support essential activities to reduce and prevent substance abuse; the Federal Government should secure the U.S. southern border to reduce the flow of fentanyl and other opioids into the Nation; the House should examine the specific threat posed by fentanyl and fentanyl analogues and support initiatives to reduce the supply of fentanyl in the United States and mitigate its deadly impact on American lives; the House should engage in oversight efforts to ensure taxpayer dollars intended to combat opioid abuse are spent appropriately and efficiently; and the House should collaborate with State, local, and tribal entities to develop a comprehensive strategy for addressing the opioid addiction crisis.

Section 411. Policy Statement on Border Security

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution to implement the policies set forth in H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023; that it is imperative for Congress to dedicate appropriate resources to the Department of Homeland Security to deter and prevent illegal immigration, secure the border, and effectively control the entry and exit of all people; and that enforcing our borders and the rule of law should be a top priority for Congress.

Section 412. Policy Statement on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House Committee on Agriculture should look for opportunities to strengthen measures related to employment, integrity,

and health; and that benefit recipients and the American taxpayer deserve a program that provides for those in need while emphasizing pathways out of poverty.

Section 413. Policy Statement on Agriculture

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House Committee on Agriculture should improve and strengthen the Farm Safety Net.

Section 414. Policy Statement on Bipartisan Fiscal Commission

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House recommends the creation of a bipartisan fiscal commission, consistent with H.R. 5779, as ordered reported by the House Committee on the Budget.

Section 415. Policy Statement on Government Deregulation

Subsection (a) sets out findings.

Subsection (b) states it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that Congress should examine ways to relieve the burdens of over-regulation throughout the Federal Government; House Republicans remain at the ready to promote initiatives that will reduce government bureaucracy, restore Article I congressional power, enhance federalism, and increase economic prosperity through deregulation; ensure that once harmful and costly regulations are repealed, they cannot be reimposed; develop policies with authorizing committees that will demonstrate the contributions to economic growth and reducing government spending embodied in legislation like the Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny (REINS) Act; and reestablish the role of Congress in checking executive branch overreach in the future.

THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET PROCESS

The budget resolution's spending levels are implemented through allocations to the Committee on Appropriations and authorizing committees.

As required under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (Budget Act), the budget resolution's discretionary spending levels are allocated to the Committee on Appropriations of each House of Congress and the budget resolution's mandatory spending levels are allocated to each House and Senate authorizing committee. These allocations are included in the report (or joint statement of managers for a conference report) accompanying the concurrent resolution on the budget and are enforced through points of order (see the section of this report titled: "Enforcing Budgetary Levels").

Section 302 of the Budget Act requires the budget resolution to provide allocations of budget authority for the first fiscal year and at least the four ensuing fiscal years (except for the Committee on Appropriations, which receives an allocation only for the budget year). This report provides allocations of budget authority and outlays for the Committee on Appropriations for the budget year (fiscal year 2025) and allocations of budget authority and outlays for authorizing committees for the budget year (fiscal year 2025) and the 10-year period (fiscal years 2025 through 2034).

Committee on Appropriations—302(a) and 302(b) Allocations

302(a) Allocation. The Committee on Appropriations receives a lump sum of discretionary budget authority and corresponding outlays. It is included in the report accompanying a concurrent resolution on the budget (or joint statement of managers for a conference report) for the fiscal year for which the budget resolution is adopted. This allocation operates as a ceiling on the amount of discretionary budget authority that can be appropriated for that fiscal year. This budget resolution provides a 302(a) allocation to the Committee on Appropriations for fiscal year 2025, which commences on October 1, 2024.

302(b) Allocations. Once a 302(a) allocation is provided, the Committee on Appropriations is then required, in full committee, to divide this allocation among its 12 subcommittees. The amount each subcommittee receives constitutes its suballocation under section 302(b) of the Budget Act. Each subcommittee's regular appropriations bill is capped at the level of its 302(b) suballocation and the bill is subject to a point of order if it exceeds this amount. Under

section 302(c) of the Budget Act, appropriations bills may not be considered on the floor of the House of Representatives before the Committee on Appropriations provides 302(b) suballocations to its subcommittees.

Authorizing Committees—302(a) Allocations

The report accompanying the concurrent resolution on the budget (or joint statement of managers for a conference report) allocates to each authorizing committee an amount of new budget authority and corresponding outlays required to accommodate the mandatory spending (i.e., direct spending) within each authorizing committee's jurisdiction. If the budget resolution assumes increases in mandatory spending for new or expanded programs with no offsetting reductions in mandatory spending, additional budget authority may be allocated to authorizing committees. Conversely, the allocation may reflect negative budget authority (relative to the projected current law baseline) if the budget resolution assumes the enactment of legislation reducing mandatory spending.

Because the spending authority for these mandatory spending programs is multi-year or permanent, the allocations to the authorizing committees cover both the budget year and the entire period of the budget resolution. This budget resolution provides allocations for authorizing committees for fiscal year 2025, commencing on October 1, 2024, and fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

Each authorizing committee is provided a single allocation of new budget authority reflective of the fiscal effects of expected policy action relative to current law. These committees are not required to file 302(b) suballocations. Bills first effective in fiscal year 2025 are measured against the level for that year included in the fiscal year 2025 budget resolution and the 10-year period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

**TABLE 9 - ALLOCATION OF SPENDING AUTHORITY TO
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS**

(in millions of dollars)

		2025
Base Discretionary Action:	BA	1,605,900
	OT	1,709,903
Current Law Mandatory:	BA	1,443,081
	OT	1,432,920

TABLE 10- RESOLUTION BY AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE
(ON-BUDGET AMOUNTS in millions of dollars)

		2025	2025-2034
Agriculture:			
Current Law	BA	128,710	1,316,118
	OT	123,894	1,335,025
Resolution Change	BA	-28,785	-459,630
	OT	-28,785	-459,630
Total	BA	99,925	856,488
	OT	95,109	875,395
Armed Services:			
Current Law	BA	277,409	1,933,126
	OT	275,518	1,937,841
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	277,409	1,933,126
	OT	275,518	1,937,841
Financial Services:			
Current Law	BA	14,992	204,145
	OT	-14,471	-124,924
Resolution Change	BA	-9,258	-108,195
	OT	-8,599	-105,234
Total	BA	5,734	95,950
	OT	-23,070	-230,158
Education & Workforce:			
Current Law	BA	48,645	451,914
	OT	56,899	394,730
Resolution Change	BA	-48,114	-427,441
	OT	-43,912	-377,137
Total	BA	531	24,473
	OT	12,987	17,593
Energy & Commerce:			
Current Law	BA	772,105	10,610,696
	OT	773,230	10,701,115
Resolution Change	BA	-59,415	-2,264,588
	OT	-50,944	-2,259,196
Total	BA	712,690	8,346,108
	OT	722,286	8,441,919
Foreign Affairs:			
Current Law	BA	46,842	442,391
	OT	44,280	439,829
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	46,842	442,391
	OT	44,280	439,829

TABLE 10- RESOLUTION BY AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE
(ON-BUDGET AMOUNTS in millions of dollars)

Oversight & Government Reform:			
Current Law	BA	162,243	1,784,701
	OT	163,635	1,757,277
Resolution Change	BA	-3,959	-225,757
	OT	-3,959	-225,757
Total	BA	158,284	1,558,944
	OT	159,676	1,531,520
Homeland Security:			
Current Law	BA	2,434	23,757
	OT	2,644	24,750
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	2,434	23,757
	OT	2,644	24,750
House Administration:			
Current Law	BA	17	123
	OT	-5	-57
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	17	123
	OT	-5	-57
Natural Resources:			
Current Law	BA	11,109	95,589
	OT	11,930	105,926
Resolution Change	BA	1,500	15,600
	OT	-2,000	-9,400
Total	BA	12,609	111,189
	OT	9,930	96,526
Judiciary:			
Current Law	BA	16,413	174,981
	OT	17,006	173,907
Resolution Change	BA	-3,132	-88,036
	OT	-2,712	-88,036
Total	BA	13,281	86,945
	OT	14,294	85,871
Transportation & Infrastructure:			
Current Law	BA	104,810	1,044,678
	OT	29,206	229,100
Resolution Change	BA	0	-306,000
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	104,810	738,678
	OT	29,206	229,100
Science, Space & Technology:			
Current Law	BA	1,236	4,689

TABLE 10- RESOLUTION BY AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE
(ON-BUDGET AMOUNTS in millions of dollars)

	OT	2,032	17,216
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	1,236	4,689
	OT	2,032	17,216
Small Business:			
Current Law	BA	0	0
	OT	14	14
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	0	0
	OT	14	14
Veterans Affairs:			
Current Law	BA	4,043	290,440
	OT	4,285	290,413
Resolution Change	BA	0	0
	OT	0	0
Total	BA	4,043	290,440
	OT	4,285	290,413
Ways & Means:			
Current Law	BA	2,034,587	25,171,723
	OT	2,043,641	25,248,596
Resolution Change	BA	-110,412	-891,335
	OT	-43,354	-890,107
Total	BA	1,924,175	24,280,388
	OT	2,000,287	24,358,489

ENFORCING BUDGETARY LEVELS

The congressional budget process includes various mechanisms to enforce the concurrent resolution on the budget, including provisions of the budget resolution, the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (Budget Act), and the Rules and Separate Orders of the House of Representatives.

The Concurrent Resolution on the Budget

The concurrent resolution on the budget (budget resolution) establishes overall limits on spending and revenue. The report accompanying the budget resolution contains allocations to congressional committees that are binding on Congress when it considers subsequent spending and tax legislation. Legislation breaching the levels set forth in the budget resolution is subject to points of order on the floor of the House of Representatives. The concurrent resolution on the budget is established pursuant to the Budget Act, which includes various requirements regarding its content and enforcement. In addition to setting levels of spending, revenue, deficits and debt, the budget resolution may also include special procedures to execute and enforce congressional budgetary decisions.

The levels established in the budget resolution are not self-enforcing. Members must raise a point of order against legislation that breaches the budget resolution's allocations and aggregate levels. If a point of order is sustained, then the House of Representatives is precluded from further consideration of the measure. Some of these Budget Act points of order and budget-related provisions in the Rules of the House of Representatives are listed below.

Budget Act

Section 302(f). Section 302(f) of the Budget Act prohibits the consideration of legislation that exceeds a committee's allocation of budget authority. For authorizing committees, this section applies to the first fiscal year and the period of fiscal years covered by the budget resolution. For appropriations bills, however, it applies only to the first fiscal year.

Section 303. Section 303 prohibits the consideration of spending and revenue legislation before the House of Representatives has passed a concurrent resolution on the budget for a particular fiscal year. Legislation that changes revenue or increases budget authority in a fiscal year for which a budget resolution has not been agreed to violates section 303(a). Section 303(a) does not apply to budget authority and revenue provisions first effective in a year fol-

lowing the first fiscal year to which a budget resolution applies or to appropriations bills after May 15.

Section 311. Section 311 prohibits the consideration of legislation that would exceed the overall limits on budget authority and outlays or cause revenue levels to fall below the revenue floor established by the budget resolution. If legislation causes the aggregate spending levels of budget authority or outlays to be exceeded in the first fiscal year of the budget resolution, then the legislation violates section 311. Legislation also violates section 311 if it causes revenue to be lower than the revenue floor in the first fiscal year or the period of fiscal years covered by the budget resolution. Section 311 does not apply to legislation that provides budget authority but does not exceed a committee's 302(a) allocation.

Section 314 (f). Section 314(f) prohibits the consideration of legislation that causes the statutory spending limits established in section 251(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 to be exceeded.

