

Budget Showdown 2007: The Facts Behind Education Funding

By Heather Rieman

The White House and Congress are approaching a major budget debate that could markedly influence federal education funding. This is the first budget cycle since 2000 during which different political parties control the Executive Branch and both chambers of Congress. The federal budget and appropriations process is rarely without acrimony, but this year's battle may be especially rancorous.

Congress has yet to complete the 12 appropriations bills that outline discretionary federal spending for the fiscal year that began October 1st. The President has already threatened to veto appropriations bills that in the aggregate exceed the \$933 billion in spending recommended by the Administration in the budget it presented to Congress last February.¹ Congress has put forth a budget resolution that sets total discretionary spending for fiscal year 2008 at \$956 billion, \$23 billion more than the President's request.²

In particular, Congressional spending proposals under the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies appropriations bill, the largest of the domestic spending bills, are above the President's request by more than \$11 billion in the United States Senate and \$13 billion in the House of Representatives. The Administration specifically has threatened to veto the House bill because "it includes an irresponsible and excessive level of spending."³

What does the near-term future hold for federal education funding? How much has federal discretionary spending grown in recent years? Separate from spending on the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, what is the source of increased spending? Is education spending a "driver" or is it being "crowded out" by other priorities? The New America Foundation's Federal Education Budget Project, which serves as a non-partisan, authoritative source of information on the federal education budget, attempts to answer these questions.

The Federal Education Budget Project finds that although Congress plans a significant increase in federal spending on schools, teachers, and students—the most significant this decade when considering discretionary and mandatory sources—education funding has not been a driver of recent increases in federal spending and the contemplated increase is relatively minor with respect to the overall budget. Opponents of proposed increases in education spending argue that the overall federal budget is growing faster than is prudent, and this argument is likely to be a key component of this year's budget debate. One could argue against proposed increased spending on education because of concerns about program effectiveness, efficiency, or value, but any attempt to single out education spending as the main driver of a federal budget that some believe has become too large would be misguided.

SUMMARY

1) If a Presidential veto threat does not derail proposed education appropriations legislation, Congress will increase spending on students, teachers, and schools cumulatively this fall by between \$7 billion and \$8 billion for the following school year. It represents the most significant change to federal education funding in the last decade. Most of the proposed increase is on the discretionary side of the budget and without offset. But \$3 billion worth of the total increase is on the mandatory side of the budget and offset by cuts in federal subsidies to student loan providers.

2) From fiscal year 2001 to fiscal year 2006, discretionary spending grew at a faster rate than mandatory spending. The increase has been driven primarily by defense and other "war on terror" spending. Between fiscal years 2001 and 2006, spending on defense, international affairs, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars was responsible for 69 percent (\$231.3 billion) of the total *increase* in discretionary spending. In contrast, domestic discretionary spending on matters such as health, transportation, and education was responsible for only 31 percent (\$101.6 billion) of the increase. Spending on Department of Education programs was responsible for only 5.5 percent of the increase in overall federal discretionary spending between fiscal years 2001 and 2006.

3) The budget battle between Congress and the White House could end in a number of ways that will affect education funding. Three possible scenarios for how the budget showdown might play out are presented—one that could result in a government shutdown, one that shifts funding to supplemental appropriations bills, and a third that considers a deal involving federal education funding and the No Child Left Behind Act reauthorization.

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EDUCATION FUNDING FOR FISCAL YEAR 2008 BUDGET

The Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Services (Labor-HHS-ED) appropriations bill is the largest domestic spending bill considered by Congress. Typically, the bill is contentious and Congress has trouble reaching agreement on it, making it one of the last appropriations bills passed.

Discretionary funding for Department of Education programs makes up approximately 40 percent of the overall Labor-HHS-ED bill and is frequently the source of much debate and heated rhetoric. Discretionary education funding primarily goes to schools that serve students with disabilities, schools that serve students from low-income families, and teacher quality programs.

Although discretionary funding for education increased between fiscal years 2001 and 2003, it has been relatively flat over the past four fiscal years. Between fiscal years 2004 and 2007, there was only a 1.6 percent increase in Department of Education discretionary program funding before adjusting for inflation. During those years, annual inflation averaged around 2 percent.⁴ In other words, in real, inflation-adjusted dollars, federal discretionary funding for education has decreased over the last four years.

