



Parliamentary
Budget Office

2025 ELECTION COMMITMENTS REPORT

June 2025

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Feedback

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Foreword

I am proud to present the Parliamentary Budget Office's (PBO) fifth post-election report of election commitments since our establishment in 2012.

The report is integral to the PBO's role to improve the transparency of the fiscal impact of election commitments. It supports the Parliament and all Australians to engage in an informed conversation about how announced election platforms would affect Australia's fiscal policy settings in the short and medium term.

As a standing record of promises made during an election campaign, the report holds parliamentary parties and independents to account by creating a record of promises made during an election which would have an impact on the budget.

The report includes full costings of all publicly announced commitments with a material impact on the budget.

The report is just one of the PBO's core functions. Our vision to enrich Australia's democracy through independent budget and fiscal analysis underpins our approach to provide all parliamentarians with access to confidential costing and budget analysis services, to expand the suite of analysis and interactive tools on our website, and to hold educational seminars to improve understanding of fiscal policy and budgetary issues.

I would like to acknowledge the effort of the staff of the PBO who have delivered to a high standard during a year of surging demand for our services, while continuing to innovate across our products and internal systems.

As the accountable authority of the PBO, I present the PBO's *2025 Election Commitments Report*, as required by section 64MA of the *Parliamentary Service Act 1999*.

I am satisfied that this report contains the full cost of each major party's election platforms, reflecting my best professional judgement and the best endeavours of the PBO.

Sam Reinhardt

Parliamentary Budget Officer

20 June 2025

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Appendix B – Detailed tables with budget impacts of the Coalition’s election commitments

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2025 Election commitment costings

At a glance

The *2025 Election Commitments Report* (ECR) presents the individual and combined budget impacts of the election commitments announced by each of the 3 major parties: the Australian Labor Party (Labor), the Coalition and the Australian Greens (the Greens). The independent member for Indi, Dr Helen Haines, also elected to be included in the report.

The report includes a summary of each party's platform and budget impacts of each election commitment, against the 2025 Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) baseline. Financial implications are estimated over the period to 2035-36 (the medium term), and there is documentation for each commitment with a net non-zero financial impact.

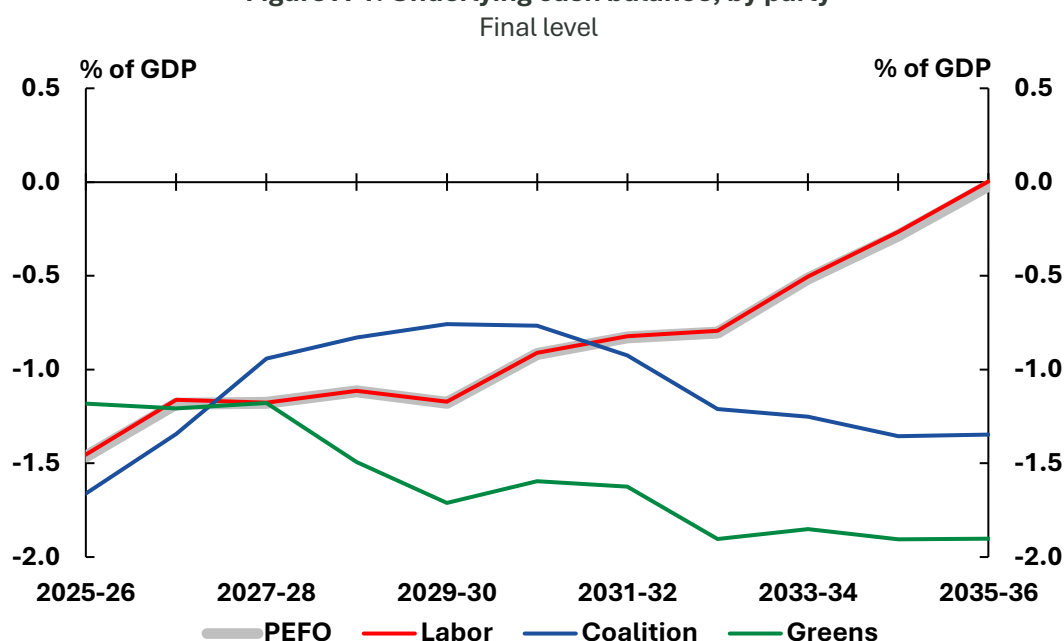
The Parliamentary Budget Officer determined 637 commitments met the criteria for inclusion in this report.¹ Of these, 622 commitments were by major parties (63 by Labor, 214 by the Coalition, and 345 by the Greens) and 15 by the independent member for Indi.

Overall, Labor's commitments would result in a slightly smaller underlying cash deficit by the end of the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates (the forward estimates), the Coalition's platform would result in a smaller underlying cash deficit, and the Greens' platform would result in a larger underlying cash deficit, compared to PEFO.

By the end of the medium term Labor's platform would result in an improvement in the underlying cash balance consistent with the PEFO baseline, whilst the Coalition and Greens' platforms would decrease it relative to PEFO (Figure A-1).

The election commitments made by the independent member for Indi would result in larger deficits across the forward estimates and medium term relative to PEFO.

Figure A-1: Underlying cash balance, by party



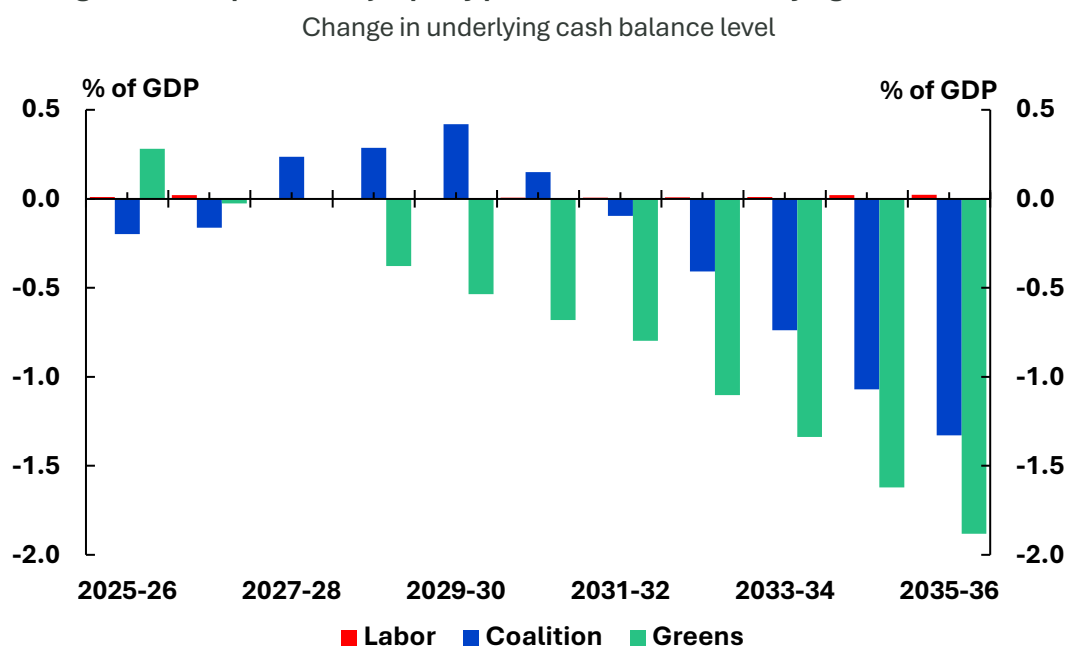
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

¹ Election commitments included in the report must be public, specific, and have a material impact on the Australian Government budget. For more information see *Appendix E – Report Requirements and Methodology*.

The change in the underlying cash balance of the platforms for each major party is shown in Figure A-2. If fully implemented:

- Labor’s platform would result in slightly smaller underlying cash deficits across the forward estimates and medium term compared to PEFO.
 - This impact is driven by a reduction in payments, partly offset by slightly lower receipts. The reduction in payments is mostly from general public services.
- The Coalition’s platform would result in smaller underlying cash deficits over the forward estimates, reversing to larger deficits by the end of the medium term, compared to PEFO.
 - This impact is driven by lower levels of payments and receipts over the forward estimates, with higher payments and lower receipts in the medium term, as defence spending ramps up. The increase in payments is only partially offset by reprioritised funding from general public services and economic affairs. Unspecified tax cuts related to the tax-to-GDP cap also decrease the underlying cash balance.
- The Greens’ platform would result in significantly larger underlying cash deficits across the forward estimates and medium term compared to PEFO.
 - This impact reflects an increase in receipts from major tax changes and a reprioritisation of funding from defence, that only partially offsets increases in payments for social protection, education, health and general public services.

Figure A-2: Impact of major party platforms on the underlying cash balance



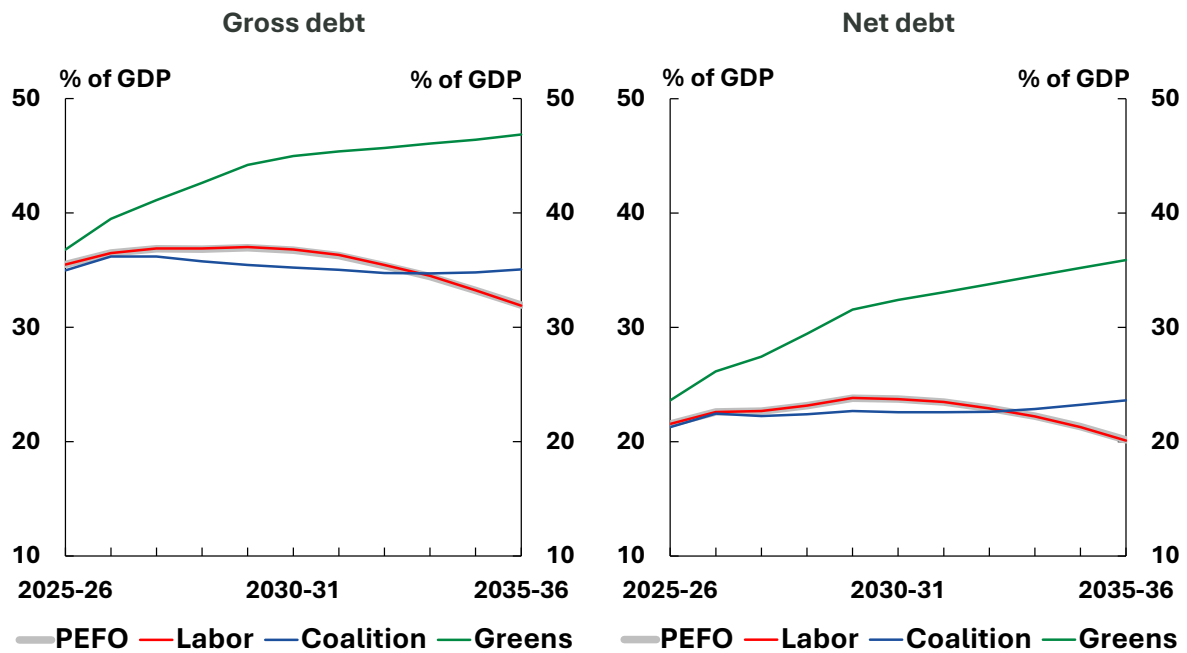
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the underlying cash balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the underlying cash balance.

The overall impact of the platforms of all major parties on gross and net debt is shown in Figure A-3. Overall, the Labor platform does not materially change the debt position relative to PEFO. The Coalition's platform improves the debt position over the forward estimates relative to PEFO (but with an increase in debt by the end of the medium term) and the Greens’ platform would increase the debt level considerably.

Figure A-3: Gross and net debt, by party

Final level



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Further detail is provided in the report, along with summary tables of commitments and PBO costings of each commitment with a non-zero financial impact that is included in the ECR.

For more information on this report see the [Guide to the Election Commitments Report](#). For more information on how to interpret the underlying costings, and how to read Australian Government budget papers, see the introductory guides available at [Guides to the Budget](#).

What is the Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO)?

The PBO was established in 2012 to inform the Parliament by providing independent and non-partisan analysis of the budget cycle, fiscal policy and the financial implications of proposals.

We do this in 3 main ways:

- By responding to requests made by senators and members for [costings of policy proposals](#) or for analysis of matters relating to the budget. This includes analysis provided to parliamentary inquiries.
- By publishing and presenting [information](#) to enhance the public understanding of budget and fiscal policy settings.
- By publishing a [report](#) after every general election that provides transparency around the fiscal impact of the election commitments of major parties, and minor parties and independents that choose to be included.

Further information and an introduction to the PBO's services is available here: [About the PBO](#).

1 About the Election Commitments Report

The Parliamentary Budget Officer is required to publish a report after each general election that details the aggregate budget impact of the election commitments made by the major political parties. This report must cover the commitments of the major parliamentary parties and may cover the commitments of the minor parties and independents if they choose to be included.²

The commitments included in the *Election Commitments Report* (ECR) are determined by the Parliamentary Budget Officer, based on announcements with financial implications made by the parties up to polling day. Election commitments included in the report must be public, specific and material.³

The ECR for the 2025 general election:

- uses the 2025 Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) report as the baseline for the costings of all election commitments
- incorporates costings of all the election commitments of each party that, in the Parliamentary Budget Officer's best professional judgement, would have a material impact on the Australian Government budget over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates (2025-26 to 2028-29) and medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36)
- shows, for each party, the individual impacts those election commitments would be expected to have on the Australian Government budget over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates and medium term
- shows, for each party, the total combined medium-term impact of those election commitments on the key budget aggregates as a share of gross domestic product (GDP)
- includes full costing documentation for all election commitments with a non-zero net financial impact, available on the PBO website.

Further details on the legislative requirements and methodology for this report are presented at Appendix E. Formal comments provided by parties following the provision of the draft election commitments report are included in Appendix F.

All table and chart data for the report are available on the PBO website.

The individual costing documents available on the PBO website provide the detailed specifications, assumptions, methodologies and data sources used to estimate the fiscal impacts of each commitment.⁴ The companion *Guide to reading PBO costings* provides a short overview of PBO costing documents with examples.

² 'Designated' or major parties for the purposes of this report are defined by the *Parliamentary Service Act 1999* as those with 5 or more members of Parliament immediately before the election is called. The major parties of the 47th Parliament of Australia were the Coalition, the Australian Labor Party, and the Australian Greens. The Liberal Party of Australia and the National Party of Australia are treated as a single party, the Coalition, for the purpose of this report.

³ Where no firm commitment is made as to the policy mechanism or details that would deliver on the announcement, it may be considered aspirational in nature. Where an announcement involves detailed actions to achieve an aspirational target, the PBO has included the commitment in the report.

⁴ Specifications are drawn from public statements where possible. Where further information is required the PBO may draw on previous costing requests (both confidential and public) and may contact parties where necessary.

2 Major party election commitments

Key points:

The *2025 Election Commitments Report* (ECR) shows the individual and combined budget impacts of the election commitments announced by each of the 3 major parties: the Australian Labor Party (Labor), the Coalition, and the Australian Greens (the Greens).

The report includes election commitments with a material impact on the Australian Government budget. It shows how the platforms of the parties, if fully implemented, would change the budget position, relative to the starting point presented in the 2025 Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO).

Compared to PEFO, and if fully implemented:

- Labor's platform would result in slightly smaller underlying cash deficits across the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates (2025-26 to 2028-29) and medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36).
- The Coalition's platform would result in an overall smaller underlying cash deficit over the forward estimates, but would result in larger deficits by the end of the medium term.
- The Greens' platform would result in larger underlying cash deficits across the forward estimates and medium term.

In the lead-up to the election, over 2,000 relevant election announcements were assessed. The Parliamentary Budget Officer determined 622 of these met the criteria for inclusion in this report.⁵ Of these, 63 were made by Labor, 214 made by the Coalition and 345 made by the Greens.^{6,7}

The 2025 ECR includes the individual and combined budget impacts of the election commitments announced by each of the 3 major political parties (Labor, the Coalition and the Greens).

The report adds to the information published by parties about the financial impacts of their election commitments, taking a medium-term perspective and presenting a view of the impacts on the budget for all major parties on a comparable basis. Box 1 explains the wider fiscal perspectives and some key concepts used in the report.

The rest of this section provides additional high-level information about the aggregate budget impact of party platforms over the forward estimates and medium term.

⁵ Election commitments included in the report must be public, specific, and have a material impact on the Australian Government budget. This includes commitments for additional expenditure that would be material but have a net zero impact because the party specifies that it would be offset by savings. For more information see *Appendix E – Report Requirements and Methodology*.

⁶ Because commitments are primarily those identified by parties, this number is affected by the way that parties choose to group their commitments. For example, making fewer more highly aggregated commitments with many subcomponents would result in a lower number of commitments.

⁷ The Greens' total includes a costing of the interactions between commitments in their platform identified by the PBO.

More detail on the budget impacts of each major party's election platform is provided in the following chapters and in the summary tables at Appendix A (Labor), Appendix B (Coalition), and Appendix C (the Greens). Individual costing documents are available on the [PBO website](#).

The requirements and the methods for preparing the report are at Appendix E. Related terms are explained in the Glossary in this report, which draws from the PBO's [online budget glossary](#).

Box 1: The Election Commitments Report – key concepts and interpretation

This report complements the information about the financial impacts of election commitments published by parties during the election campaign by providing a wide range of information over a longer time period.

The report presents budget impacts over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates period (the budget year plus the next 3 years) and the medium term (the budget year plus the next 10 years).

Across both time horizons, we present results for 3 different aggregate budget balances – the underlying cash balance, headline cash balance, and fiscal balance – and on government debt to provide a more complete picture of the financial impacts.

When people talk about the budget surplus or deficit, they are often talking about the underlying cash balance. Each of the 3 balances presented in this report focuses on a different type of financial information, but no one of them provides all the potentially relevant financial impacts. In particular, the headline cash balance is the only balance to show the upfront impact of government loans and equity injections.

The report describes the impacts of individual commitments, and parties' platforms as a whole, on the budget surplus or deficit. Throughout the report, an 'improvement' in the budget balance makes the deficit smaller, and a 'deterioration' in the budget balance makes the deficit larger.

The financial impacts presented here are 'point in time' estimates of the commitments as announced during the election campaign and the assumptions outlined in each costing. Where these policies are subsequently implemented, their financial implications may change for reasons including updated budget parameters, changes in behaviour, and the finalisation of policies during further consultation and detailed design stages.

Budget impacts over the forward estimates

The PBO's estimates of the total combined budget impact of the election commitments of each major party and the resulting level of the underlying cash balance, headline cash balance and fiscal balance over the forward estimates against the PEFO baseline are shown in Table 2-1.⁸

Compared to PEFO, and if fully implemented over the forward estimates:

- Labor's platform would result in slightly smaller underlying cash deficits in each year
- the Coalition's platform would initially result in larger underlying deficits, and then smaller deficits from 2027-28, to result in a smaller deficit overall at the end of the forward estimates

⁸ All final budget aggregates for each party exclude unquantifiable commitments, consistent with the budget treatment of unquantifiable measures.

- the Greens' platform would result in larger underlying cash deficits in all years from 2026-27 and overall.

Table 2-1: Financial implications of election commitments by party, 2025–26 forward estimates, budget balances (\$ billion)⁹

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	Total to 2028-29
Underlying cash balance					
Net impact of election commitments					
Labor	0.3	0.6	..	..	1.0
Coalition	-5.7	-4.8	7.5	9.5	6.6
Greens	8.1	-0.8	..	-12.5	-5.2
Final underlying cash balance					
Labor	-41.9	-34.7	-37.1	-37.0	-150.7
Coalition	-47.9	-40.2	-29.6	-27.5	-145.0
Greens	-34.0	-36.1	-37.1	-49.6	-156.8
Headline cash balance					
Net impact of election commitments					
Labor	0.3	-0.1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.8
Coalition	-1.7	-0.6	12.2	14.3	24.9
Greens	-37.6	-48.7	-44.5	-58.5	-189.3
Final headline cash balance					
Labor	-65.0	-58.2	-58.0	-57.0	-238.2
Coalition	-67.0	-58.7	-44.9	-41.7	-211.5
Greens	-102.8	-106.8	-101.6	-114.5	-425.7
Fiscal balance					
Net impact of election commitments					
Labor	0.1	0.4	..	..	0.6
Coalition	-3.6	-4.9	8.4	10.4	21.1
Greens	-11.3	2.4	1.8	-12.7	-19.8
Final fiscal balance					
Labor	-44.1	-31.7	-39.4	-37.2	-152.4
Coalition	-47.8	-37.0	-31.0	-26.8	-131.9
Greens	-55.5	-29.7	-37.6	-50.0	-172.8

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget balance. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

⁹ The 'starting point' PEFO levels for all balances are included in the more detailed financial tables in Appendices A to D.

The impact on government debt is shown in Table 2-2. A negative number indicates a decrease (improvement) in debt levels while a positive number indicates an increase (deterioration) in debt levels.

Table 2-2: Financial implications of election commitments by party, 2025-26 forward estimates, government debt (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29
Gross debt				
Net impact of election commitments				
Labor	-0.3	-0.2	0.8	1.8
Coalition	-14.9	-9.4	-21.5	-35.9
Greens	37.6	89.3	133.8	192.3
Final level of gross debt				
Labor	1,021.7	1,091.8	1,161.8	1,224.8
Coalition	1,007.1	1,082.6	1,139.5	1,187.1
Greens	1,059.6	1,181.3	1,294.8	1,415.3
Net debt				
Net impact of election commitments				
Labor	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	0.3
Coalition	-8.0	-4.1	-13.4	-24.4
Greens	59.2	106.3	150.0	209.5
Final level of net debt				
Labor	620.6	676.0	714.0	768.5
Coalition	612.6	672.1	700.5	743.8
Greens	679.9	782.6	863.9	977.7

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt level. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Budget impacts over the medium term

Figure 2-1 shows the PBO's estimates of the budget impact of each party's election platform over the medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36) on the underlying cash balance.

Labor's platform, if fully implemented, would result in slightly smaller underlying cash balance deficits in each year relative to PEFO.

The Coalition's platform would result in a net decrease in the underlying cash balance over the medium term. A decrease in the first 2 years of the forward estimates is followed by an improved underlying cash balance from 2027-28 to 2030-31. In 2031-32 and beyond, an escalating decline is estimated as the impacts of ongoing commitments grow and unspecified tax cuts are required to meet the Coalition's tax cap of 23.9% of gross domestic product (GDP) (indicated by the shaded area in the Coalition chart).

The Greens' platform, if fully implemented, would result in larger deficits in each year of the medium term. The magnitude of the impact of the Greens' commitments is significantly higher than that of the other major parties.

Box 2: The budget impact of commitments over the medium term

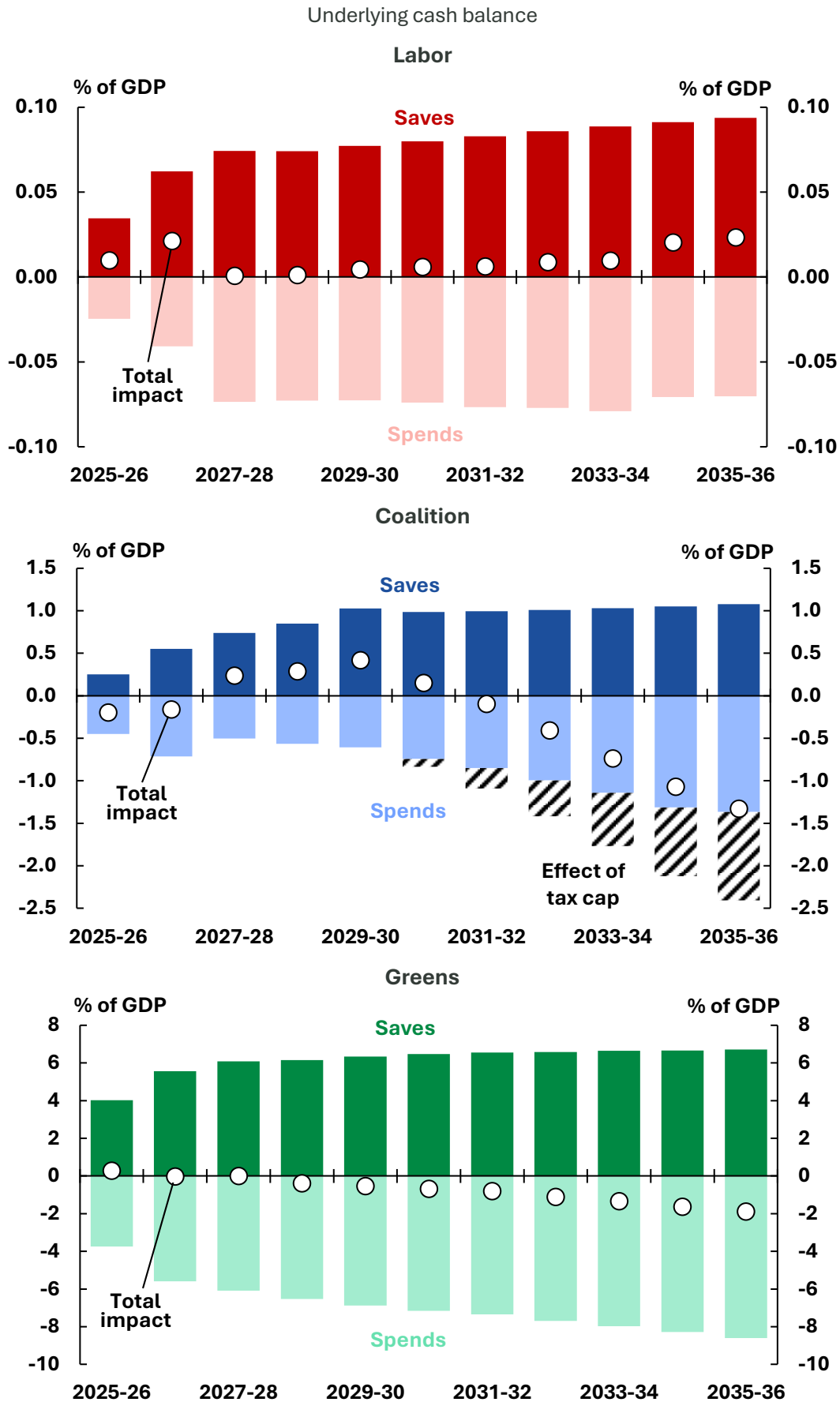
The ECR presents the financial impacts of election commitments over the medium term, rather than just the forward estimates. This gives an indication of the trajectory of fiscal policy over the coming decade and can be useful where parties make commitments that may not take effect, or fully mature, until the period beyond the forward estimates. Even when there is a financial impact, it may not always be possible to quantify that impact. In that case, our costing minutes clearly indicate why we consider the commitment to be unquantifiable.