Budget-Related Provisions Under the Rules of the House of Representatives

Rule XIII, Clause 8. This clause requires, to the extent practicable, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and Joint Committee on Taxation to incorporate the macroeconomic effects of major legislation into official cost estimates.

Rule XXI, Clause 7. This clause prohibits the consideration of a concurrent resolution on the budget that includes reconciliation instructions (pursuant to section 310 of the Budget Act) that would cause a net increase in direct spending for the period covered by the concurrent resolution on the budget.

Rule XXI, Clause 10. This clause prohibits the consideration of legislation that increases net direct spending over two time periods: (1) the current year, the budget year, and the four subsequent fiscal years or (2) the current year, the budget year, and the nine fiscal years following that budget year. Any increase in net direct spending in either of these periods must be offset by a corresponding reduction in net direct spending. If an amendment offered to a measure increases direct spending in either of these periods, then the amendment must also reduce direct spending by at least the same amount. This rule is commonly referred to as Cut-As-You-Go.

Rule XXIX, Clause 4. This clause specifies that the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget is responsible for providing authoritative guidance regarding the budgetary impact of a legislative proposition, including levels of new budget authority, outlays, direct spending, new entitlement authority, and revenues.

Section 3, Separate Orders, House Resolution 5 (118th Congress). House Resolution 5 adopted the rules from the 117th Congress, with amendments to the standing rules, as the Rules of the House of Representatives for the 118th Congress and included additional provisions related to the budget process.

Section 3(e)(2) requires CBO, to the extent practicable, to prepare an estimate of whether a measure would cause a net increase in direct spending in excess of \$2.5 billion in any of the four consecutive 10-fiscal-year periods beginning with the first fiscal year occur-

ring ten fiscal years after the current fiscal year. It also establishes a point of order against consideration of any bill or joint resolution reported by a committee, or any amendment or conference report, that causes a net increase in direct spending in excess of \$2.5 billion in any of the four consecutive 10-fiscal-year periods described above. For purposes of section 3(e)(2), the levels of any net increase in direct spending shall be determined on the basis of estimates provided by the Chair of the Committee on the Budget.

Section 3(e)(3) requires CBO, to the extent practicable, to provide an estimate of the inflationary impacts of any legislation that shows changes in direct spending causing a gross budgetary effect in any fiscal year over a 10-year period equal to or greater than 0.25 percent of the projected gross domestic product (GDP) (measured by the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers) for the current fiscal year. The Chair of the Committee on the Budget may also request such an estimate.

Section 3(e)(4) requires CBO, to the extent practicable, for any estimate of legislation that impacts the Medicare Part A (Hospital Insurance) Trust Fund or the Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Trust Funds (OASDI) that in any fiscal year over a 10-year period causes a gross budgetary effect equal to or greater than 0.25 percent of projected GDP (measured by the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers) for the current fiscal year to display: (1) the impact such legislation would have on unfunded liabilities of the Medicare Part A (Hospital Insurance) Trust Fund over a 25-year projection, including solvency projections and the net present value of such liabilities and (2) the impact on unfunded liabilities of OASDI over a 75-year projection, including solvency projections and the net present value of such liabilities. The Chair of the Committee on the Budget may also request such an estimate.

Section 3(f) requires each general appropriation bill to include a spending reduction account and provides for spending reduction account transfer amendments.

ACCOUNTS IDENTIFIED FOR ADVANCE APPROPRIATIONS

Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations For Fiscal Year 2026

(SUBJECT TO A GENERAL LIMIT OF \$28,852,000,000)

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies

Employment and Training Administration
Education for the Disadvantaged
School Improvement Programs
Career, Technical, and Adult Education
Special Education

Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies

Tenant-based Rental Assistance
Project-based Rental Assistance

Veterans Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations For Fiscal Year 2026

Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies

Medical Services
Medical Support and Compliance
Medical Facilities
Medical Community Care

Indian Health Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations For Fiscal Year 2026

Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies

Indian Health Services
Indian Health Facilities

VOTES OF THE COMMITTEE

Clause 3(b) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives requires each committee report to accompany any bill or resolution of a public character to include the total number of votes cast for and against on each roll call vote, on a motion to report and any amendments offered to the measure or matter, together with the names of those voting for and against.

Listed below is a summary of the Committee on the Budget's consideration of the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025.

On March 7, 2024, the Committee met in open session, a quorum being present.

Chairman Arrington asked unanimous consent to be authorized, consistent with clause 1(a)(2) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, to declare a recess at any time during the committee meeting.

There was no objection to the unanimous consent request.

Chairman Arrington asked unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the budget aggregates, function levels, and other appropriate matter; that the aggregates, function totals, and other appropriate matter be open for amendment; and that amendments be considered as read.

There was no objection to the unanimous consent requests.

The Committee considered the following amendments:

- Amendment #1 offered by Ranking Member Boyle to increase budget authority and outlays for Function 920. The amendment would increase budget authority for Function 920 by \$60.6 billion for fiscal year 2025. The amendment would increase outlays for Function 920 by the following amounts: \$31.6 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$15.8 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$5.7 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$2.7 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$2.4 billion for fiscal year 2029; and \$2.0 billion for fiscal year 2030. The amendment also stipulates that the budgetary effects of emergency designated provisions included in legislation should not be counted for any purpose in the House of Representatives, that a proposal to strike an emergency designation should be excluded from an evaluation of budgetary effects, and an amendment that also reduces amounts appropriated or made available shall be in order at any point in the reading of a pending measure.
- Amendment #2 offered by Representative Schakowsky to insert a policy statement on Social Security.

- Amendment #3 offered by Representative Kildee to strike section 406 of the Chairman's Mark and insert a policy statement on Medicare.

- Amendment #4 offered by Representative Lee to increase budget authority and outlays for Function 800. The amendment would increase budget authority for Function 800 by \$80.0 billion for fiscal year 2025 and \$4.7 billion for fiscal year 2026. The amendment would increase outlays for Function 800 by the following amounts: \$13.7 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$8.8 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$5.6 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$7.3 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$9.2 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$11.4 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$14.0 billion for fiscal year 2031; and \$14.6 billion for fiscal year 2032.

- Amendment #5 offered by Representative Doggett to amend section 302, Reserve Fund for Pro-Growth Tax Policies, of the Chairman's Mark.

- Amendment #6 offered by Representative Jackson Lee to increase budget authority and outlays for Function 550. The amendment would increase budget authority for Function 550 by the following amounts: \$57.8 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$75.9 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$161.8 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$198.2 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$219.9 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$247.5 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$274.5 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$306.3 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$331.1 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$354.9 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment would increase outlays for Function 550 by the following amounts: \$49.3 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$76.2 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$162.5 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$198.9 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$220.7 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$247.9 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$274.8 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$306.4 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$331.1 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$354.9 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment would adjust the aggregate levels of revenue by amounts equal to the aforementioned changes in outlays by partially reversing the 2017 tax reform law (Public Law 115–97), which may include raising tax rates on corporations and individuals, or the creation of a new wealth tax. The amendment would also strike section 409 of the Chairman's Mark.

- Amendment #7 offered by Representative Omar to increase budget authority and outlays for Function 600. The amendment would increase budget authority for Function 600 by the following amounts: \$40.0 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$65.5 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$76.3 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$84.4 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$94.0 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$101.2 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$111.3 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$121.8 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$129.6 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$138.9 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment would increase outlays for Function 600 by the following amounts: \$39.5 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$65.1 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$76.2 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$84.4 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$93.9 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$102.0 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$111.3 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$121.8 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$129.6 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$138.9 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment

would adjust the aggregate levels of revenue by amounts equal to the aforementioned changes in outlays by partially reversing the 2017 tax reform law (Public Law 115–97), which may include raising tax rates on corporations and individuals, or the creation of a new wealth tax. The amendment would also strike section 412 of the Chairman’s Mark.

- Amendment #8 offered by Representative Trone to strike section 408 of the Chairman’s Mark and insert a policy statement on prescription drug costs.

- Amendment #9 offered by Representative Balint to strike section 415 of the Chairman’s Mark and insert a policy statement on climate change.

- Amendment #10 offered by Representative Scott to increase budget authority and outlays for Function 500. The amendment would increase budget authority for Function 500 by the following amounts: \$49.6 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$33.6 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$37.3 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$38.4 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$39.8 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$41.2 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$42.3 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$44.1 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$45.5 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$46.2 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment would increase outlays for Function 500 by the following amounts: \$45.1 billion for fiscal year 2025; \$29.1 billion for fiscal year 2026; \$32.4 billion for fiscal year 2027; \$33.7 billion for fiscal year 2028; \$34.8 billion for fiscal year 2029; \$35.9 billion for fiscal year 2030; \$37.1 billion for fiscal year 2031; \$38.6 billion for fiscal year 2032; \$39.9 billion for fiscal year 2033; and \$41.0 billion for fiscal year 2034. The amendment would adjust the aggregate levels of revenue by amounts equal to the aforementioned changes in outlays by partially reversing the 2017 tax reform law (Public Law 115–97), which may include raising tax rates on corporations and individuals, or the creation of a new wealth tax. The amendment would also strike section 405 of the Chairman’s Mark.

- Amendment #11 offered by Representative Espaillat to insert a deficit neutral reserve fund related to child care.

The Committee adopted and ordered reported the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025.

The Committee on the Budget took the following votes:

1. En bloc vote on Amendments numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, and 10—failed 15 ayes to 19 nays.
2. En bloc vote on Amendments numbered 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 11—failed 15 ayes to 19 nays.
3. Vote on adopting the budget aggregates, functional categories, and other appropriate matters—passed by Voice Vote.
4. Vote on favorably reporting the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025, without amendment—passed 19 ayes to 15 nays.

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
118TH CONGRESS

RECORD OF COMMITTEE VOTE

Date: 3/7/24 Time: 10:00 AM Place: 210 Cannon HOB

Description of Vote: Vote #1-En bloc consisting of Amendments Numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, and 10

Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present	Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present
ARRINGTON (TX) (Chairman)		X		BOYLE (PA) (Ranking Member)	X		
NORMAN (SC)		X		SCHAKOWSKY (IL)	X		
McCLINTOCK (CA)		X		BLUMENAUER (OR)	X		
GROTHMAN (WI)		X		KILDEE (MI)	X		
SMUCKER (PA)		X		PETERS (CA)	X		
BURGESS (TX)		X		LEE (CA)	X		
CARTER (GA)		X		DOGGETT (TX)	X		
CLINE (VA)		X		PANETTA (CA)	X		
GOOD (VA)		X		WEXTON (VA)	X		
BERGMAN (MI)		X		JACKSON-LEE (TX)	X		
FERGUSON (GA)		X		OMAR (MN) (Vice Ranking Member)	X		
ROY (TX)		X		TRONE (MD)	X		
MOORE (UT)		X		BALINT (VT)	X		
VALADAO (CA)				SCOTT (VA)	X		
ESTES (KS)		X		ESPAILLAT (NY)	X		
McCLAIN (MI)		X		VACANT			
FISCHBACH (MN)		X					
YAKYM (IN)		X					
BRECHEEN (OK)		X					
EDWARDS (NC)		X					
VACANT							

TOTALS: Aye: 15 No: 19 Present: 0

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
118TH CONGRESS

RECORD OF COMMITTEE VOTE

Date: 3/7/24 Time: 10:00 AM Place: 210 Cannon HOBDescription of Vote: **Vote #2**-En bloc consisting of Amendments Numbered 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 11

Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present	Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present
ARRINGTON (TX) (Chairman)		X		BOYLE (PA) (Ranking Member)	X		
NORMAN (SC)		X		SCHAKOWSKY (IL)	X		
McCLINTOCK (CA)		X		BLUMENAUER (OR)	X		
GROTHMAN (WI)		X		KILDEE (MI)	X		
SMUCKER (PA)		X		PETERS (CA)	X		
BURGESS (TX)		X		LEE (CA)	X		
CARTER (GA)		X		DOGGETT (TX)	X		
CLINE (VA)		X		PANETTA (CA)	X		
GOOD (VA)		X		WEXTON (VA)	X		
BERGMAN (MI)		X		JACKSON-LEE (TX)	X		
FERGUSON (GA)		X		OMAR (MN) (Vice Ranking Member)	X		
ROY (TX)		X		TRONE (MD)	X		
MOORE (UT)		X		BALINT (VT)	X		
VALADAO (CA)				SCOTT (VA)	X		
ESTES (KS)		X		ESPAILLAT (NY)	X		
McCLAIN (MI)		X		VACANT			
FISCHBACH (MN)		X					
YAKYM (IN)		X					
BRECHEEN (OK)		X					
EDWARDS (NC)		X					
VACANT							

TOTALS: Aye: 15 No: 19 Present: 0

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
118TH CONGRESS

RECORD OF COMMITTEE VOTE

Date: 3/7/24 Time: 10:00 AM Place: 210 Cannon HOB

Description of Vote: Vote #3-Adopting the budget aggregates, functional categories, and other appropriate matter. Adopted by voice vote.

Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present	Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present
ARRINGTON (TX) (Chairman)				BOYLE (PA) (Ranking Member)			
NORMAN (SC)				SCHAKOWSKY (IL)			
McCLINTOCK (CA)				BLUMENAUER (OR)			
GROTHMAN (WI)				KILDEE (MI)			
SMUCKER (PA)				PETERS (CA)			
BURGESS (TX)				LEE (CA)			
CARTER (GA)				DOGGETT (TX)			
CLINE (VA)				PANETTA (CA)			
GOOD (VA)				WEXTON (VA)			
BERGMAN (MI)				JACKSON-LEE (TX)			
FERGUSON (GA)				OMAR (MN) (Vice Ranking Member)			
ROY (TX)				TRONE (MD)			
MOORE (UT)				BALINT (VT)			
VALADAO (CA)				SCOTT (VA)			
ESTES (KS)				ESPAILLAT (NY)			
McCLAIN (MI)				VACANT			
FISCHBACH (MN)							
YAKYM (IN)							
BRECHEEN (OK)							
EDWARDS (NC)							
VACANT							

TOTALS: Aye: No: Present:

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
118TH CONGRESS

RECORD OF COMMITTEE VOTE

Date: 3/7/24 Time: 10:00 AM Place: 210 Cannon HOB

Description of Vote: Vote #4-On Favorably Reporting, without amendment, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025

Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present	Name & State	Aye	No	Answer Present
ARRINGTON (TX) (Chairman)	X			BOYLE (PA) (Ranking Member)		X	
NORMAN (SC)	X			SCHAKOWSKY (IL)		X	
McCLINTOCK (CA)	X			BLUMENAUER (OR)		X	
GROTHMAN (WI)	X			KILDEE (MI)		X	
SMUCKER (PA)	X			PETERS (CA)		X	
BURGESS (TX)	X			LEE (CA)		X	
CARTER (GA)	X			DOGGETT (TX)		X	
CLINE (VA)	X			PANETTA (CA)		X	
GOOD (VA)	X			WEXTON (VA)		X	
BERGMAN (MI)	X			JACKSON-LEE (TX)		X	
FERGUSON (GA)	X			OMAR (MN) (Vice Ranking Member)		X	
ROY (TX)	X			TRONE (MD)		X	
MOORE (UT)	X			BALINT (VT)		X	
VALADAO (CA)				SCOTT (VA)		X	
ESTES (KS)	X			ESPAILLAT (NY)		X	
McCLAIN (MI)	X			VACANT			
FISCHBACH (MN)	X						
YAKYM (IN)	X						
BRECHEEN (OK)	X						
EDWARDS (NC)	X						
VACANT							

TOTALS: Aye: 19 No: 15 Present: 0

AMENDMENTS CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

During consideration of the Fiscal Year 2025 Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, the Committee considered 11 amendments. The Committee defeated these amendments by a vote of 15 to 19. The amendments the Committee defeated would have raised taxes, increased spending, or hampered economic growth. The rationale for rejecting these amendments follows.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL SPENDING

Ranking Member Boyle (D-PA) offered an amendment that would increase funding in Function 920 by \$60.6 billion in fiscal year 2025 for emergency supplemental funding for Ukraine. In the over two years since Russia invaded Ukraine, the Biden Administration has still failed to provide a clear strategy for providing U.S. assistance to Ukraine. Using emergency spending is not an honest, accountable, or transparent way to fund this conflict. The Biden Administration must provide a real long-term strategy to fund this conflict. We must have our own fiscal house in order before discussing assisting Ukraine getting their fiscal house in order. The crisis at the Southern border is unequivocally one of the greatest threats facing our Nation today. Since President Biden took office, there have been 9.2 million encounters nationwide and over 7.6 million encounters at the Southwest border alone. President Biden could stop the border crisis but has chosen to let this crisis happen. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO SOCIAL SECURITY

Representative Schakowsky (D-IL) offered an amendment affirming Congress's commitment to Social Security and calling for tax increases on Americans intended to extend solvency of the trust funds. The 2024 Report from the Board of Trustees indicates that the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund, the main fund for Social Security, will deplete its funds by 2033, thereby threatening Americans with a 21 percent reduction in benefits.³¹ This budget resolution advocates for the creation of a bipartisan commission under H.R. 5779 to responsibly review and address the Nation's fiscal challenges, including saving and strengthening Social Security for future generations. The approach of increasing taxes

³¹The Board Of Trustees, Federal Old-Age And Survivors Insurance And Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds, "The 2024 Annual Report Of The Board Of Trustees Of The Federal Old-Age And Survivors Insurance And Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds," May 6, 2024, <https://www.ssa.gov/OACT/TR/2024/tr2024.pdf>.

as proposed by this amendment conflicts with efforts to sustainably strengthen Social Security. Historical examples, such as the fiscal impacts of President Biden’s fiscal year 2024 budget request, demonstrate that increases in business taxes could lead to job losses, adversely affecting Social Security’s funding. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO MEDICARE

Representative Kildee (D–MI) offered an amendment that would have replaced the Medicare policy statement in the budget resolution with a new policy statement stating that Congress should protect the traditional Medicare program and extend solvency through policies which may include increasing taxes on taxpayers with incomes above \$400,000 and closing certain tax loopholes. The amendment would also have added language to the committee report affirming support for the Medicare program and endorsing changes in law to increase taxes.

During debate, Committee Members argued generations of Americans have paid into and come to rely on the Medicare promise of health security, making it critical that we protect and strengthen the program. The budget resolution supports policies that follow recommendations from the Medicare Payment Advisory Commission and Government Accountability Office to address overpayments to health care providers in Medicare, strengthening the program for those who depend on it most. For example, the budget resolution supports equalizing payments for the same service through site neutral payment reform—a policy that has been advanced in a bipartisan manner by the House of Representatives this Congress. In addition to saving the Medicare program money, this commonsense policy will lead to lower out-of-pocket costs for our Nation’s seniors.

Unfortunately, this amendment would have supported raising taxes on hardworking Americans to bail out Democrats’ misguided policies. Raising taxes and stunting America’s economic growth is not the solution to Medicare’s looming insolvency or our over \$34 trillion dollar national debt. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE FUNDING

Representative Lee (D–CA) offered an amendment that would increase funding in Function 800 by \$84.7 billion over the 10-year budget window for the purpose of protecting funding for the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

The \$80 billion for the IRS in the so-called Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) was claimed to improve customer service, audit the wealthy, and “close the tax gap.” Unsurprisingly, it isn’t working. According to data from the IRS, the agency collected \$160 million in revenues in fiscal year 2023 attributable to the IRA. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated they would collect \$2.9 billion.³² That is 5.5 percent of its goal. Similarly, through the first

³² Congressional Budget Office, “Estimated Budgetary Effects of H.R. 5376, the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022, as Amended in the Nature of a Substitute (ERN22335) and Posted on the Website of the Senate Majority Leader on July 27, 2022,” August 5, 2022, https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2022-08/hr5376_IR_Act_8-3-22.pdf.

quarter of 2024, the IRS collected \$360 million. This is just 5 percent of the \$7.8 billion in revenues CBO estimated in fiscal year 2024 attributable to the IRA.³³ This funding was also expected to lead to more audits from working-class Americans. A Senate Finance Committee analysis shows the \$45.6 billion for “enforcement” would “predominantly hit taxpayers who have low (or very low) Adjusted Gross Income. Nothing in the proposal would change that fact.”³⁴ Low-income taxpayers making up to \$25,000 per year would see more audits too. The IRA failed to provide any guardrails preventing audits for middle-income earners, and instead used non-binding legislative language that does nothing to protect taxpayers from agency abuse. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO TAX POLICY

Representative Doggett (D-TX) offered an amendment that would have modified the reserve fund for pro-growth tax policies to make it deficit neutral.

This amendment neglected the need for a pro-growth approach to our tax code. As we learned from the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017, tax reform can be an effective way of triggering economic growth. The budget resolution gives a runway for authorizing committees to prevent tax increases and pass pro-growth tax reform for middle-class families and small businesses. The budget resolution also recognizes that our current deficit trend is not driven by a lack of government revenue; it is driven by unsustainable spending. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO MEDICAID

Representative Jackson Lee (D-TX) offered an amendment that would have increased the budget authority and outlays for Function 550 to conform with the Congressional Budget Office’s baseline and adjust the aggregate levels of revenue by amounts equal to the outlay changes. The amendment would have also struck the policy statement on Medicaid and added language to the committee report that rejected converting Medicaid funding to a block-grant or per-capita cap and supported accommodating current-law levels of funding by increasing taxes.

Members of the Committee concurred that Medicaid is a vital safety net program for America’s most vulnerable, which is why the budget resolution calls for the reforms necessary to make the program sustainable and refocus limited Federal resources on helping the most vulnerable. The budget resolution does not cut Medicaid benefits. Instead, it refocuses Federal resources on those truly in need and empowers states to tailor their Medicaid programs to best meet the needs of their citizens. Medicaid spending continues to grow unsustainably for taxpayers, the program is unaffordable for states, and poor access to quality care leads to negative health outcomes for enrollees. Medicaid continues to grow at an unsustainable rate; within the decade, the program stands to cost

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ House Committee on Ways and Means, “New Schumer-Manchin Bill Will Supercharge Long History of IRS Abuses,” August 2, 2022, <https://waysandmeans.house.gov/2022/08/02/new-schumer-manchin-bill-will-supercharge-long-history-of-irs-abuses/>.

over one trillion dollars per year, between Federal and state spending. Due to the program's unsustainable expansion, Medicaid patients often have a hard time accessing care at all. The expansion of Medicaid to work capable adults as part of Obamacare further reduced access to care for the populations most reliant on Medicaid, including low-income children.

The budget resolution promotes reforms that will help Medicaid patients access the care they deserve and enhance the quality of care to improve outcomes. The budget resolution refocuses limited resources on helping the most vulnerable. Members expressed that the amendment was unnecessary as the budget resolution supports policies that will improve the Medicaid program to serve the most vulnerable, improve outcomes, and increase access to care. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO FAMILY POLICY

Representative Omar (D-MN) offered an amendment to increase funding in Function 600 by \$962.7 billion over the ten-year budget window and reject Republican-led welfare reforms designed to incentivize work. The amendment also called to increase the corporate tax rate, impose a minimum tax on billionaires, and repeal carried interest as tax planning tool. This amendment rolls back pro-growth tax policies in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act and undermines policies designed to foster self-sufficiency. Furthermore, proposals to raise taxes fail to address the problems the Nation faces. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Representative Trone (D-MD) offered an amendment to strike section 408 of the Chairman's Mark, which outlines the policy statement on promoting American medical innovation and insert a policy statement that supports the so-called "Inflation Reduction Act" (IRA) prescription drug price controls in the Medicare program.