Proposals for fiscal year 2008 represent a significant change for discretionary education funding. Appropriations bills put forward in both the House and the Senate this year include large increases in education funding, particularly for the No Child Left Behind Act’s Title I and Individuals with Disabilities Act special education programs. The President, however, has proposed to cut—before inflation—education funding for the coming fiscal year and has issued a veto threat against the pending House education budget (see Figure 1).⁵

If the outcome of the fiscal year 2008 appropriations battle ends up near the funding levels in the House and Senate bills, there will be an increase of between \$3 billion and \$5 billion for Department of Education discretionary programs, the second largest increase for education since the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was passed in 2001.⁶

In addition, Congress acted this fall to increase mandatory higher education funding for student financial aid by \$3 billion for fiscal year 2008 as part of a budget reconciliation bill. Mandatory funding for education goes primarily to subsidize low-interest loans for individuals enrolled in higher education, although now will also support a portion of Pell Grant program funding.

The cumulative increase in federal funding for students, teachers, and schools in fiscal year 2008 thus could be between \$7 billion and \$8 billion when both mandatory and discretionary funding streams are considered. If Congress succeeds in making its plan law, it would be the largest combined increase in federal funding for students, teachers, and schools this decade.

The President’s Budget

Overall, the President’s fiscal year 2008 budget includes \$56 billion in funding for Department of Education discretionary programs, an amount that is \$1.5 billion less than the comparable fiscal year 2007 enacted level. In fairness, however, when President Bush was developing his fiscal year 2008 budget, he only had fiscal year 2006 spending levels available as a reference because Congress had not yet passed fiscal year 2007 appropriations legislation. But even in comparison to the enacted fiscal year 2006 spending level, the President’s fiscal year 2008 budget request still reflects a \$556 million cut in funding for Department of Education programs, before inflation.

For several years now, the President’s budget requests for education have aimed to reduce funding for smaller education programs and to redirect those funds to larger, more high-profile programs, such as the No Child Left Behind Act’s Title I program for disadvantaged children.⁷ The President has sought to shift funds from education programs the Administration considers to be less effective to programs that it believes to have been demonstrably successful.⁸ Thus although federal discretionary education spending may have been relatively flat in recent years, the President has argued that the most important programs have received requests for spending increases in his proposed budgets.⁹

Figure 1

Proposed FY2008 Appropriation for Department of Education				
(\$ in Billions)				
	FY2007 ENACTED	PRESIDENT	SENATE	HOUSE
Title I No Child Left Behind*	12.8	13.9	13.9	14.4
IDEA Special Education (Part B Grants)*	10.8	10.5	11.2	11.3
Pell Grants†	13.8	13.0	14.5	16.1
Other Education Programs*	20.1	18.6	20.5	21.0
TOTAL APPROPRIATION	57.5	56.0	60.1	62.8

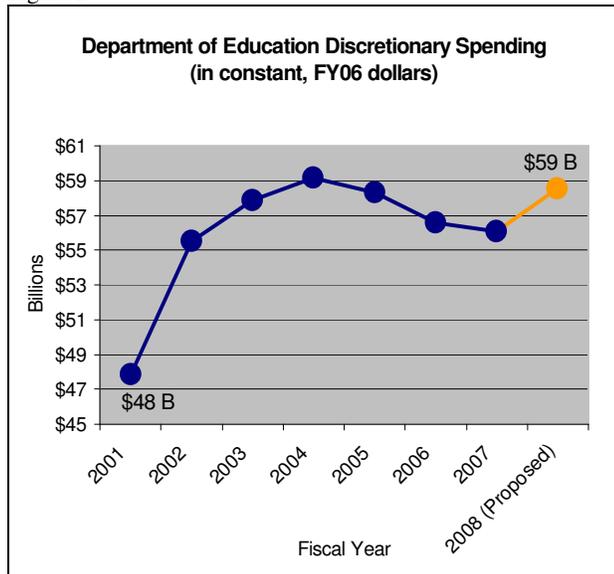
*Includes advance appropriations made for the succeeding fiscal year.
 †The maximum Pell Grant level is \$4,050 for the President’s request, \$4,700 for the House bill, and \$4,310 for the Senate bill.

Source: U.S. Department of Education

Congress Calls for Education Increase

For the coming fiscal year, both the House and the Senate have proposed a significant increase in spending for Department of Education programs, appreciably more than the President’s budget request. The House has passed its version of the Labor-HHS-ED appropriations bill, which includes \$62.8 billion for Department of Education programs, \$5.3 billion above the fiscal year 2007 level. The Senate has not yet voted on the Labor-HHS-ED appropriations bill, but the bill reported from the relevant subcommittee includes \$60.1 billion for Department of Education programs, \$2.6 billion more than the fiscal year 2007 level.