Parties usually make their election announcements transparent, including by publishing detailed material on the purpose and cost of their policies over the forward estimates. Nevertheless, the PBO will sometimes need to make assumptions. Where it cannot be determined from the policy announcement and related supporting material whether the commitment is ongoing or terminating, the PBO will adopt the default assumption that the proposal is ongoing, for the purpose of estimating the medium-term impacts.

This assumption had a material impact on the total fiscal impacts of the election platforms for Labor and the Coalition, but not for the Greens.

- For Labor's platform, the commitment where this assumption made a material difference to the total fiscal impact was *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* ([ECR-2025-1596](#)). The PBO has assumed that this policy will continue beyond the forward estimates, with the estimated impact being a saving of \$2.5 billion per year, on average, from 2029-30.
- For the Coalition's platform, the commitment where this assumption made a material difference to the total fiscal impact was *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* ([ECR-2025-2147](#)). The PBO has assumed that this policy will continue beyond the forward estimates, with the estimated impact being a saving of \$7.4 billion per year, on average from 2029-30.

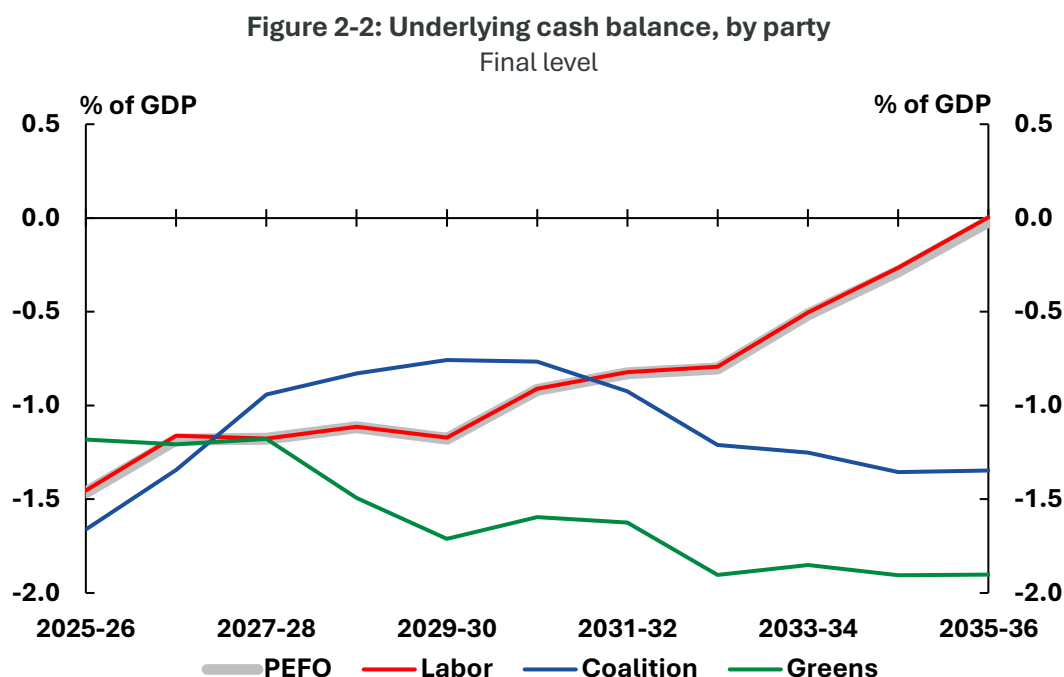
Figure 2-1: Medium-term impact of election commitments, by party



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: 'Saves' includes all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments). 'Spends' includes all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments).

Figure 2-2 shows the underlying cash balance level under the PEFO baseline and for each major party's platform. Overall, Labor's platform would result in an improvement in the underlying cash balance by the end of the medium-term, consistent with the PEFO baseline, whilst the platforms of the Coalition and the Greens would decrease the underlying cash balance relative to PEFO.



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Impacts on receipts

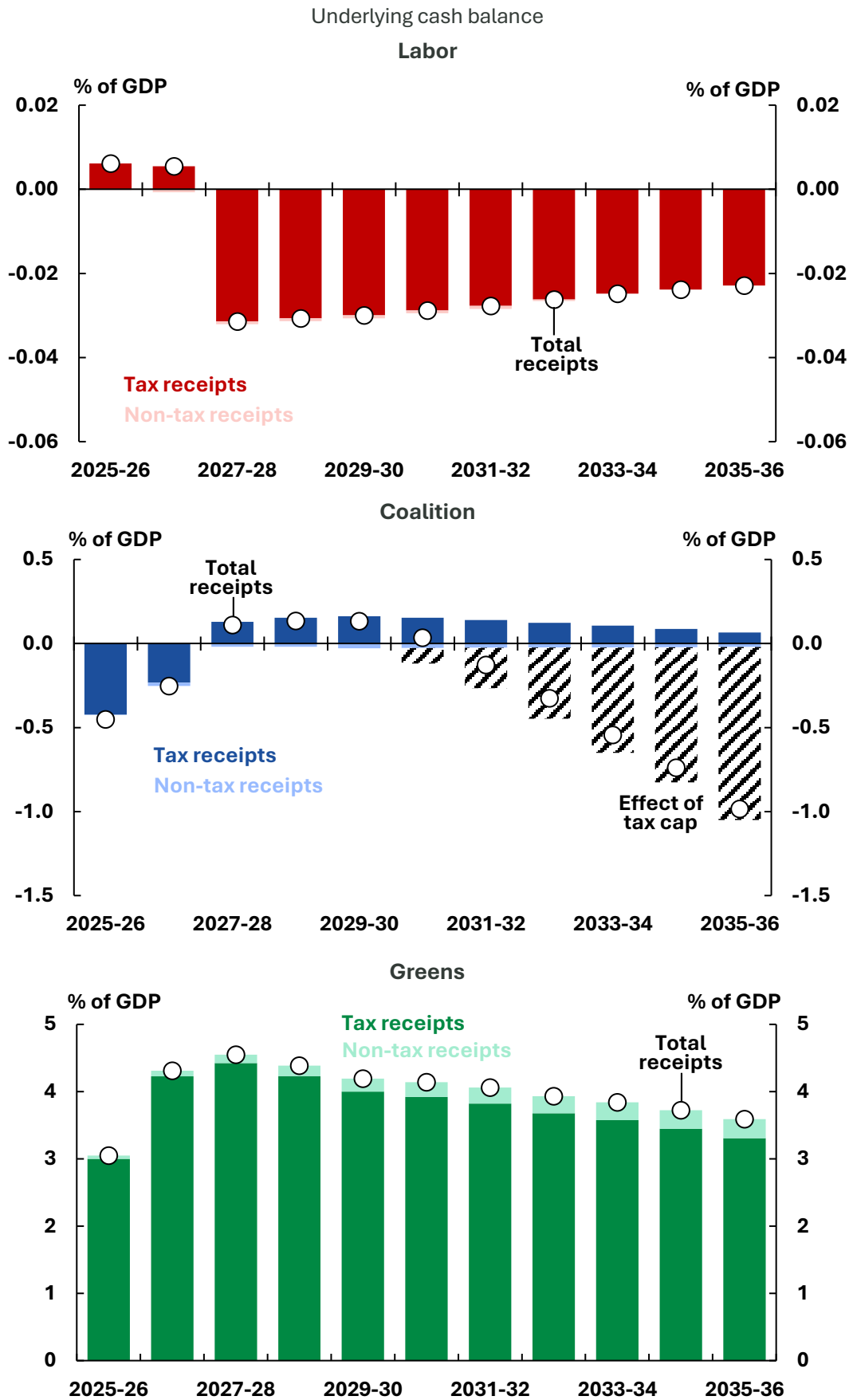
Figure 2-3 shows the impact of each major party's platforms on receipts in each year and whether these are tax or non-tax receipts.

Labor's receipts commitments, if fully implemented, would result in a slight increase in tax receipts in the early years of the forward estimates, before decreasing slightly from 2027-28 and over the remainder of the medium term, relative to PEFO. This impact over the medium term is primarily driven by the commitment *\$1,000 instant tax deduction for work-related expenses* ([ECR-2025-1700](#)). As a share of GDP, the net impact on receipts is negligible.

The Coalition's receipts commitments, if fully implemented, would result in less tax receipts in the early forward years and over the medium term. The medium-term impact is primarily due to the Coalition's policy to maintain tax receipts at or below a cap of 23.9% of GDP (indicated by the shaded area in the Coalition figures).

The Greens' receipts commitments, if fully implemented, would result in significantly higher receipts over the forward estimates and the medium term. The Greens' platform includes major tax changes, including a super-profits tax in the commitment *40% excess profits tax on corporations with over \$100 million turnover* ([ECR-2025-3194](#)), reversal of the Stage 3 tax cuts in the commitment *A fair and progressive income tax system* ([ECR-2025-3602](#)), and the introduction of a wealth tax on billionaires in the commitment *Tax billionaires and future billionaires and make them pay their fair share* ([ECR-2025-3463](#)).

Figure 2-3: Impact of party platform on receipts, by major receipt type



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Tax receipts include income derived from taxes; such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. Income from other sources is included in non-tax receipts; such as royalties, interest earned on loans and dividends from investments. See Appendix E for information on the application of the tax cap.

Impacts on payments

Figure 2-4 shows the impact on payments of each major party's policies according to their primary purpose, using the standard Australian Bureau of Statistics classification for government spending.¹⁰

Labor's estimated decrease in spending is entirely in general public services, driven by a reduction in departmental costs under *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* (ECR-2025-1596). These savings are partially offset by increased spending in health, under the commitment *More free mental health services* (ECR-2025-1566), and housing and community amenities, under the commitment *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* (ECR-2025-1344).

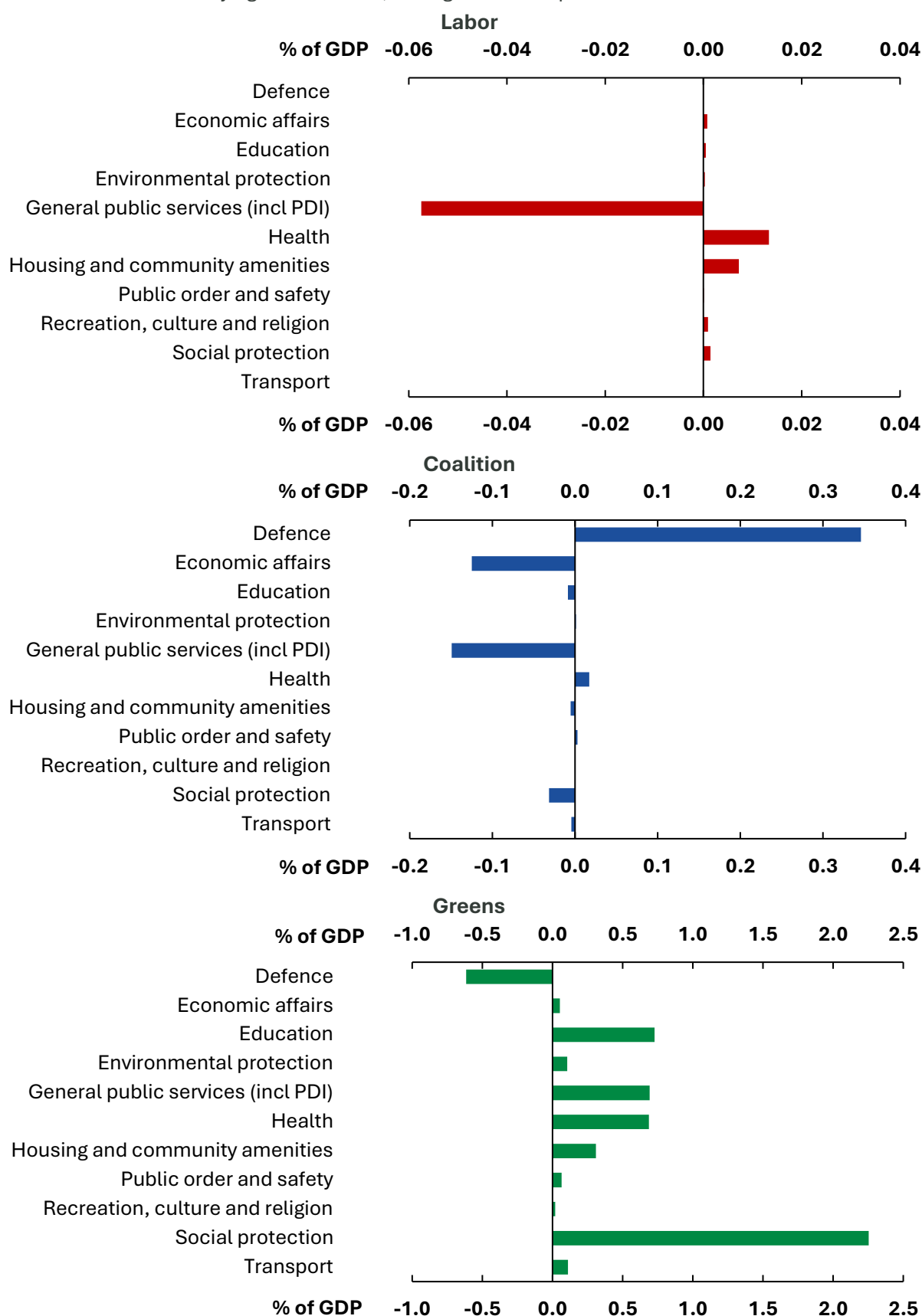
Under the Coalition's platform, payments are estimated to be higher over the medium term relative to PEFO. The additional spending is mainly on the defence commitment *Increase defence spending – including investing in a fourth F-35A Lightning Squadron* (ECR-2025-2734). The additional spending would be partly funded by commitments to achieve savings, mainly from general public services, such as the commitment *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* (ECR-2025-2147) and economic affairs, such as the commitment *Green Hydrogen Production Tax Incentives – reverse* (ECR-2025-2013).

The Greens committed to significantly higher payments overall, partly funded through higher receipts and a reprioritisation of funding from defence under the commitment *Reduce defence waste* (ECR-2025-3633). Increases in payments are mainly directed to social protection, education, health and general public services.

¹⁰ The *Classification of the functions of Government – Australia*, as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Government Finance Statistics. Final levels of spending for 2023–24 were: Defence \$48.6 billion; Economic affairs \$30.5 billion; Education \$53.4 billion; Environmental protection \$7.5 billion; General public services \$149.9 billion; Health \$108.8 billion; Housing and community amenities \$3.3 billion; Public order and safety \$8.0 billion; Recreation, culture and religion \$4.6 billion; Social protection \$259.1 billion; and Transport \$13.3 billion.

Figure 2-4: Impact of party platform on payments according to purpose

Underlying cash balance, average annual impact 2025-26 to 2035-36



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Spending is allocated according to the Classification of the Functions of Government – Australia, consistent with the framework underpinning the Australian Bureau of Statistics' [Government Finance Statistics](#). Where commitments cover multiple purposes, they have been allocated to the primary category according to the relative dollar value.

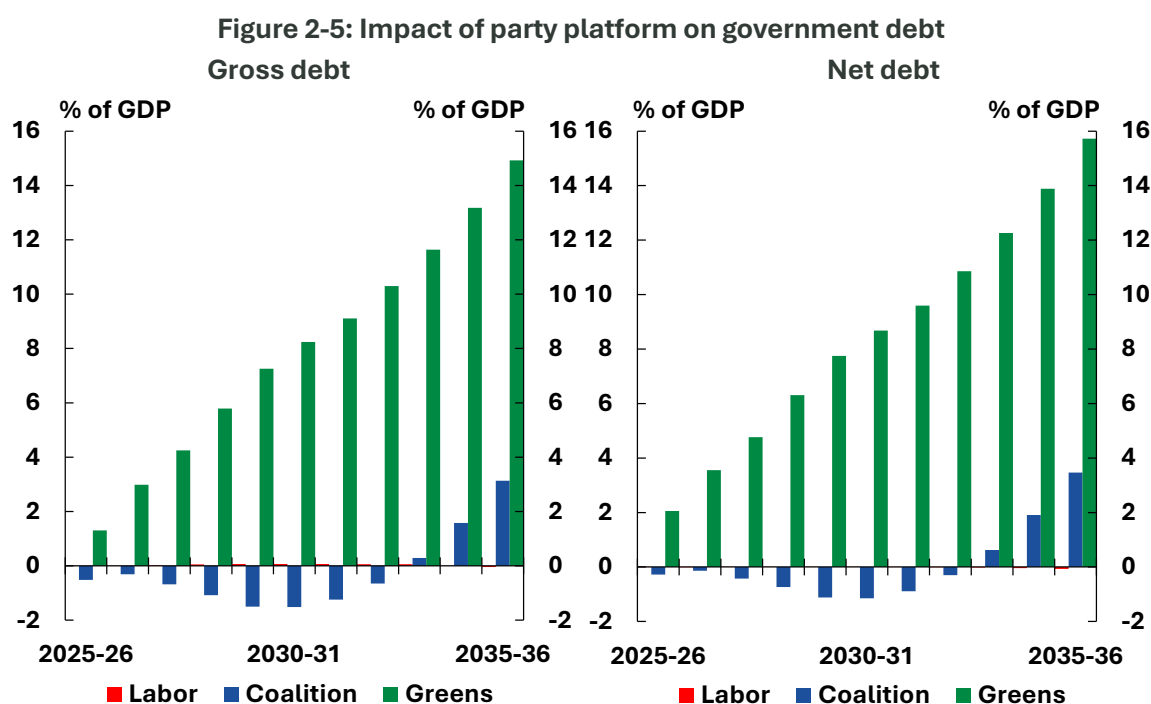
Impacts on government debt

The impact of the party platforms, including any commitments that involve balance sheet financing arrangements will impact the 2 main measures of government debt: gross debt and net debt.¹¹ Gross debt is simply the total amount of Commonwealth Government debt, while net debt adjusts the value of gross debt to account for the government's financial assets.

Compared to gross debt, net debt is a better indicator of the strength of the government's financial position. However net debt has limitations, including a sensitivity to the investment structures and strategies adopted by government investment funds, due to the inconsistent treatment of financial asset types (such as the exclusion of equity) in the net debt calculation. See section on *Commitments funded through balance sheet financing arrangements* below for further information.

Labor's platform is not expected to materially impact debt relative to PEFO. Under the Coalition's platform, both gross and net debt are lower over the forward estimates but higher by the end of the medium-term relative to PEFO. Under the Greens' platform, both gross and net debt are expected to increase significantly over the medium-term.

Figure 2-5 shows the impact of government gross debt and net debt of each party's election platform.



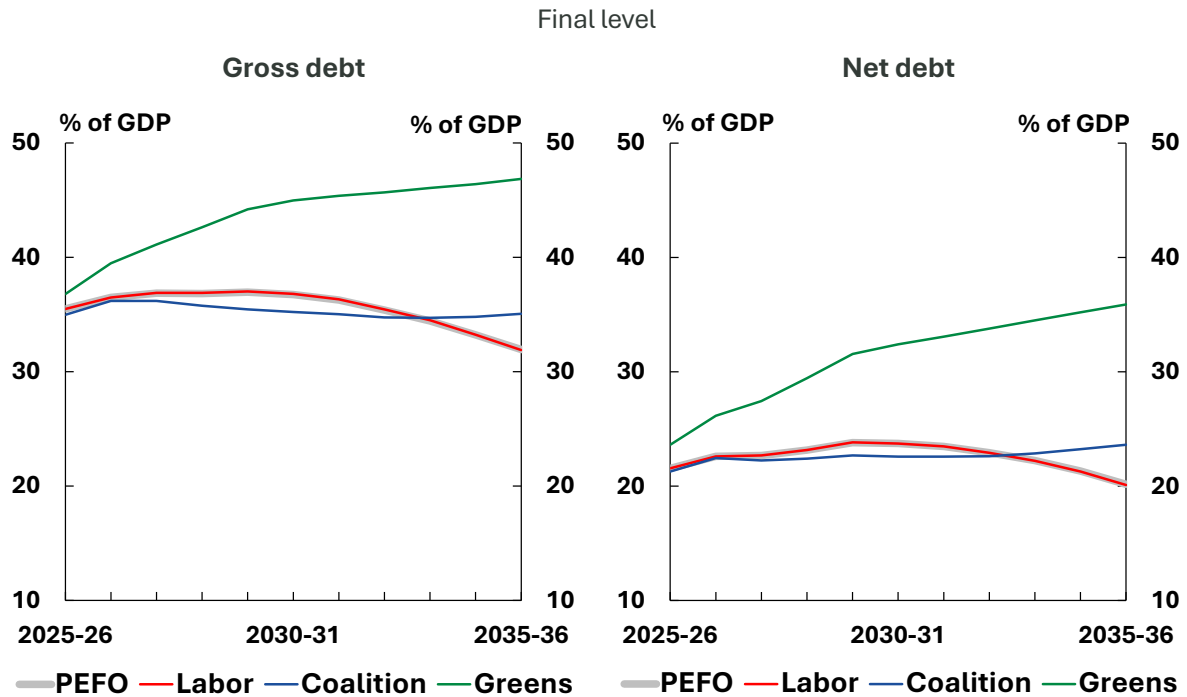
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding. Coalition figures include the impact of the tax cap.

Figure 2-6 shows the levels of government gross debt and net debt in the 2025 PEFO, and the estimated impact of each party's election platform on them.

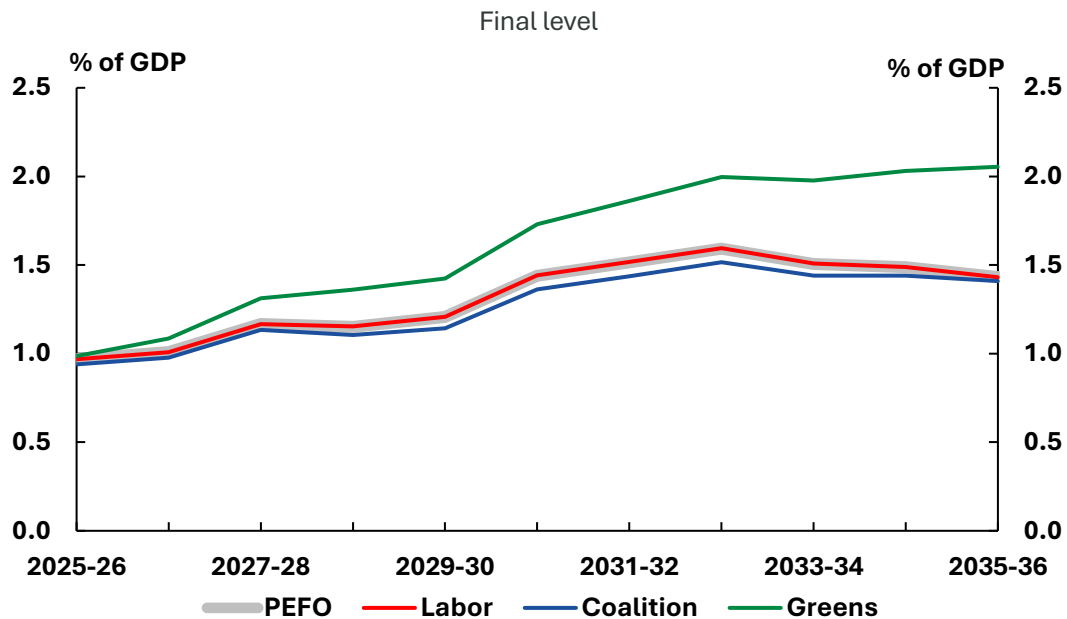
¹¹ In the budget papers, gross debt is the sum of Australian Government Securities on issue, based on their value when the securities were issued (their 'face value'). Net debt is the sum of selected financial liabilities (including government securities, loans, deposits held, and other borrowings) minus the sum of selected financial assets (including cash and deposits, advances paid, and investments). In the net debt calculation, Australian Government Securities are valued at the price they are currently trading at (their 'market value') rather than their face value.

Figure 2-6: Gross and net debt, by party



Across the medium term, public debt interest (PDI) payments are estimated to increase as a share of GDP under the PEFO baseline and all party platforms (Figure 2-7). PDI under Labor's platform is not materially different to PEFO. For the Coalition's platform, PDI is slightly lower relative to PEFO across the medium term due to lower debt levels for most of the period. The Greens' platform would result in PDI payments increasing to more than 2% of GDP by the end of the medium term due to the higher levels of government debt.

Figure 2-7: Public debt interest, by party



Further information on announced election platforms

This section provides an overview of other aspects of the financial impact of commitments beyond the budget aggregates. Appendix E provides further detail on the PBO's method and approach.

Material differences from party estimates

Prior to polling day, Labor and the Coalition released their aggregate commitment estimates over the forward estimates.¹² The PBO's estimates are not significantly different from what the parties announced. While there are some material differences for individual commitments, when taken together these differences amount to not more than 0.1% of GDP in any given year.

The Greens did not release an aggregate assessment of fiscal impacts of commitments prior to polling day.

Overarching commitments

The Coalition and the Greens both announced overarching commitments for areas of spending or revenue. These have been included in the estimates of the fiscal impact of the party's platform if they have been determined to result in specific and material impacts.

The Coalition commitment *Increase defence spending – including investing in a fourth F-35A Lightning Squadron (ECR-2025-2734)*, which lifts defence spending to 3% of GDP, was included as a commitment and is the single largest spending item in the Coalition's platform.

The Coalition also has a policy for taxation receipts to not exceed 23.9% of GDP. The PBO has incorporated this policy in calculating the Coalition's fiscal aggregates, but not as a specific commitment. The policy would require additional unspecified tax cuts from 2030-31, worth around \$141.3 billion over the medium term, to maintain tax receipts at or below the tax cap. The value of these tax cuts would increase from 0.1% of GDP in 2030-31 to 1.0% of GDP by 2035-36.

The Greens' commitment to ensure that 1% of the Federal Budget goes towards nature was assessed to be met by existing expenditure and party commitments and not included as a discrete commitment.