During amendment debate, Committee Members highlighted the dire consequences that the IRA prescription drug price controls are already having on new drug development and ultimately, patient access to new medicines. Members also discussed how innovative new drugs can hold the power to reduce Federal health spending, as recently acknowledged by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office.³⁵

This amendment would have doubled down on Democrats' big government price controls, inhibiting the development of innovative new cures and therapies and limiting the number of tools to reduce long-term health spending. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO CLIMATE CHANGE AND CLEAN ENERGY

Representative Balint (D-VT) offered an amendment to strike section 415 of the Chairman's Mark and replace it with a policy

³⁵ Congressional Budget Office, "CBO's Projections of Federal Health Care Spending," Letter to Senator Whitehouse (RI), March 17, 2023, <https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2023-03/58997-Whitehouse.pdf>.

statement on the need for Congress to expand Federal efforts to research and fight climate change, including investments made in the Inflation Reduction Act.

Overregulation has consistently hurt small businesses, strangled domestic energy production, negatively impacted labor market conditions, and expanded government overreach at the expense of the American taxpayer. This amendment would encourage more spending on Green New Deal policies. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMMENDMENT RELATED TO ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Representative Scott (D–VA) offered an amendment that would increase spending for higher education programs. The increase in spending is offset by partially reversing the 2017 tax reform law.

The Committee agrees that student debt is a growing issue facing many Americans. However, the best solution to this problem is to hold universities accountable for out-of-control tuition inflation. This amendment fails to address the underlying problems contributing to student debt and tuition inflation and turns a blind eye to the over \$1 trillion worth of student loan debt President Biden has attempted to cancel while in office. The President's student loan cancellation plans shift the burden of student loan debt from those who willingly incurred them, onto the backs of working class taxpayers that did not, and only serve to worsen our debt and deficit crisis. Furthermore, the amendment would roll back portions of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act to offset the increased spending, which would be counterproductive and detrimental to the Nation's workforce and economy. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act is working and should be allowed to continue delivering benefits to the American people. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

AN AMENDMENT RELATED TO CHILD CARE POLICY

Representative Espaillat (D–NY) offered an amendment to insert a deficit neutral reserve fund for child care. The amendment would have also added language to the committee report supporting policies such as fully funding the Child Care and Development Block Grant or reinstating the Child Care Stabilization Grant Program. The amendment would stifle innovation and competition by further entrenching the government in the child care sector. Additionally, the amendment ignored the underlying issues that contribute to high child care costs and low wages: deficit spending and inflationary pressures. Solutions should instead focus on regulatory reforms that enhance safety, reduce barriers to entry for new providers, increase supply, and drive down costs through competition. This in turn would lead to higher quality and more affordable child care options without the need for significant government intervention. Ultimately, families should be empowered with the flexibility to choose the child care that is best suited to their needs, rather than a one-size-fits-all government approach. For these reasons, the Committee did not agree to the amendment.

OTHER MATTERS UNDER THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Committee on the Budget Oversight Findings and Recommendations

Clause 3(c)(1) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives requires each committee report to contain oversight findings and recommendations pursuant to clause 2(b)(1) of rule X. The Committee on the Budget has no findings to report at the present time.

New Budget Authority, Entitlement Authority, and Tax Expenditures

Clause 3(c)(2) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives provides that committee reports must contain the statement required by section 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. This report does not contain such a statement because, as a concurrent resolution setting forth a blueprint for the congressional budget, the budget resolution does not provide new budget authority, new entitlement authority, or change revenues.

General Performance Goals and Objectives

Clause 3(c)(4) of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives requires each committee report on a legislative measure to contain a statement of general performance goals and objectives, including outcome-related goals and objectives, for which the measure authorizes funding. The Committee on the Budget has no such goals and objectives to report at this time.

Views of Committee Members

Clause 2(1) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives requires each committee to afford members of the committee two days to file minority, additional, dissenting, or supplemental views on reported legislative measures, and to include the views in the report accompanying such legislation. The following views were submitted:

MINORITY VIEWS

FY 2025 Reversing Course: The Backward Republican Budget

America's economy today is the strongest in the world. Under President Biden, nearly 15 million jobs have been created. That's five and a half million more jobs than the pre-pandemic peak. In 2023, we added an average of 250,000 jobs every single month. And last year, the percentage of working-age women in the workforce reached the highest level since the 1940s.

The stock market is reaching all-time highs, and Americans have applied to create 16 million new businesses in just the last three years. Wages are now growing faster than inflation, and inflation has fallen from a peak of 9.1 percent to now 3.1 percent.

None of this happened by accident. It happened because Democrats took action to rescue our economy, invest in American manufacturing, rebuild our infrastructure, lower health insurance costs, and finally let Medicare negotiate lower prescription drug prices.

While President Biden and Congressional Democrats have delivered an economy that is the envy of the world, Republicans have turned the House of Representatives into an embarrassment. The do-nothing chaos caucus driving the wheel of the House Republican Conference talk a big game about the border, but then refuse to actually put the bipartisan border legislation on the floor. They complain about inflation, but then do nothing to lower costs for families.

The theme of abandoning the American people continues throughout this budget being put forward today.

This budget is an assault on everything from health care to education. It strips funding for food assistance for those in need, attacks Medicaid, and makes indiscriminate cuts to many government programs upon which Americans rely.

Whether it's making it harder to put food on the table or keep shelter over your head, this budget does plenty of harm, and it does this all while paving the way for an extension of the Trump tax cuts, 83 percent of which went to the richest 1 percent.

This budget is extreme. Putting food assistance and Pell grants for low-income students on the chopping block while extending tax cuts for billionaires, is extreme. Selling out working families to line the pockets of price gouging corporations, while making it easier for the rich to cheat on their taxes, is extreme.

Not a single Republican joined Democrats to cap insulin prices for seniors and lower health insurance costs for millions. Instead,

they support this budget that attacks the progress we have made under President Biden.

But even after trillions of dollars in draconian cuts this budget makes to programs that help the most in need, it still doesn't balance. In order to pretend to reduce the deficit, the budget jettisons the assumptions of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office and other reputable sources to rely on astonishing predictions of economic growth that somehow creates three extra trillion dollars out of thin air.

This budget does not show how Republicans want to fund the government for the next decade. It shows how Republicans plan to take away health care from millions of Americans. It shows how Republicans plan to cut funding that gives our children a better future.

Democrats completely reject this bleak and backwards budget and all of its misplaced priorities. We proudly offered a series of amendments that protected American families from reckless GOP cuts, defended Social Security and Medicare, and preserved the historic climate investments of the Inflation Reduction Act. Republicans unanimously rejected every single amendment offered.

This budget is a road map to making life worse, not better, for middle class families. We need a vision that looks to the future, not the past. And thankfully, we will get to see that vision when President Biden presents his budget.

After the historic progress we have made over the last three years, this is no time to turn back the clock and end it all.

Signed by,

BRENDAN F. BOYLE,
Ranking Member.
 EARL BLUMENAUER.
 SCOTT H. PETERS.
 JAN SCHAKOWSKY.
 DANIEL T. KILDEE.
 BARBARA LEE.
 LLOYD DOGGETT.
 JENNIFER WEXTON.
 ILHAN OMAR.
 BECCA BALINT.
 ADRIANO ESPAILLAT.
 JIMMY PANETTA.
 SHEILA JACKSON LEE.
 DAVID J. TRONE.
 ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT.
Members of Congress.

118TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 117

Establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2025 and setting forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2025 and setting forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),
That

SECTION 1. CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.

(a) DECLARATION.—The Congress determines and declares that prior concurrent resolutions on the budget are replaced as of fiscal year 2025 and that this concurrent resolution establishes the budget for fiscal year 2025 and sets forth the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2026 through 2034.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this concurrent resolution is as follows:

Sec. 1. Concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2025.

TITLE I—RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS

Sec. 101. Recommended levels and amounts.

Sec. 102. Major functional categories.

TITLE II—BUDGET ENFORCEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 201. Point of order against increasing long-term direct spending.

Sec. 202. Limitation on changes in certain mandatory programs.

Sec. 203. Limitation on advance appropriations.

Sec. 204. Estimates of debt service costs.

Sec. 205. Fair-value credit estimates.

Sec. 206. Adjustments for improved control of budgetary resources.

Sec. 207. Limitation on transfers from the general fund of the Treasury to the Highway Trust Fund.

Sec. 208. Budgetary treatment of administrative expenses.

Sec. 209. Application and effect of changes in allocations and aggregates.

Sec. 210. Adjustments to reflect changes in concepts and definitions.

Sec. 211. Adjustment for changes in the baseline.

Sec. 212. Exercise of rulemaking powers.

TITLE III—RESERVE FUNDS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 301. Deficit neutral reserve fund for investments in national infrastructure.

Sec. 302. Reserve fund for pro-growth tax policies.

Sec. 303. Deficit neutral reserve fund for medical innovation.

Sec. 304. Reserve fund for trade agreements.

TITLE IV—POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sec. 401. Policy statement on economic growth.

Sec. 402. Policy statement on unauthorized appropriations.

Sec. 403. Policy statement on improper payments.

Sec. 404. Policy statement on budget gimmick reform.

Sec. 405. Policy statement on higher education and the American workforce.

Sec. 406. Policy statement on Medicare.

Sec. 407. Policy statement on promoting patient-centered health care reform.

- Sec. 408. Policy statement on medical innovation.
- Sec. 409. Policy statement on Medicaid work requirements.
- Sec. 410. Policy statement on combating the opioid epidemic.
- Sec. 411. Policy statement on border security.
- Sec. 412. Policy statement on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.
- Sec. 413. Policy statement on agriculture.
- Sec. 414. Policy statement on bipartisan fiscal commission.
- Sec. 415. Policy statement on government deregulation.

TITLE I—RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS

SEC. 101. RECOMMENDED LEVELS AND AMOUNTS.

The following budgetary levels are appropriate for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2034:

(1) **FEDERAL REVENUES.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this concurrent resolution:

(A) The recommended levels of Federal revenues are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$3,711,238,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$4,013,146,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$4,295,087,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$4,429,736,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$4,650,450,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$4,859,791,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$5,040,628,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$5,212,522,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$5,428,517,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$5,671,517,000,000.

(B) The amounts by which the aggregate levels of Federal revenues should be changed are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$0.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$0.

(2) **NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY.**—For purposes of the enforcement of this concurrent resolution, the appropriate levels of total new budget authority are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$4,986,064,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$5,059,066,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$4,976,652,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$5,025,086,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$5,193,282,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$5,282,574,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$5,402,963,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$5,555,314,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$5,665,969,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$5,868,865,000,000.

(3) BUDGET OUTLAYS.—For purposes of the enforcement of this concurrent resolution, the appropriate levels of total budget outlays are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$5,112,497,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$5,092,701,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$5,054,300,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$5,050,416,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$5,171,200,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$5,266,020,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$5,375,556,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$5,493,701,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$5,644,312,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$5,805,139,000,000.

(4) DEFICITS (ON-BUDGET).—For purposes of the enforcement of this concurrent resolution, the amounts of the deficits (on-budget) are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$1,401,259,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$1,079,555,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$759,213,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$620,680,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$520,750,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$406,229,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$334,928,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$281,179,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$215,795,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$133,622,000,000.