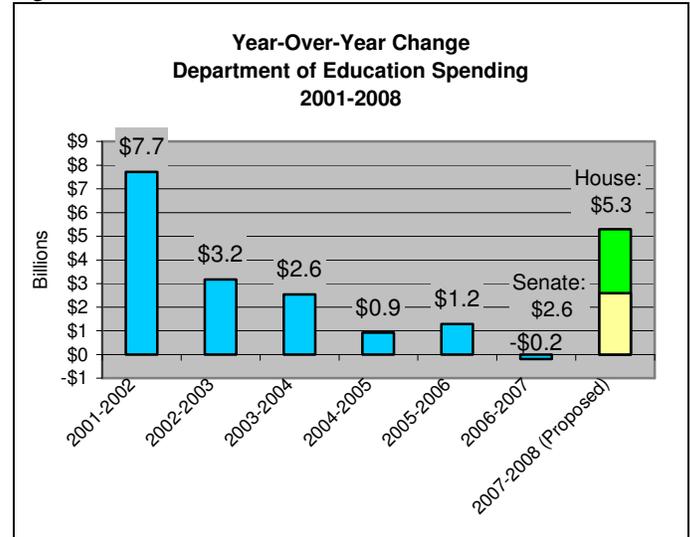
Figure 2



Source: U.S. Department of Education

To put the size of the proposed Congressional increases in context, an increase of approximately \$4 billion in funding for the Department of Education (somewhere between the House and Senate bills) would be the second largest increase since the passage of NCLB in 2001 (see Figure 3). Because federal education funding is rarely cut, the proposed fiscal year 2008 spending figures could help define a new baseline level of funding for education that will remain for years to come. The approximate \$4 billion increase over the next five years thus effectively amounts to \$20 billion in additional education funding. But this increase is still not likely to change education’s small total in the context of a more than \$2.8 trillion budget.¹⁰

Figure 3



Source: U.S. Department of Education

Reconciliation Provides Further Boost for Spending

Significant changes in mandatory education spending recently have been enacted through a budget reconciliation bill, signed into law this September. The new law, the College Cost Reduction and Access Act, shifts mandatory spending from student loan bank subsidies to larger need-based Pell grants and lower-cost student loans.¹¹

Reconciliation is a budget procedure that is sometimes employed in the annual Congressional budget process. In practice, majorities in the Senate use reconciliation as a strategy to advance mandatory tax and spending legislation because reconciliation bills are not subject to a filibuster. Reconciliation legislation can increase spending in specific areas, as long as in total it produces some amount of savings to reduce the deficit. For example, the recently enacted reconciliation bill increases spending on student aid by \$21.6 billion from 2007 to 2012 (see Figure 4) and reduces subsidies paid to lenders making federally guaranteed student loans by \$22.3 billion over the same time period.¹² Taken together, the changes in the reconciliation bill reduce the deficit by \$750 million from 2007 to 2012.

Student aid increases in the new law include a supplement to the maximum Pell Grant level established in each year’s Labor-HHS-ED appropriations bill. The 2007 maximum grant level of \$4,310 will be increased by \$490 in 2008 and will gradually rise by a total increase of \$1,090 by 2012. Interest rates paid by borrowers on undergraduate federal student loans will also be reduced gradually over the next four years from 6.8 percent to 3.4 percent for loans taken out in the 2011–2012 school year. Only subsidized Stafford loans will receive the new, lower interest rates.

Figure 4

2007 Reconciliation Bill				
Increase in Student Aid Spending 2007-2012				
(\$ in Billions)				
	PRESIDENT*	SENATE	HOUSE	CONFERENCE
Pell Grants†	15.9	13.9	5.9	11.4
Reduction in Borrower-Paid Student Loan Interest Rate	0.2	—	6.2	6.1
Income Contingent Repayment and other changes to loan repayment terms	—	2.8	1.0	1.0
Increased Federal Student Loan Borrowing Limits	1.4	—	1.4	—
Other‡	0.9	2.0	4.5	3.1
TOTAL SPENDING	18.4	18.7	17.6	21.6

*President's FY2008 Budget Request.
 †New mandatory Pell Grant program. Funding supplements discretionary Pell Grant funding in annual appropriations bill.
 ‡Includes changes to existing programs and funding for new mandatory spending programs.