Commitments funded through balance sheet financing arrangements

Over the past decade, there has been a significant increase in the use of balance sheet financing arrangements (such as loans, equity injections and guarantees) to fund policy priorities. All major parties announced commitments involving the use of balance sheet financing arrangements during this election campaign.

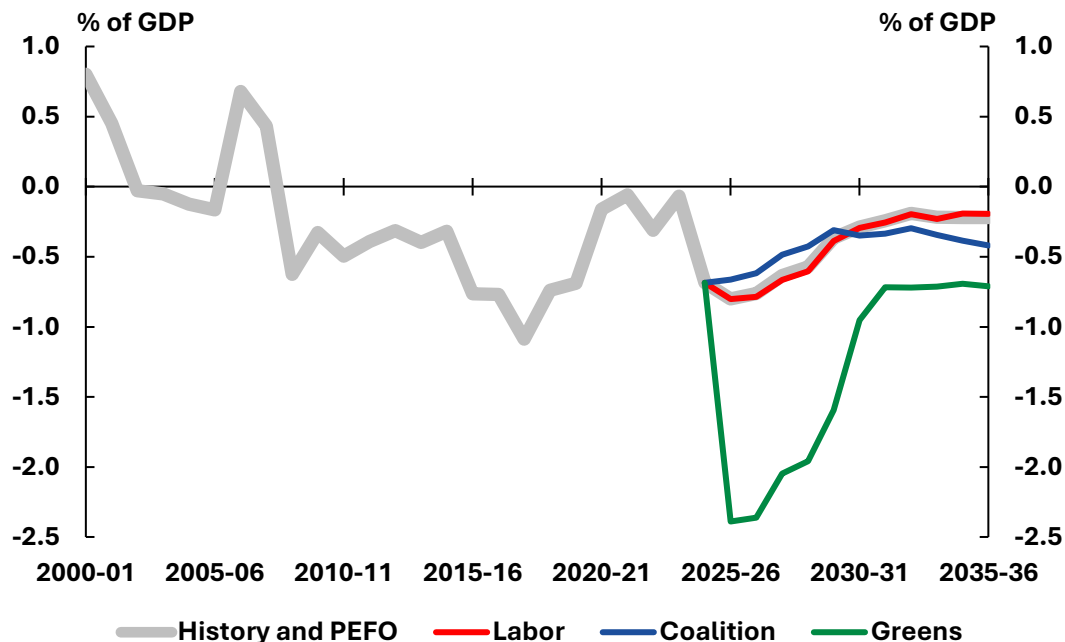
The budget impacts of these commitments can be understated when looking at the fiscal or underlying cash balance impacts alone.¹³ The headline cash balance impact, presented in Tables 2-1 and 2-4, as well as in the appendices for each party, provides a better indication of the cost of the initial contribution. Greater use of balance sheet financing arrangements will usually result in headline cash balance impacts that are lower (indicating a deteriorating budget position) than the underlying cash balance impacts.

¹² See *Labor's costed plan to Build Australia's Future* and the Coalition's *Our Plan for a Sustainable Budget*.

¹³ Balance sheet financing arrangements can be an appropriate method for financing government commitments, however, the budget reporting of these arrangements is not as comprehensive as the budget reporting of direct expenditure and taxation measures. See the PBO report *Alternative financing of government policies*.

Figure 2-8 shows the difference between the headline and underlying cash balance impacts, known as the 'wedge'. The wedge is due to net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes, which are included in the headline cash balance but not the underlying cash balance.

Figure 2-8: Level of net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes, baseline and by party



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

For the 2025 election, Labor announced 4 commitments involving the use of balance sheet financing arrangements. Together they result in the headline cash balance impact being \$2.8 billion lower than the underlying cash balance impact over the forward estimates period, reducing slightly to \$2.5 billion lower over the medium term. This is primarily driven by the commitment *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* ([ECR-2025-1344](#)), with some volatility in the mid-2030s as the concessional loans for housing concludes.

The Coalition announced 16 commitments relating to balance sheet financing. Of these commitments, 9 involved the use of balanced sheet financing arrangements while 7 commitments reversed current measures that use balance sheet financing arrangements. They result in the headline cash balance being \$18.3 billion higher than the underlying cash balance over the forward estimates period, but \$12.0 billion lower over the medium term.

The Greens platform included 16 commitments involving the use of balance sheet financing arrangements. These result in the headline cash balance being \$184.1 billion lower than the underlying cash balance impact over the forward estimates period, and \$356.8 billion lower over the medium term. The largest of these commitments, *Government-owned property developer* ([ECR-2025-3265](#)) drives the majority of the wedge. This effect is driven primarily by the equity funding allocated for the purchase of land and construction of dwellings.

Commitments without a material budget impact

The purpose of this report is to identify commitments that have a material impact on the fiscal position. Commitments that are not material are not generally included in this report. Reasons that an announcement would not be material for the purposes of the report include commitments that:

- Introduce regulatory or legislative changes alone where they can be administered using the current regulatory arrangements.¹⁴ Departments are resourced to undertake this kind of work as part of business-as-usual activity. The Greens' commitment to ban political donations from certain industries and to introduce truth in political advertising laws are examples of regulatory changes.
- Involve a minor increase in departmental expenses and this increase could reasonably be expected to be absorbed, or is already provided for, in existing agency budgets. An example is the Coalition's commitment *Skills in School Strategy*. The PBO notes that where there are a large number of such commitments they may, when taken together, impact on delivery cost or service delivery.
- Are in the PEFO baseline and the decision to implement the proposal was authorised by the Government prior to the start of the caretaker period. Both Labor and the Coalition announced commitments which were already included in the budget baseline, such as Labor's *Flinders HealthCARE Centre* and the Coalition's matching commitment.
- Would have no material impact because they reallocate funds from a measure that is already in the PEFO baseline.

Commitments funded through reallocation of existing resources

Where a commitment results in no additional cost for the budget, but has material components, it would be considered material for the purpose of the report. This includes commitments for additional expenditure (or savings) where the party specifies that they would be offset by a corresponding saving (or expense), and commitments which reallocate funds across different programs which are in the PEFO baseline, but not yet contractually committed.

For example, Labor's *Upgrade to SciTech Discovery Centre* reallocates \$102.8 million in funds from within the Modern Manufacturing Initiative and the Coalition's *Creative Australia – redirect towards Melbourne Jewish Arts Quarter and supporting broadcasting* reallocates \$18.0 million in funds from Creative Australia.

The number of fully offset commitments and the total estimated cost offset by party is shown in Table 2-3. More detail, including a full list of offset commitments, is provided in each party's chapter of the report.

¹⁴ Regulatory changes would be expected to have impacts across the economy, often having offsetting impacts on different sectors. The flow-on effects of these impacts on the budget are referred to as 'indirect effects' or 'broader economic effects', however the net budget impact of these effects is often highly uncertain in terms of magnitude and timing. For further discussion of these issues, see Appendix E.

Table 2-3: Commitments fully funded through offsets, by party

Party	Number of fully offset commitments	Estimated cost offset from existing resources over the forward estimates (\$ million)
Labor	4	186.4
Coalition	10	62.1

Source: PBO analysis.

Implementation of election commitments

All Commonwealth spending must be supported by the Australian Constitution. Costings prepared by the PBO assume that policy proposals are within the Commonwealth's constitutional power to implement. If a proposal is altered to strengthen the constitutional support, this may change the financial implications. The PBO is generally not in a position to assess whether a measure is likely to be constitutional or not.

Departmental costs associated with implementing a commitment are included in each costing unless otherwise specified. In some cases, based on either the specification of the policy or the PBO's assessment that the commitment would have a negligible cost (such as simple legislative changes or pass through of grants to specific entities), implementation costs are assumed to be absorbed within existing departmental resources.

Departmental expenses in the budget baseline tend to decrease over the forward estimates as a share of GDP primarily due to the cessation of funding for terminating programs (see Box 3) and indexation arrangements.¹⁵ In some cases, further resource reductions are also included in party platforms. When considering the combined impact of these reductions, the PBO notes that there is a downside fiscal risk that the public service may not be able to absorb all of the expected departmental costs and deliver on commitments.

Box 3: Changing the costs of the public service

The 2025 general election featured commitments from all major parties to change the costs of the public service, usually referred to as 'departmental expenses'. Once appropriated, agency heads have discretion on how to spend these funds.

Two major categories of departmental expenses are:

- employee expenses, which is the remuneration of staff hired by agencies, including wages and salaries, fringe benefits, accrued leave and superannuation. These expenses depend on the number of staff and their average remuneration
- supply of goods and services expenses, which include the costs of external labour (consultants, contractors, and labour hire), stationary, IT equipment, electricity and other office running costs.

In the 2025 ECR, there are 4 commitments specifically targeted towards departmental expenses, one each for Labor and the Coalition and 2 for the Greens. These affect:

- supply of goods and services expenses: Labor's *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* (ECR-2025-1596)

¹⁵ See PBO Budget Explainer: *Indexation & the budget – an introduction*

and one of the 2 Greens' commitments, *Reduce agency spending on consultants – reduce federal government contracts with big consulting firms* (ECR-2025-3101), both of which improve the budget balances (positive bars on the left panel of Figure 2-9)

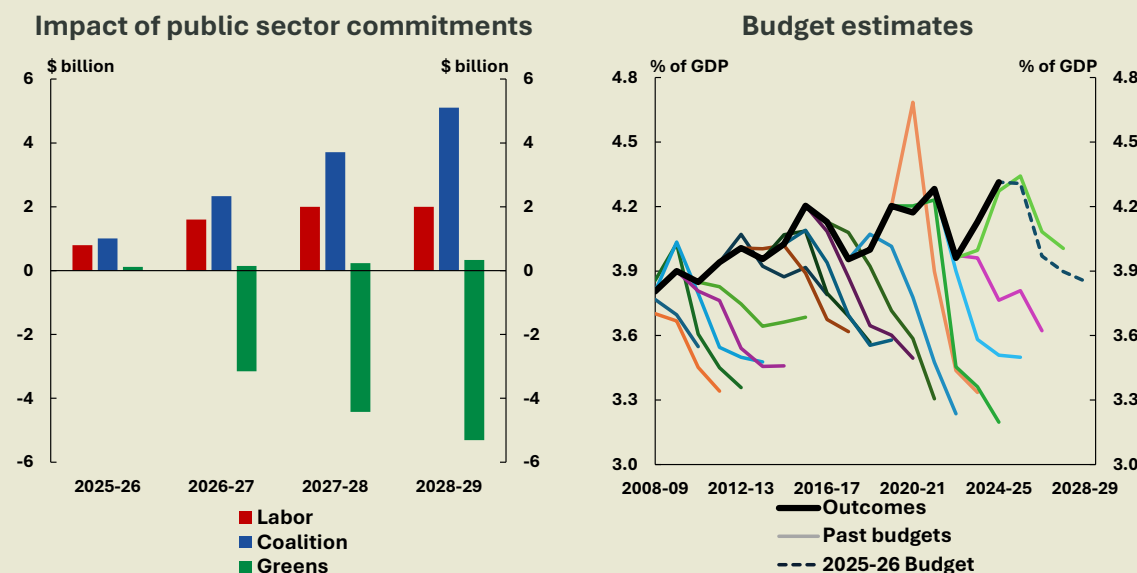
- employee expenses: the Coalition's *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* (ECR-2025-2147), which improves the budget balances (positive bar on the left panel of Figure 2-9), and the Greens' *Invest in the public service* (ECR-2025-3685), which decreases the budget balances (negative bar).

These commitments are in addition to reductions in departmental expenses that are already factored into the 2025 PEFO baseline. Budgets incorporate only the impact of government decisions already taken. This means that programs which have been announced to receive funding for a limited time are assumed to end on schedule, which includes staffing costs. For costings in the ECR, the PBO has assumed that over the forward estimates:

- public service staffing levels fall by around 22,500¹⁶
- supplies of goods and services fall by around 12% in real terms (equivalent to \$7 billion).

The last 15 Budgets have included similar assumptions, such that departmental expenses are forecast to fall steeply, but these forecasts increase in subsequent budgets as programs are extended or new programs are announced (see right panel of Figure 2-9). More information on the typical fall in departmental expenses over budget forward estimates can be found in the PBO's *Beyond the budget 2024-25*.

Figure 2-9: Departmental expenses



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates a reduction in expenses.

A negative impact indicates an increase in expenses.

¹⁶ The total public service wage bill, excluding defence, is forecast to fall by around 3% over the next 4 years while average wages are assumed to grow by around 10% (see Budget Paper 3, page 130). The implied fall in the staffing level of around 13% corresponds to around 22,500, assuming the composition of staff classifications remains broadly unchanged.

Commitments with capped funding or savings

Across all major parties, a considerable number of election commitments involved the commitment of specified (or capped) amounts of funding to achieve particular policy outcomes. These capped amounts as specified by parties are included in the estimates of the budget impact.

Where capped funds are allocated, the PBO assumes that the full amount will be spent. The PBO has not assessed whether the full specified amount would be required, nor if it would be sufficient to achieve the announced policy outcomes. Risks are included within individual costings if the funding cap is potentially insufficient to deliver a commitment as specified.

Where a party announces that a specified amount of money will be saved from reducing funding on an existing program, the PBO confirms that there is available (that is, uncommitted) funding equal to or greater than the specified saving.

Detailed financial tables, by party

Table 2-4: Financial implications of election commitments, medium-term, cash basis (% of GDP)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Receipts											
Net impact of election commitments on receipts											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	-0.5	-0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.7	-1.0
Greens	3.0	4.3	4.5	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.1	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.6
Final receipts											
Labor	25.5	25.6	25.3	25.3	25.5	25.7	25.9	26.1	26.3	26.5	26.7
Coalition	25.1	25.3	25.4	25.5	25.6	25.8	25.8	25.8	25.8	25.8	25.8
Greens	28.6	29.9	29.9	29.7	29.7	29.9	30.0	30.0	30.2	30.2	30.4
PEFO	25.5	25.6	25.3	25.3	25.5	25.7	25.9	26.1	26.3	26.5	26.8
Payments (excluding PDI)											
Net impact of election commitments on payments (excluding PDI)											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	..	..	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4
Greens	-2.7	-4.3	-4.4	-4.6	-4.5	-4.5	-4.5	-4.6	-4.7	-4.8	-4.9
Final payments (excluding PDI)											
Labor	-26.0	-25.8	-25.3	-25.3	-25.4	-25.2	-25.2	-25.3	-25.3	-25.3	-25.3
Coalition	-25.8	-25.7	-25.2	-25.2	-25.3	-25.2	-25.3	-25.5	-25.6	-25.7	-25.7
Greens	-28.8	-30.0	-29.7	-29.8	-30.0	-29.7	-29.7	-29.9	-30.0	-30.1	-30.2
PEFO	-26.0	-25.8	-25.3	-25.3	-25.5	-25.2	-25.2	-25.3	-25.3	-25.3	-25.4
Public debt interest (PDI)											
Net impact of election commitments on PDI											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	..	..	..	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
Greens	..	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.3	-0.3	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	-0.6

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Final PDI											
Labor	-1.0	-1.0	-1.2	-1.2	-1.2	-1.4	-1.5	-1.6	-1.5	-1.5	-1.4
Coalition	-0.9	-1.0	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.4	-1.4	-1.5	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4
Greens	-1.0	-1.1	-1.3	-1.4	-1.4	-1.7	-1.9	-2.0	-2.0	-2.0	-2.1
PEFO	-1.0	-1.0	-1.2	-1.2	-1.2	-1.4	-1.5	-1.6	-1.5	-1.5	-1.4
Underlying cash balance (UCB)											
Net impact of election commitments on the UCB											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	-0.2	-0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	-0.1	-0.4	-0.7	-1.1	-1.3
Greens	0.3	..	..	-0.4	-0.5	-0.7	-0.8	-1.1	-1.3	-1.6	-1.9
Final UCB											
Labor	-1.5	-1.2	-1.2	-1.1	-1.2	-0.9	-0.8	-0.8	-0.5	-0.3	..
Coalition	-1.7	-1.3	-0.9	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	-0.9	-1.2	-1.3	-1.4	-1.3
Greens	-1.2	-1.2	-1.2	-1.5	-1.7	-1.6	-1.6	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9	-1.9
PEFO	-1.5	-1.2	-1.2	-1.1	-1.2	-0.9	-0.8	-0.8	-0.5	-0.3	..
Net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes											
Net impact of election commitments on cash flows											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2
Greens	-1.6	-1.6	-1.4	-1.4	-1.2	-0.7	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5
Final cash flows											
Labor	-0.8	-0.8	-0.7	-0.6	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2
Coalition	-0.7	-0.6	-0.5	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4
Greens	-2.4	-2.4	-2.0	-2.0	-1.6	-1.0	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7
PEFO	-0.8	-0.8	-0.6	-0.6	-0.4	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Headline cash balance (HCB)											
Net impact of election commitments on HCB											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	-0.1	..	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.1	-0.2	-0.5	-0.9	-1.2	-1.5
Greens	-1.3	-1.6	-1.4	-1.8	-1.8	-1.3	-1.3	-1.6	-1.8	-2.1	-2.4
Final HCB											
Labor	-2.3	-1.9	-1.8	-1.7	-1.6	-1.2	-1.1	-1.0	-0.7	-0.5	-0.2
Coalition	-2.3	-2.0	-1.4	-1.3	-1.1	-1.1	-1.3	-1.5	-1.6	-1.7	-1.8
Greens	-3.6	-3.6	-3.2	-3.5	-3.3	-2.5	-2.3	-2.6	-2.6	-2.6	-2.6
PEFO	-2.3	-1.9	-1.8	-1.7	-1.5	-1.2	-1.1	-1	-0.7	-0.5	-0.2

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the cash balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the cash balance. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Table 2-5: Financial implications of election commitments, medium-term, accrual basis (% of GDP)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Revenue											
Net impact of election commitments on revenue											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	-0.4	-0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.7	-0.9	-1.1
Greens	3.7	4.4	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.6
Final revenue											
Labor	26.1	26.2	25.9	26.0	26.1	26.3	26.5	26.7	27.0	27.2	27.4
Coalition	25.6	25.9	26.0	26.1	26.3	26.3	26.3	26.3	26.3	26.3	26.3
Greens	29.8	30.6	30.5	30.3	30.3	30.5	30.6	30.7	30.8	30.9	31.0
PEFO	26.1	26.2	25.9	26.0	26.1	26.3	26.5	26.8	27.0	27.2	27.4
Expenses (excluding PDI)											
Net impact of election commitments on expenses (excluding PDI)											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	0.3	..	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	..	-0.1	-0.2	-0.4	-0.3
Greens	-4.1	-4.2	-4.3	-4.5	-4.5	-4.5	-4.4	-4.6	-4.6	-4.7	-4.8
Final expenses											
Labor	-26.3	-25.9	-25.7	-25.6	-25.8	-25.5	-25.5	-25.6	-25.6	-25.5	-25.6
Coalition	-26.0	-25.9	-25.6	-25.5	-25.6	-25.5	-25.5	-25.7	-25.9	-26.0	-26.0
Greens	-30.4	-30.1	-30.1	-30.1	-30.3	-30.0	-30.0	-30.2	-30.2	-30.3	-30.4
PEFO	-26.2	-25.9	-25.7	-25.6	-25.8	-25.5	-25.5	-25.6	-25.6	-25.6	-25.6
Public debt interest (PDI)											
Net impact of election commitments on PDI											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	..	..	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
Greens	..	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-0.6	-0.6

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Final PDI											
Labor	-1.3	-1.3	-1.4	-1.5	-1.5	-1.8	-1.9	-2.0	-1.9	-1.8	-1.8
Coalition	-1.3	-1.3	-1.4	-1.4	-1.5	-1.7	-1.8	-1.9	-1.8	-1.8	-1.8
Greens	-1.4	-1.4	-1.6	-1.7	-1.8	-2.1	-2.2	-2.4	-2.3	-2.4	-2.4
PEFO	-1.3	-1.3	-1.4	-1.5	-1.5	-1.8	-1.9	-2.0	-1.9	-1.8	-1.8
Fiscal balance											
Net impact of election commitments on the fiscal balance											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Coalition	-0.1	-0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.1	-0.2	-0.5	-0.9	-1.2	-1.5
Greens	-0.4	0.1	0.1	-0.4	-0.5	-0.6	-0.8	-1.1	-1.3	-1.6	-1.9
Final fiscal balance											
Labor	-1.5	-1.1	-1.3	-1.1	-1.2	-1.0	-0.9	-0.8	-0.5	-0.2	0.1
Coalition	-1.7	-1.2	-1.0	-0.8	-0.8	-0.9	-1.1	-1.3	-1.4	-1.5	-1.4
Greens	-1.9	-1.0	-1.2	-1.5	-1.7	-1.6	-1.6	-1.9	-1.8	-1.8	-1.8
PEFO	-1.5	-1.1	-1.3	-1.1	-1.2	-1	-0.9	-0.8	-0.5	-0.2	..

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the fiscal balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the fiscal balance. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Table 2-6: Financial implications of election commitments on gross and net debt by party, medium-term (% of GDP)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Gross debt											
Net impact of election commitments on gross debt											
Labor	..	..	..	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	..	..
Coalition	-0.5	-0.3	-0.7	-1.1	-1.5	-1.5	-1.2	-0.6	0.3	1.6	3.1
Greens	1.3	3.0	4.2	5.8	7.3	8.2	9.1	10.3	11.6	13.2	14.9
Final gross debt											
Labor	35.5	36.5	36.9	36.9	37.0	36.8	36.3	35.5	34.5	33.2	31.9
Coalition	35.0	36.2	36.2	35.8	35.5	35.2	35.0	34.7	34.7	34.8	35.1
Greens	36.8	39.5	41.1	42.6	44.2	45.0	45.4	45.7	46.1	46.4	46.9
PEFO	35.5	36.5	36.9	36.8	37.0	36.7	36.3	35.4	34.4	33.2	31.9
Net debt											
Net impact of election commitments on net debt											
Labor	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	-0.1
Coalition	-0.3	-0.1	-0.4	-0.7	-1.1	-1.1	-0.9	-0.3	0.6	1.9	3.5
Greens	2.1	3.6	4.8	6.3	7.8	8.7	9.6	10.9	12.3	13.9	15.7
Final net debt											
Labor	21.6	22.6	22.7	23.2	23.8	23.7	23.5	22.9	22.2	21.3	20.1
Coalition	21.3	22.5	22.2	22.4	22.7	22.6	22.6	22.6	22.9	23.2	23.6
Greens	23.6	26.2	27.4	29.5	31.6	32.4	33.1	33.8	34.5	35.2	35.9
PEFO	21.6	22.6	22.7	23.1	23.8	23.7	23.5	22.9	22.2	21.3	20.2

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

3 Australian Labor Party

Key Points

- The Australian Labor Party's (Labor) 63 election commitments would improve the underlying cash and fiscal balances over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates, relative to the Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) baseline, but lead to a decrease in the headline cash balance. Over the medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36) all balances would improve compared to PEFO.
- Labor's platform would result in an improvement in the underlying cash balance of \$1.0 billion over the forward estimates and \$4.4 billion over the medium term, relative to PEFO.
- This would result in an underlying cash deficit of \$37.0 billion at the end of the forward estimates and total underlying cash deficits of \$150.7 billion and \$322.6 billion over the forward estimates and medium-term periods respectively.
- This impact is driven by a reduction in payments, partly offset by slightly lower receipts. The reduction in payments is largely from general public services.
- While Labor's platform is estimated to result in higher government gross debt across most of the period, it is approximately \$1.9 billion lower at the end of the medium-term period relative to PEFO at \$1.5 trillion (31.9% of gross domestic product (GDP)). Public debt interest payments are not estimated to be materially different from the PEFO baseline.
- The PBO's estimates of the budget impact of Labor's commitments over the forward estimates are not materially different (less than 0.1% of GDP) from those published by Labor prior to the election.

Budget impacts over the forward estimates

The combined impact of Labor's 63 election commitments would improve the underlying cash and fiscal balances but decrease the headline cash balance over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates period, relative to the PEFO baseline (Table 3-1).

The improvement in the underlying cash balance reflects a net decrease in payments, entirely due to savings from *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* (ECR-2025-1596) and *Increasing Student Visa fees* (ECR-2025-1891) which more than offset all other payments increases. The decrease in overall payments was partly offset by a decrease in receipts, reflecting *\$1,000 instant tax deduction for work-related expenses* (ECR-2025-1700), which outweighs the receipts from *Increasing Student Visa fees* (ECR-2025-1891). The impacts on the fiscal balance are of a similar magnitude and nature.

The difference between the headline cash balance and the underlying cash balance is due to *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* (ECR-2025-1344), which

provides up to \$8 billion in concessional loans, and the equity investment component of the *Critical Minerals Strategic Reserve* (ECR-2025-1529).¹⁷

The bulk of Labor's 63 election commitments affect only payments (54 commitments). There are 4 commitments which contain both payment and receipt components: *\$1,000 instant tax deduction for work-related expenses* (ECR-2025-1700), *Increasing student visa fees* (ECR-2025-1891), *Economic Resilience Program* (ECR-2025-1864), and *20 medical CSPs for the University of Tasmania* (ECR-2025-1624). The remaining 5 commitments have no financial impact on the budget.

The result of these impacts is a total of \$150.7 billion in underlying cash deficits over the forward estimates.

Table 3-1: Summary financial implications of Labor's election commitments (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	Total to 2028-29
Underlying cash balance (UCB)					
Net impact	0.3	0.6	..	..	1.0
Final UCB	-41.9	-34.7	-37.1	-37.0	-150.7
Headline cash balance (HCB)					
Net impact	0.3	-0.1	-1.0	-1.0	-1.8
Final HCB	-65.0	-58.2	-58.0	-57.0	-238.2
Fiscal balance					
Net impact	0.1	0.4	..	..	0.6
Final fiscal balance	-44.1	-31.7	-39.4	-37.2	-152.4
Public debt interest (PDI)					
Net impact	..	..	..	..	-0.1
Final PDI	-27.9	-30.1	-36.7	-38.3	-42.3
Gross debt					
Net impact	-0.3	-0.2	0.8	1.8	
Final gross debt	1,021.7	1,091.8	1,161.8	1,224.8	
Net debt					
Net impact	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	0.3	
Final net debt	620.6	676.0	714.0	768.5	

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in the budget balance or debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in the budget balance or debt levels. Public debt interest is relative to the budget balances, so a negative impact indicates an increase in PDI cost. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

The PBO's estimates of the financial implications of Labor's platform are not materially different from those published by Labor prior to the election – both indicate modest underlying cash balance improvements over the forward estimates relative to PEFO.¹⁸ While there are some differences for individual commitments, including the PBO inclusion of some departmental costs, when taken together, these differences amount to not more than 0.1% of GDP in any given year and are not considered significant.