(5) DEBT SUBJECT TO LIMIT.—The appropriate levels of debt subject to limit are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$36,578,874,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$37,947,874,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$38,794,984,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$39,451,216,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$39,982,390,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$40,237,559,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$40,315,462,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$40,253,143,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$40,262,778,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$40,307,468,000,000.

(6) DEBT HELD BY THE PUBLIC.—The appropriate levels of debt held by the public are as follows:

Fiscal year 2025: \$29,475,133,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2026: \$30,762,031,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2027: \$31,708,264,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2028: \$32,494,197,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2029: \$33,120,708,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2030: \$33,570,152,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2031: \$33,890,747,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2032: \$34,124,543,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2033: \$34,210,285,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034: \$34,148,229,000,000.

SEC. 102. MAJOR FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES.

The Congress determines and declares that the appropriate levels of new budget authority and outlays for fiscal years 2025 through 2034 for each major functional category are:

(1) National Defense (050):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$921,721,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$884,364,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$932,396,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$910,761,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$940,663,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$921,707,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$961,573,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$943,589,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$983,641,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$951,460,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,006,040,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$976,545,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,029,362,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$997,102,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,054,875,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,019,083,000,000.

Fiscal year 2033:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,079,250,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,052,673,000,000.

Fiscal year 2034:

(A) New budget authority, \$1,104,032,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$1,070,524,000,000.

(2) International Affairs (150):

Fiscal year 2025:

(A) New budget authority, \$68,208,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$64,005,000,000.

Fiscal year 2026:

(A) New budget authority, \$66,682,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$64,577,000,000.

Fiscal year 2027:

(A) New budget authority, \$68,136,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$66,371,000,000.

Fiscal year 2028:

(A) New budget authority, \$69,496,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$66,768,000,000.

Fiscal year 2029:

(A) New budget authority, \$71,023,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$67,975,000,000.

Fiscal year 2030:

(A) New budget authority, \$72,524,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$69,091,000,000.

Fiscal year 2031:

(A) New budget authority, \$74,102,000,000.

(B) Outlays, \$70,256,000,000.

Fiscal year 2032:

- (A) New budget authority, \$75,684,000,000.
- (B) Outlays, \$71,549,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$77,311,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$72,925,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$78,943,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$74,282,000,000.
- (3) General Science, Space, and Technology (250):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$43,200,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$43,115,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$44,128,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$43,400,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$45,060,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$44,101,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$45,940,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$44,793,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$46,908,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$45,616,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$47,884,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$46,447,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$48,902,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$47,421,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$49,934,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$48,419,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$50,994,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$49,440,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$52,077,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$50,494,000,000.
- (4) Energy (270):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$35,389,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$36,523,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$34,674,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$42,653,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$36,933,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$46,157,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$38,556,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$46,228,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$41,251,000,000.

- (B) Outlays, \$46,567,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$39,167,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$41,677,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$38,187,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$38,829,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$40,455,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$38,870,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$34,197,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$32,942,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$28,817,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$27,627,000,000.
- (5) Natural Resources and Environment (300):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$77,574,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$75,528,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$78,928,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$83,476,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$72,892,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$85,681,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$74,504,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$82,547,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$76,163,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$80,791,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$77,669,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$78,987,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$79,300,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$78,179,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$81,511,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$77,837,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$83,151,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$79,572,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$85,124,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$81,614,000,000.
- (6) Agriculture (350):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$26,808,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$31,376,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$29,215,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$31,145,000,000.

- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,603,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$31,660,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$31,783,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$32,256,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$32,839,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$32,136,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$31,053,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$30,186,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,061,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$29,158,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,501,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$29,236,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$30,740,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$29,468,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$31,012,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$30,072,000,000.
- (7) Commerce and Housing Credit (370):
- Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$20,380,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$8,395,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$21,548,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$775,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$17,703,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$8,833,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$16,578,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$40,398,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$5,587,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$4,878,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$14,223,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$800,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$13,939,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$7,311,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$13,062,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$12,314,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$16,371,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$12,511,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$7,180,000,000.

- (B) Outlays, -\$23,482,000,000.
- (8) Transportation (400):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$166,053,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$138,488,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$169,058,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$147,698,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$135,073,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$148,502,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$136,094,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$142,404,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$137,929,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$140,597,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$133,622,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$136,092,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$134,357,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$135,658,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$142,608,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$140,975,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$143,927,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$141,238,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$146,505,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$142,503,000,000.
- (9) Community and Regional Development (450):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$58,613,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$58,931,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$59,691,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$57,342,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$60,896,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$57,057,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$61,914,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$58,273,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$63,176,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$58,046,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$64,449,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$58,344,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$65,638,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$58,117,000,000.

- Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$66,874,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$58,168,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$68,096,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$58,121,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$69,477,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$59,091,000,000.
- (10) Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services
 (500):
- Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$107,932,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$137,483,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$124,883,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$136,134,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$124,064,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$123,578,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$126,949,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$125,533,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$128,547,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$127,556,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$130,445,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$129,535,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$132,538,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$131,488,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$135,010,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$133,831,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$136,986,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$135,933,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$139,741,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$138,281,000,000.
- (11) Health (550):
- Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$776,720,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$774,440,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$759,173,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$756,843,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$716,149,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$708,883,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$723,160,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$713,466,000,000.

- Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$752,616,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$734,415,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$769,569,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$751,140,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$778,478,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$769,501,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$799,992,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$790,580,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$833,092,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$818,550,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$866,907,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$850,546,000,000.
- (12) Medicare (570):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$943,220,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$943,410,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$975,943,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$977,283,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,044,829,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,045,317,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,190,996,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,191,472,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,112,283,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,112,568,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,269,580,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,269,902,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,354,215,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,354,396,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,446,338,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,446,523,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,662,881,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,663,926,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,690,081,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,690,281,000,000.
- (13) Income Security (600):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$672,512,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$664,263,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:

- (A) New budget authority, \$641,676,000,000.
- (B) Outlays, \$639,660,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$630,747,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$625,530,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$642,438,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$643,243,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$636,985,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$622,787,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$649,645,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$640,106,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$655,236,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$645,096,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$664,455,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$653,363,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$678,472,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$674,272,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$678,902,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$667,745,000,000.
- (14) Social Security (650):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$61,928,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$61,928,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$72,896,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$72,896,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$78,768,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$78,768,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$82,852,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$82,852,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$87,480,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$87,480,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$92,440,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$92,440,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$97,117,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$97,117,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$102,107,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$102,107,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$107,855,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$107,855,000,000.

- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$113,513,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$113,513,000,000.
- (15) Veterans Benefits and Services (700):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$379,832,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$373,983,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$403,405,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$410,455,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$426,824,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$427,082,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$449,638,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$467,209,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$469,386,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$445,293,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$490,327,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$486,112,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 (A) New budget authority, \$510,661,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$506,335,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 (A) New budget authority, \$531,528,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$527,745,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 (A) New budget authority, \$553,427,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$573,551,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, \$575,637,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$575,445,000,000.
- (16) Administration of Justice (750):
 Fiscal year 2025:
 (A) New budget authority, \$82,693,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$83,635,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2026:
 (A) New budget authority, \$84,818,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$82,645,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 (A) New budget authority, \$86,985,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$84,591,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 (A) New budget authority, \$89,174,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$86,628,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 (A) New budget authority, \$91,531,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$88,588,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 (A) New budget authority, \$93,928,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, \$90,972,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:

- (A) New budget authority, \$96,449,000,000.
- (B) Outlays, \$93,586,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$99,289,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$95,885,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$101,225,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$98,341,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$104,043,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$101,063,000,000.
- (17) General Government (800):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$50,120,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$25,676,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$26,116,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$32,621,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$31,913,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$36,889,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$33,081,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$36,264,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$33,975,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$36,163,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$34,568,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$35,705,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$35,318,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$35,406,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$36,441,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$21,511,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$37,148,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$36,556,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$38,334,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$37,730,000,000.
- (18) Net Interest (900):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$988,406,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$988,406,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,008,814,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,008,814,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,008,279,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,008,279,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,007,445,000,000.

- (B) Outlays, \$1,007,445,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,011,962,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,011,962,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,009,960,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,009,960,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,015,815,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,015,815,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,023,756,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,023,756,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,022,459,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,022,459,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, \$1,025,284,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, \$1,025,284,000,000.
- (19) Allowances (920):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$100,210,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$66,930,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$102,657,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$87,299,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$104,968,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$96,062,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$106,901,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$100,845,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$109,473,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$104,487,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$112,072,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$107,514,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$114,754,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$110,277,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$117,411,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$112,952,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$120,213,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$115,721,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$123,105,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$118,546,000,000.
- (20) Government-wide savings and adjustments (930):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$164,297,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$63,735,000,000.

- Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$237,885,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$177,191,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$335,075,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$251,251,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$504,717,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$427,996,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$330,655,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$257,471,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$477,197,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$413,266,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$511,280,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$449,447,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$550,326,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$489,112,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$754,126,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$697,913,000,000.
- Fiscal year 2034:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$659,566,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$605,264,000,000.
- (21) Undistributed Offsetting Receipts (950):
 - Fiscal year 2025:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$130,498,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$133,998,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2026:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$134,436,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$140,436,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2027:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$139,823,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$147,373,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2028:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$145,467,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$151,314,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2029:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$149,872,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$151,964,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2030:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$155,250,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$155,641,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2031:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$160,678,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$160,869,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2032:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$171,368,000,000.
 - (B) Outlays, -\$171,359,000,000.
 - Fiscal year 2033:
 - (A) New budget authority, -\$177,274,000,000.

- (B) Outlays, -\$177,365,000,000.
 Fiscal year 2034:
 (A) New budget authority, -\$184,073,000,000.
 (B) Outlays, -\$183,664,000,000.

TITLE II—BUDGET ENFORCEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 201. POINT OF ORDER AGAINST INCREASING LONG-TERM DIRECT SPENDING.

(a) **POINT OF ORDER.**—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives to consider any bill or joint resolution reported by a committee, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that would cause a net increase in direct spending in excess of \$2,500,000,000 in any of the 4 consecutive 10-fiscal year periods described in subsection (b).

(b) **CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ANALYSIS OF PROPOSALS.**—The Director of the Congressional Budget Office shall, to the extent practicable, prepare an estimate of whether a bill or joint resolution reported by a committee (other than the Committee on Appropriations), or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, would cause, relative to current law, a net increase in direct spending in the House of Representatives, in excess of \$2,500,000,000 in any of the 4 consecutive 10-fiscal year periods beginning with the first fiscal year that is 10 fiscal years after the current fiscal year.

(c) **LIMITATION.**—In the House of Representatives, the provisions of this section shall not apply to any bills or joint resolutions, or amendments thereto or conference reports thereon, for which the chair of the Committee on the Budget has made adjustments to the allocations, aggregates, or other budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution.

(d) **DETERMINATIONS OF BUDGET LEVELS.**—For purposes of this section, the levels of net increases in direct spending shall be determined on the basis of estimates provided by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 202. LIMITATION ON CHANGES IN CERTAIN MANDATORY PROGRAMS.

(a) **DEFINITION.**—In this section, the term “change in mandatory programs” means a provision that—

(1) would have been estimated as affecting direct spending or receipts under section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (as in effect prior to September 30, 2002) if the provision were included in legislation other than appropriation Acts; and

(2) results in a net decrease in budget authority in the budget year, but does not result in a net decrease in outlays over the total of the current year, the budget year, and all fiscal years covered under the most recently agreed to concurrent resolution on the budget.

