



THE GREENS' INDEPENDENTLY COSTED ELECTION PLATFORM 2019



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BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT

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A BUDGET FOR THE FUTURE

The Greens are presenting an independently costed, evidence-based election platform that properly addresses the twin challenges of climate change and economic inequality in Australia.

This is a budgeted plan to become a clean energy superpower and export renewables to the world as we move away from coal, oil and gas. It is a plan to end corporate handouts and shut down the lucrative tax avoidance industry.

This new revenue allows us to commit record spending on preventing climate damage and protecting our environment in order to match the extinction crisis that confronts us. It is paid for by ensuring polluters pay the true cost of the damage they are doing by removing the \$28 billion governments currently spend on fossil fuel subsidies and reinstating a price on pollution.

These are the fiscal priorities of the Australian Greens in the next term of Parliament to improve the budget position and transition away from the highly-polluting economy we have now.

Not only will this improve our global competitiveness in a decarbonising world, but the International Monetary Fund has said that the removal of fossil fuel subsidies would have significant economic benefits, including improved budget bottom-lines for governments and the private sector, amounting to net benefits of 1.7 per cent of global GDP¹

Our platform reflects our desire for a world where everyone can have a decent life in a safe climate, with jobs that are meaningful, essential services that are affordable, and an environment that is protected, respected and restored.

This platform shows that Australians don't need to accept the tired old argument that we can't afford the things we need to live a good life, like providing free childcare to 80% of families, bringing back free TAFE and university, fully resourcing our public schools, building 500,000 new affordable homes, getting dental into Medicare and wiping out hospital waiting lists.

All of this can be paid for if we choose to stand up to coal, oil and gas companies and the wealthiest in society who currently pay financial planners huge sums to avoid paying tax.

When oil and gas companies are sitting on a staggering \$324 billion in avoided tax credits², and when the Government is pushing through another \$325 billion in tax cuts over the next ten years that overwhelmingly flow to people who don't need it, it's clear that successive governments have had their priorities wrong.

The principles underlying this platform are that we must tax things that are harmful and dangerous and use that money to fund things that improve and nourish our society.

Our independently costed platform demonstrates that we can afford to fund the services we need, shape the economy in the way that we want and invest in the opportunities of the coming generations, all while delivering a cumulative surplus of \$7.96 billion above the Coalition over the forward estimates.

¹ IMF Working Paper WP/19/89 *Global Fossil Fuel Subsidies Remain Large: An Update Based on Country-Level Estimates* page 6.
² <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-01/tax-credits-for-oil-and-gas-giants-rise-to-324-billion/10959236>

The Greens' Independently Costed Election Platform

Financial implications of individual measures prepared by the independent Parliamentary Budget Office are costed and current as at 2019-20 Budget. Interactions between each policy measure, overall public debt interest implications and the overall total budget impact have not been analysed by the PBO.

| CATEGORY | POLICY MEASURE | 2019-20 BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT (\$M) |
|--|--|---|
| Democracy, accountability and integrity | Scrap the generous pension scheme for ex-Members of Parliament | \$90 |
| | Establish a federal corruption watchdog with real teeth to clean up politics | -\$45 |
| | Restore every dollar of the Liberals' funding cuts to the ABC and SBS and support First Nations Media | -\$753 |
| | Support independent journalism by introducing tax deductibility for media subscriptions, purchases and donations | -\$635 |
| Climate, renewables and the end of coal | Establish a new Commonwealth Authority, Renew Australia, to oversee Australia's transformation to 100% renewables, construct Renewable Energy Zones, support Grid Level Storage and implement the Greens' Solar for All and household storage program | -\$6,727 |
| | Phase out thermal coal exports by 2030 | -\$177 |
| | Protect coal workers and communities through the transition to a zero-carbon future | -\$276 |
| | Restore the Liberal and Labor funding cuts to the Australian Renewable Energy Agency and resource it to build a renewable export industry into Asia | -\$2,192 |
| | End public subsidies for the fossil fuel industry | \$27,911 |
| | Charge royalties for oil and gas and reform the Petroleum Resource Rent Tax so that Australians get a fair return from the exploitation of public resources | \$9,300 |
| | Enable Australia to double our energy productivity by helping homes and businesses save energy | -\$127 |
| | Expand the CEFC and provide concessional loans to small business for battery storage | \$14 |
| | Remove GST, tariffs, stamp duty and registration for electric vehicles to make them cheaper; Implement fuel standards and lift the luxury car tax for internal combustion vehicles by 17%, and build a national electric vehicle fast charging network | -\$831 |
| | Reintroduce a price on pollution to ensure polluters pay for the damage they are doing | \$19,045 |
| | Terminate the 'Climate Solutions' Fund | \$446 |
| | Climate adaptation and mine rehabilitation*** | -\$1,060 |