¹⁷ Concessional loan issuance is not included in the underlying cash balance, but is included in the headline cash balance as an expense. For more information see Appendix E.

¹⁸ See *Labor's costed plan to Build Australia's Future*.

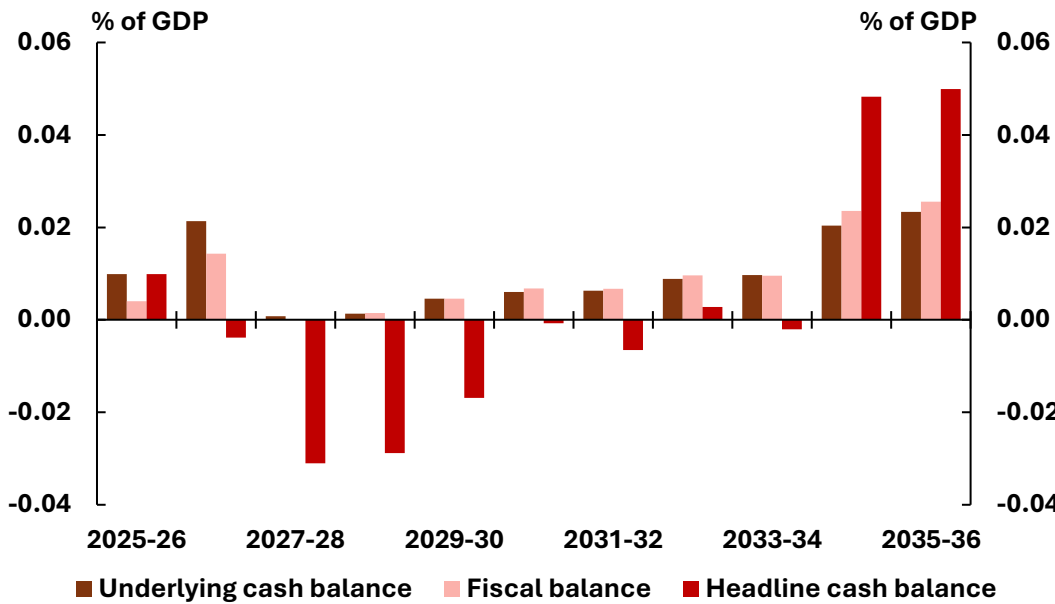
Further detail about the combined impact of Labor’s election commitments on expenses, revenue and other budget aggregates is available in *Detailed financial tables – Australian Labor Party*.

Budget impacts over the medium term

The combined impact of Labor’s election commitments is estimated to improve the fiscal, underlying cash, and headline cash balances over the medium term (see Figure 3-1).

Unlike the fiscal and underlying cash balances, the headline cash balance is negative through the forward estimates and remains negative until 2033-34, improving in the final 2 years of the medium term. This reflects the impact of *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* (ECR-2025-1344), which decreases the headline cash balance through the provision of concessional loans from 2026-27 to 2033-34, with ongoing repayments and no new loan issuance driving the strong improvement to the headline cash balance from 2034-35.

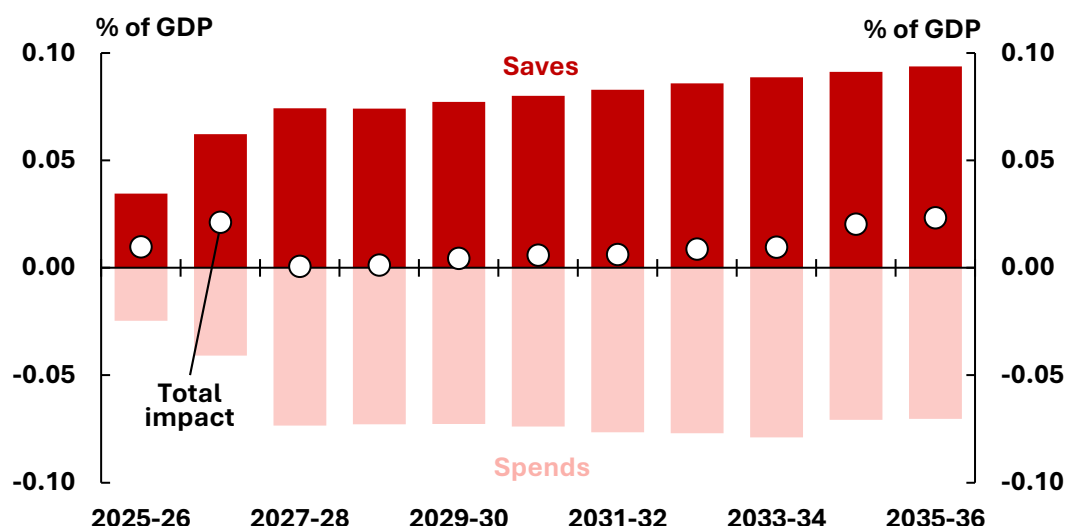
Figure 3-1: Medium-term impact of Labor’s platform on the budget balance aggregates



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.
Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget cash balance.

The medium-term improvement to the underlying cash balance (Figure 3-2) is driven by a combination of lower expenses, including grants announced in the election terminating by the end of the forward estimates, and savings from reductions in consultants and non-wage public service expenses, which are both ongoing and increase beyond the forward estimates. The improvements are estimated to result in underlying cash deficits of \$322.6 billion in total over the medium term (Table 3-5).

Figure 3-2: Medium-term impact of Labor's platform on the underlying cash balance

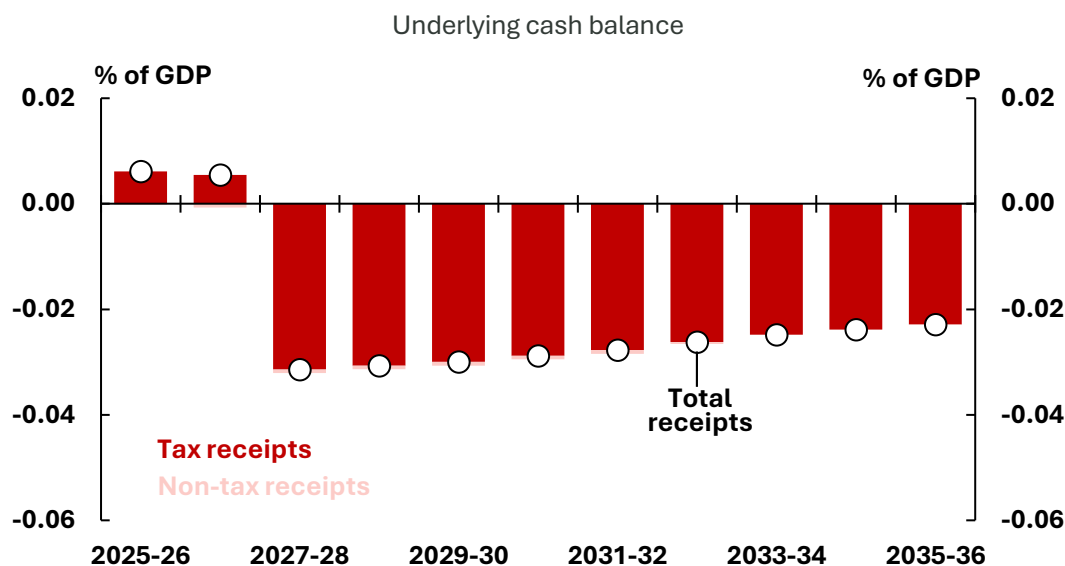


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: 'Saves' includes all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments). 'Spends' includes all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments).

Labor's platform would result in a slight increase in tax receipts (Figure 3-3) in the early years of the forward estimates, before a small net decrease in tax receipts at the end of the forward estimates, continuing over the medium term relative to PEFO. This impact is primarily driven by the commitment *\$1,000 instant tax deduction for work-related expenses* (ECR-2025-1700). As a share of GDP, the net impact on receipts is negligible.

Figure 3-3: Impact of Labor's platform on receipts, by major receipt type

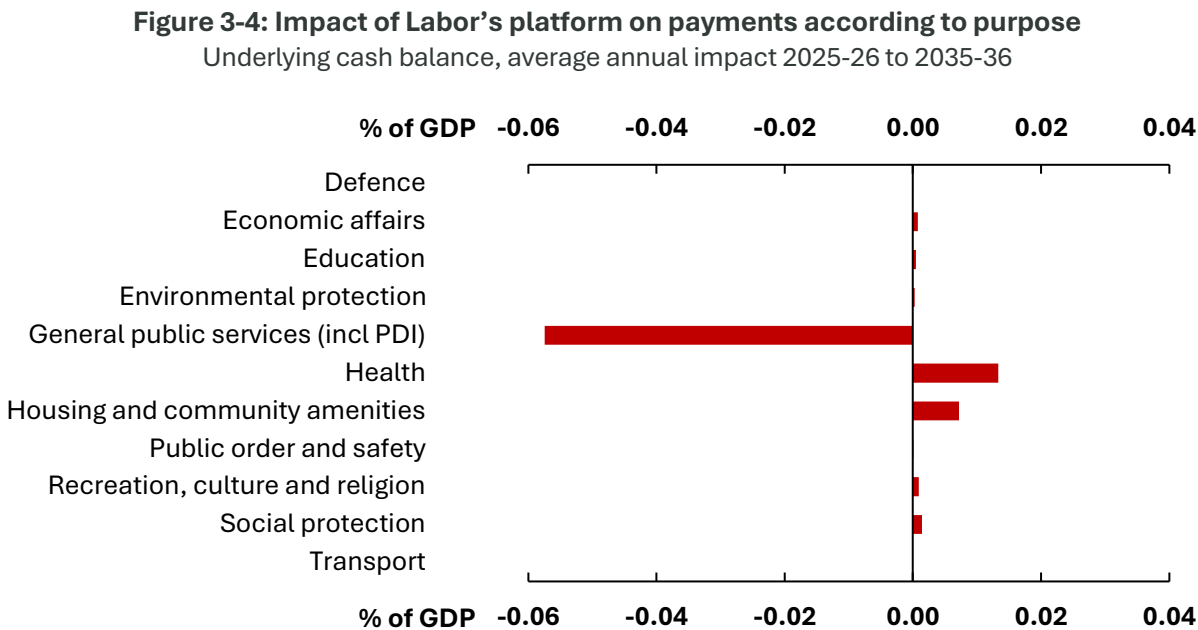


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Tax receipts include income derived from taxes; such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. Income from other sources is included in non-tax receipts; such as royalties, interest earned on loans and dividends from investments

Payments (Figure 3-4) are estimated to fall due to a decrease in general public services, driven by a reduction in departmental costs under *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* (ECR-2025-1596).

These savings are partly offset by increased spending in health from the commitment *More free mental health services* (ECR-2025-1566), and housing and community amenities, with the commitment *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* (ECR-2025-1344).



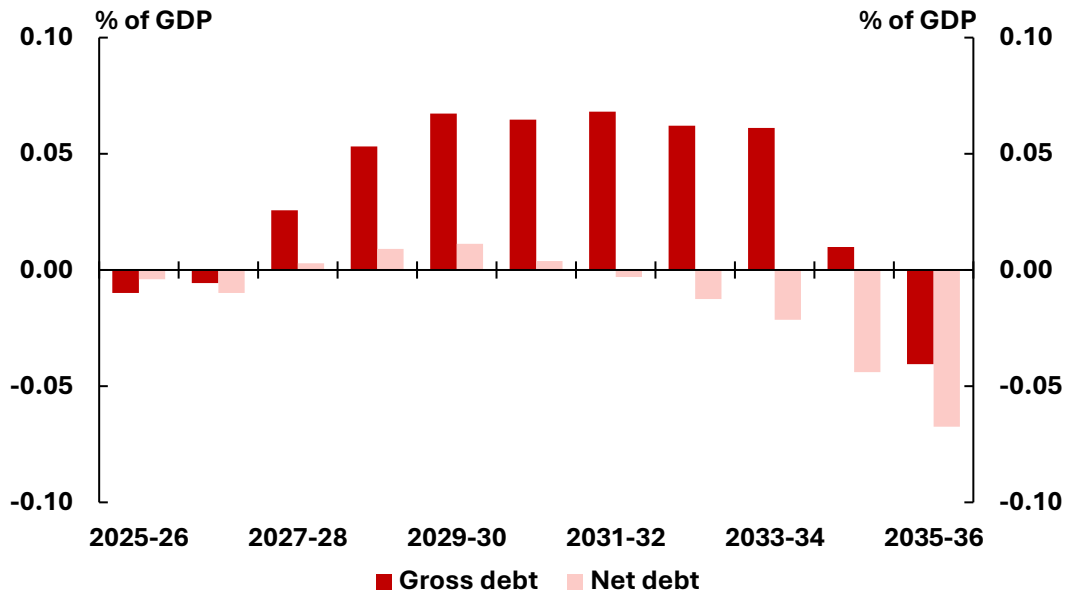
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.
Note: Spending is allocated according to the Classification of the Functions of Government – Australia¹⁹, consistent with the framework underpinning the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ Government Finance Statistics. Where commitments cover multiple purposes, they have been allocated to the primary category according to the relative dollar value.

While government gross debt is estimated to decrease by \$1.9 billion by the end of the medium term (Figure 3-5), public debt interest payments are expected to be \$0.6 billion higher over the same period relative to PEFO. This reflects higher gross debt for most of the period. By the end of the medium term, gross debt is expected to reach \$1.5 trillion, approximately 31.9% of GDP.

The wedge between gross and net debt is primarily driven by concessional loans included in *Delivering 100,000 homes and 5% deposits for all first home buyers* (ECR-2025-1344), with the loans contributing to gross debt but not net debt.

¹⁹ The *Classification of the functions of Government – Australia*, as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ [Government Finance Statistics](#).

Figure 3-5: Medium-term impact of Labor's platform on government debt



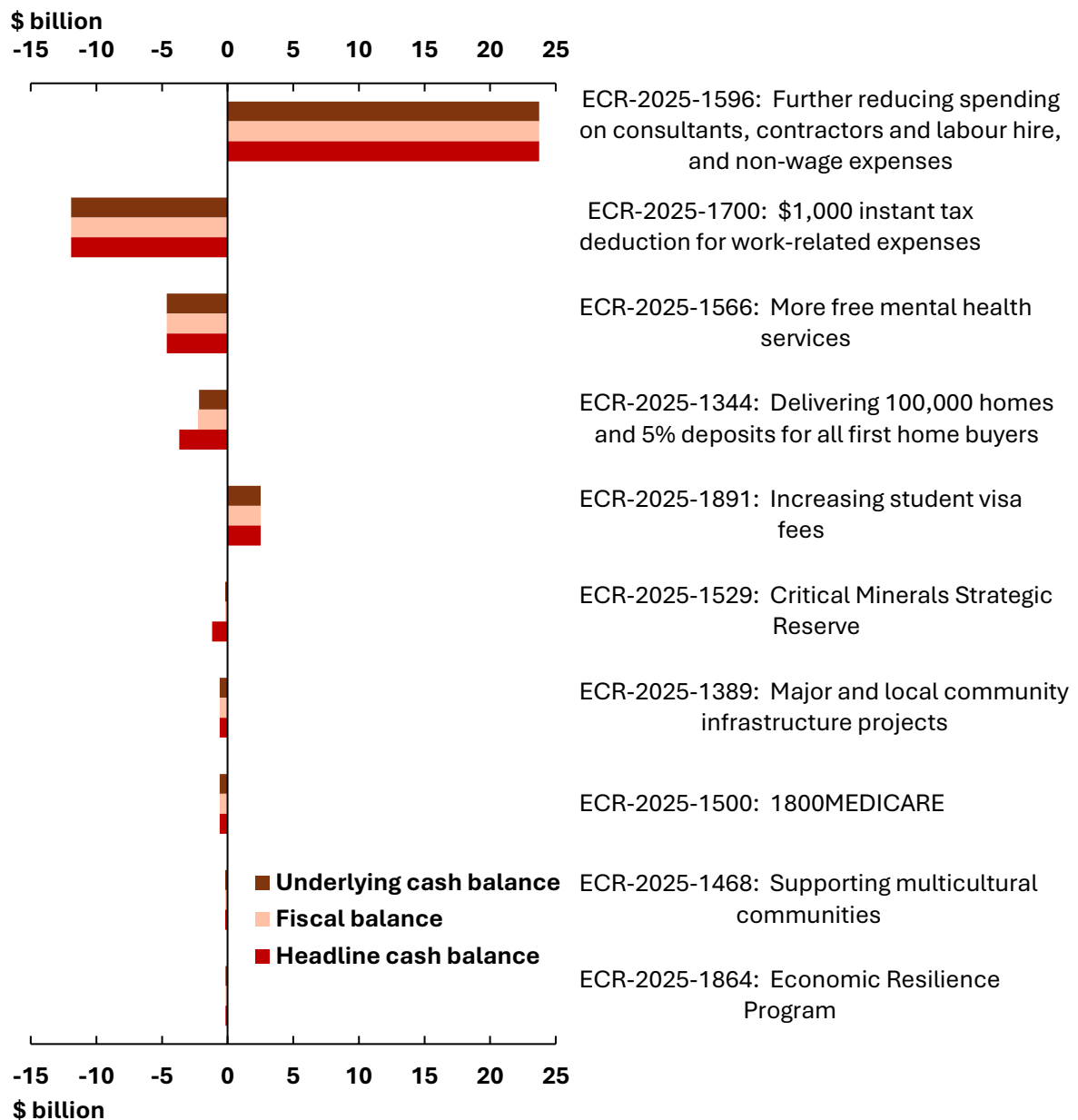
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels.

Figure 3-6 summarises Labor's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term. The full list of medium-term impacts for each commitment is provided in Appendix A.

Figure 3-6: Labor's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term

Cumulative impact on the underlying cash, fiscal and headline cash balances



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: This figure shows the largest 10 commitments based on the largest impact to a budget balance. A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget balance.

Interactions

The PBO expects interactions between Labor's election commitments to result in minimal differences in estimated impacts.

Implementation of commitments

The PBO identified 4 material election commitments affecting payments that have no net impact on the budget as they are wholly offset from within existing resources. In total, these commitments reflect the reallocation of \$186.4 million over the forward estimates of previously announced funding to specific projects (see Table 3-2). These commitments are included in the list of commitments, but have no net impact on the Budget.

Table 3-2: Commitments funded through reallocation of existing resources, Labor

Commitment	Estimated cost offset from existing resources over the forward estimates (\$ million)
Additional Funding to Support Urgent Care Clinics	8.4
Building New Child Care Centres	74.0
Perth Hills Resilience Package	1.2
Upgrade To SciTech Discovery Centre	102.8
Total	186.4

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: These commitments also appear in the tables in Appendix A. As they were assessed as having a nil impact on the budget they do not have a costing minute.

Departmental costs have generally been included by the PBO except where the party has specified that they would be absorbed within existing departmental resources or where the PBO has assumed they have been absorbed. For 2 material commitments across the Health and Aged Care portfolio, Labor specified that departmental costs would be absorbed within existing departmental resources (see Table 3-3), estimated by the PBO to be equal to approximately \$39 million over the forward estimates.²⁰

Table 3-3: Commitments with absorbed departmental expenses, Labor^(a)

Portfolio	Number of commitments with absorbed expenses
Health and Aged Care	2
Total	2

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: A detailed breakdown of commitments with either PBO assumed or party specified absorbed departmental expenses is included in Appendix A.

(a) Estimated departmental cost absorbed has been calculated using the PBO's departmental cost calculator, based on the specified administered amounts.

Labor has also committed to reducing overall departmental funding by more than \$6.4 billion over the forward estimates through the commitment *Further reducing spending on consultants, contractors and labour hire, and non-wage expenses* (ECR-2025-1596). The impact of this commitment, on top of a forecast reduction in departmental spending over the forward estimates (see Box 3), creates downside risk to either the budget balance or policy objectives.

Differences in party and PBO commitment lists

The approach for determining which election commitments are included in the report is set out in PBO general election guidance note 1, *The Election Commitments Report: overview*.²¹

Labor provided its [list of election commitments](#) to the Parliamentary Budget Officer on 2 May 2025, prior to the legislated deadline of 5pm Friday, 2 May 2025. The list was published on the PBO website on 4 May 2025.

Labor identified 74 election commitments in its list. This report lists 63 commitments, with the difference being 11 commitments which were determined to be already accounted for in the PEFO. A reconciliation of these commitment lists is provided in Table 3-4.

²⁰ These commitments are separate from the commitments where the PBO has determined that administration could reasonably be delivered within the existing resources of the relevant department, such as business as usual activities.

²¹ Available at [PBO general election guidance 1 of 4 2024 - The Election commitments report: overview](#)

No material additional commitments were identified by the PBO. The PBO did note 2 Labor public announcements that had potential financial impacts: a potential domestic takeover of the *Port of Darwin* and a *Bid for South Australia to host the 31st Conference of the Parties*. While there have been no final decisions regarding these announcements, both present risks of material financial cost should they occur.

Labor provided a nil response to the PBO's list of commitments.

Appendix E provides further information on how the PBO assesses the materiality of election commitments for the purposes of this report.

Table 3-4: Reconciliation of ECR commitments with Labor party list

	Number of commitments	Underlying cash balance impact over forward estimates (\$ billion)
Commitments listed by party	74	1.2
Commitments excluded by the PBO		
<i>Commitments determined to not have material implications</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Nil</i>
<i>Commitments determined to be already accounted for in the 2025 PEFO</i>	<i>-11</i>	<i>Nil</i>
Additional commitments identified by the PBO	0	Nil
PBO variations on party commitments	n/a	-0.2
Commitments included in the Election Commitments Report	63	1.0

Source: PBO analysis.

Detailed financial tables - Australian Labor Party

The following tables provide a detailed breakdown of the financial impacts of Labor's election platform over the medium term. Table 3-5 shows impacts on a cash accounting basis (underlying cash and headline cash balances) and Table 3-6 on an accrual basis (fiscal balance). Table 3-7 shows the impact on government debt.

Table 3-5: Detailed financial implications of Labor's election commitments, cash basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Receipts													
Net impact	0.2	0.2	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1	-1.7	-9.1
Final receipts	735.5	766.1	796.4	839.8	891.3	946.0	1,001.6	1,060.9	1,123.7	1,188.7	1,259.1	3,137.9	10,609.3
Payments (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	0.1	0.5	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.1	2.2	2.7	14.1
Final payments	-749.5	-770.7	-796.7	-838.5	-890.0	-926.5	-974.7	-1,028.3	-1,080.9	-1,133.7	-1,191.6	-3,155.5	-10,381.2
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	..	..	..	..	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	..	..	-0.6
Final PDI	-27.9	-30.1	-36.7	-38.3	-42.3	-53.1	-58.7	-64.9	-64.4	-66.8	-67.4	-133.0	-550.6
Underlying cash balance (UCB)													
Net impact	0.3	0.6	..	..	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.9	1.1	1.0	4.4
Final UCB	-41.9	-34.7	-37.1	-37.0	-41.0	-33.5	-31.8	-32.3	-21.6	-11.9	0.2	-150.7	-322.6
Net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes													
Net impact	..	-0.8	-1.0	-1.0	-0.7	-0.2	-0.5	-0.2	-0.5	1.3	1.3	-2.8	-2.5
Final cash flows	-23.1	-23.5	-21.0	-20.0	-13.6	-10.8	-9.9	-8.0	-9.8	-8.6	-9.1	-87.6	-157.3
Headline cash balance (HCB)													
Net impact	0.3	-0.1	-1.0	-1.0	-0.6	..	-0.3	0.1	-0.1	2.2	2.4	-1.8	1.9
Final HCB	-65.0	-58.2	-58.0	-57.0	-54.6	-44.4	-41.7	-40.2	-31.4	-20.5	-8.9	-238.2	-479.9

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in receipts or a decrease in payments. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in receipts or an increase in payments. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Table 3-6: Detailed financial implications of Labor's election commitments, accrual basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Revenue													
Net impact	0.2	0.2	-0.9	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.1	-1.1	-1.5	-8.8
Final revenue	750.4	783.8	814.5	861.5	912.6	968.7	1,026.2	1,087.6	1,152.1	1,218.7	1,291.2	3,210.2	10,867.3
Expenses (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	-0.1	0.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.6	2.2	2.2	2.2	13.7
Final expenses (excluding PDI)	-755.9	-775.1	-808.8	-850.2	-902.6	-939.2	-986.6	-1,040.0	-1,093.0	-1,145.9	-1,204.1	-3,190.0	-10,501.3
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	..	..	..	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1	..	-0.1	-0.6
Final PDI	-38.7	-40.3	-45.1	-48.5	-53.3	-65.9	-72.6	-79.9	-79.7	-82.7	-83.7	-172.6	-690.4
Fiscal balance													
Net impact	0.1	0.4	..	..	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	1.1	1.2	0.6	4.3
Final fiscal balance	-44.1	-31.7	-39.4	-37.2	-43.3	-36.3	-33.0	-32.3	-20.5	-10.0	3.5	-152.4	-324.3

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in revenue or a decrease in expenses. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in revenue or an increase in expenses. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Table 3-7: Detailed financial implications of Labor's election commitments, gross and net debt (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Gross debt											
Net impact	-0.3	-0.2	0.8	1.8	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.6	0.4	-1.9
Final gross debt	1,021.7	1,091.8	1,161.8	1,224.8	1,295.0	1,355.2	1,407.0	1,442.5	1,474.2	1,491.0	1,502.1
Net debt											
Net impact	-0.1	-0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.1	-0.1	-0.5	-0.9	-2.0	-3.2
Final net debt	620.6	676.0	714.0	768.5	833.3	873.6	908.9	932.2	949.3	954.6	946.0

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a decrease in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

4 Coalition

Key Points

- The Coalition's 214 commitments would result in an improvement in the underlying cash, headline cash and fiscal balances by the end of the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates, but would decrease the underlying cash, headline cash and fiscal balances over the medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36), relative to the Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) baseline.
- The Coalition's platform would result in an improvement in the underlying cash balance of \$6.6 billion over the forward estimates and a decrease of \$135.6 billion over the medium term relative to PEFO.
- This would result in an underlying cash deficit of \$27.5 billion at the end of the forward estimates and total underlying cash deficits of \$145.0 billion and \$462.6 billion over the forward estimates and medium-term periods respectively.
- This impact is driven by lower levels of payments and receipts over the forward estimates, with higher payments and lower receipts in the medium term. The increase in payments is principally in defence, while the decrease in receipts is mainly due to the unspecified tax cuts required to achieve the policy that taxation receipts not exceed 23.9% of gross domestic product (GDP).
- The Coalition's platform is estimated to result in lower government gross debt across most of the period, but \$147.3 billion higher by the end of the medium term relative to PEFO, reaching \$1.7 trillion (35.1% of GDP). Public debt interest payments are expected to be \$21.6 billion lower over the medium term.
- The difference between the PBO's estimates of the budget impact of the Coalition's commitments over the forward estimates and those published by the Coalition prior to the election is less than 0.1% of GDP.