(b) **POINT OF ORDER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the House of Representatives, it shall not be in order to consider a bill or joint resolution making appropriations for a full fiscal year that includes a provision that

proposes a change in mandatory programs, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that, if enacted, would cause the absolute value of the total budget authority of all such changes in mandatory programs enacted in relation to a full fiscal year to be more than the amount specified in paragraph (2).

(2) AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is, for fiscal year 2025, \$15,000,000,000.

(c) DETERMINATION.—For purposes of this section, budgetary levels shall be determined on the basis of estimates provided by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 203. LIMITATION ON ADVANCE APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In the House of Representatives, except as provided for in subsection (b), it shall not be in order to consider any general appropriation bill or bill or joint resolution continuing appropriations, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that provides advance appropriations.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—An advance appropriation may be provided for programs, projects, activities, or accounts identified in the report or the joint explanatory statement of managers, as applicable, accompanying this concurrent resolution under the following headings:

(1) GENERAL.—For fiscal year 2026, under the heading “Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations” in an aggregate amount not to exceed \$28,852,000,000 in new budget authority.

(2) VETERANS.—For fiscal year 2026, under the heading “Veterans Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations”.

(3) INDIAN HEALTH ACCOUNTS.—For fiscal year 2026, under the heading “Indian Health Accounts Identified for Advance Appropriations” in an aggregate amount not to exceed the total budget authority provided for such accounts for fiscal year 2025 in bills or joint resolutions making appropriations for fiscal year 2025.

(c) DEFINITION.—The term “advance appropriation” means any new discretionary budget authority provided in a general appropriation bill or bill or joint resolution continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2025, or any amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that first becomes available following fiscal year 2025.

SEC. 204. ESTIMATES OF DEBT SERVICE COSTS.

In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may direct the Congressional Budget Office to include, in any estimate of a bill or joint resolution prepared under section 402 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, an estimate of any change in debt service costs resulting from carrying out such bill or resolution. Any estimate of debt service costs provided under this section shall be advisory and shall not be used for purposes of enforcement of such Act, the rules of the House of Representatives, or this concurrent resolution. This section shall not apply to authorizations of programs funded by discretionary spending or to appropriation bills or joint resolutions, but shall apply to changes in the authorization level of appropriated entitlements.

SEC. 205. FAIR-VALUE CREDIT ESTIMATES.

(a) FAIR-VALUE ESTIMATES.—Upon the request of chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives, any estimate prepared by the Director of the Congressional Budget Office for a measure that establishes or modifies any program providing loans or loan guarantees shall, as a supplement to such estimate and to the extent practicable, provide a fair-value estimate of such loan or loan guarantee program.

(b) BASELINE ESTIMATES.—The Congressional Budget Office shall include estimates of loan and loan guarantee programs, on a fair-value and credit reform basis, as practicable, in its *The Budget and Economic Outlook*.

(c) ENFORCEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—If the Director of the Congressional Budget Office provides an estimate pursuant to subsection (a), the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives may use such estimate to determine compliance with the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and other budget enforcement requirements.

SEC. 206. ADJUSTMENTS FOR IMPROVED CONTROL OF BUDGETARY RESOURCES.

(a) ADJUSTMENTS OF DISCRETIONARY AND DIRECT SPENDING LEVELS.—In the House of Representatives, if a committee (other than the Committee on Appropriations) reports a bill or joint resolution, or an amendment thereto is offered or conference report thereon is submitted, providing for a decrease in direct spending (budget authority and outlays flowing therefrom) for any fiscal year and also provides for an authorization of appropriations for the same purpose, upon the enactment of such measure, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may decrease the allocation to the applicable authorizing committee that reports such measure and increase the allocation of discretionary spending (budget authority and outlays flowing therefrom) to the Committee on Appropriations for fiscal year 2025 by an amount equal to the new budget authority (and outlays flowing therefrom) provided for in a bill or joint resolution making appropriations for the same purpose.

(b) DETERMINATIONS.—In the House of Representatives, for purposes of enforcing this concurrent resolution, the allocations and aggregate levels of new budget authority, outlays, direct spending, revenues, deficits, and surpluses for fiscal year 2025 and the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034 shall be determined on the basis of estimates made by the chair of the Committee on the Budget and such chair may adjust the applicable levels in this concurrent resolution.

SEC. 207. LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS FROM THE GENERAL FUND OF THE TREASURY TO THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND.

In the House of Representatives, for purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, and the rules or orders of the House of Representatives, a bill or joint resolution, or an amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that transfers funds from the general fund of the Treasury to the Highway Trust Fund shall be counted as new budget authority and outlays equal to the amount of the transfer in the fiscal year the transfer occurs.

SEC. 208. BUDGETARY TREATMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In the House of Representatives, notwithstanding section 302(a)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990, and section 2009a of title 39, United States Code, the report or the joint explanatory statement, as applicable, accompanying this concurrent resolution shall include in its allocation to the Committee on Appropriations under section 302(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 amounts for the discretionary administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration and the United States Postal Service.

(b) **SPECIAL RULE.**—In the House of Representatives, for purposes of enforcing section 302(f) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, estimates of the levels of total new budget authority and total outlays provided by a measure shall include any discretionary amounts described in subsection (a).

SEC. 209. APPLICATION AND EFFECT OF CHANGES IN ALLOCATIONS AND AGGREGATES.

(a) **APPLICATION.**—In the House of Representatives, any adjustments of the allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels made pursuant to this concurrent resolution shall—

- (1) apply while that measure is under consideration;
- (2) take effect upon the enactment of that measure; and
- (3) be published in the Congressional Record as soon as practicable.

(b) **EFFECT OF CHANGED ALLOCATIONS AND AGGREGATES.**—Revised allocations and aggregates resulting from these adjustments shall be considered for the purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 as the allocations and aggregates contained in this concurrent resolution.

(c) **BUDGET COMMITTEE DETERMINATIONS.**—For purposes of this concurrent resolution, the budgetary levels for a fiscal year or period of fiscal years shall be determined on the basis of estimates made by the chair of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives.

(d) **AGGREGATES, ALLOCATIONS AND APPLICATION.**—In the House of Representatives, for purposes of this concurrent resolution and budget enforcement, the consideration of any bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, for which the chair of the Committee on the Budget makes adjustments or revisions in the allocations, aggregates, and other budgetary levels of this concurrent resolution shall not be subject to the point of order set forth in clause 10 of rule XXI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 210. ADJUSTMENTS TO REFLECT CHANGES IN CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS.

In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the appropriate aggregates, allocations, and other budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution for any change in budgetary concepts and definitions consistent with section 251(b)(1) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

SEC. 211. ADJUSTMENT FOR CHANGES IN THE BASELINE.

In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution to reflect changes resulting from the Congressional Budget Office's update to its baseline for fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 212. EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING POWERS.

The House of Representatives adopts the provisions of this title—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House of Representatives, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of the House of Representatives, and such rules shall supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent with such other rules; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of the House of Representatives to change those rules at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as is the case of any other rule of the House of Representatives.

TITLE III—RESERVE FUNDS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 301. DEFICIT NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND FOR INVESTMENTS IN NATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE.

In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this concurrent resolution for any bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, that invests in national infrastructure if such measure would not increase the deficit for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 302. RESERVE FUND FOR PRO-GROWTH TAX POLICIES.

In the House of Representatives, if the Committee on Ways and Means reports a bill or joint resolution that amends the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to advance pro-growth tax reforms and simplify the tax code, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution for the budgetary effects of any such bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon.

SEC. 303. DEFICIT NEUTRAL RESERVE FUND FOR MEDICAL INNOVATION.

In the House of Representatives, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other appropriate levels in this concurrent resolution for any bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon, related to promoting American medical innovation if such measure would not increase the deficit for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

SEC. 304. RESERVE FUND FOR TRADE AGREEMENTS.

In the House of Representatives, if the Committee on Ways and Means reports a bill or joint resolution that modifies tariffs on imports or implements trade agreements, the chair of the Committee on the Budget may adjust the allocations, aggregates, and other ap-

appropriate budgetary levels in this concurrent resolution for the budgetary effects of any such bill or joint resolution, or amendment thereto or conference report thereon.

TITLE IV—POLICY STATEMENTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 401. POLICY STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) The rate of economic growth has a significant impact on budget deficits. When the rate of gross domestic product (GDP) growth is higher, projected revenue grows and deficits decline. Conversely, lower rates of GDP growth can cause opposite outcomes: slower revenue growth and larger deficits.

(2) Federal policies affect the economy's potential to grow and impact economic performance, influencing budgetary outcomes. Consequently, fiscally responsible policies that improve the economy's long-term growth prospects can help reduce the size of budget deficits over a given period.

(3) The free market, where individuals pursue their own self-interests, has been responsible for greater advancements in quality of life and generation of wealth than any other form of economic system. Federal policies geared towards growing the economy should thus allow market forces to operate unhindered rather than pick "winners" and "losers".

(b) POLICY ON ECONOMIC GROWTH.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to pursue policies that embrace the free market and promote economic growth through—

(1) reducing Federal spending and deficits, which otherwise crowd-out market investments;

(2) expanding American energy production by eliminating excessive burdens and barriers placed on energy producers;

(3) lowering taxes that discourage work, savings, and investment;

(4) deregulating the economy and enacting reforms to restrict future bureaucratic red tape;

(5) eliminating barriers to work that keep Americans on the sidelines;

(6) expanding free and fair trade; and

(7) restructuring health care to be focused on patients and cures rather than administrative control.

SEC. 402. POLICY STATEMENT ON UNAUTHORIZED APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) Article I of the Constitution vests all legislative power in Congress.

(2) Central to Congress's legislative powers is the authorization of appropriations necessary to execute the laws that establish Federal agencies and programs and impose obligations.

(3) Clause 2 of rule XXI of the Rules of the House of Representatives prohibits the consideration of appropriations measures that provide appropriations for unauthorized programs.

(4) According to the Congressional Budget Office, \$510 billion in appropriations was attributed to 428 expired authorizations for fiscal year 2023.

(5) Agencies such as the Department of State have not been authorized for nearly two decades.

(b) **POLICY ON UNAUTHORIZED APPROPRIATIONS.**—In the House, it is the policy of this concurrent resolution that legislation should be enacted that—

(1) establishes a schedule for reauthorizing all Federal programs on a staggered basis together with declining spending limits for each year a program is not reauthorized according to such schedule; and

(2) prohibits the consideration of appropriations measures in the House that provide appropriations in excess of spending limits specified for such measures and ensures that such rule should be strictly enforced.

SEC. 403. POLICY STATEMENT ON IMPROPER PAYMENTS.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) The Government Accountability Office defines improper payments as any reported payment that should not have been made or was made in an incorrect amount.

(2) Since 2003, improper payments have totaled \$2.7 trillion with a reported Federal Government-wide error rate of 5.42 percent in fiscal year 2023.

(3) Improper payments between 2021-2023 have exceeded \$750 billion and totaled more than the budget of the U.S. Army in 2023.

(4) The Earned Income Tax Credit, Unemployment Insurance, Medicaid, and Medicare, account for 72.8 percent of total improper payments, with error rates of 33.5 percent, 32.3 percent, 8.6 percent, and 7.6 percent, respectively.

(5) At least five agencies did not report payment estimates for Federal programs that are deemed susceptible to significant improper payments.

(6) The American public deserves to have confidence that Federal programs are administered in a cost-effective, transparent, and responsible manner.