Source: Congressional Budget Office and U.S. Department of Education

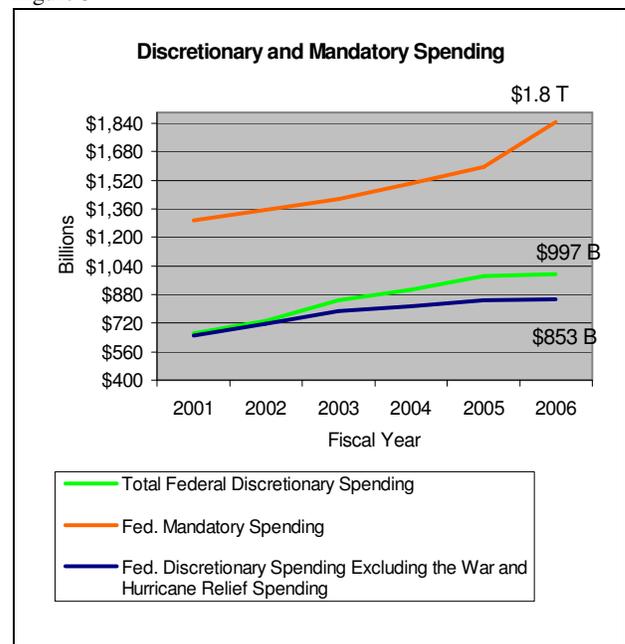
RECENT TRENDS IN DISCRETIONARY AND MANDATORY SPENDING

Examining recent trends in discretionary and mandatory spending provides a helpful context for understanding how education funding fits within the larger federal budget. The federal discretionary spending budget, which supplies most education funding, is determined annually through the Congressional appropriations process. Mandatory spending, which funds entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare, occurs through legislation outside of the appropriations process and usually does not require annual legislation for funds to be spent.

While there is little disagreement that federal spending is increasing, there are differences of opinion as to whether it is attributable to increases in mandatory or discretionary spending. A common perception is that the growth in mandatory spending is “crowding out” discretionary spending.¹³ It is thought that funding for education and other discretionary programs has been squeezed because of the large amounts spent on mandatory programs such as Social Security and Medicare.

Our examination of data from the Office of Management and Budget and the Congressional Budget Office reveals that in fact discretionary spending is growing at a faster pace than mandatory spending.¹⁴ In fiscal year 2006, discretionary spending, including spending on the war, was \$333 billion more—50 percent higher—than in fiscal year 2001.¹⁵ Mandatory spending was \$550 billion more, or 42 percent higher than in fiscal year 2001.¹⁶ When adjusted for inflation, discretionary spending rose by 33 percent (\$244.5 billion) and mandatory spending rose by 26 percent (\$377.2 billion).

Figure 5



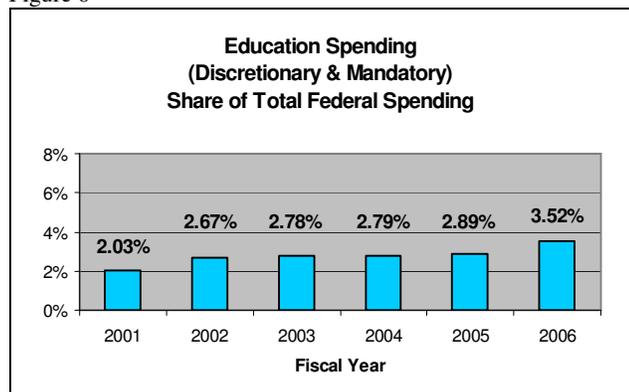
Source: Office of Management and Budget

Supplemental appropriations for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the 2005 Katrina and Rita hurricanes have caused discretionary spending to rise faster than mandatory spending. If war and hurricane spending is excluded, discretionary spending in fiscal year 2006 was approximately 29 percent (\$189.5 billion) higher than it was in fiscal year 2001.¹⁷ Mandatory spending for fiscal year 2006 remains 42 percent (\$550 billion) higher than it was in fiscal year 2001.¹⁸ In 2006 constant dollars, discretionary spending, excluding war and Katrina spending, increased by 16 percent (\$116.7 billion) and mandatory spending increased by 26 percent (\$377.2 billion).

As a share of total federal spending, however, mandatory and discretionary education spending has remained relatively constant since fiscal year 2001 (see Figure 6). Increases in education's share of total spending for fiscal

years 2005 and 2006 are anomalous due to the costs of high student loan consolidation volume in those years. In fiscal years 2005 and 2006, mandatory spending on student loans was \$15 and \$34 billion respectively, compared to an average of \$5 billion over the previous four years. Budget projections for the upcoming five years also show an average of \$5 billion a year in student loan spending.¹⁹ Thus total federal spending on education can be described as remaining relatively constant since fiscal year 2001.