Budget impacts over the forward estimates

The total impact of the Coalition's 214 election commitments would result in an improvement in the underlying cash, headline cash and fiscal balances over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates period (Table 4-1) relative to the PEFO baseline.²²

The improvement in the underlying cash balance reflects a net decrease in payments driven by commitments such as *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* (ECR-2025-2147), *Rail projects – Increase and rephase* (ECR-2025-2257) and *Home Batteries Program – redirect* (ECR-2025-2129).

The improvement in the underlying cash balance is partially offset by commitments that would lower receipts such as *Cost of Living Tax Offset* (ECR-2025-2666), *Adjust fuel excise – 25c per litre reduction* (ECR-2025-2457) and *Tax on unrealised capital gains – do not proceed* (ECR-2025-

²² The Liberal Party of Australia and the National Party of Australia are treated as a single party, the Coalition, for the purpose of this report.

2011), and commitments that would increase payments, such as *Increase defence spending – including investing in a fourth F-35A Lightning Squadron (ECR-2025-2734)*, *Housing Infrastructure Program (ECR-2025-2862)* and *Better transport and telecommunications infrastructure (ECR-2025-2328)*.

Over the forward estimates period, the impact of the Coalition’s election commitments on the headline cash balance is an \$18.3 billion improvement compared to the underlying cash balance. The difference is mainly a result of the *Student HELP changes – not proceeding (ECR-2025-2230)* and *Help to Buy Scheme – reverse (ECR-2025-2213)* which is partially offset by the *Housing Infrastructure Program (ECR-2025-2862)* and *Modify Commonwealth Prac Payments (ECR-2025-2599)*.

Table 4-1: Summary financial implications of the Coalition’s election commitments (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	Total to 2028-29
Underlying cash balance (UCB)					
Net impact	-5.7	-4.8	7.5	9.5	6.6
Final UCB	-47.9	-40.2	-29.6	-27.5	-145.0
Headline cash balance (HCB)					
Net impact	-1.7	-0.6	12.2	14.3	24.9
Final HCB	-67.0	-58.7	-44.9	-41.7	-211.5
Fiscal balance^(a)					
Net impact	-3.6	-4.9	8.4	10.4	21.1
Final fiscal balance	-47.8	-37.0	-31.0	-26.8	-131.9
Public debt interest (PDI)					
Net impact	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.6	4.4
Final PDI	-27.0	-29.2	-35.7	-36.7	-128.5
Gross debt					
Net impact	-14.9	-9.4	-21.5	-35.9	
Final gross debt	1,007.1	1,082.6	1,139.5	1,187.1	
Net debt					
Net impact	-8.0	-4.1	-13.4	-24.4	
Final net debt	612.6	672.1	700.5	743.8	

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

(a) Fiscal balance impacts in individual years do not sum to the totals to 2028-29 and 2035-36 as the totals include a \$10.7 billion impact in 2024-25 for the election commitment *Student HELP changes – not proceeding (ECR-2025-2230)*.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in the budget balance or debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in the budget balance or debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Of the Coalition’s 214 election commitments, 140 affect only payments, 13 affect only receipts, 34 affect both payments and receipts and 27 commitments have no impact on the budget aggregates.

The PBO’s estimates of the financial implications of the Coalition’s platform are not materially different from those published by the Coalition prior to the election.²³ There are some differences for individual commitments, including a \$1.6 billion decrease due to an updated PBO methodology for the *Entrepreneurship Accelerator tax incentive (ECR-2025-2472)*. However, when

²³ See the Coalition’s *Our Plan for a Sustainable Budget*.

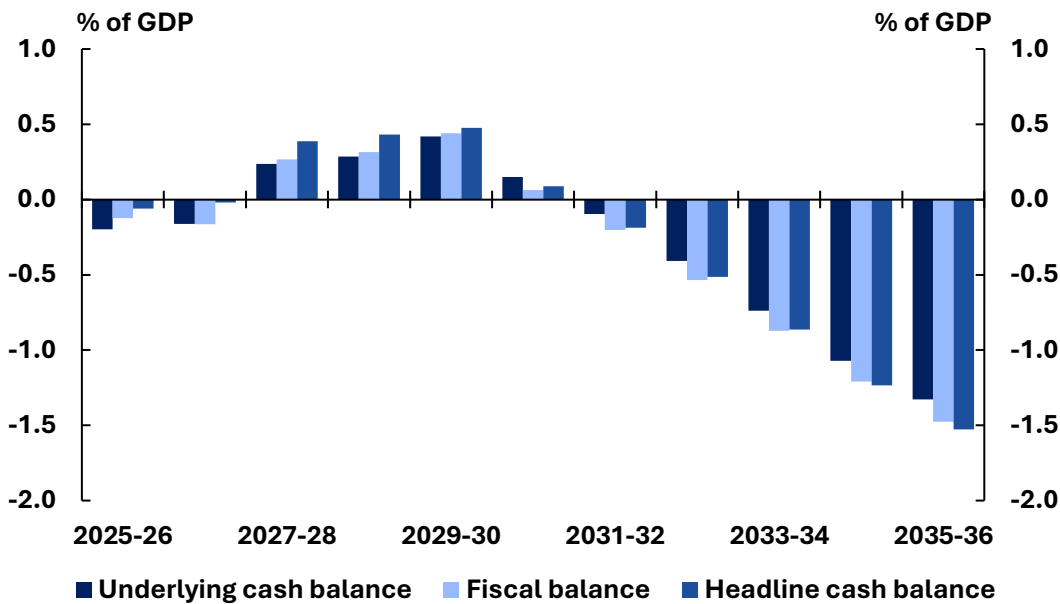
taken together, these differences amount to no more than 0.1% of GDP in any given year and are not considered significant.

Further detail about the combined impact of the Coalition’s election commitments on expenses, revenue and other budget aggregates is available in *Detailed Financial Tables – the Coalition*.

Budget impacts over the medium term

The estimated impact of the Coalition’s platform would decrease the underlying cash, headline cash and fiscal balances over the medium term (Figure 4-1).

Figure 4-1: Medium-term impact of the Coalition’s platform on the budget balance aggregates



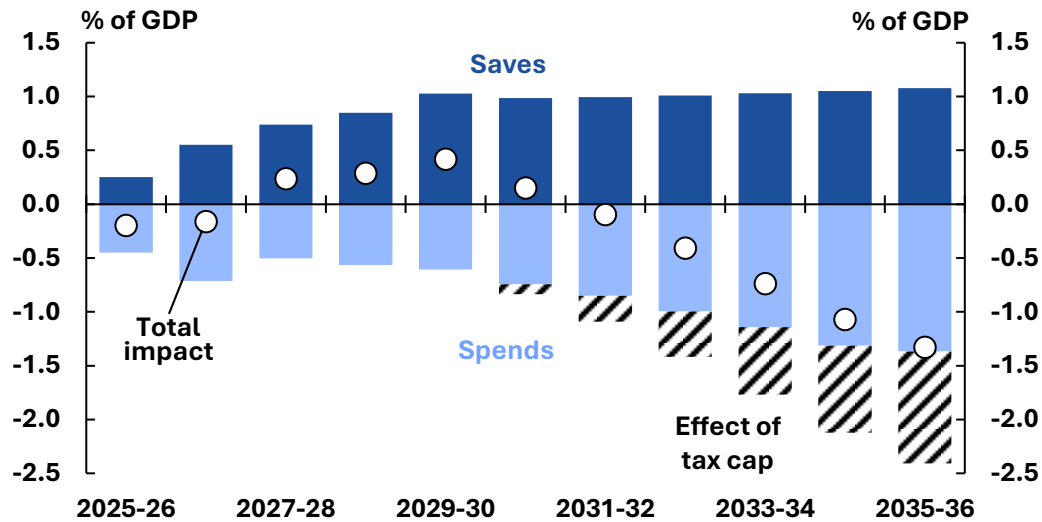
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget cash balance.

While the underlying cash balance is estimated to improve relative to the baseline from 2027-28 to 2030-31 (Figure 4-2), there is expected to be an escalating decline over the remainder of the medium term as the impacts of large ongoing commitments such as *Tax on unrealised capital gains – do not proceed (ECR-2025-2011)* and *Increase defence spending – including investing in a fourth F-35A Lightning Squadron (ECR-2025-2734)* grow. The impact of unspecified tax cuts required to meet the Coalition’s tax cap of 23.9% of GDP also contribute to the decrease.

These impacts are estimated to result in underlying cash deficits of \$462.6 billion in total over the medium term (Table 4-5).

Figure 4-2: Medium-term impact of the Coalition's platform on the underlying cash balance



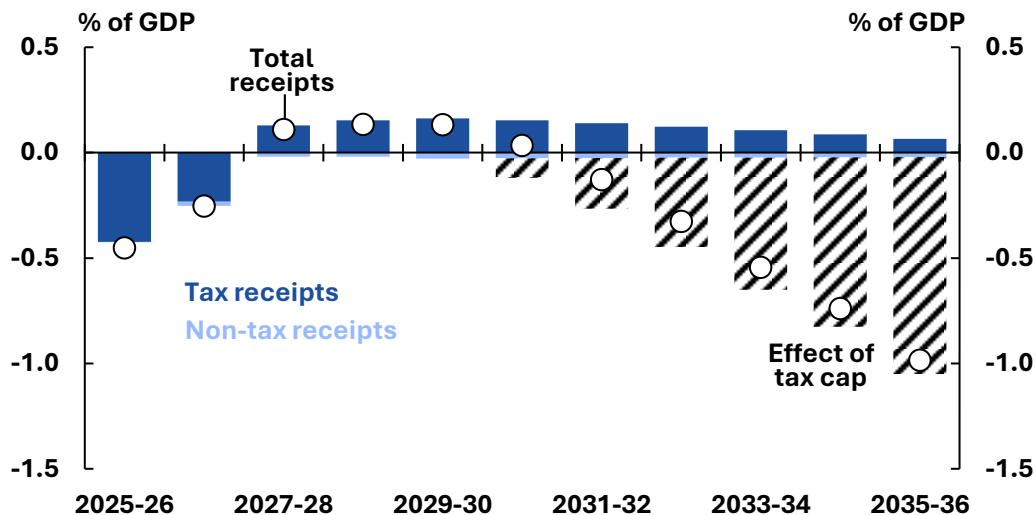
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: 'Saves' includes all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments). 'Spends' includes all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments). The dashed portions of the 'Spends' bars from 2030-31 represent the impact of unspecified tax cuts required to implement the Coalition's proposed tax cap.

Figure 4-3 shows the impact of the Coalition's policies on receipts in each year and whether these are tax or non-tax receipts, as well as the impact of the tax cap.

If fully implemented, the Coalition's platform would result in less tax receipts in the early years of the forward estimates and over the medium term relative to PEFO. The medium-term impact is primarily due to the Coalition's policy to maintain tax receipts at or below a cap of 23.9% of GDP. Without the tax cap, the Coalition's platform would have led to a modest increase in tax receipts.

Figure 4-3: Impact of the Coalition's platform on receipts, by major receipt type
Underlying cash balance

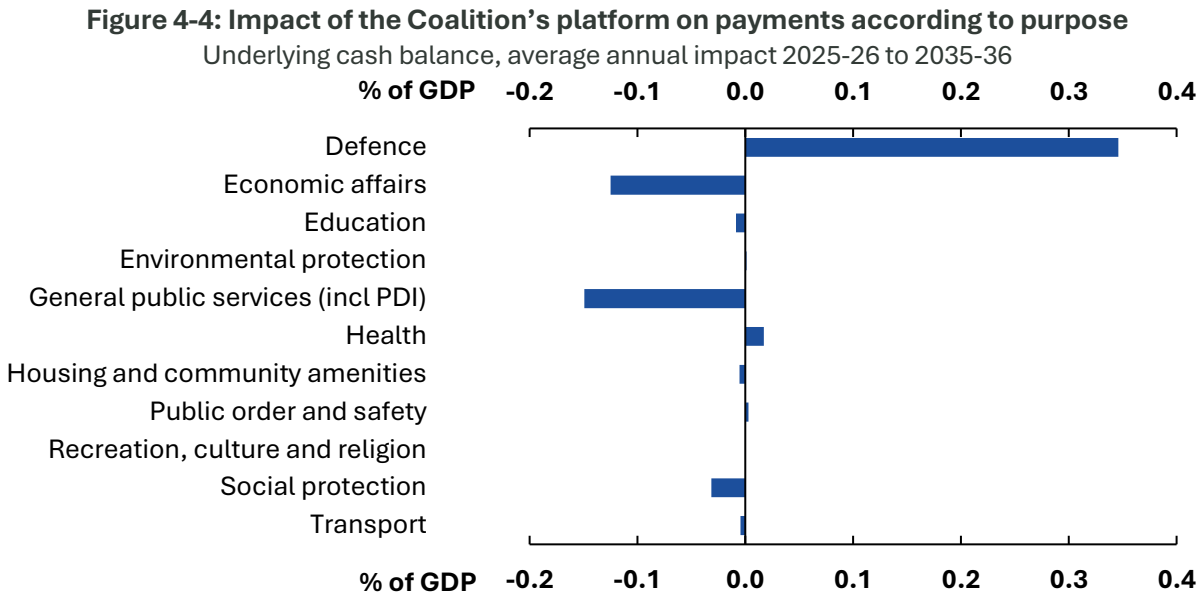


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Tax receipts include income derived from taxes; such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. Income from other sources is included in non-tax receipts; such as royalties, interest earned on loans and dividends from investments. See Appendix E for information on the application of the tax cap.

Under the Coalition’s platform, payments (Figure 4-4) would be higher over the medium term relative to PEFO. The additional spending is mainly on the defence commitment *Increase defence spending – including investing in a fourth F-35A Lightning Squadron* (ECR-2025-2734).

The additional spending would be partly funded by commitments to achieve savings, mainly from general public services, such as the commitment *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* (ECR-2025-2147) and economic affairs, such as the commitment *Green Hydrogen Production Tax Incentives – reverse* (ECR-2025-2013).



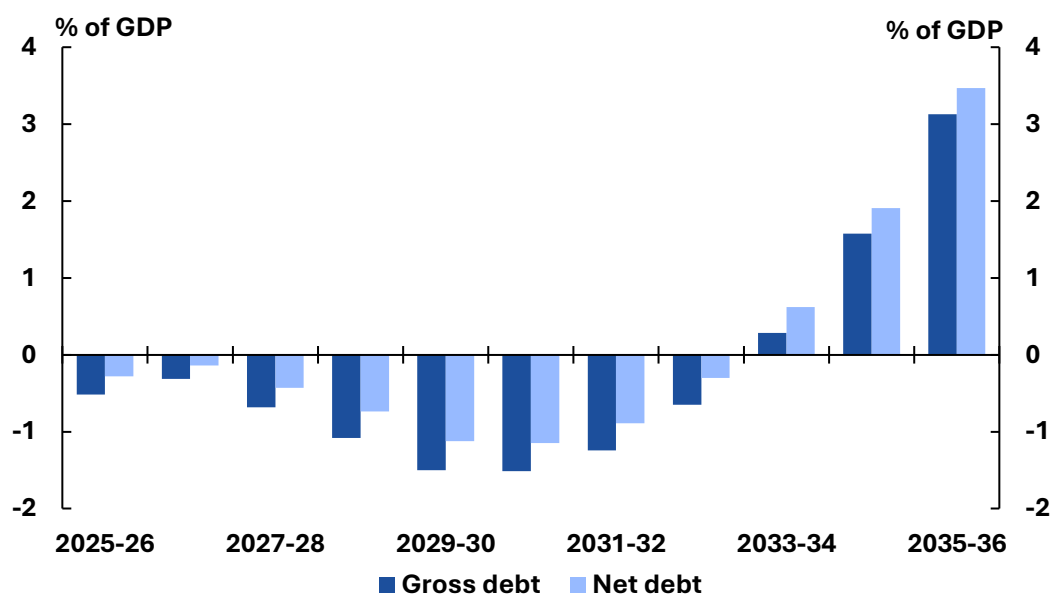
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.
Note: Spending is allocated according to the Classification of the Functions of Government – Australia, consistent with the framework underpinning the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ Government Finance Statistics.²⁴ Where commitments cover multiple purposes, they have been allocated to the primary category according to the relative dollar value.

While the Coalition’s election commitments are estimated to result in lower government gross debt across most of the medium term relative to PEFO, they are expected to result in \$147.3 billion higher gross debt by the end of the medium term (Figure 4-5), reaching \$1.7 trillion or 35.1% of GDP (Table 4-7).

The increase in gross debt is driven by the escalating decline of the underlying cash balance from 2031-32. Public debt interest payments are expected to be \$21.6 billion lower over the medium-term period.

²⁴ The *Classification of the functions of Government – Australia*, as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ *Government Finance Statistics*.

Figure 4-5: Medium-term impact of the Coalition's platform on government debt



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

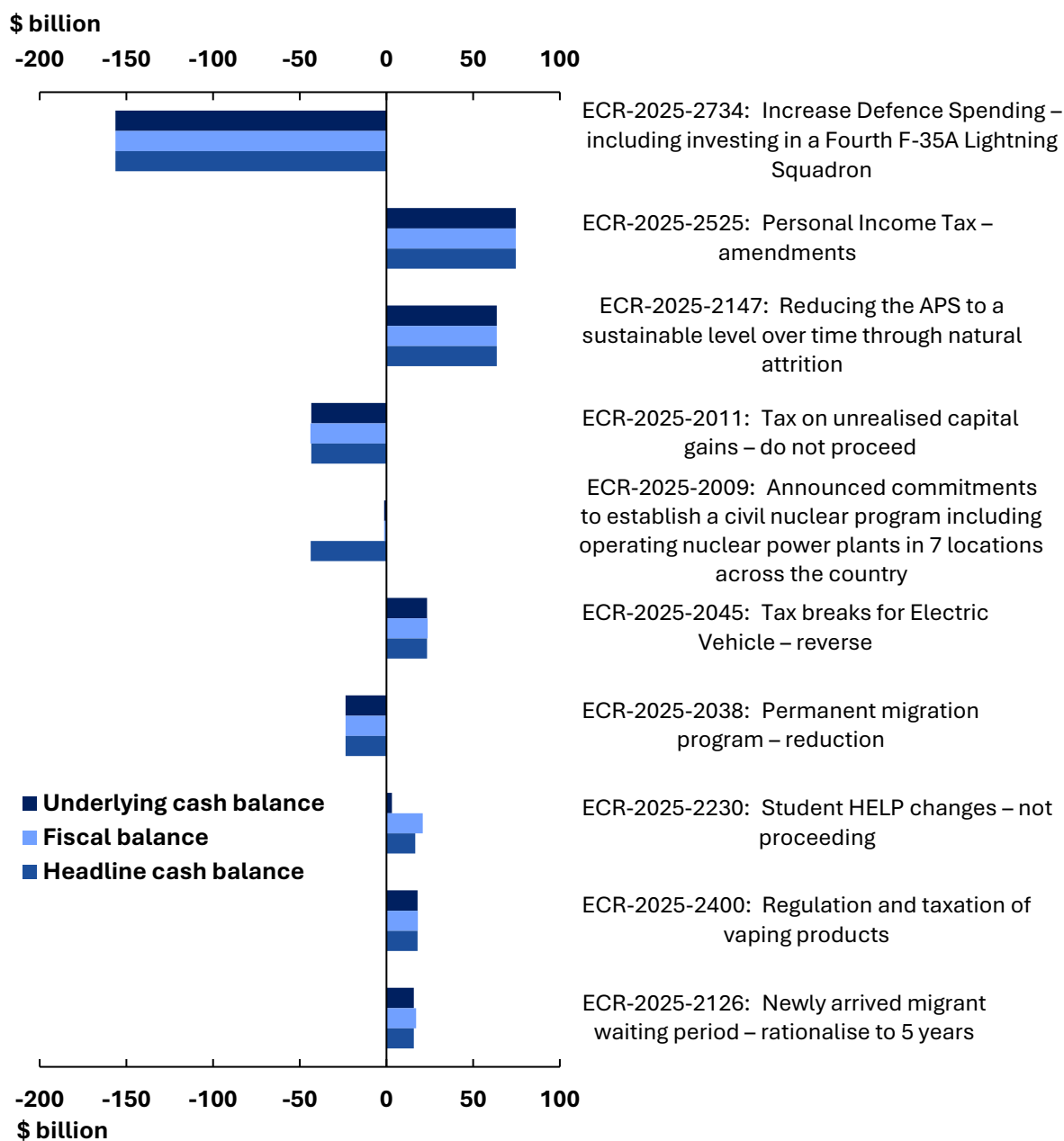
Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels.

The Coalition's platform has a larger impact on net debt than gross debt as a result of commitments which reduce the government's exposure to concessional loans, such as *National Reconstruction Fund and National Reconstruction Fund Corporation – unwind and close* (ECR-2025-2247) and *Cease undersubscribed COVID-era securitisation measures* (ECR-2025-2065), which reduce gross debt but not net debt.

Figure 4-6 summarises the Coalition's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term. The full list of medium-term impacts for each commitment is provided in Appendix B.

Figure 4-6: The Coalition's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term

Cumulative impact on the underlying cash, fiscal and headline cash balances



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: This figure shows the largest 10 commitments based on the largest impact to a budget balance. A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget balance.

Interactions

The PBO has determined that beyond these interactions, interactions between the Coalition's election commitments result in minimal differences in estimated impacts, except for those related to migration and student visas.

Reductions in the number of migrants under the Coalition's election commitments *Permanent migration program – reduction* (ECR-2025-2038) and *New overseas student commencements – reduction* (ECR-2025-2280) have been incorporated directly into the estimates for the following commitments:

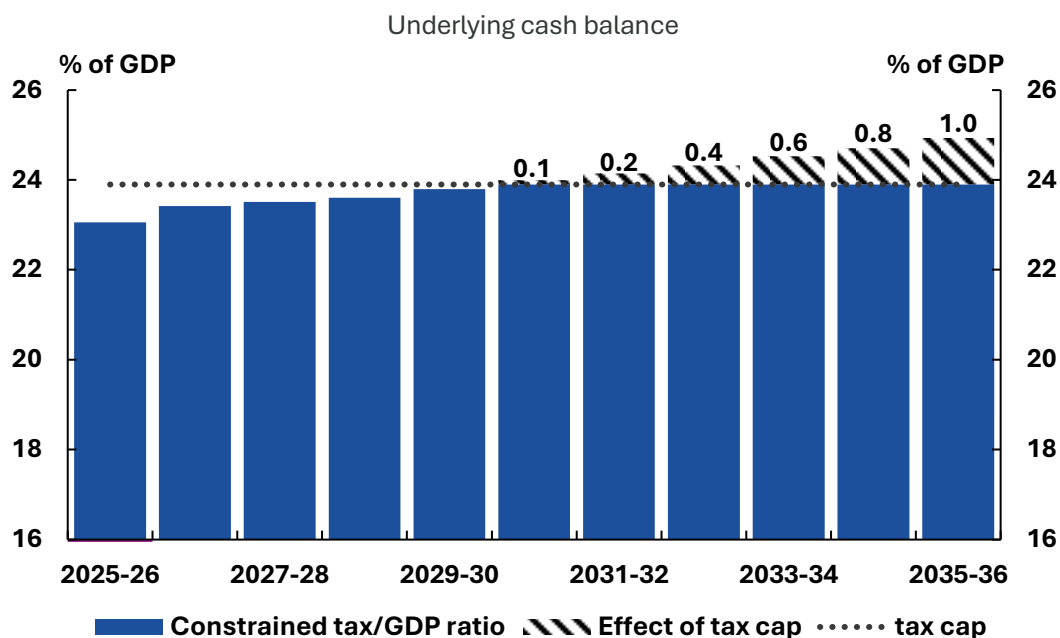
- *Newly arrived migrant waiting period – rationalise to 5 years* (ECR-2025-2126)
- *Student visa work hours – increase* (ECR-2025-2848)
- *Two tiered Student Visa application charge* (ECR-2025-2852).

The tax cap

The Coalition's policy that taxation receipts not exceed 23.9% of GDP is incorporated in the calculation of the Coalition's fiscal aggregates, but not as an individual commitment.

Implementing the tax cap would require additional unspecified tax cuts of \$141.3 billion from 2030-31 over the medium term to maintain tax receipts at or below the tax cap (see Figure 4-7). The value of these tax cuts would increase from 0.1% of GDP in 2030-31 to 1.0% of GDP by 2035-36. The growth in tax receipts as a proportion of GDP before applying the tax cap would be almost entirely driven by increased personal income tax receipts.²⁵

Figure 4-7: Impact of tax cap on party platform tax receipts



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

²⁵ See *Bracket creep and its fiscal impact* for a more detailed explanation of this effect.

Implementation of commitments

The PBO identified 10 election commitments affecting payments that would have no net impact on the budget as they are wholly offset from within existing resources. In total, these commitments reflect a reallocation of \$62.1 million over the forward estimates (see Table 4-2).