(b) **POLICY ON IMPROPER PAYMENTS.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to lower improper payment rates by \$1 trillion over the next decade by working closely with authorizing committees throughout the budget process to—

(1) require all Federal programs to annually report improper payment rates;

(2) streamline the processes and mechanisms through which information is shared between Federal agencies;

(3) task Federal agencies to implement technologies to identify patterns indicative of fraudulent activities or errors, and to enhance eligibility verification processes to ensure that only qualified recipients are receiving benefits;

(4) incentivize States and Federal agencies to comply with anti-fraud rules; and

(5) hold programs and agencies accountable for continued or prolonged failure to prevent and mitigate improper payments.

SEC. 404. POLICY STATEMENT ON BUDGET GIMMICK REFORM.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) The complexity and lack of transparency in discretionary spending has facilitated an increase in Federal spending, exacerbating the looming debt and deficit.

(2) There is a critical need to explore and implement mechanisms that ensure the appropriations process is accountable, transparent, understandable, and adheres to principles of fiscal discipline.

(b) POLICY ON BUDGET GIMMICK REFORM.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that—

(1) the House should pursue reforms to the budget and appropriations process that eliminate the use of budget gimmicks to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and fiscal discipline;

(2) specific mechanisms should be implemented to correct the current fiscal path and safeguard the Nation's economic future, such as the use of budgetary caps, stricter criteria for emergency spending, the prohibition of "bad CHIMPs", and the requirement to direct savings towards deficit reduction;

(3) the House supports efforts to engage in discussions that refine and enact these reforms to restore fiscal responsibility; and

(4) by pursuing reform, the House reaffirms its commitment to fiscal responsibility and the elimination of practices that obscure the Federal budget's true condition.

SEC. 405. POLICY STATEMENT ON HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN WORKFORCE.

(a) FINDINGS ON HIGHER EDUCATION.—The House finds the following:

(1) A well-educated, high-skilled workforce is critical to economic, job, and wage growth.

(2) Average published tuition and fees have increased consistently above the rate of inflation across all types of colleges and universities.

(3) With an outstanding student loan portfolio of \$1.6 trillion, the Federal Government is the largest education lender to undergraduate and graduate students, parents, and other guarantors.

(4) Students who do not complete their college degree are at a greater risk of defaulting on their loans than those who complete their degree.

(5) Because Federal income-driven repayment plans offer loan balance forgiveness after a repayment period, increased use of these plans portends higher projected costs to taxpayers.

(b) POLICY ON HIGHER EDUCATION.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to promote college affordability, access, and success by—

(1) reserving Federal financial aid for those most in need and streamlining grant and loan aid programs to help students and families more easily assess their options for financing post-secondary education;

(2) removing regulatory barriers to reduce costs, increase access, and allow for innovative teaching models;

(3) increasing accountability for colleges and universities and ensuring students and taxpayers receive a return on investment; and

(4) championing policies that achieve these goals, including H.R. 6951, the College Cost Reduction Act.

(c) FINDINGS ON THE AMERICAN WORKFORCE.—The House finds the following:

(1) 6.1 million Americans are currently unemployed.

(2) Despite billions of dollars in spending, those looking for work are stymied by a broken workforce development system that fails to connect workers with assistance and employers with skilled personnel.

(3) American workers and families are facing high inflation, supply chain disruptions, and regulatory barriers that suppress economic growth.

(d) POLICY ON THE AMERICAN WORKFORCE.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to promote and advocate policies that benefit all American workers and businesses by—

(1) further streamlining and consolidating Federal workforce development programs;

(2) empowering States with the flexibility to tailor funding and programs to the specific needs of their workforce and employers; and

(3) protecting employee freedom, promoting union accountability, supporting independent contractors, updating the Fair Labor Standards Act, and strengthening retirement security for workers and families.

SEC. 406. POLICY STATEMENT ON MEDICARE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) More than 65,000,000 Americans depend on Medicare for their health care needs.

(2) Congress must protect Medicare for current and future generations by strengthening the program to prevent reductions to benefits beneficiaries depend on.

(3) The Medicare Trustees Report has repeatedly recommended that Congress address Medicare's long-term financial challenges. Each year without reform, the financial condition of Medicare becomes more precarious and the threat to those in or near retirement more pronounced. The current challenges that Congress will need to address include—

(A) the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund will be exhausted in 2031 and unable to pay the full scheduled benefits;

(B) Medicare enrollment is expected to increase significantly, as 10,000 baby boomers reach retirement age each day;

(C) due to extended life spans, enrollees remain in Medicare three times longer than at the outset of the program nearly six decades ago;

(D) notwithstanding the program's trust fund arrangement, current workers' payroll tax contributions pay for current Medicare beneficiaries instead of being set aside for their own future use;

(E) the number of workers supporting each beneficiary continues to fall; in 1965, the ratio was 4.5 workers per

beneficiary, and by 2030, the ratio will be only 2.5 workers per beneficiary;

(F) the average Medicare beneficiary receives about three dollars in Medicare benefits for every dollar paid into the program;

(G) Medicare is growing faster than the economy, with an average projected growth rate of 7.5 percent per year over the next 10 years; and

(H) by 2034, Medicare spending will reach more than \$2.2 trillion, more than double the 2023 spending level of \$1 trillion.

(4) Over the next 75 years, the Medicare program faces more than \$53 trillion in unfunded liabilities, representing the shortfall of what it will take in today's dollars to fund promised benefits to beneficiaries. Failing to address the fiscal challenges in the Medicare program will continue to contribute to Federal deficits and debt, while placing increasing pressure on the Federal budget over the long term.

(b) **POLICY ON MEDICARE REFORM.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to support bipartisan solutions to save Medicare for those in or near retirement and to strengthen the program's solvency for future beneficiaries.

SEC. 407. POLICY STATEMENT ON PROMOTING PATIENT-CENTERED HEALTH CARE REFORM.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) Patient-centered health care increases access to quality care for all Americans, regardless of age, income, or health status.

(2) Consolidated health care markets that lack free and fair competition have resulted in higher prices and decreased quality of care for patients.

(3) States are best equipped to respond to the needs of their unique communities.

(4) The current legal framework encourages frivolous medical malpractice lawsuits that increase health care costs.

(b) **POLICY ON HEALTH CARE REFORM.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that—

(1) Americans deserve affordable, accessible, and personalized health care coverage that best fits their needs;

(2) Congress should enact policies that increase competition and transparency in health care markets by targeting the incentives that drive consolidation, including bipartisan legislation to equalize payments between hospital outpatient departments and independent physician offices;

(3) the American health care system should encourage research, development, and innovation in the medical sector, rather than stymie growth through overregulation;

(4) States should determine the parameters of acceptable private insurance plans based on the needs of their populations and retain control over other health care coverage standards;

(5) reforms should protect patients with pre-existing conditions and create greater parity between benefits offered through employers and those offered independently;

(6) States should have greater flexibility in designing their Medicaid programs and State Children's Health Insurance Programs; and

(7) States should have the flexibility to implement medical liability policies to best suit their needs.

SEC. 408. POLICY STATEMENT ON MEDICAL INNOVATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) The Nation's commitment to the discovery, development, and delivery of new treatments and cures has made the United States the biomedical innovation capital of the world.

(2) The Nation's preeminent position in biomedical innovation has brought life-saving drugs to patients, provided millions of jobs in local communities across the country, and furthered the United States' economic prosperity.

(3) American companies and scientists have been responsible for the first of many scientific discoveries that have improved and prolonged human health and life for countless people in America and around the world.

(4) The United States has led the way in early discovery because of visionary and determined innovators throughout the private and public sectors, including industry, academic medical centers, and Federally-funded activities.

(5) The United States has led the way in the commercialization and delivery of cures and therapies to patients because of the Nation's commitment to the power of market forces.

(6) Federal policies should foster investment in health care innovation. America should maintain its world leadership in medical science by encouraging free market competition in the development and delivery of cures and therapies to patients.

(7) The Nation's leadership in medical innovation is critical to maintaining our national security.

(b) POLICY ON MEDICAL INNOVATION.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that Congress should—

(1) foster investment in health care innovation and maintain the Nation's world leadership status in medical science by encouraging competition;

(2) continue to support the critical work of medical innovators throughout the country through preserving free market incentives to conduct life-saving research and development; and

(3) unleash the power of private-sector medical innovation by removing regulatory obstacles and rejecting centralized government price controls for innovative cures and therapies that impede the development and adoption of new medical technology and pharmaceuticals and increase costs for patients.

SEC. 409. POLICY STATEMENT ON MEDICAID WORK REQUIREMENTS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The House finds the following:

(1) Medicaid is a Federal-State program that provides health care coverage for impoverished Americans.

(2) Medicaid serves four major population categories: the elderly, the blind and disabled, children, and adults.

(3) The percentage of the United States population enrolled in Medicaid has grown from 9.3 percent in 1975 to 24.3 percent in 2022.

(4) The Congressional Budget Office projected the average monthly enrollment in Medicaid for fiscal year 2023 would be 94 million people.

(5) The Congressional Budget Office projected at least 19 million able-bodied adults without dependents would be enrolled in Medicaid in 2023.

(6) Medicaid continues to grow at an unsustainable rate; within the decade, the program stands to cost over one trillion dollars per year, between Federal and State spending.

(7) According to data provided to the Office of Management and Budget, the Federal Government made over \$50 billion in improper payments through the Medicaid program in 2023.

(8) Work requirements are strongly supported by the American people. In April 2022, 79.5 percent of Wisconsin voters supported work requirements for welfare programs in a statewide referendum. Likewise, nationwide polls consistently demonstrate 70 to 75 percent support for work requirement policies.

(9) Congress has a responsibility to preserve limited Medicaid resources and taxpayers' dollars for America's most vulnerable, including those who cannot provide for themselves.

(10) Work is a valuable source of human dignity, and work requirements help lift Americans out of poverty by incentivizing self-reliance.

(b) **POLICY ON MEDICAID WORK REQUIREMENTS.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that—

(1) Congress should enact legislation, similar to the provisions in the House-passed Limit, Save, Grow Act of 2023 (H.R. 2811), that encourages able-bodied adults without dependents to work, actively seek work, participate in a job-training program, or do community service in order to receive Medicaid benefits;

(2) legislation implementing work requirements into the Medicaid program could require able-bodied adults without dependents to work, engage in community service, or participate in a work training program for at least 80 hours per month to remain eligible for Medicaid;

(3) States should be given flexibility to determine the specific parameters of qualifying program participation and work-equivalent experience;

(4) States should perform regular case checks to ensure taxpayer dollars are appropriately spent; and

(5) the Government Accountability Office or the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Inspector General should conduct annual audits of State Medicaid programs to ensure proper reporting and prevent waste, fraud, and abuse.

SEC. 410. POLICY STATEMENT ON COMBATING THE OPIOID EPIDEMIC.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), more than 564,000 died as a result of opioid overdoses between 1999 and 2020.

(2) Drug overdose deaths involving opioids spiked over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, increasing from approximately 50,000 in 2019 to 68,630 in 2020 and 80,411 in 2021.

(3) In 2021, opioids were involved in over 75 percent of all drug overdose deaths. Synthetic opioids, including fentanyl and fentanyl analogues accounted for over 88 percent of all opioid-related deaths in 2021.

(4) In fiscal year 2023 alone, United States Customs and Border Protection, including Air and Marine Operations, seized 27,000 pounds of fentanyl, coming across the Southwest Border – enough to kill over 6.1 billion people.

(5) According to the Drug Enforcement Administration, China is the primary source of all fentanyl-related substances trafficked into the United States.

(6) The SUPPORT for Patients and Communities Act was signed into law in the 115th Congress in an overwhelmingly bipartisan display of congressional and executive branch support to fight against the opioid epidemic.

(7) The Committee on Energy and Commerce and the Committee on Ways and Means are working to advance policies that reauthorize and build upon laws passed in previous Congresses.