| CATEGORY | POLICY MEASURE | 2019-20 BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT (\$M) |
|--|---|--|
| Reducing economic inequality and investing in people | Immediately increase Newstart, Youth Allowance and other payments by \$75 a week and bring back the Parenting Payment Single allowance | -\$14,992 |
| | Establish an Independent Equality Commission to provide advice on setting rates of income support and strategies to reduce economic inequality | -\$37 |
| | Introduce a 35% minimum tax rate on incomes above \$300,000 and make the deficit levy permanent | \$14,388 |
| | Reform the tax treatment of discretionary trusts so that they are not able to be used as a tax loophole for the very wealthy | \$8,585 |
| | A ten-year, \$5 billion plan to address the epidemic of family and domestic violence by ensuring no DV survivor is turned away from crisis, support and housing services and primary prevention programs are delivered | -\$2,553 |
| | Establish a path towards treaties, a Makarrata Commission and a Voice to Parliament. Reinstate funding cuts from Indigenous Affairs, address the unacceptable incarceration rates of First Nations peoples including justice reinvestment initiatives and reduce the rate of First Nations children in out of home care | -\$919 |
| | Abolish punitive measures including compulsory income management, Work for the Dole, the Community Development Program, Youth Jobs PaTH and ParentsNext | \$2,676 |
| | Reverse the Liberal Party's company tax cuts for large businesses | \$4,840 |
| | Reverse income tax cuts that will turbocharge inequality by flowing overwhelmingly to the wealthiest Australians | \$46,530 |
| | Increase Australia's humanitarian intake to 50,000 places a year, establish a regional solution and commence a Royal Commission into Australia's mandatory offshore detention regime, end offshore detention on Manus Island and Nauru and restore the Status Resolution Support Service Programme and the Humanitarian Settlement Services Programme | -\$14,286 |
| | Clear the parent visa backlog within three years and then cap waiting times to twelve months | -\$250 |
| | Fund a large scale anti-racism campaign, introduce a Multicultural Act and establish a Multicultural Commission | -\$198 |
| | Ensure funding for an additional 50,000 Home Care Packages and commit an initial investment of \$3 billion for better pay and conditions for aged care staff over four years and to increase hours of care for residents | -\$9,301 |
| | Ensure the NDIS is fully funded, transparent, consultative and accountable, connect people and the internet and champion inclusive education and employment | -\$2,056 |
| | Invest in LGBTIQ+ equality and services and ensure community representation at the highest levels of government*** | -\$92 |