Table 4-2: Commitments funded through reallocation of existing resources, the Coalition

Commitment	Estimated cost offset from existing resources over the forward estimates (\$ million)
Accurate labelling for plant-based meat products	1.5
Country of Origin labelling – supporting the seafood industry	2.0
Creative Australia – redirect towards Melbourne Jewish Arts Quarter and supporting broadcasting	18.0
Farm Safety	2.5
Farmer Mental Health Package	7.9
Kokoda Track Memorial Walkway	0.7
No fault Investigations – pilot	6.0
Real-time vector surveillance capability to detect Lumpy Skin Disease technology – pilot	2.0
Regional Agricultural Shows Development Grant program	20.0
Sculpture by the Sea – Cottesloe	1.5
Total	62.1

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: These commitments also appear in the tables in Appendix B. As they were assessed as having a nil impact on the budget they do not have a costing minute.

Departmental costs have generally been included by the PBO in costings except where the Coalition has specified that departmental costs would be absorbed within existing departmental resources (Table 4-3) or where the PBO has assumed they have been absorbed. This is the case for 17 commitments across 9 portfolios.

Table 4-3: Commitments with absorbed departmental expenses, the Coalition

Portfolio	Number of commitments with absorbed expenses
Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry	3
Attorney-General's	1
Education	5
Foreign Affairs and Trade	2
Health and Aged Care	2
Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development, Communications and the Arts	1
Prime Minister and Cabinet	1
Social Services	1
Treasury	1
Total	17

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: A detailed breakdown of commitments with either PBO assumed or party specified absorbed departmental expenses is included in Appendix B.

The Coalition's commitment *Reducing the APS to a sustainable level over time through natural attrition* (ECR-2025-2147) would also reduce overall departmental funding by around \$12.2 billion. The impact of this commitment, on top of a forecast reduction in departmental spending over the forward estimates (see Box 3), creates downside risk to either the budget balance or policy objectives.

Differences in party and PBO commitment lists

The approach for determining which election commitments are included in the report is set out in PBO general election guidance note 1, *The Election Commitments Report: overview*.²⁶

The Coalition provided its [list of election commitments](#) to the Parliamentary Budget Officer on 2 May 2025, prior to the legislated deadline of 5pm Friday, 2 May 2025. The list was published on the PBO website on 4 May 2025.

The Coalition identified 208 election commitments in its list. This report lists 214 commitments. A reconciliation of these commitment lists is shown in Table 4-4.

The PBO also noted the Coalition announcement regarding a potential domestic takeover of the *Port of Darwin*. As there has not been a final decision regarding this announcement, it was not included in the report, but would present a risk of a material financial cost should it occur.

The Coalition did not provide a formal response to the PBO's list of commitments.

Appendix E provides further information on how the PBO assesses the materiality of election commitments for the purposes of this report.

Table 4-4: Reconciliation of ECR commitments with Coalition party list

	Number of commitments	Underlying cash balance impact over forward estimates (\$ billion)
Commitments listed by party	208	13.9
Commitments excluded by the PBO		
<i>Commitments determined to not have material implications</i>	-1	Nil
<i>Commitments determined to be sub-components of other commitments</i>	-6	Nil
<i>Commitments determined to be already accounted for in the 2025 PEFO</i>	-3	Nil
Additional commitments identified by the PBO	16	-0.1
PBO variations on party commitments	n/a	-7.1 ^(a)
Commitments included in the Election Commitments Report	214	6.6^(b)

Source: PBO analysis.

(a) Includes a decrease of \$1.6 billion over the forward estimates due to updated PBO methodology for the *Entrepreneurship Accelerator tax incentive* (ECR-2025-2472).

(b) Includes financial impacts in 2024-25. May not add to sum of rows above due to rounding.

Note: Underlying cash balance impacts include PDI.

²⁶ Available at [PBO general election guidance 1 of 4, 2024 - The Election commitments report: overview](#)

Detailed financial tables – the Coalition

The following tables provide a detailed breakdown of the financial impacts of the Coalition's election platform over the medium term. Table 4-5 shows impacts on a cash accounting basis (underlying cash and headline cash balances) and Table 4-6 on an accrual basis (fiscal balance). Table 4-7 shows the impact on government debt.

Table 4-5: Detailed financial implications of the Coalition's election commitments, cash basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Receipts													
Net impact	-13.0	-7.5	3.5	4.5	4.7	1.3	-4.9	-13.2	-23.2	-33.2	-46.3	-12.4	-127.2
Final receipts	722.4	758.4	800.9	845.3	897.0	948.4	997.8	1,048.8	1,101.6	1,156.6	1,213.9	3,127.2	10,491.2
Payments (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	6.4	1.8	2.9	3.4	7.8	1.5	-1.9	-6.5	-11.2	-17.0	-17.2	14.5	-30.0
Final payments (excluding PDI)	-743.2	-769.4	-794.8	-836.2	-883.6	-926.4	-978.0	-1,036.3	-1,093.6	-1,152.8	-1,211.0	-3,143.7	-10,425.3
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.6	2.2	2.8	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.2	1.0	4.4	21.6
Final PDI	-27.0	-29.2	-35.7	-36.7	-40.0	-50.2	-55.6	-61.7	-61.5	-64.6	-66.4	-128.5	-528.5
Underlying cash balance (UCB)													
Net impact	-5.7	-4.8	7.5	9.5	14.7	5.6	-3.7	-16.6	-31.6	-48.0	-62.5	6.6	-135.6
Final UCB	-47.9	-40.2	-29.6	-27.5	-26.5	-28.2	-35.8	-49.2	-53.5	-60.8	-63.5	-145.0	-462.6
Net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes													
Net impact	4.0	4.3	4.7	4.8	2.0	-2.3	-3.6	-4.3	-5.3	-7.4	-9.3	18.3	-12.0
Final cash flows	-19.1	-18.5	-15.2	-14.2	-10.8	-12.9	-12.9	-12.1	-14.7	-17.2	-19.7	-66.5	-166.7
Headline cash balance (HCB)													
Net impact	-1.7	-0.6	12.2	14.3	16.7	3.3	-7.3	-20.9	-36.9	-55.4	-71.9	24.9	-147.6
Final HCB	-67.0	-58.7	-44.9	-41.7	-37.3	-41.1	-48.7	-61.3	-68.2	-78.0	-83.1	-211.5	-629.3

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in receipts or a decrease in payments. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in receipts or an increase in payments. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Table 4-6: Detailed financial implications of the Coalition's election commitments, accrual basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Revenue													
Net impact	-12.6	-7.2	3.9	4.8	4.7	-2.7	-9.7	-19.0	-29.6	-39.9	-53.9	-10.5	-160.5
Final revenue	737.7	776.4	819.4	867.4	918.3	967.0	1,017.5	1,069.6	1,123.6	1,179.8	1,238.4	3,201.3	10,715.6
Expenses (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	7.9	1.4	3.3	3.9	8.3	2.1	-1.2	-5.8	-10.5	-16.3	-16.5	26.7	-13.2
Final expenses (excluding PDI)	-747.9	-773.9	-806.4	-847.5	-895.5	-938.4	-989.2	-1,047.3	-1,105.0	-1,164.4	-1,222.8	-3,165.5	-10,528.1
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.7	2.4	2.9	3.1	3.1	2.7	2.0	0.8	4.9	21.9
Final PDI	-37.6	-39.5	-44.0	-46.7	-50.8	-62.9	-69.4	-76.7	-76.9	-80.7	-83.0	-167.7	-668.0
Fiscal balance^(a)													
Net impact	-3.6	-4.9	8.4	10.4	15.4	2.3	-7.8	-21.7	-37.3	-54.2	-69.6	21.1	-151.8
Final fiscal balance	-47.8	-37.0	-31.0	-26.8	-28.0	-34.3	-41.1	-54.4	-58.2	-65.3	-67.3	-131.9	-480.5

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in revenue or a decrease in expenses. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in revenue or an increase in expenses. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

(a) Fiscal balance impacts in individual years do not sum to the totals to 2028-29 and 2035-36 as the totals include a \$10.7 billion impact in 2024-25 for the election commitment *Student HELP changes - not proceeding* (ECR-2025-2230).

Table 4-7: Detailed financial implications of the Coalition's election commitments, gross and net debt (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Gross debt											
Net impact	-14.9	-9.4	-21.5	-35.9	-52.5	-55.7	-48.2	-26.4	12.2	70.8	147.3
Final gross debt	1,007.1	1,082.6	1,139.5	1,187.1	1,240.1	1,297.1	1,356.2	1,413.5	1,483.8	1,561.4	1,651.3
Net debt											
Net impact	-8.0	-4.1	-13.4	-24.4	-39.2	-42.3	-34.4	-12.3	26.6	85.7	163.3
Final net debt	612.6	672.1	700.5	743.8	793.7	831.3	874.6	920.4	976.9	1,042.3	1,112.5

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a decrease in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

5 Australian Greens

Key Points

- The Australian Greens' (the Greens) 345 commitments would result in a decrease in the fiscal, underlying cash and headline cash balances over both the 2025 Budget forward estimates and medium-term periods (2025-26 to 2035-36), relative to the Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) baseline.
- The Greens' platform would result in a decrease in the underlying cash balance of \$5.2 billion over the forward estimates and \$343.1 billion over the medium term, relative to PEFO.
- This would result in an underlying cash deficit of \$49.6 billion at the end of the forward estimates and total underlying cash deficits of \$156.8 billion and \$670.1 billion over the forward estimates and medium term respectively.
- The impact reflects an increase in receipts from major tax changes and a reprioritisation of funding from defence, that only partially offsets increases in payments for social protection, education, health and general public services.
- The Greens' platform would result in higher government gross debt across the period, an increase of \$703.0 billion by the end of the medium-term period relative to PEFO, reaching \$2.2 trillion (46.9% of gross domestic product (GDP)). Public debt interest payments would be around \$136.4 billion higher over the medium term.
- The Greens did not publish a consolidated list of the financial implications of their platform prior to the election.

Budget impacts over the forward estimates

The combined impact of the Greens' 345 election commitments is estimated to decrease the underlying cash, fiscal and headline cash balances over the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates (Table 5-1) relative to the PEFO baseline.

The decrease in the underlying cash balance reflects a net increase in payments (including public debt interest) driven by commitments such as *Social services – guaranteed liveable income and raise the rate* (ECR-2025-3193), *Cover dental under Medicare* (ECR-2025-3663) and *Make university and TAFE free* (ECR-2025-3298), partially offset by reductions in payments from *Reduce defence waste* (ECR-2025-3633), and *End subsidies for the coal mining, oil, and gas hydrocarbon industries* (ECR-2025-3001).

The net increase in payments is also partially offset by commitments that would increase receipts such as *Tax billionaires and future billionaires and make them pay their fair share* (ECR-2025-3463), *40% excess profits tax on corporations with over \$100 million in turnover* (ECR-2025-3194) and *A fair and progressive income tax system* (ECR-2025-3602).

The impacts on the fiscal balance are of a similar magnitude and nature to the underlying cash balance. Differences primarily represent timing impacts between the accrual of expenditures or revenues and their subsequent payments or collections.

Over the forward estimates period, the impact of the Greens' commitments on the headline cash balance would be \$184.1 billion larger than the impact on the underlying cash balance. This is primarily driven by the *Government-owned property developer (ECR-2025-3265)*, *Powering past coal and gas – Commonwealth Electricity Corporation: a publicly owned power generation company (ECR-2025-3787)* and *Wipe all student debt (ECR-2025-3111)* commitments.

The result of these impacts is a total of \$156.8 billion in underlying cash deficits over the forward estimates.

Table 5-1: Summary financial implications of the Greens' election commitments (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	Total to 2028-29
Underlying cash balance (UCB)					
Net impact	8.1	-0.8	..	-12.5	-5.2
Final UCB	-34.0	-36.1	-37.1	-49.6	-156.8
Headline cash balance (HCB)					
Net impact	-37.6	-48.7	-44.5	-58.5	-189.3
Final HCB	-102.8	-106.8	-101.6	-114.5	-425.7
Fiscal balance					
Net impact	-11.3	2.4	1.8	-12.7	-19.8
Final fiscal balance	-55.5	-29.7	-37.6	-50.0	-172.8
Public debt interest (PDI)					
Net impact	-0.5	-2.3	-4.6	-6.9	-14.4
Final PDI	-28.4	-32.5	-41.3	-45.2	-147.3
Gross debt					
Net impact	37.6	89.3	133.8	192.3	
Final gross debt	1,059.6	1,181.3	1,294.8	1,415.3	
Net debt					
Net impact	59.2	106.3	150.0	209.5	
Final net debt	679.9	782.6	863.9	977.7	

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in the budget balance or debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in the budget balance or debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Of the Greens' 345 election commitments, 276 affect only payments, 11 only affect receipts, 48 affect both payments and receipts and 9 commitments have no impact on the budget balance aggregates. There is one analysis of interactions between commitments.

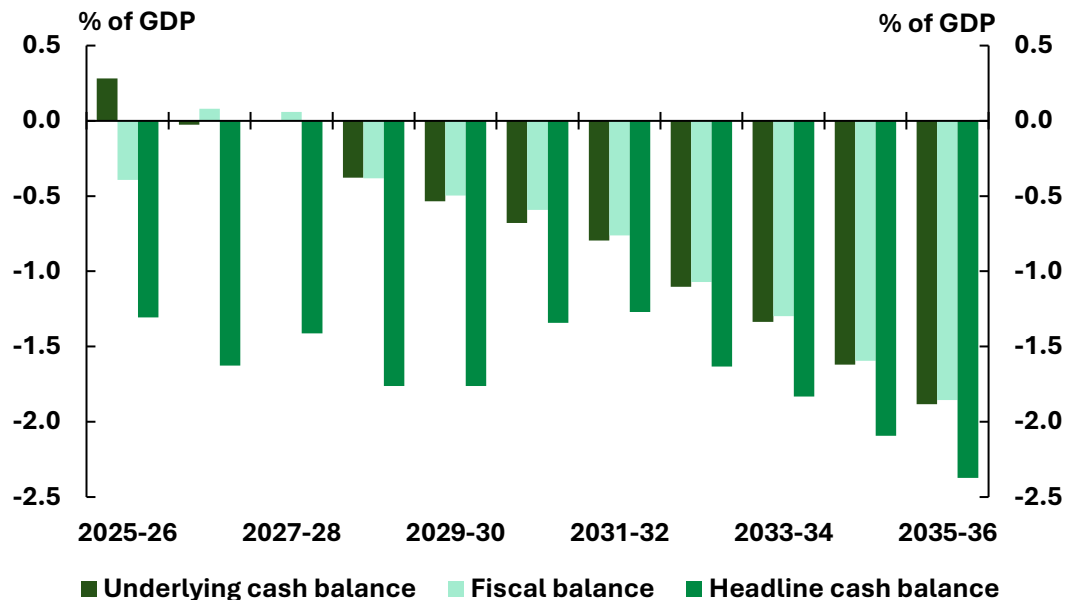
The Greens did not publish a consolidated list of the financial implications of their platform prior to the election. Accordingly, it is not possible to assess whether there is a difference between the PBO's estimates of the financial impact of the Greens' platform, and those prepared by the party.

Further detail about the combined impact of the Greens' election commitments on expenses, revenue and other budget aggregates is available in *Detailed financial tables – Australian Greens*.

Budget impacts over the medium term

The combined impact of the Greens' election commitments is estimated to decrease the underlying cash, fiscal and headline cash balances over the medium term (see Figure 5-1).

Figure 5-1: Medium-term impact of the Greens' platform on the budget balance aggregates



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

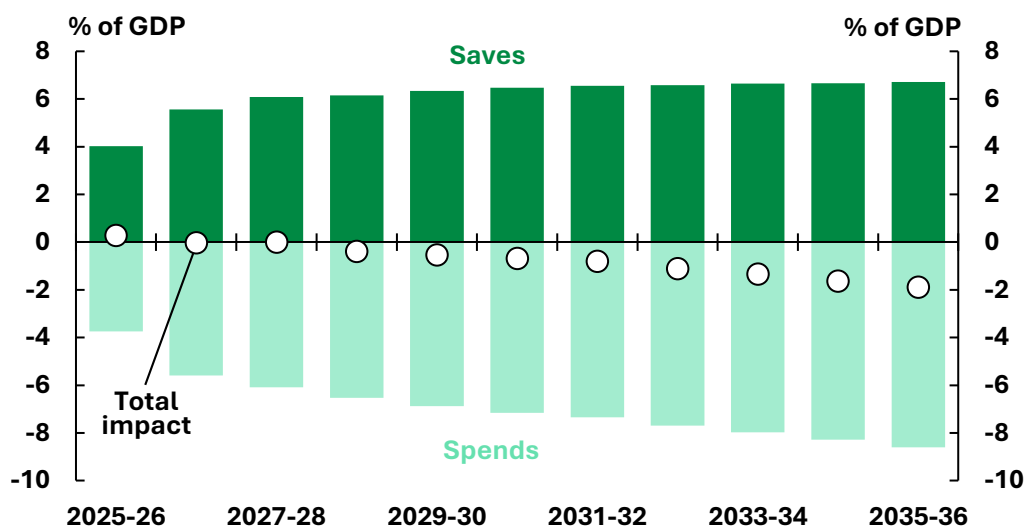
Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget cash balance.

After an initial positive impact on the underlying cash balance in 2025-26, the fiscal and underlying cash balances decline progressively through to the end of the medium term. The positive underlying cash balance in 2025-26 reflects the impact of some large revenue commitments commencing on 1 July 2025, whilst many expenditure commitments do not commence until the following year. The general decrease in the fiscal and underlying cash balances from 2028-29 onwards reflects the growth in expenditure outpacing the growth in revenue (see Figure 5-2).

These impacts are estimated to result in underlying cash deficits of \$670.1 billion in total over the medium term (Table 5-4). The difference between the fiscal and underlying cash balances in the first year primarily reflects the upfront cost of debt remissions in *Wipe all student debt* ([ECR-2025-3111](#)) which are included in the fiscal balance but not the underlying cash balance.

There is a greater decrease in the headline cash balance relative to the fiscal and underlying cash balances (see Figure 5-1) across the medium term. This is driven by multiple commitments to fund expenditure through balance sheet financing mechanisms such as equity injections and concessional loans. While the headline cash balance remains negative for the entirety of the medium term, the level fluctuates between years, caused by different rates of growth between multiple commitments, commitments which are non-ongoing commencing and ceasing, and offsetting impacts within commitments.

Figure 5-2: Medium-term impact of the Greens' platform on the underlying cash balance

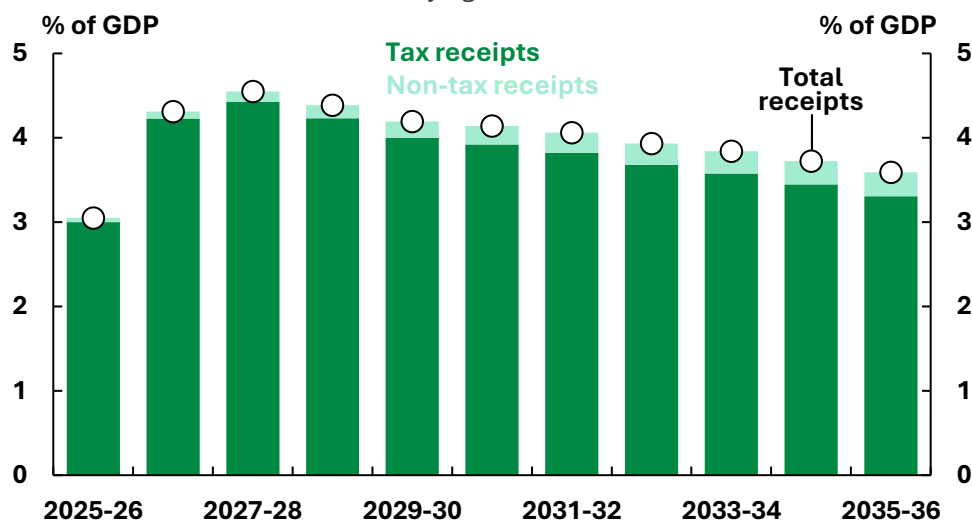


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: 'Saves' includes all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments). 'Spends' includes all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments).

The Greens' receipts commitments, if fully implemented, would result in significantly higher receipts over the forward estimates and the medium term (Figure 5-3). The Greens' platform includes major tax changes, including a super-profits tax in the commitment *40% excess profits tax on corporations with over \$100 million turnover* (ECR-2025-3194), reversal of the Stage 3 tax cuts in the commitment *A fair and progressive income tax system* (ECR-2025-3602), and the introduction of a wealth tax on billionaires in the commitment *Tax billionaires and future billionaires and make them pay their fair share* (ECR-2025-3463).

Figure 5-3: Impact of the Greens' platform on receipts, by major receipt type
Underlying cash balance



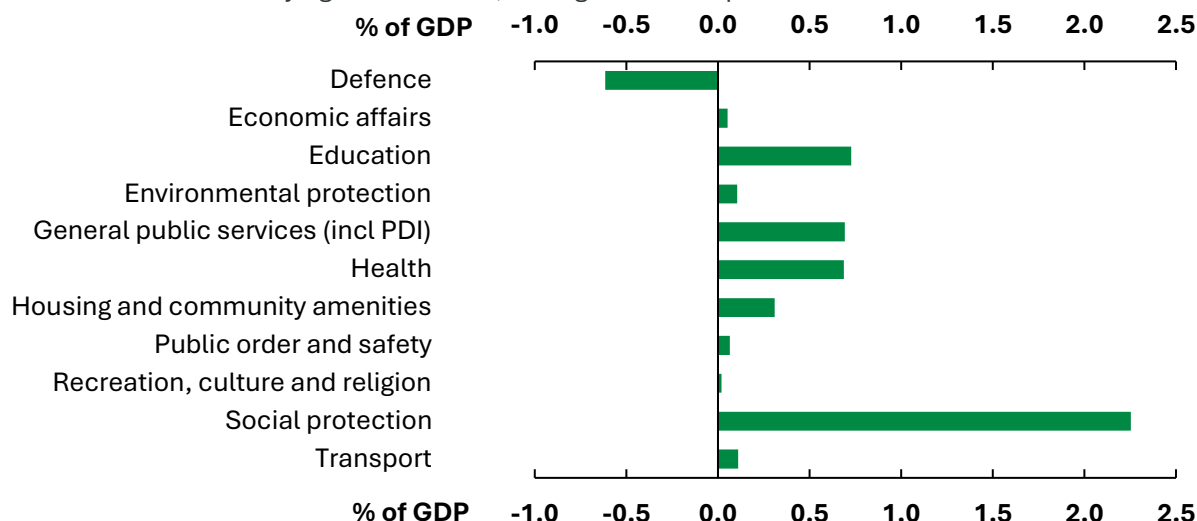
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Tax receipts include income derived from taxes; such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. Income from other sources is included in non-tax receipts; such as royalties, interest earned on loans and dividends from investments.

The Greens' platform results in higher payments overall (Figure 5-4), partly funded through higher receipts and a reprioritisation of funding from defence under the commitment *Reduce defence waste* (ECR-2025-3633). Increases in payments are mainly directed to social protection, education, health and general public services.

Figure 5-4: Impact of the Greens' platform on payments according to purpose

Underlying cash balance, average annual impact 2025-26 to 2035-36

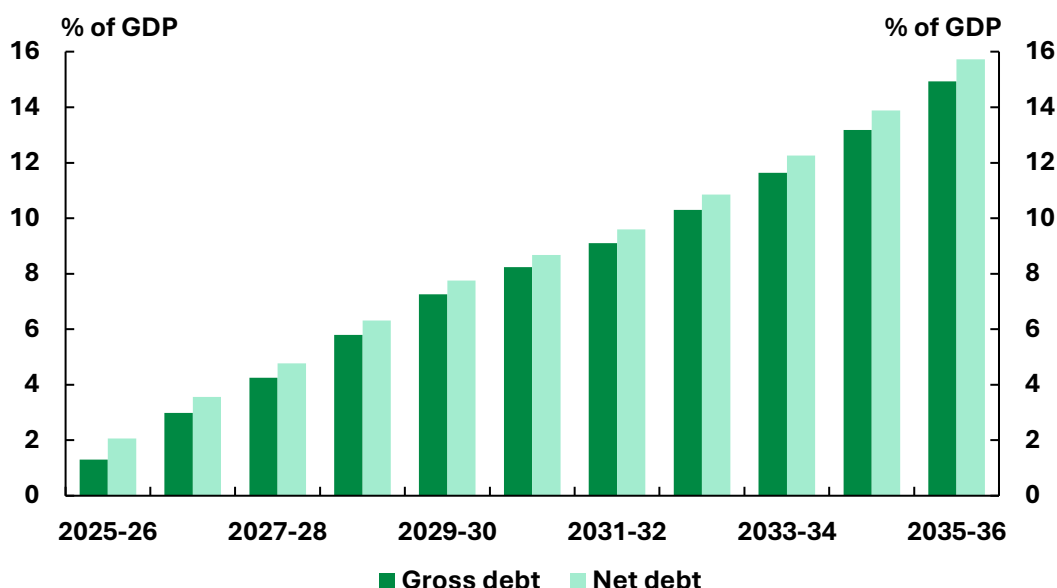


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Spending is allocated according to the Classification of the Functions of Government - Australia, consistent with the framework underpinning the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Government Finance Statistics.²⁷ Where commitments cover multiple purposes, they have been allocated to the primary category according to the relative dollar value.

The Greens' election commitments are estimated to increase debt and public debt interest payments over the medium term, relative to PEFO (Figure 5-5). By the end of the medium term, net debt is expected to reach \$1.7 trillion (35.9% of GDP), more than double the baseline 2025-26 levels. Gross debt is also expected to more than double to \$2.2 trillion (46.9% of GDP) in 2035-36. Public debt interest payments are expected to be \$136.4 billion higher over the medium-term period as a result.

Figure 5-5: Medium-term impact of the Greens' platform on government debt



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels.