(8) Bipartisan efforts to reduce the supply of opioids in the United States, eliminate opioid abuse, and provide relief from addiction for all Americans should continue.

(b) **POLICY ON OPIOID ABUSE.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that—

(1) combating opioid abuse using available budgetary resources remains a high priority;

(2) the House, in a bipartisan manner, should continue to examine the Federal response to the opioid abuse epidemic and support essential activities to reduce and prevent substance abuse;

(3) the Federal Government should secure the United States southern border to reduce the flow of fentanyl and other opioids into the Nation;

(4) the House should examine the specific threat posed by fentanyl and fentanyl analogues and support initiatives to reduce the supply of fentanyl in the United States and mitigate its deadly impact on American lives;

(5) the House should engage in oversight efforts to ensure that taxpayer dollars intended to combat opioid abuse are spent appropriately and efficiently; and

(6) the House should collaborate with State, local, and tribal entities to develop a comprehensive strategy for addressing the opioid addiction crisis.

SEC. 411. POLICY STATEMENT ON BORDER SECURITY.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) The United States is facing the largest influx of illegal migrants in modern history. Since President Biden took office, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has encountered over 8.7 million illegal migrants at U.S. Borders. At the Southwest Border alone, there have been over 7.2 million encounters.

(2) Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas confirmed on January 8, 2024, that the current release rate for migrants illegally crossing the border is approximately 85 percent. This means that of the 7.2 million illegal migrants encountered at the Southwest border, over 6.1 million of these illegal migrants have been released into the United States. In addition, it is estimated that at least 1.7 million illegal migrants have effectively evaded U.S. Customs and Border Patrol and entered the country illegally. These aliens are referred to as known “gotaways”.

(3) President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas’s catch and release policy is costing the American taxpayer tens of billions of dollars a year. Unfortunately, the cost to the taxpayer is much higher once all illegal immigrants are included. In total, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) estimates the cost of all illegal immigrants to the taxpayer to be over \$150.7 billion per year.

(4) Article I, section 8, clause 1 of the Constitution places the mandate on the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government to “provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States”. Both the Legislature and the Executive have failed to provide a proper defense of the border and failed to uphold the common welfare of the people, as is evident by the situation in cities across the country.

(5) Article IV, section 4 of the Constitution provides that the Federal Government “shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion”. The Federal Government of the United States has failed to provide its citizens with a defense at our borders and has failed to protect the States from invasion, as at least 7.8 million illegal migrants have now entered the country through the Southwest border.

(b) **POLICY ON BORDER SECURITY.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution to implement the policies set forth in H.R. 2, the Secure the Border Act of 2023. It is imperative that Congress dedicate appropriate resources to DHS to deter and prevent illegal immigration, secure the border, and effectively control the entry and exit of all people. Enforcing our borders and the rule of law should be a top priority for Congress.

SEC. 412. POLICY STATEMENT ON THE SUPPLEMENTAL NUTRITION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) While the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program will remain a means-tested entitlement, certain policies steeped in Executive overreach have expanded the size and scope of the program with continued disregard to transparency of process, basic tenets of integrity, and accountability to the taxpayer.

(2) President Biden’s 2021 revision to the Thrifty Food Plan was careless, ill-conceived, and poorly executed, resulting in a cost estimate of \$425.5 billion over the 10-year period. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) was asked by the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the

Senate to review the update, and in December 2022, GAO issued a suite of recommendations to promote a transparent and scientifically rigorous process for future updates.

(3) Other statutes and subsequent regulations continue to promote dependence rather than upward mobility, namely States' use and abuse of able-bodied adults without dependents time limit waivers, broad-based categorical eligibility, and lackluster implementation of program integrity standards.

(4) While it is critical families have access to food, it is equally critical work capable households are encouraged to make more responsible choices. Not to mention, when States and Washington elites propose eliminating work, eligibility, and integrity standards, they are further distancing eligible households from the tools and supports to advance their financial position.

(b) **POLICY ON THE SUPPLEMENTAL NUTRITION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives look for opportunities to strengthen measures related to employment, integrity, and health. Benefit recipients and the American taxpayer deserve a program that provides for those in need while emphasizing pathways out of poverty.

SEC. 413. POLICY STATEMENT ON AGRICULTURE.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) The Farm Safety Net is made up of various Federal agricultural support programs that provide farmers, ranchers, and producers with income assistance.

(2) Ad hoc disaster spending allocated for the agriculture sector comes from supplemental funding appropriated by Congress and funds directly allocated from the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

(3) While there have been unanticipated challenges over the last several years from trade disruptions with China, a global pandemic, and extreme weather events that necessitated assistance for the agriculture sector, the level of emergency ad hoc assistance has grown considerably, representing more than 70 percent of Federal agriculture spending since 2018. This level of unbudgeted assistance is an indication of the inadequacies within the current Farm Safety Net, which fails to provide certainty for the agriculture sector, and leaves taxpayers footing the bill for the additional cost.

(4) Furthermore, in 2018, Congress restored the Department of Agriculture's (USDA) authority to spend additional amounts of funds through section 5 of the CCC Charter Act, which was utilized by the Trump Administration to rapidly respond to unprecedented trade barriers and the COVID-19 pandemic. While these funds provided USDA with immense flexibility to quickly support producers, the Biden Administration has abused this authority to fund questionable, nonemergency initiatives in a clear effort to circumvent the role of Congress.

(5) According to recent improper payment data from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for fiscal year 2023, USDA's Emergency Conservation Program – Disasters and the

Farm Service Agency (FSA) Wildfires and Hurricanes Indemnity Program Plus had projected improper payment rates of over 40 and 8.3 percent, respectively, which further highlights the inefficiencies of ad hoc spending. CCC funded Agriculture Risk Coverage and Price Loss Coverage programs were estimated to be over 8.5 percent, and FSA Livestock Forage Disaster Program and FSA Noninsured Crop Disaster Assistance Program were estimated to be 13.6 and 10.4 percent, respectively. OMB's data shows that enhanced program integrity measures at USDA are needed to ensure taxpayer dollars are not wasted or abused.

(b) **POLICY ON AGRICULTURE.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives improve and strengthen the Farm Safety Net to provide stability to the agriculture sector and certainty to farmers, ranchers, and producers, by reducing unbudgeted and untimely ad hoc disaster spending, ceasing the USDA's discretionary use of the section 5 CCC Charter Act authority, and enhancing program compliance and integrity enforcement at USDA. Any yielded savings from these examinations should be reinvested into Farm Safety Net programs in the most fiscally responsible manner. The security of the food and agriculture systems of the United States is a cornerstone of national security, and this concurrent resolution supports the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives in their endeavors to address these issues.

SEC. 414. POLICY STATEMENT ON BIPARTISAN FISCAL COMMISSION.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) The United States faces a significant debt crisis, with the national debt currently exceeding \$34 trillion.

(2) This debt poses a significant risk to the country's long-term fiscal sustainability, with implications for future generations.

(3) The drivers of U.S. debt include entitlement spending such as Social Security and Medicare and discretionary government spending.

(4) To address these challenges, a comprehensive review of the United States' current debt situation is necessary to ensure that the country's financial future is secure.

(5) On January 18, 2024, the Committee on the Budget ordered reported H.R. 5779, the Fiscal Commission Act of 2024, on a bipartisan vote.

(b) **POLICY ON BIPARTISAN DEBT COMMISSION.**—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution that the House of Representatives recommends the creation of a bipartisan fiscal commission, consistent with H.R. 5779, the Fiscal Commission Act of 2024, ordered reported by the Committee on the Budget.

SEC. 415. POLICY STATEMENT ON GOVERNMENT DEREGULATION.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The House finds the following:

(1) Regulations throughout the Federal Government have been a major issue for decades, continuously growing while negatively impacting the nation's economic and fiscal standing. Overregulation has consistently hurt small businesses, strangled domestic energy production, negatively impacted labor

market conditions, and expanded government overreach and costs to taxpayers. To combat the consolidation of power, our Constitution requires elected representatives to authorize spending and the collection of taxes. The executive branch has become a sprawling bureaucracy of more than 400 agencies and sub-agencies staffed by unelected bureaucrats who create new regulations for the American people to follow. These regulations impose significant costs on individuals and businesses and increase spending for existing programs without the authorization of Congress or the approval of the American people.

(2) Real (inflation-adjusted) spending on regulatory agencies has increased from \$4 billion in 1960 to almost \$70 billion in 2021 – 17 times the 1960 funding level. The total number of regulators has grown from 57,109 to 288,409 over the same period. Additionally, the total number of pages in the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) has increased from 22,877 pages in 1960 to 188,321 pages in 2021. Going back further, the CFR contained only 9,745 pages in 1950 – making the size of the CFR in 1950 only about 5 percent of its current size. Since 1970, the total number of regulatory restrictions has grown by over 2.5 times, from 440,000 restrictions to over 1.3 million restrictions in 2021.

(3) Moreover, this problem has only gotten worse under President Biden, who has spent over \$1.5 trillion through various unilateral and even unconstitutional executive actions since taking office in January 2021. On his first day in office, President Biden revoked executive orders on regulatory oversight, thereby eliminating regulatory budgets for agencies and transparency requirements for guidance documents. During his first year, President Biden pushed through more economically significant regulations than any other president's first year in office. Moreover, President Biden has vetoed more resolutions of disapproval (to overturn rules issued by agencies) than all other presidents combined.

(4) This concurrent resolution encourages repealing all new regulations created under President Biden, permanently eliminating regulations that were temporarily waived during the COVID-19 pandemic, exempting small businesses from National Labor Relations Board regulations, addressing the burdens of occupational licensing requirements, and repealing Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards, among other policies.

(5) Additionally, this concurrent resolution proposes enacting legislation into law that restores congressional Article I powers, scales back Federal regulations, limits future bureaucratic red tape, and unleashes economic growth, including but not limited to the—

- (A) Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny (REINS) Act, as passed the House on June 14, 2023;
- (B) Article I Regulatory Budget Act;
- (C) All Economic Regulations are Transparent Act;
- (D) Guidance Out of Darkness Act;
- (E) Regulatory Accountability Act;

- (F) Require Evaluation before Implementing Executive Wishlists Act;
 - (G) Separation of Powers Restoration Act;
 - (H) Paperwork Burden Reduction Act;
 - (I) Patient Access to Higher Quality Health Care Act;
 - (J) Lower Energy Costs Act;
 - (K) Mission not Emissions Act;
 - (L) Water Supply Permitting Coordination Act;
 - (M) Endangered Species Transparency and Reasonableness Act;
 - (N) Ensuring Accountability in Agency Rulemaking Act;
 - (O) Determination of NEPA Adequacy Streamlining Act;
 - and
 - (P) Bureau of Land Management Mineral Spacing Act.
- (b) POLICY ON GOVERNMENT REGULATION.—It is the policy of this concurrent resolution—
- (1) that Congress continues to examine ways to relieve the burdens of overregulation throughout the Federal Government;
 - (2) that House Republicans remain at the ready to promote initiatives that will reduce government bureaucracy, restore Article I congressional power, enhance federalism, and increase economic prosperity through deregulation;
 - (3) to ensure that once harmful and costly regulations are repealed, they cannot be reimposed through executive fiat, as the Biden Administration has done on issues such as student loan forgiveness and expansion of the Thrifty Food Plan;
 - (4) to develop policies with the authorizing committees that will demonstrate the contributions to economic growth and reducing government spending embodied in legislation like the REINS Act; and
 - (5) to not only reduce burdensome, costly regulations but to reestablish and strengthen the role of Congress in checking executive branch overreach in the future.