Figure 6



Source: Office of Management and Budget

Education Funding Faces Growing Competition

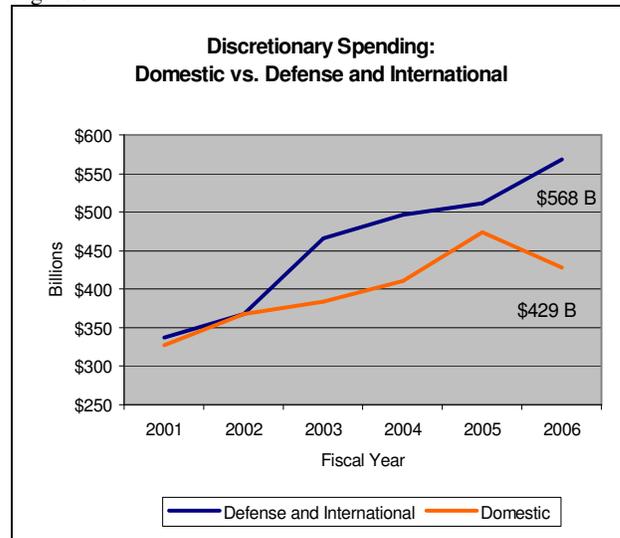
With discretionary spending growing faster than mandatory spending, it does not appear that the growth in mandatory spending has yet acted to constrain funding for discretionary programs such as education. This trend may change as health care costs rise and baby boomers retire.²⁰ In the years ahead, mandatory spending for health care and Social Security is expected to grow at a faster rate than the rest of federal spending.²¹ A dynamic will likely emerge where mandatory spending will increase substantially—largely to support the growing elderly population—and start to crowd out discretionary spending, absent an increase in federal revenue. This “crowding-out” effect could be alleviated by allowing federal spending to take up a significantly larger share of the economy or by reducing the rate of growth in Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security spending. Neither of these options, however, appears to be a much easier political choice than restraining discretionary spending. In short, federal education funding faces growing competition in the coming years.

Discretionary Spending Increases Primarily Caused by Defense, Not Domestic Spending or Education

The current disagreement and looming budget fight between Congress and the White House will likely involve recriminations as to who and what are responsible for past increases in federal spending. Our examination of the data reveals that increases in federal discretionary spending have been driven primarily by defense spending and not by domestic spending programs.

While total discretionary spending increased by 50 percent between fiscal years 2001 and 2006, some types of discretionary spending grew at a much faster rate than others. For example, discretionary spending on defense and international programs increased by 69 percent, or \$231.3 billion, during that five year period (see Figure 7).²² Adjusted for inflation, defense and international spending increased by 49 percent or \$186.5 billion.

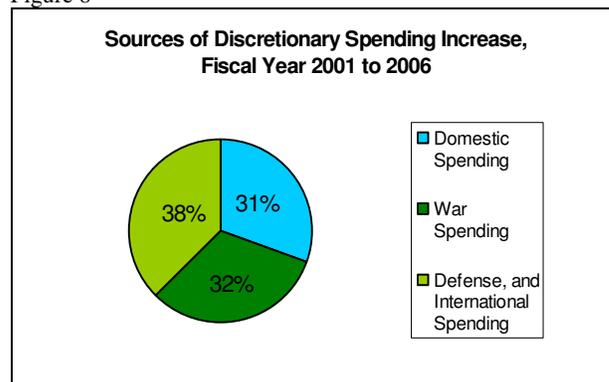
Figure 7



Source: Office of Management and Budget

Thus, the growth of defense and international spending between fiscal years 2001 and 2006 accounts for a large percentage of the overall increase in discretionary spending. Spending in these areas is responsible for 69 percent of the increase during the relevant five year period (38 percent for defense and international spending and 32 percent for the wars). Domestic expenditures account for the remaining 31 percent increase (see Figure 8).²³