| CATEGORY | POLICY MEASURE | 2019-20 BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT (\$M) |
|--|---|--|
| (cont.) | Green Climate Finance to help developing countries with climate change and increase funding for overseas development assistance to 0.7% of GNI by 2030 | -\$22,453 |
| | End corporate tax avoidance through artificial debt shifting into low-taxing jurisdictions | \$720 |
| | Reverse Liberal Government cuts and increase funding to legal assistance services that have left providers turning away 30-40% of requests for help | -\$831 |
| World Class Public Education and Health Services | Bring every public school to full funding of its Schooling Resource Standard by 2023, while unlocking the Liberals' private school infrastructure slush fund so that public schools can also access funding for capital works, and establish a school breakfast program so that every child from every walk of life starts the school day with a full stomach | -\$6,927 |
| | Roll-out the biggest investment in childcare in Australia's history by abolishing the activity test, raising the income threshold so that 80% of families will enjoy fee-free childcare | -\$20,389 |
| | Abolish the Private Health Insurance Rebate to free up billions to be put back into the public health system | \$20,888 |
| | Blitz elective surgery waiting lists, ensuring that 80% of the backlog that's built up under the Liberal-National Government is cleared within 12 months | -\$592 |
| | Safeguard full funding for hospitals | -\$2,213 |
| | Protect Medicare and expand it to cover dental care, expanding to universal dental coverage by 2025 | -\$6,138 |
| | Reform the primary health care system of chronic disease management | -\$4,890 |
| | Put prevention at the heart of health by establishing a Preventative Health Agency, to support population health and reduce pressures on both public health and the public health system | -\$196 |
| | Ensure access to mental health services for everyone who needs support | -\$2,937 |
| | Properly fund drug and alcohol treatment | -\$1,305 |
| | Fully fund opioid substitution therapies | -\$614 |
| | Expand safe injecting facilities | -\$37 |
| | Legalise, tax and regulate the trade of cannabis | \$4,041 |
| | Set aside funding to trial pill testing at festivals to save lives with an evidence-based, health-focused approach to illicit substance use | -\$18 |
| | Guarantee access to essential community services including social services, disability services, mental health services and aged care | -\$2,172 |

| CATEGORY | POLICY MEASURE | 2019-20 BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT (\$M) |
|---|--|---|
| Investing in the knowledge economy and the people who'll build it | Bring back tuition-free TAFE and university while boosting university funding and ensure secure academic employment; increase the HECS repayment threshold for current students and index growth to median earnings, broadening Youth Allowance's access criteria and expanding AUSTUDY to postgraduate students | -\$35,730 |
| | Bring Australia's excessive military spending back to long-term trend levels | \$34,590 |
| | Put Australia on a path to achieve 4% of GDP in science, research and innovation spending | -\$5,627 |
| | Establish an independent Future of Work Commission to examine the big questions over what work will look like over the next decades, and prepare the labour market so that we're ready for the disruption of technology and automation | -\$92 |
| | Implement a Royal Commission into wage theft and establish a new wage theft unit to protect the pay of workers from those employers who do the wrong thing | -\$80 |
| | Extend paid parental leave to six months and include superannuation | -\$6,541 |
| | Support the growth of the creative economy and value the contributions artists bring to Australian society, pulling 50,000 artists out of poverty and creating nearly 2,000 jobs in the process | -\$1,479 |
| | Invest in our video game development industry | -\$235 |
| | Give small businesses a tax deduction for employing more workers, and paying them more, benefiting 9 in 10 companies in Australia and boosting wages and jobs in the process while also increasing the GST registration threshold | -\$2,541 |
| | Introduce a genuine mining super-profits tax that recovers some of the wealth being generated by Australia's natural assets | \$11,565 |
| A Home for all | Establish a Federal Housing Trust to construct 500,000 public and community homes, reform renters rights to protect renters in their homes and boost support for housing crisis and tenancy advice services | -\$7,363 |
| | Phase out the current tax treatment of negative gearing and the capital gains tax discount so the tax system works to better support first-home buyers and lower-income families to put a roof over their own head | \$9,477 |
| | Offer bridging finance to state and territory governments to transition from inefficient and inequitable stamp duty revenue towards a broad-based land tax* | \$0* |
| Protecting nature, oceans, forests, reefs and rivers | Create a Nature Fund to protect 1,800 threatened species, embark on landscape-scale environmental restoration, restore funding to Environment Defenders offices and Conservation Councils and create around 10,000 jobs in land management to restore the environment | -\$6,731 |
| | Institute a new generation of environment laws, overseen by an independent Environment Protection Agency and double the number of Indigenous Ranger positions by 2025 | -\$859 |