The wedge between gross and net debt is driven by commitments funded through balance sheet financing arrangements. In particular, commitments related to concessional loans such as *Wipe*

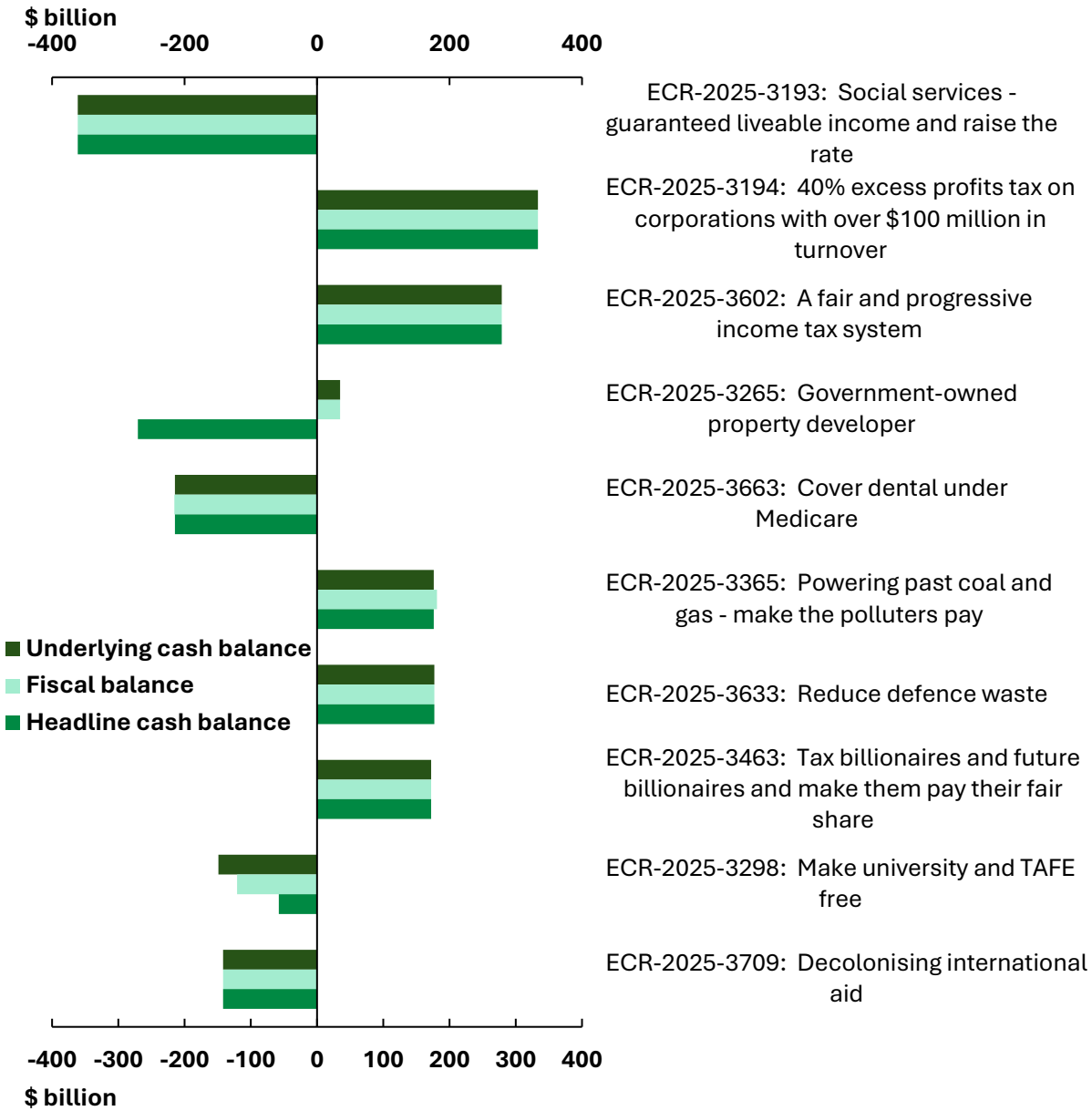
²⁷ The *Classification of the functions of Government – Australia*, as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics' [Government Finance Statistics](#).

all student debt (ECR-2025-3111) and *Make university and TAFE free* (ECR-2025-3298) have larger impacts on net debt than gross debt. For instance, waiving loans increases net debt, and decreases the fiscal balance (driving the wedge in fiscal and underlying cash balances in 2025-26), but does not directly impact gross debt as there is no direct change to required borrowing.

Figure 5-6 summarises the Greens’ largest election commitments over the medium term. The full list of medium-term impacts for each commitment is provided in Appendix C.

Figure 5-6: The Greens’ 10 largest election commitments over the medium term

Cumulative impact on the underlying cash, fiscal and headline cash balance



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.
 Note: This figure shows the largest 10 commitments based on the largest impact to a budget balance. A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget balance.

Interactions

The PBO has identified and costed material interactions between 13 Greens election commitments:

- *Guaranteed liveable income and raise the rate* ([ECR-2025-3193](#))
- *Fair taper rates - consistent taper rate and income-free area across all payments* ([ECR-2025-3719](#))
- *Changes to JobSeeker and Youth Allowance eligibility* ([ECR-2025-3457](#))
- *Abolish mutual obligations* ([ECR-2025-3528](#))
- *Earlier access to the Age Pension - Lower the pension age to 65 years* ([ECR-2025-3314](#))
- *Stop the superannuation rorts for the billionaires and ultrawealthy* ([ECR-2025-3128](#))
- *Tax billionaires and future billionaires and make them pay their fair share* ([ECR-2025-3463](#))
- *A fair and progressive income tax system* ([ECR-2025-3602](#))
- *40% excess profits tax on corporations with over \$100 million in turnover* ([ECR-2025-3194](#))
- *Big corporations tax (banks)* ([ECR-2025-3046](#))
- *Big corporations tax (coal and mining)* ([ECR-2025-3518](#))
- *Digital services tax* ([ECR-2025-3704](#))
- *Powering past coal and gas - make the polluters pay* ([ECR-2025-3365](#)).

The interactions are captured in *Budget analysis of interactions between the Greens' election commitments* ([ECR-2025-3901](#)). The interactions identified were assessed on a first-round, mechanical basis. The analysis does not take into account changing behavioural responses that may arise as a result of the full implementation of the party platform.

Taxes on wealth are not a feature of most developed economies and there is evidence that their implementation may result in significant capital flight. Significant increases to taxes on company profits may result in increases in profit shifting as companies seek to optimise their taxation arrangements in lower taxing jurisdictions.

In combination, the suite of taxation changes presented in the Greens' platform represent a significant departure from current settings and may present increased disincentives for investment in Australia.

Implementation of commitments

Departmental costs have either been specified by the Greens or included by the PBO where appropriate. For 2 commitments, the Greens specified that departmental costs would be absorbed within existing departmental resources across 2 portfolios (Table 5-2).²⁸

²⁸ These commitments are separate from the commitments where the PBO has determined that administration could reasonably be delivered within the existing resources of the relevant department, such as business as usual activities.

Table 5-2: Commitments with absorbed departmental expenses, the Greens

Portfolio	Number of commitments with absorbed expenses
Defence and Veteran's Affairs	1
Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water	1
Total	2

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: A detailed breakdown of commitments with either PBO assumed or party specified absorbed departmental expenses is included in Appendix C.

Differences in party and PBO commitment lists

The approach for determining which election commitments are included in the report is set out in PBO general election guidance note 1, *The Election Commitments Report: overview*.²⁹

The Greens provided a [list of election commitments](#) to the Parliamentary Budget Officer on 2 May 2025, prior to the legislated deadline of 5pm Friday, 2 May 2025. The list was published on the PBO website on 4 May 2025.

The Greens identified 347 election commitments in their list. This report lists 345 commitments including one interaction analysis between commitments. A reconciliation of these commitment lists is provided in Table 5-3.

The Greens did not provide a formal response to the PBO's list of commitments.

Appendix E provides further information on how the PBO assesses the materiality of election commitments for the purposes of this report.

Table 5-3: Reconciliation of ECR commitments with the Greens party list

	Number of commitments	Underlying cash balance impact over forward estimates (\$ billion)
Commitments listed by party	347	N.A.
Commitments excluded by the PBO		
<i>Commitments determined to not have material implications</i>	-9	<i>Nil</i>
<i>Commitments determined to be sub-component of other commitments</i>	-4	<i>Nil</i>
<i>Commitments determined to be already accounted for in the 2025 PEFO</i>	<i>Nil</i>	<i>Nil</i>
Additional commitments identified by the PBO	10	-0.25
Interaction commitment	1	-24.4
Commitments included in the Election Commitments Report	345	-5.2

Source: PBO analysis.

Note: As the Greens did not publish a consolidated list of financial implications of their platform prior to the election, the underlying cash balance impact of the commitments listed by the party is not presented.

²⁹ Available under Guidance materials on the [2025 General election](#) page of the website

Detailed financial tables - Australian Greens

The following tables provide a detailed breakdown of the financial impacts of the Greens' election platform over the medium term. Table 5-4 shows impacts on a cash accounting basis (underlying cash and headline cash balances) and Table 5-5 on an accrual basis (fiscal balance). Table 5-6 shows the impact on government debt.

Table 5-4: Detailed financial implications of the Greens' election commitments, cash basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Receipts													
Net impact	87.8	128.9	143.1	145.6	146.6	152.4	157.2	159.9	164.0	167.0	169.1	505.4	1,621.6
Final receipts	823.1	894.9	940.5	986.4	1,038.9	1,099.5	1,159.9	1,221.9	1,288.8	1,356.7	1,429.3	3,644.9	12,240.0
Payments (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	-79.1	-127.3	-138.6	-151.2	-157.7	-166.8	-174.6	-188.3	-201.1	-215.3	-228.4	-496.2	-1,828.4
Final payments (excluding PDI)	-828.7	-898.5	-936.3	-990.8	-1,049.0	-1,094.6	-1,150.7	-1,218.1	-1,283.5	-1,351.1	-1,422.2	-3,654.4	-12,223.7
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	-0.5	-2.3	-4.6	-6.9	-7.6	-10.7	-13.5	-16.5	-20.1	-24.4	-29.3	-14.4	-136.4
Final PDI	-28.4	-32.5	-41.3	-45.2	-49.8	-63.7	-72.1	-81.2	-84.4	-91.1	-96.7	-147.3	-686.4
Underlying cash balance (UCB)													
Net impact	8.1	-0.8	..	-12.5	-18.7	-25.0	-30.8	-44.8	-57.2	-72.7	-88.7	-5.2	-343.1
Final UCB	-34.0	-36.1	-37.1	-49.6	-59.9	-58.8	-62.9	-77.5	-79.1	-85.5	-89.6	-156.8	-670.1
Net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes													
Net impact	-45.7	-47.9	-44.5	-46.0	-42.9	-24.4	-18.4	-21.6	-21.1	-21.2	-23.1	-184.1	-356.8
Final cash flows	-68.8	-70.7	-64.5	-65.0	-55.7	-35.0	-27.8	-29.3	-30.5	-31.0	-33.4	-268.9	-511.6
Headline cash balance (HCB)													
Net impact	-37.6	-48.7	-44.5	-58.5	-61.6	-49.5	-49.2	-66.4	-78.3	-93.9	-111.7	-189.3	-700.0
Final HCB	-102.8	-106.8	-101.6	-114.5	-115.6	-93.8	-90.7	-106.8	-109.6	-116.5	-123.0	-425.7	-1,181.7

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in receipts or a decrease in payments. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in receipts or an increase in payments. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

.. Not zero but rounded to zero.

Table 5-5: Detailed financial implications of the Greens' election commitments, accrual basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Revenue													
Net impact	107.4	130.5	143.5	143.9	146.7	154.1	156.4	158.8	163.4	165.7	168.1	525.2	1,638.5
Final revenue	857.7	914.0	958.9	1,006.4	1,060.3	1,123.8	1,183.7	1,247.5	1,316.6	1,385.5	1,460.4	3,737.0	12,514.7
Expenses (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	-118.1	-125.3	-136.5	-149.1	-155.8	-164.7	-172.0	-185.3	-198.1	-212.0	-225.1	-529.0	-1,842.0
Final expenses (excluding PDI)	-873.9	-900.6	-946.2	-1,000.4	-1,059.6	-1,105.2	-1,160.0	-1,226.8	-1,292.6	-1,360.2	-1,431.4	-3,721.2	-12,356.9
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	-0.6	-2.8	-5.1	-7.5	-8.3	-11.2	-14.0	-17.1	-20.8	-25.2	-30.3	-16.0	-143.0
Final PDI	-39.3	-43.1	-50.2	-56.0	-61.6	-77.0	-86.5	-96.9	-100.4	-107.9	-114.1	-188.6	-832.9
Fiscal balance													
Net impact	-11.3	2.4	1.8	-12.7	-17.4	-21.8	-29.5	-43.6	-55.5	-71.5	-87.4	-19.8	-346.5
Final fiscal balance	-55.5	-29.7	-37.6	-50.0	-60.8	-58.4	-62.8	-76.3	-76.4	-82.6	-85.1	-172.8	-675.1

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in revenue or a decrease in expenses. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in revenue or an increase in expenses. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Table 5-6: Detailed financial implications of the Greens' election commitments, gross and net debt (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Gross debt											
Net impact	37.6	89.3	133.8	192.3	253.9	303.4	352.6	419.0	497.3	591.2	703.0
Final gross debt	1,059.6	1,181.3	1,294.8	1,415.3	1,546.5	1,656.2	1,757.0	1,859.0	1,968.9	2,081.8	2,206.9
Net debt											
Net impact	59.2	106.3	150.0	209.5	271.2	319.4	371.6	441.7	523.9	623.0	740.6
Final net debt	679.9	782.6	863.9	977.7	1,104.1	1,192.9	1,280.6	1,374.4	1,474.1	1,579.6	1,689.7

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a decrease in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

6 The independent member for Indi

Key Points

- The independent member for Indi's 15 election commitments would decrease the underlying cash, fiscal and headlines balances over the 2025 Budget forward estimates and medium term (2025-26 to 2035-36), relative to the Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO) baseline.
- If fully implemented, the independent member for Indi's platform would decrease the underlying cash balance by \$8.2 billion over the forward estimates and \$14.7 billion over the medium term, relative to PEFO.
- This would result in an underlying cash deficit of \$39.3 billion at the end of the forward estimates and total underlying cash deficits of \$159.8 billion and \$341.7 billion over the forward estimates and medium-term periods respectively.
- The platform would result in higher government gross debt across the medium term, with an increase of around \$21.7 billion at the end of the medium term relative to PEFO, reaching \$1.5 trillion (32.4% of gross domestic product (GDP)). Public debt interest payments are expected to be around \$7.7 billion higher by the end of the medium term.
- The PBO did not identify any additional commitments made by the independent member for Indi.
- The independent member for Indi is the only minor party or independent with a chapter in the report.

This chapter presents the budget impact of the election commitments made by the independent member for Indi, Dr Helen Haines MP, who elected to be included in the *Election Commitments Report* (ECR). This chapter adopts a similar approach as for the major political parties. It has been prepared according to the PBO guidance on arrangements for minor parties and independents who have chosen to opt in to the ECR.³⁰

Budget impacts of election commitments

The combined impact of the member for Indi's 15 commitments would decrease the underlying cash, fiscal and headline balances over both the 2025-26 Budget forward estimates and medium term relative to PEFO (see Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1).

Of 15 election commitments, the majority (11 commitments) affect only payments. The largest of these are the grants funding measures *Providing \$500 million per year to the Local Roads and Community Infrastructure Program* (ECR-2025-6034), *Creating a \$2 billion Regional Housing Infrastructure Fund* (ECR-2025-6385), and *Establish a \$2 billion Building Rural Hospitals Fund* (ECR-2025-6349).

³⁰ PBO Guidance 3 of 4 - 2024-25 election - minor parties opt in arrangements for the ECR

There are 4 election commitments that affect both receipts and payments, with the largest including *Creating a small business and primary producer energy incentive* (ECR-2025-6120) and *Home electrification* (ECR-2025-6088).

Table 6-1: Summary financial implications of the independent member for Indi's election commitments (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	Total to 2028-29
Underlying cash balance (UCB)					
Net impact	-1.8	-2.0	-2.1	-2.2	-8.2
Final UCB	-44.0	-37.3	-39.2	-39.3	-159.8
Headline cash balance (HCB)					
Net impact	-5.1	-4.7	-4.7	-4.7	-19.2
Final HCB	-70.4	-62.9	-61.8	-60.7	-255.7
Fiscal balance					
Net impact	-2.4	-2.4	-2.5	-2.5	-9.8
Final fiscal balance	-46.6	-34.5	-41.9	-39.8	-162.8
Public debt interest (PDI)					
Net impact	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.7	-1.5
Final PDI	-28.0	-30.4	-37.2	-38.9	-134.5
Gross debt					
Net impact	5.1	9.9	14.6	19.2	
Final gross debt	1,027.1	1,101.9	1,175.6	1,242.2	
Net debt					
Net impact	2.4	4.8	7.3	9.8	
Final net debt	623.0	681.0	721.2	778.0	

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

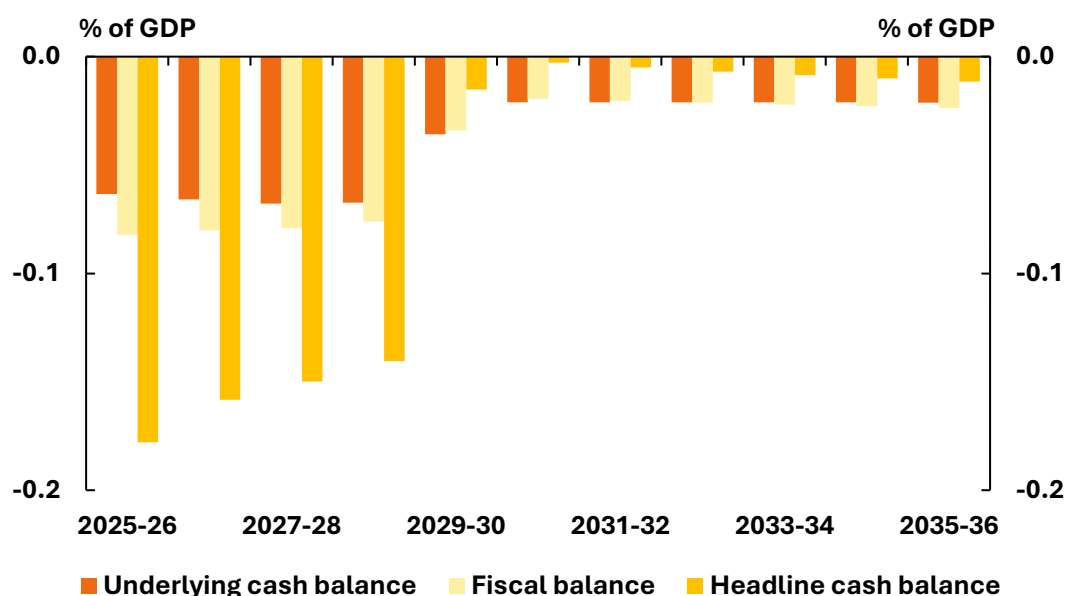
Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in the budget balance or debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in the budget balance or debt levels. Public debt interest is relative to the budget balances, so a negative impact indicates an increase in PDI cost. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

The independent member for Indi's commitments have larger impacts in the forward estimates period, before reducing in the medium term. The different movements in the 3 budget balances (Figure 6-1) are primarily due to the difference in the treatment of interest and dividend payments, and the accounting treatment of equity and loan principal for the \$13.1 billion of concessional loans under the commitment *Home electrification* (ECR-2025-6088).^{31,32}

³¹ This commitment is referenced under Dr Helen Haines election platform as *Funding cheaper home batteries*.

³² Concessional loans are not included in the underlying cash balance but are included in the headline cash balance as an expense. For more information see Appendix E.

Figure 6-1: Medium-term impact of the independent member for Indi's platform on the budget balance aggregates



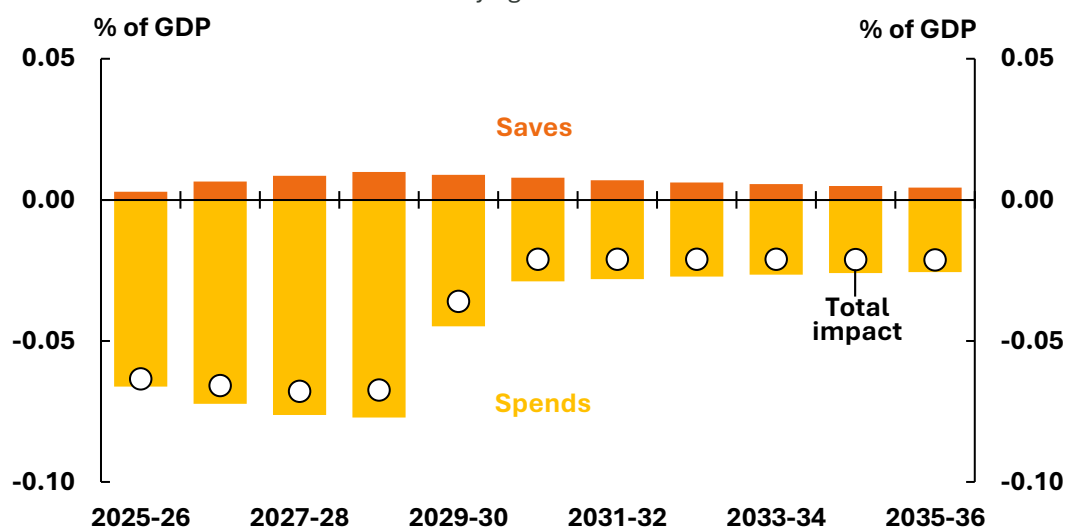
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget cash balance.

The underlying cash balance decline over the forward estimates reflects a net increase in payments (including public debt interest) (Figure 6-2). The payments significantly reduce from 2029-30, as large grants funding measures terminate by the end of the forward estimates.

The result of these impacts would be a total decrease in the underlying cash of \$159.8 billion over the forward estimates and \$341.7 billion over the medium term (see Table 6-2).

Figure 6-2: Medium-term impact of the independent member for Indi's platform
Underlying cash balance



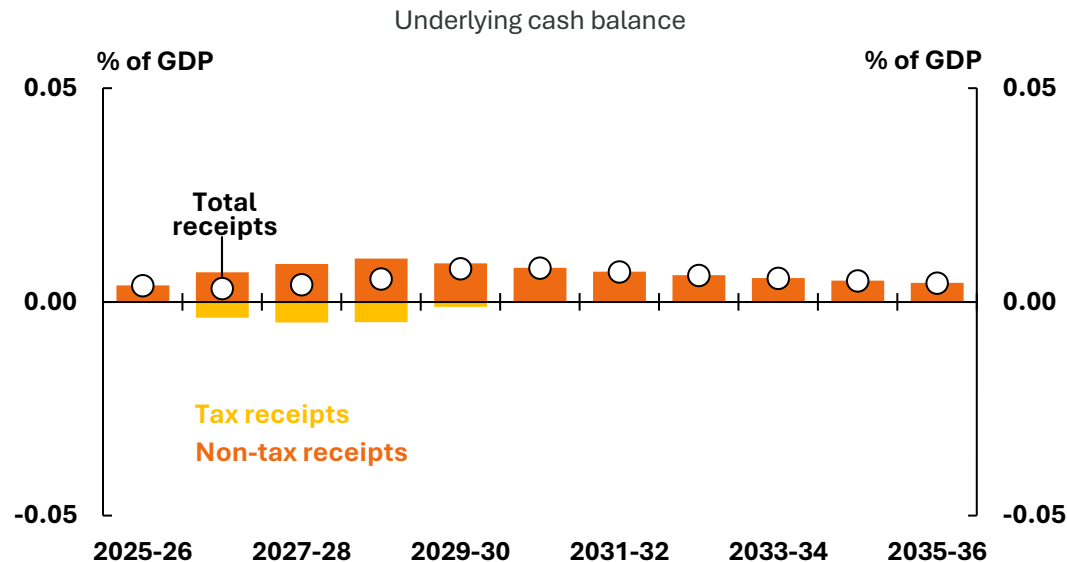
Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: 'Saves' includes all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments). 'Spends' includes all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments).

The decline in the budget balances, in particular, the headline cash balance, is smaller from the end of the forward estimates, reflecting the repayment of concessional loans under the commitment *Home electrification* (ECR-2025-6088) commencing in 2029-30.

Figure 6-3 shows the impact of the member for Indi’s election commitments on receipts in each year and whether these are tax or non-tax receipts. Total receipts are slightly higher over the period relative to PEFO, primarily due to an increase in interest received (by \$2.7 billion) from concessional loans under the commitment *Home electrification* (ECR-2025-6088). This is partly offset by lower tax receipts (by \$0.5 billion) due to the commitment *Creating a small business and primary producer energy incentive* (ECR-2025-6120).

Figure 6-3: Impact of the independent member for Indi’s platform on receipts, by major receipt type

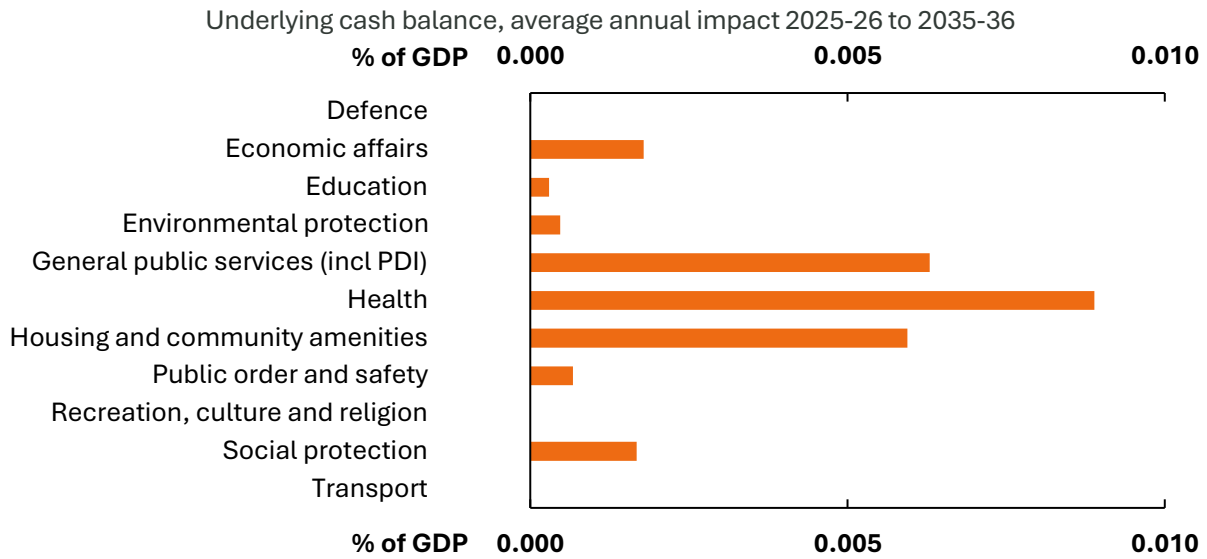


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.
 Note: Tax receipts include income derived from taxes; such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. Income from other sources is included in non-tax receipts; such as royalties, interest earned on loans and dividends from investments.