Figure 8

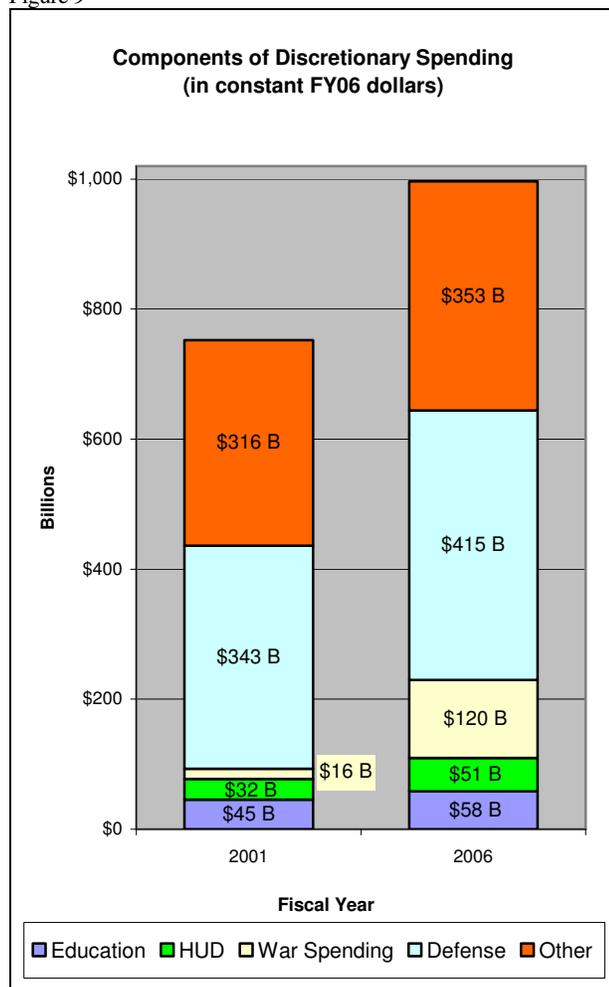


Source: Congressional Budget Office and Office of Management and Budget

The two federal agencies responsible for the largest share of the increase in discretionary spending between fiscal years 2001 and 2006 are the Department of Defense (66 percent of the increase) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (6.9 percent of the increase).²⁴ The Housing Department increase is largely an anomaly because it reflects a one-time fiscal year 2006 supplemental appropriation of \$17 billion for the Community Development Block Grant program for Hurricane Katrina relief activities (see Figure 9).²⁵

The Department of Education is not one of the primary drivers of discretionary spending increases. Education funding is the source of only \$18.3 billion (5.5 percent) of the total \$332.9 billion increase in discretionary spending between fiscal years 2001 and 2006.²⁶ Even with Congress' proposed fiscal year 2008 discretionary education funding increase of approximately \$4 billion, education funding will still make up only 5 percent of discretionary funding and less than 3 percent of the overall federal budget. As a share of total discretionary spending, education funding has averaged only about 6 percent since fiscal year 2001.

Figure 9



Source: Congressional Budget Office and Office of Management and Budget

ANALYSIS

The upcoming budget battle between Congress and the White House is likely to be fierce, with each side expecting its message to win public support. The White House and Republicans are working to paint themselves as fiscal conservatives struggling to rein in domestic discretionary spending increases put forward by the new Democratic majority in Congress. For Republicans, convincing conservative voters that they are committed to reducing federal spending could be critical in the upcoming Congressional and Presidential elections.²⁷ Congressional Democrats maintain that the \$23 billion in discretionary spending they want over the President's budget request will help bolster crucial domestic programs that help the middle class, in addition to directing more resources to national priorities such as education.²⁸

The outcome of the budget battle will largely depend on President Bush's ability to maintain the backing of Congressional Republicans for his veto threats. In June, 147 House Republicans signed a letter declaring that they would support President Bush's veto of appropriations bills that exceeded the President's budget request.²⁹ That number is one more than is needed to ensure that Congress cannot override a Presidential veto. However, the letter of support was signed before completion of specific appropriations bills in the House and Senate and did not reference specific funding levels and programs in particular appropriations bills. It is one thing to agree that federal spending needs to be limited in the aggregate. It is another to cast a vote that would reduce funding for domestic programs that constituents support. For Republicans facing tough reelection campaigns, voting for lower funding levels for health care or education could prove difficult.³⁰

Possible Scenarios

Because fiscal year 2008 began October 1st and none of the appropriations bills had been enacted at that time, Congress was forced to pass a Continuing Resolution to keep programs operating into November. There are a number of possible scenarios that could unfold as Congress works to complete the appropriations bills in the coming weeks, maybe months. We briefly note three.

Scenario #1

Given that so much work remains to be done to complete the appropriations bills and that there is other high-priority legislation pending, Congress will likely combine many of the remaining appropriations bills into an omnibus bill. Individual members of Congress may break with the President and authorize increased spending in an omnibus bill, especially if the disagreement at issue is narrowed to education, health care, or other popular domestic programs. Already some Republicans who signed the veto support letter have voted for individual appropriations bills, including the Labor-HHS-ED bill,

which set spending above the President's request.³¹ Congress could send the President an omnibus bill that is at least somewhat higher than his proposed \$933 billion spending total. It would then be up to the President to sign the bill or face the prospect of either a federal government shutdown or a longer term Continuing Resolution that provides flat funding.

Scenario #2

Congress could reduce its overall discretionary spending levels to the President's ceiling, but do so without reducing its preferred domestic program spending levels, including on education. Instead, it could cut other discretionary program areas—particularly defense, for which the President proposed a \$51 billion (11 percent) increase over the fiscal year 2007 level—and then backfill those programs through supplemental appropriations legislation passed later in the fiscal year, thus meeting the President's requested levels for those specific programs.

This approach has been used in recent years to boost non-defense discretionary spending while ostensibly staying within the President's total discretionary spending request.³² This scenario is made possible by the fact both Congress and the President have treated supplemental appropriations bills as if they do not count against the spending limits that Congress and the President set for themselves in their respective budget resolution and budget request.