| CATEGORY | POLICY MEASURE | 2019-20 BUDGET FORWARD ESTIMATES IMPACT (\$M) |
|---|--|---|
| (cont.) | Keep our oceans healthy, save our Great Barrier Reef and end deforestation in Australia** | \$89 |
| | Save the Murray-Darling Basin with stronger compliance, monitoring, water recovery targets and a Royal Commission into the management of the Murray-Darling Basin Plan | -\$61 |
| | Ban all new oil and gas across Australia and terminate all exploration rights in marine parks | -\$22 |
| | Invest in crucial infrastructure to reboot recycling and introduce a ban on single-use plastics | -\$16 |
| | End live exports of animals for slaughter overseas | -\$20 |
| Ending privatisation to rebuild our public services and infrastructure | Invest in public transport, while making cycling and walking safe and accessible | -\$11,000 |
| | Finally build the East Coast High Speed Rail with government investment | -\$110 |
| | Cut the lucrative government contracts of the Big Four accounting firms and restore the 17,000 jobs cut from the public service | -\$9,084 |
| | Re-regulate electricity prices | -\$35 |
| | Create a publicly owned energy retailer to drive down prices by \$200 a year for the average customer, while investing in 100% renewable energy | -\$85 |
| | Replace a weak and compromised ASIC with the ACCC to fight for the rights of banking customers | -\$26 |
| | Recoup the costs of banking insurance through a bank levy and invest in financial counselling services | \$13,369 |
| | Cap the obscene pay packages of banking executives | -\$184 |
| | Make quality telecommunications affordable for all Australians and ensure regional telecommunications are funded, fair, and fit for purpose | -\$1,775 |
| | Community Development Fund*** | -\$1,686 |
| NET TOTAL | | \$7.96bn |

Visit our website www.greens.org.au/policies to view more details on each policy.

* Costs outside the forward estimates period, with the financing for the transition away from stamp duty commencing in 2023.

** A positive balance to be allocated to the Great Barrier Reef in the year beyond the forward estimates due to the redirection of the lump sum made to the Great Barrier Reef Foundation being redirected to the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority and the Australian Institute of Marine Science, to improve farming practices and repair reef catchments over a period of five years.

*** Includes capped expenditure items that have not been costed by the PBO.

BALANCING OUR BUDGET

The expenditure in the Greens' election platform is balanced against \$142 billion in new revenue measures, and \$87 billion in cuts to dangerous and inequitable spending³ such as fossil fuel subsidies, weapons acquisition and exports, subsidising private health insurance companies and implementing punitive income control programs.

Importantly, these tax and spending adjustments will change the shape of our society and the broader economy to encourage capital to move into areas of the economy where we want it to flow - like clean technological investment, enhancing productivity, restoring our local landscapes, and a strong public service.

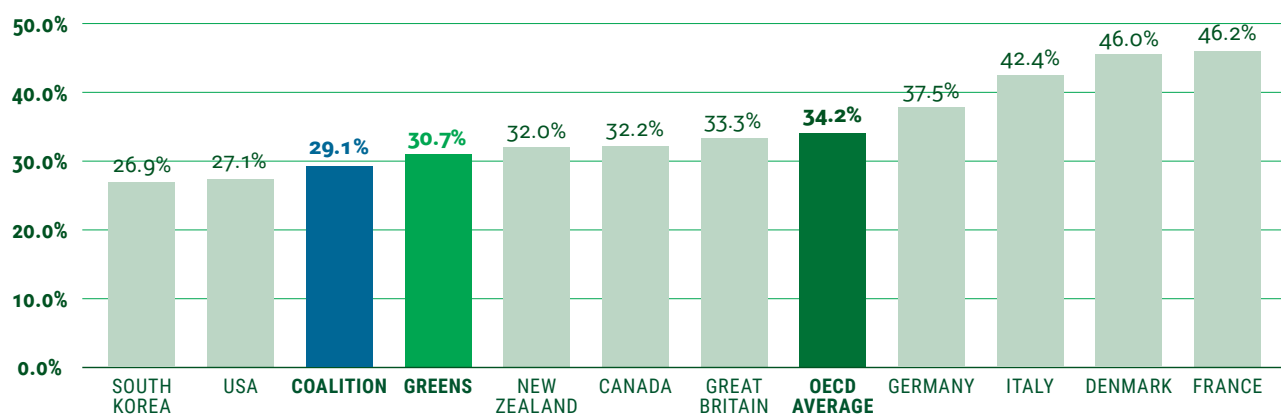
At the same time, these changes will see money drain away from areas like property speculation, coal, oil and gas mining, weapons manufacturers and anti-competitive rent-seeking that is currently so prevalent across so much of the Australian economy.