Figure 6-4 shows the impact on payments of the member for Indi’s commitments according to their primary purpose, using the standard Australian Bureau of Statistics classification for government spending.³³ Most of the commitments are payments rather than receipts measures, with the largest areas of spending being health and general public services. The increase in spending on general public services is driven by the increase in public debt interest as a result of the aggregate impact of the commitments.

³³ The *Classification of the functions of Government – Australia*, as per the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ [Government Finance Statistics](#).

Figure 6-4: Impact of the independent member for Indi's platform on payments according to purpose

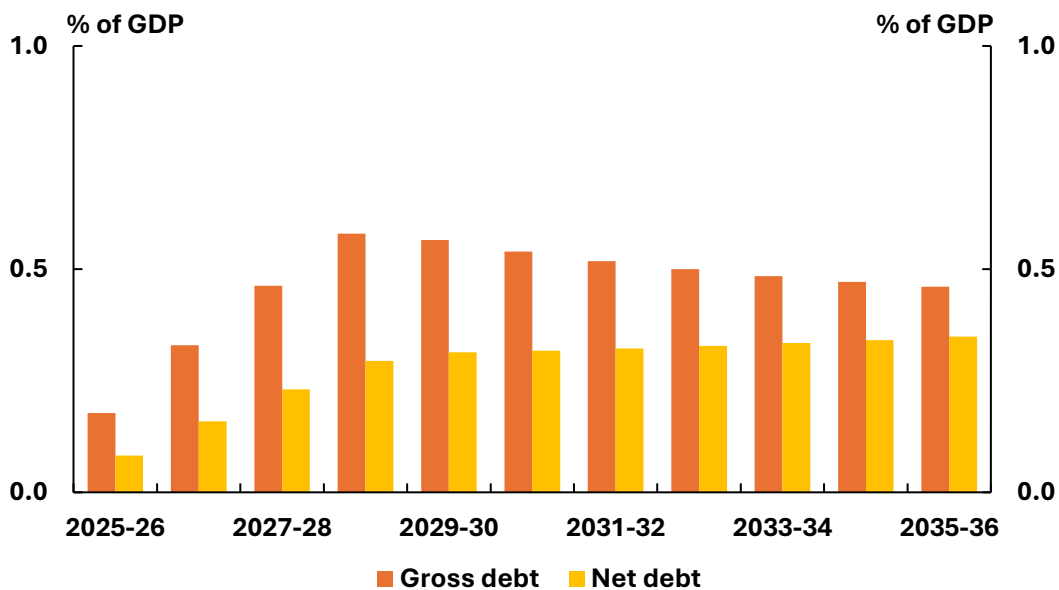


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: Spending is allocated according to the Classification of the Functions of Government – Australia, consistent with the framework underpinning the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Government Finance Statistics. Where commitments cover multiple purposes, they have been allocated to the primary category according to the relative dollar value.

The independent member for Indi's election commitments are estimated to increase debt and public debt interest payments over the medium term, relative to PEFO (Figure 6-5). By the end of the medium term, gross debt would be \$21.7 billion higher, reaching \$1.5 trillion (32.4% of GDP) (Table 6-4). Public debt interest payments are expected to be \$7.7 billion higher over the medium term as a result. The wedge between gross and net debt is primarily driven by commitments with concessional loans, as selected financial liabilities are captured in net debt but not gross debt.

Figure 6-5: Medium-term impact of the independent member for Indi's platform on government debt

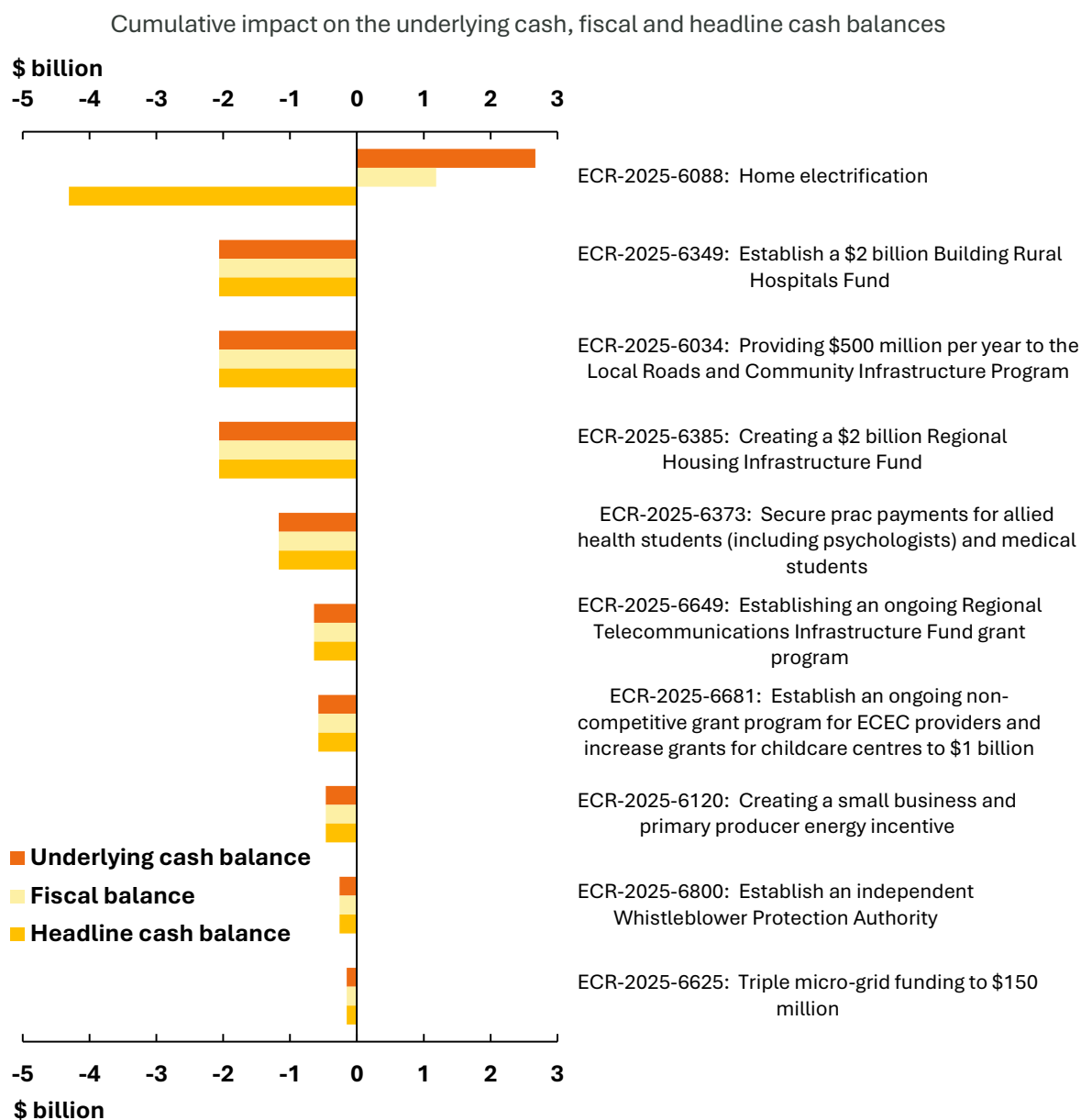


Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a reduction in debt levels.

Figure 6-6 summarises the member for Indi's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term. The full list of medium-term impacts for each commitment is provided in Appendix D.

Figure 6-6: The independent member for Indi's 10 largest election commitments over the medium term



Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: This figure shows the largest 10 commitments based on the largest impact to a budget balance. A positive impact indicates an improvement in the budget balance. A negative impact indicates a deterioration in the budget balance. The *Home electrification* (ECR-2025-6088) commitment contains variances in the budget balance impacts due to the accounting treatment of concessional loans. Only the headline cash balance includes transactions related to equity and loan principal amounts, which captures the financial impact of some loans not being repaid within the medium term. Only the fiscal balance reflects the concessional loan discount expenses.

Interactions between election commitments

The PBO has not identified any significant budget impacts as a result of interactions between the member for Indi's election commitments.

Differences in commitment lists

The member for Indi provided her [list of election commitments](#) to the Parliamentary Budget Officer on 1 May 2025, prior to the legislated deadline of 5pm on 2 May 2025. The list was published on the PBO website on 4 May 2025.

The independent member for Indi identified 17 election commitments in her list.³⁴ The Parliamentary Budget Officer identified 15 commitments, with the difference being the exclusion of the following commitments:

- *Pass a Bill to End Pork Barrelling*, as it was considered to not have material implications on the Australian Government budget balances
- *Secure Commonwealth funding for a single-site, greenfield hospital at Albury–Wodonga*, as it was considered aspirational in nature, with no firm details specified for the timeframe or Commonwealth contribution to the project.

No material additional commitments were identified by the PBO.

Appendix E provides further information on how the PBO assesses the materiality of election commitments for the purposes of this report.

³⁴ Refer to [2025 ECR - Party list of election commitments - Independent member for Indi](#)

Detailed financial tables - independent member for Indi

The following tables provide a detailed breakdown of the financial impacts of the independent member for Indi's election platform over the medium term. Table 6-2 shows impacts on a cash accounting basis (underlying cash and headline cash balances) and Table 6-3 on an accrual basis (fiscal balance). Table 6-4 shows the impact on government debt.

Table 6-2: Detailed financial implications of the independent member for Indi's election commitments, cash basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33		2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Receipts														
Net impact	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3		0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5	2.3
Final receipts	735.5	766.1	797.5	841.0	892.6	947.4	1,002.9	1,062.2		1,125.0	1,190.0	1,260.4	3,140.1	10,620.7
Payments (excluding PDI)														
Net impact	-1.8	-1.8	-1.8	-1.7	-0.7	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2		-0.2	-0.3	-0.3	-7.1	-9.3
Final payments (excluding PDI)	-751.5	-773.0	-799.5	-841.4	-892.0	-928.1	-976.3	-1,030.1		-1,082.7	-1,136.0	-1,194.0	-3,165.4	-10,404.6
Public debt interest (PDI)														
Net impact	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.7	-0.8	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9		-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1.5	-7.7
Final PDI	-28.0	-30.4	-37.2	-38.9	-43.0	-53.8	-59.5	-65.6		-65.2	-67.7	-68.3	-134.5	-557.8
Underlying cash balance (UCB)														
Net impact	-1.8	-2.0	-2.1	-2.2	-1.3	-0.8	-0.8	-0.9		-0.9	-0.9	-1.0	-8.2	-14.7
Final UCB	-44.0	-37.3	-39.2	-39.3	-42.4	-34.5	-32.9	-33.5		-22.9	-13.7	-1.9	-159.8	-341.7
Net cash flows from investments in financial assets for policy purposes														
Net impact	-3.3	-2.8	-2.6	-2.4	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6		0.5	0.5	0.5	-11.1	-7.0
Final cash flows	-26.4	-25.5	-22.5	-21.4	-12.1	-9.9	-8.8	-7.1		-8.8	-9.3	-9.9	-95.9	-161.8
Headline cash balance (HCB)														
Net impact	-5.1	-4.7	-4.7	-4.7	-0.5	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3		-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-19.2	-21.7
Final HCB	-70.4	-62.9	-61.8	-60.7	-54.5	-44.4	-41.7	-40.6		-31.7	-23.1	-11.8	-255.7	-503.5

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in receipts or a decrease in payments. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in receipts or an increase in payments. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Table 6-3: Detailed financial implications of the independent member for Indi's election commitments, accrual basis (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	Total to 2028-29	Total to 2035-36
Revenue													
Net impact	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.9	2.6
Final revenue	750.4	783.8	815.7	862.8	914.0	970.1	1,027.5	1,088.9	1,153.3	1,219.9	1,292.4	3,212.7	10,878.8
Expenses (excluding PDI)													
Net impact	-2.4	-2.3	-2.2	-2.1	-0.7	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.3	-0.3	-9.0	-11.1
Final expenses (excluding PDI)	-758.2	-777.6	-811.9	-853.4	-904.5	-940.7	-988.2	-1,041.8	-1,094.7	-1,148.4	-1,206.6	-3,201.2	-10,526.0
Public debt interest (PDI)													
Net impact	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	-0.7	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1.7	-8.0
Final PDI	-38.8	-40.7	-45.6	-49.2	-54.1	-66.7	-73.4	-80.7	-80.5	-83.6	-84.7	-174.3	-697.8
Fiscal balance													
Net impact	-2.4	-2.4	-2.5	-2.5	-1.2	-0.7	-0.8	-0.9	-0.9	-1.0	-1.1	-9.8	-16.4
Final fiscal balance	-46.6	-34.5	-41.9	-39.8	-44.6	-37.3	-34.1	-33.6	-21.9	-12.1	1.2	-162.8	-345.1

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact on the budget balance indicates an increase in revenue or a decrease in expenses. A negative impact on the budget balance indicates a decrease in revenue or an increase in expenses. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Table 6-4: Detailed financial implications of independent member for Indi's election commitments, gross and net debt (\$ billion)

	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36
Gross debt											
Net impact	5.1	9.9	14.6	19.2	19.8	19.9	20.1	20.3	20.7	21.2	21.7
Final level	1,027.1	1,101.9	1,175.6	1,242.2	1,312.4	1,372.7	1,424.5	1,460.3	1,492.3	1,511.7	1,525.7
Net debt											
Net impact	2.4	4.8	7.3	9.8	11.0	11.7	12.5	13.3	14.3	15.3	16.4
Final level	623.0	681.0	721.2	778.0	843.9	885.2	921.5	946.1	964.5	971.9	965.6

Source: 2025 PEFO and PBO analysis.

Note: A positive impact indicates an increase in debt levels. A negative impact indicates a decrease in debt levels. Figures may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Glossary

For more explanation of these and other terms, see the PBO's [Online budget glossary](#).

Administered funding	<p>Spending that is managed by government agencies but that they do not directly control. Administered funds include programs governed by eligibility rules and conditions that are set out in legislation, such as income and family support payments, and grant programs that are managed by agencies. In contrast, departmental funding is managed and controlled directly by departments and agencies. Typically, these funds are used for the purpose of day-to-day operations and program-support activities.</p> <p>For example, government assistance for the costs of childcare as set out in the <i>A New Tax System (Family Assistance) (Administration) Act 1999</i> is an administered expense, and the costs associated with making the assistance payments, such as paying Services Australia staff to assess assistance claims, is a departmental expense.</p>
Accrual accounting	<p>Accrual accounting records income when it is earned, and records costs when they are incurred, regardless of when the related cash is received or paid. Under accrual accounting, government income is called 'revenue' and costs are generally called 'expenses'. As an example, under accrual accounting, goods and services tax revenue is recorded in the financial year that the goods and services are purchased, even though the government may not receive the related tax amounts until the following financial year.</p>
Cash accounting	<p>Cash accounting records income when cash is received, and records costs when cash is paid out, regardless of when those amounts are earned or incurred. For example, under cash accounting, goods and services tax receipts are recorded in the financial year they are received, even though those tax amounts may relate to goods and services purchased in the previous financial year. Under cash accounting, government income is called 'receipts' and costs are called 'payments'.</p>
Capped funding	<p>Capped funding is where the government provides a fixed sum of money for a program. This means that the maximum amount of government spending on the program will not change, even if, for example, there are changes in the demand for the program or costs are higher than expected.</p>
Constitutional support	<p>All Commonwealth spending must be supported by the Australian Constitution. In addition to constitutional support, legislative authority is often required for spending activities, as well as an appropriation of funds.</p>
Decline or deterioration	<p>Fiscal aggregates such as the underlying and headline cash balance may be positive or negative. As such, references to changes in these aggregates may be ambiguous. For the purposes of this report, an 'increase' means that the amount becomes more positive or less negative and a 'decrease' means the amount becomes less positive or more negative. A policy that changes the underlying cash balance from -\$5 billion to -\$6 billion (making this aggregate more negative) is also referred to as a 'decline' or 'deterioration' in the underlying cash balance.</p>
Departmental funding	<p>Departmental funding is managed and controlled directly by government agencies, with the head of the agency having discretion and responsibility for managing the funding. Typically, departmental funds are used for the purpose of day-to-day operations and to support programs for which the agency has responsibility.</p>

Departmental funding is distinguished from administered funding, which is managed by government agencies on behalf of the government as a whole. For example, the government provides departmental funding to Services Australia, the government agency that provides income support payments such as the age pension. Services Australia uses this departmental funding to pay for the staff and equipment it needs to make income support payments to the public. The income support payments themselves are administered funding, which is governed by eligibility rules set out in legislation rather than being directly controlled by Services Australia.

Election commitment	A policy that a party has publicly announced and intends to seek to have implemented after the election. Election commitments that would have a material effect on the Australian Government budget estimates are included in the <i>Election Commitments Report</i> .
Expenses	Expense, in the budget context, refers to the cost of providing government services, excluding costs related to revaluations such as the write down of assets. Examples include spending on programs such as the age pension or Medicare, funding provided to the states and territories for public hospitals, or the wages paid to Australian Government employees.
Fiscal balance	The fiscal balance is an accrual accounting measure of the budget balance equal to the government's revenue (for example from taxes) minus its expenses (from providing services such as Medicare and income support such as the age pension), adjusted for government capital investments such as military equipment (known as 'net capital investment in non-financial assets') when they are acquired or sold.
Forward estimates	The period over which the government presents its budget estimates. It includes the budget year, which commences from 1 July for the upcoming financial year, and the following 3 years. For example, the forward estimates period for the 2025-26 Budget is from 2025-26 through to 2028-29.
Gross debt	Gross debt is the sum of interest bearing liabilities, mainly consisting of Australian Government Securities on issue, based on their value when the securities were issued (their 'face value'). While gross debt reflects the total amount of Commonwealth Government debt, it does not include any of the government's financial assets that partly offset debt. Only looking at gross debt without net debt could give an incomplete picture of the government's financial position.
Gross domestic product (GDP)	<p>The total value of all goods and services produced within an economy over a given period of time, usually 3 months or one year. Growth in gross domestic product (GDP) measures the change in the total value produced from one period to the next.</p> <p>GDP and GDP growth can be reported in nominal or real terms. Nominal GDP growth measures the change in the dollar value of all goods and services produced, which incorporates changes in both the quantity and prices of these goods and services. Real GDP growth, on the other hand, removes the effect of prices changing (known as 'inflation') and only measures the change in the quantity produced. This means that real GDP growth better reflects changes in how much a country is producing from one period to the next.</p> <p>GDP is used when comparing the government's financial position over time. Budget aggregates such as the fiscal balance, underlying cash balance and net debt are summary indicators that, together, give a picture of the financial situation of the government and how the government's finances are affecting the rest of the economy. Comparing the dollar values of these aggregates over time is complicated by factors such as inflation, population, and productivity growth, so they are often presented as a share of GDP.</p>

Headline cash balance	The headline cash balance is a cash measure of the budget balance equal to the government's receipts (for example from tax collections) minus payments for operations and investment activities (including certain investments in financial assets). If receipts are lower than payments, the headline cash balance is in deficit, meaning the government does not have sufficient cash to cover its activities and instead borrows from financial markets.
Increase or improvement	Fiscal aggregates such as the underlying and headline cash balance may be positive or negative. As such, references to changes in these aggregates may be ambiguous. For the purposes of this report, an 'increase' means that the amount becomes more positive or less negative and a 'decrease' means the amount becomes less positive or more negative. A policy that changes the underlying cash balance from -\$5 billion to -\$4 billion (making this aggregate less negative) is referred to as an 'increase' or 'improvement' in the underlying cash balance.
Interactions	An interaction arises when 2 or more proposals (or individual components of different proposals) would have different budgetary implications when implemented together, compared to the sum of the budgetary implications of implementing the proposals (or individual components of proposals) in isolation. For example, a policy to increase the age pension payment rate and a policy to lower the income test threshold for eligibility for the age pension would have a different (and larger) impact when implemented together because the second policy would increase the number of pensioners receiving the higher payment.
Interest payments	Interest payments are the cash payments on the government's debt liabilities which are recorded as a cost to government in the budget. Net interest payments are equal to interest payments minus the cash interest receipts earned by the government on investments in interest-bearing financial assets.
Major party	For the purposes of the <i>Election Commitments Report</i> , a major or 'designated' party is one with 5 or more sitting members at the time of the election.
Medium term	The period that includes the current budget year and the following ten years. For example, the medium term for the 2025-26 Budget is the period from 2025-26 through to 2035-36. The medium-term period includes the forward estimates and the following 7 years.
Net debt	There are two main measures of government debt, gross debt and net debt. Net debt is the sum of selected financial liabilities (including government securities, loans, deposits held, and other borrowings) minus the sum of selected financial assets (including cash and deposits, advances paid, and investments). In the net debt calculation, Australian Government Securities are valued as the price they are currently trading at (their 'market value') rather than their value when the securities were issued (their 'face value').
Ongoing policies	<p>An ongoing policy is one that does not have a specified end date. Many important government programs are ongoing. Examples include the provision of income support and assistance to families such as the age pension and Child Care Subsidy, and assistance with the cost of higher education through the Higher Education Loan Program (HELP).</p> <p>An ongoing program will typically continue until there is a government decision to end the program. In many cases, ending the program will also require the approval of Parliament.</p> <p>For the <i>Election Commitments Report</i>, policies are assumed to be ongoing unless specified otherwise.</p>

Payments	Payments capture all outgoing cash transactions from the Australian Government to individuals, organisations or other levels of government. In the budget context, payments are those that affect the underlying cash balance and comprise cash transactions for operating activities and the purchase of non-financial assets. Examples include an age pension payment, a Medicare rebate for a doctor's visit, and the wages of a Centrelink employee.
Pre-election Economic and Fiscal Outlook (PEFO)	<p>A report produced under the <i>Charter of Budget Honesty</i> by the Secretary to the Treasury and the Secretary of the Department of Finance within 10 days of the issue of the writs for a general election. The purpose of PEFO is to provide updated information on the economic and fiscal outlook, taking into account, to the fullest extent possible, all government decisions and all other circumstances that may have a material effect on the economic and fiscal outlook that were in existence before the issue of the writs for the election.</p> <p>PEFO provides the starting point or 'baseline' budget estimates and economic parameters that underpin the analysis presented in the <i>Election Commitments Report</i>.</p>
Public debt interest (PDI)	The borrowing costs of the government, mainly incurred through issuing and servicing government debt, and recorded as a cost to government in the budget. Public debt interest estimates reflect the cost of both the government debt already issued and its expected future borrowings. These are calculated using the contracted interest rates incurred on existing debt and on projected interest rates for future borrowings.
Receipts	Receipts are the government's income, recorded at the time they are received as reported on a cash accounting basis. In the budget context, receipts are those that affect the underlying cash balance, so exclude the repayment of loans and other cash flows relating to the exchange of financial assets. The majority of government receipts are tax receipts, such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. The government also receives non-tax receipts, such as interest earned on government loans and dividends from government investments.
Revenue	Revenue is government income, recorded at the time it is earned as reported on an accrual accounting basis. The majority of government income is made up of tax revenue, such as company tax, personal income tax, and goods and services tax. The government also receives non-tax revenue, such as interest earned on government loans and dividends from government investments.
Saves	For the purposes of this report, saves include all commitments that improve the budget balance (that is, those commitments that increase receipts or decrease payments).
Spends	For the purposes of this report, spends include all commitments that deteriorate the budget balance (that is, those commitments that decrease receipts or increase payments).
Tax cap	<p>A commitment to maintain tax receipts at or below a specified per cent of GDP. In the 2025-26 Budget there was no tax cap specified. The last budget tax cap was 23.9 per cent of GDP in the March 2022-23 Budget.</p> <p>Unconstrained tax receipts are the level of tax receipts that would be expected to be raised before any tax-to-GDP cap is applied.</p> <p>Constrained tax receipts are receipts after the application of the tax-to-GDP cap.</p> <p>Unspecified tax cuts refer to the value of additional unspecified tax adjustments that would be required to prevent taxes rising above the nominated tax-to-GDP cap in each year.</p>

Terminating policies	<p>A terminating policy is one that has a specified end date. An example would be a policy to provide funding over 4 years for a project. Fiscal stimulus measures designed to assist households and businesses in an economic downturn are generally examples of terminating policies. For example, as part of the response to the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-09, the government made one-off payments to low- and middle-income individuals and households with dependent children.</p> <p>For the <i>Election Commitments Report</i>, policies are assumed to be ongoing unless specified otherwise.</p>
Uncapped funding	<p>Uncapped funding is where the government does not specify a limit to the sum of money allocated for a program. This means that the maximum amount of government spending on the program may change, for example if there are changes to the demand for the program or any other external factors. Uncapped funding is typically used by governments when delivering welfare and other demand-driven social benefits and programs. Examples are pensions like the age pension and income support payments like the JobSeeker payment. In each case, the total amount of spending depends on factors including the number of eligible recipients.</p>
Underlying cash balance	<p>The underlying cash balance (UCB) is a cash measure of the budget balance equal to the difference between the government's receipts and its payments. It is one of several indicators known as 'budget aggregates' that measure the impact of the government's budget on the economy. When the government or the media say the budget is in surplus or deficit, they are generally referring to the underlying cash balance, or sometimes the net operating balance or fiscal balance. More specifically, the underlying cash balance is equal to the government's receipts (for example from tax collections) minus its payments from providing services (such as Medicare) and support (such as the age pension). The types of receipts and payments used in the calculation include those from buying and selling non-financial assets, such as buildings or equipment. The term 'underlying' is used because it excludes some cash transactions that are captured in the broader, but less commonly used, headline cash balance.</p>