Last year, Congress exceeded the \$86 billion limit to supplemental spending it established in a deeming resolution, passed in lieu of a budget resolution, by approximately \$100 billion.³³ Thus far, Congress has shown a willingness to accommodate this year's supplemental request, as it included \$145 billion in its 2008 Budget Resolution.³⁴ However, the President recently increased his supplemental war spending request to \$193 billion, an increase of \$42 billion over last year—almost twice the amount that the discretionary domestic funding fight is over.³⁵ It appears that there is plenty of room to continue this budgetary game of backfilling spending levels via supplemental appropriations legislation.

Scenario #3

Looking specifically at education funding, there is an opportunity for a deal to be struck between the White House and Congress. President Bush wants to ensure that NCLB is reauthorized and left largely intact during his Presidency. He could agree to accept a significant overall increase in discretionary funding for education in exchange for an agreement to reauthorize the law for a relatively short period of time (e.g. three to four years) with minimal changes. However the timing may not work, as Congress has a significant amount of work to do before it has a full NCLB reauthorization bill finalized. The House Education Committee staff released a discussion draft reauthorization bill in late August that included

significant changes, and Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings, along with others, voiced substantive objections to the changes.³⁶ Still, a short-term, trimmed-down version of an NCLB reauthorization bill theoretically could be pursued in exchange for a sizable increase in K-12 education spending.

CONCLUSION

Regardless, federal spending on students, teachers, and schools could receive a significant boost in fiscal year 2008. If the discretionary funding increase for education proposed in the House and Senate is ultimately enacted, it will constitute a \$4 billion to \$5 billion increase over the prior year, the second largest increase for education since NCLB was originally passed. That amount will come on top of a recently enacted increase in mandatory spending on federal student aid of \$3 billion in fiscal year 2008. Considering both discretionary and mandatory funding sources, fiscal year 2008 could represent the most significant year in funding for students, teachers, and schools this decade.

However, proposed increases for education funding may get caught up in the larger debate about reining in overall federal spending. Opponents of increasing discretionary spending above the President's requested level will likely point to the size of the Labor-HHS-ED bill in particular and argue against an increase for education. The Federal Education Budget Project's analysis of the data, however, reveals that the amount spent on education funding is relatively minor with respect to the overall budget picture, and that increases in discretionary spending have been going largely to defense as opposed to domestic spending. In fact, the President recently increased his request for supplemental war spending to \$193 billion for fiscal year 2008, an increase of \$42 billion—almost twice the amount that the domestic discretionary funding fight is over.³⁷ For those who argue that federal spending is growing too fast, targeting education spending in order to reduce the rate of growth is misguided and unlikely to have a significant impact on the overall budget in the short or long term.