The below table shows the total tax impact of the Greens' platform compared to the current government's forecasts and against the backdrop of other developed countries. As calculated by the independent Parliamentary Budget Office⁴, the Greens' plans would see the tax to GDP ratio of the federal government increase from the Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook average of 23.4% over the forward estimates period to 25.0%.

Adding in State and Local Government taxes, this would still place Australia well below the OECD average tax-to-GDP ratio while massively increasing government's ability to provide improved public services, infrastructure and social support programs.

The incidence of these new taxes do not fall on the general population, but on companies that currently profit off pollution, war, privatisation, uncompetitive markets and those who are in the highest handful of income earners in the country.

TAX/GDP RATIO



Tax receipts across all levels of government as a proportion of gross domestic product: Coalition, Greens and other OECD nations. Coalition and Greens figures are averages of the total tax receipts as a share of GDP over each of the years of forward estimates, while OECD comparison figures represent the tax-to-GDP ratio of each member nation for the latest available year (2017). Australian state and local government taxation receipts are assumed to hold constant as a share of GDP as their latest available year of OECD Revenue Statistics publication as of October 2018. OECD revenue estimates presented on an accrual basis; Coalition and Greens revenue estimates on cash basis.

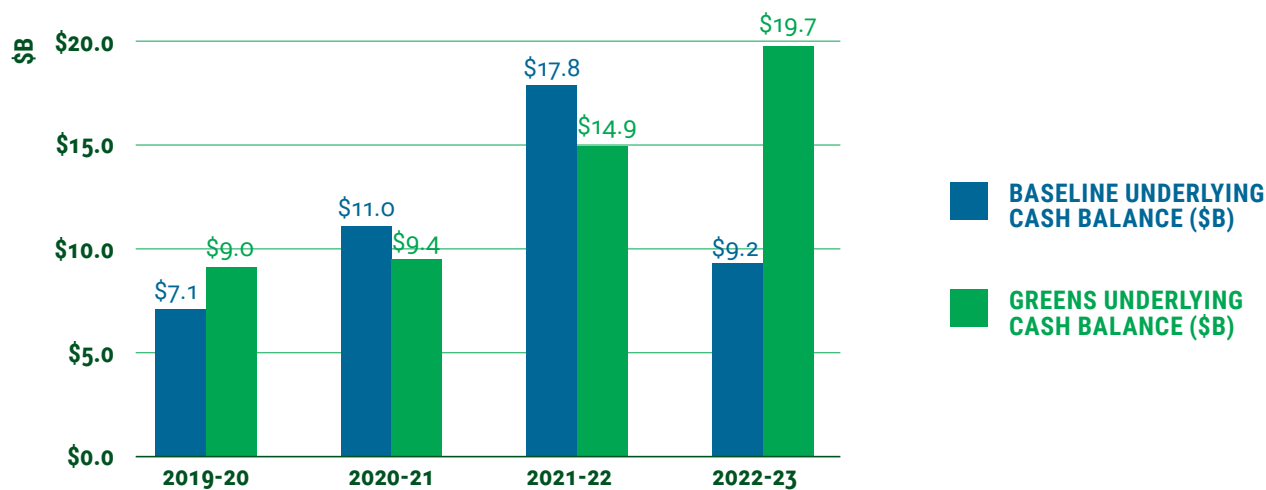
³ Figures compiled by the Australian Greens based on PBO costings of individual measures.

⁴ Does not include interactions between measures.

The Greens’ Independently Costed Election Platform

The Greens believe surpluses and deficits should be run within the context of broader economic conditions. The below graph shows the Greens total platform will improve the cash position compared to the government’s current trajectory by \$7.96 billion over the estimates period.

A surplus provides a good buffer against financial headwinds. But, a surplus is not a meaningful end in itself. More important than the year-on-year budget position is the structure of the tax system, and the long-term rate of investment by government in essential services and productive infrastructure. These structural reforms are all implemented throughout the Greens’ costed-platform.



Underlying cash balance (\$b) for each year of the forward estimates, Coalition and Greens policies. A positive figure represents a surplus. Interactions between each policy measure and overall public debt interest implications are not included within these figures.