In the end, this year's looming discretionary spending budget fight is over \$23 billion, which equals 2 percent of discretionary funding or eight-tenths of one percent (0.8 percent) of the total federal budget.³⁸ Although discretionary spending has been increasing at about the same rate as mandatory spending, it still makes up only about a third of the overall budget. If Congress and the President are serious about balancing federal spending and revenue in the short term, much less over the long term, they need to consider a broader set of policies and funding proposals.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ This budget ceiling excludes “emergency” supplemental appropriation spending, which is around \$142 billion.
- ² *An original concurrent resolution setting forth the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2008 and including the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2007 and 2009 through 2012*, 110th Cong., 1st sess., 2007, S. Con. Res. 21, 28.
- ³ Executive Office of the President, “Statement of Administration Policy, Office of Management and Budget, H.R. 3043 — Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2008,” July 17, 2007, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/legislative/sap/110-1/hr3043sap-h.pdf>.
- ⁴ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Consumer Price Index—All Urban Consumers, All Items Less Food and Energy, Not Seasonally Adjusted,” Series Id CUUR0000SA0L1E, <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/home.htm#data>.
- ⁵ Executive Office of the President.
- ⁶ All references to spending reflect budget authority for the relevant fiscal year; U.S. Department of Education, “Summary of Discretionary Funds, FY 2008 Congressional Action,” August 28, 2007, <http://www.ed.gov/about/overview/budget/budget08/08bylevel.pdf>.
- ⁷ April Austin, “Budget Shuffle: Schools Both Gain and Lose,” *Christian Science Monitor*, February 9, 2004, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0209/p10s02-legn.html>.
- ⁸ Office of the President of the United States, “Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2008: Department of Education,” February 5, 2007, <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy08/pdf/budget/education.pdf>.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Office of Management and Budget, “Table 5.2 — Budget Authority by Agency: 2076-2012,” *Historical Tables of the Budget of the United States Government: Fiscal Year 2008*, <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy08/sheets/hist05z2.xls>.
- ¹¹ *College Cost Reduction and Access Act*, HR 2669, 110th Cong., 1st sess., 2007, 2,7,14.
- ¹² Congressional Budget Office, “Estimated Budgetary Impact of H.R. 2669, as Filed by the Conferees to H.R. 2669 on September 5, 2007,” September 6, 2007, 2, <http://cbo.gov/ftpdocs/86xx/doc8603/hr2669.pdf>.
- ¹³ Paul Ryan, “Tackling Deficit Calls for Spending Restraint,” *U.S. Congressman Paul Ryan Official Web site*, November 10, 2005, http://www.house.gov/ryan/speeches_and_editorials/2005speechesandeditorials/111005_spending_restraint.html.
- ¹⁴ Office of Management and Budget, “Table 5.4 — Discretionary Budget Authority by Agency: 1976-2008,” *Historical Tables of the Budget of the United States Government: Fiscal Year 2008*, <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy08/sheets/hist05z4.xls>.
- ¹⁵ Congressional Budget Office, “CBO Data on Supplemental Budget Authority for the 2000s,” <http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/66xx/doc6630/3-16-SuppApprop.pdf>.
- ¹⁶ Office of Management and Budget, Table 5.4.
- ¹⁷ Congressional Budget Office.
- ¹⁸ Office of Management and Budget, Table 5.4.
- ¹⁹ Congressional Budget Office, “The Budget and Economic Outlook,” Years 2002 through 2007, <http://www.cbo.gov/publications/bysubject.cfm?cat=0>.
- ²⁰ David M. Walker, “America’s Fiscal Future: A Call for Citizen Involvement,” (Flory Public Policy Lecture, McPherson College, McPherson, KS, March 11, 2007), 6, <http://www.gao.gov/cghome/d07613cg.pdf>.
- ²¹ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “The Nation’s Long-Term Fiscal Outlook: April 2007 Update,” GAO-07-983R, April 2007, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d07983r.pdf>.
- ²² Office of Management and Budget, Table 5.4.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ Congressional Budget Office, “CBO Data on Supplemental Budget Authority.”
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “HUD Katrina Accomplishments—One Year Later,” press release, September 8, 2006, <http://www.hud.gov/news/katrina05response.cfm>.
- ²⁶ Office of Management and Budget, Table 5.4; Congressional Budget Office, “CBO Data on Supplemental Budget Authority.”
- ²⁷ Adam Nagourney, “Budget Restraint Emerges as G.O.P. Theme for 2008,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/13/politics/13repubs.html?ex=1188705600&en=644e4f5ed871aa1f&ei=5070>.
- ²⁸ “Democrats Pass Budget That Restores Fiscal Discipline, Invests in Middle-Class Priorities,” Democratic Policy Committee, press release, May 25, 2007, http://democrats.senate.gov/dpc/dpc-new.cfm?doc_name=fs-110-1-86; Senate Budget Committee, “Transcript of Remarks to Press on Budget Conference Agreement by Senate Budget Committee Chairman Kent Conrad (D-ND),” May 16, 2007, <http://budget.senate.gov/democratic/press/2007/budgetconferenceagreementpressbriefing051607.pdf>.
- ²⁹ Republican Study Committee, “GOP Rallies Around RSC Effort to Sustain Bloated Appropriations Bill Vetoes,” press release, June 13, 2007, http://www.house.gov/list/press/tx05_hensarling/rsc/061307Appropsletter.html.
- ³⁰ Peter Grier, “Bush’s Veto Threats Foretell Budget Battle,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 22, 2007, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0622/p02s01-uspo.html?page=1>.
- ³¹ For example, 13 Republican Members of the House of Representatives who signed the letter supporting Bush’s veto voted to pass the Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations Bill: Michael Rogers (AL), Christopher Shays (CT), Richard Keller (FL), Vern Buchanan (FL), Dave Weldon (FL), Thomas Latham (IA), Judy Biggert (IL), Ray LaHood (IL), Wayne Gilchrest (MD), Charles Pickering (MS), Jon Porter (NV), Steven LaTourette (OH), and Phil English (PA).
- ³² U.S. Senate Committee on the Budget, Republican Staff, “Now 2007 Approps Bills Can Finally Make Some Sense,” *Budget Bulletin*, 109th Cong., 2nd sess.: no. 7, July 28, 2006, <http://budget.senate.gov/republican/analysis/2006/bb07-2006.pdf>.
- ³³ Congressional Budget Office, “Current Status of Discretionary Appropriations,” June 11, 2007, <http://www.cbo.gov/budget/approps/approps.pdf>; Public Law 109-234 (H.R. 4939).
- ³⁴ S. Con. Res. 21, 50.
- ³⁵ Peter Cohn, “War Request Rises, Dems Ponder Delay,” *Congress Daily AM*, September 27, 2007.
- ³⁶ David J. Hoff, “Spellings Takes Issue with NCLB Draft,” *Education Week*, September 7, 2007, <http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2007/09/12/03nclb.h27.html>.
- ³⁷ Cohn.
- ³⁸ Office of Management and Budget, Table 5.4.