



# Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association

Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers

## FLISA Member Meeting Agenda

Hyatt Regency—Clearwater Beach, Florida

Friday, February 2<sup>nd</sup>—9AM Until 4PM (Breakfast on your own)

Longboat Key Room on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor

**Please bring your laptop/device for Committee Work.**

### I. Welcome Comments and Review of the Mission/Vision of FLISA – Cathie Peznowski

*Our Mission: To ensure the reimbursement of funds lost due to the federal government's removal of land from local tax rolls, paid to eligible public school districts, with 100 percent of the revenue used for the education of students.*

*Vision: Advancing towards 100% full-funding for the 7002 program.*

#### Guiding Principles:

- Section 7002 Impact Aid Funds will be distributed in a fair and equitable manner,
- Membership in the FLISA Organization will be expanded,
- Safeguard the financial interests of all Section 7002 Impact Aid districts.

### II. Introduction of FLISA Board and Past-Presidents

### III. Introduction by Those in Attendance

- A. Name, Title, Location and Impacted Land
- B. Recognition of New Attendees—Cathie Peznowski

### IV. FLISA Executive Director's Report – Tom Schneider

- A. Overview
- B. The success of this meeting is what you do between meetings to advocate for the goals of Impact Aid and FLISA

### V. Approval of minutes from the FLISA Fall Meeting in Washington—Christine Walker

- A. Document has been posted on the FLISA website

### VI. Treasurer's Report—Becky Allan (Director of Budget and Finance, Academy School District)

- A. Document has been posted on the FLISA website/copies available
- B. Review of Membership Numbers
- C. Appoint Budget Committee (President, Treasurer) to prepare Budget for Summer, 2024 Meeting
- D. FY 24 Budget Considerations Reminder
  - a. OASIS/NIISA/FRO Attendance (Approx. \$1,250 Each)
  - b. Approval of new Meeting Registration Fee Discussion

## VII. NAFIS Board and NAFIS Update— Craig Hutcheson/Tom Schneider

- A. NAFIS Board and NAFIS Update— Craig Hutcheson
  - a. Update on NAFIS Organization
  - b. Advocacy Plan Continued Development
- B. NAFIS Leadership Feedback
- C. FISEF Donation (\$500) Approved at this Meeting
- D. FRO (Federal Relations Outreach)
  - a. Update—May 1<sup>st</sup> thru 2<sup>nd</sup> (May 2<sup>nd</sup> Hill Visits--Stay Until 3PM)

## VIII. Technology Update: Terry Tamblyn's Thoughts:

- A. Log-in Thoughts
- B. Student Photos with Reference to Federal Property for Website Terry Idea
- C. Current website will store documents

Terry can set up an account for anyone if they send me their name and email. They can also set up their own account by using this URL Link: <https://www.flisa.org/register/flisa-members/>

The ability to post a link on our Members Page to the committee's interactive work in Google, Teams, or whatever is a big deal for our committee work. All the groups may want to think about how that could assist their work?

## IX. Executive Director Legislative Update

### X. Review of 118<sup>th</sup> Congress and FY 24—FY 25 NAFIS Appropriations Ask

#### Discussion on our FLISA Request vs. NAFIS Request—Climate in DC Waiting on FY 24 Appropriation.

From NAFIS Action Alert on Impact Aid Funding January 10, 2024:

*After recently reaching an agreement on overall spending numbers for Fiscal Year (FY) 2024, Congress is now working to determine final funding levels for all government programs, including Impact Aid. Based on House and Senate versions of FY 2024 Labor HHS Education Appropriations bills, Impact Aid could see anywhere between a slight cut to a small increase in the final legislation. Any cut would reverse our upwards funding trajectory of the past decade and set back future efforts to ensure federally impacted school districts have the resources they need.*

From NAFIS on Impact Aid Funding September 2023:

- *If applicable, THANK them for their support of the \$61 million FY 2023 funding increase for Impact Aid.*
- *REQUEST support for the Senate Appropriations approved increases for FY 2024:*
  - *\$8.758 million increase for Basic Support*
  - *\$687,000 increase for Federal Property*
  - *\$594,000 increase for Construction*
  - *Level funding for Children with Disabilities*
- *EXPLAIN what even a small increase to Impact Aid could mean for your district.*



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Section	FY20 Final	FY21 Final	FY22 Final	FY23 Final	FY24 Senate Appropriations
Federal Property	\$75.31 M	\$76.31 M	\$77.31 M	\$78.31 M	\$79 M
Basic Support	\$1,340.24 M	\$1,354.24 M	\$1,409.24 M	\$1,468.24 M	\$1,477.0 M
Disabilities	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M
Construction	\$17.41 M	\$17.41 M	\$17.41 M	\$18.41 M	\$19 M
Facilities	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,486.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,501.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,557.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,618.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,628.151 M</b>

## Previous FY 2024 Appropriations

The proposed request is an increase of \$70 million to the Department of Education's Impact Aid Program.

- \$65M Basic Support
- \$2M Federal Property
- \$1.5M Construction
- \$1.5M Children with Disabilities

This request takes into consideration the percentage increase in the Local Contribution Rate for Section 7003 and potential impact of ESSER funding to district's Impact Aid payments.

**Discussion on our FLISA Request vs. NAFIS Request—Climate in DC—  
Waiting on Final FY 24 Appropriation to formulate FY 25**

XI. Other NAFIS Legislation for 118<sup>th</sup> Congress:

**From NAFIS Talking Points on Impact Aid Funding:**

### Advancing Toward Impact Aid Full Funding Act

Background: The Federal Government has a responsibility to fully fund Impact Aid, but it has not met this responsibility since 1969. This legislation would establish a five-year glide path to full funding and ensure meaningful annual increases to districts.

Talking Points:

- THANK those members who co-sponsored this legislation.
- REQUEST CO-SPONSORSHIP from those who have not yet signed-on.

- ORIGINAL COSPONSORS: House -- Reps. Tom Cole (R-OK) and Mike Levin (D-CA); Senate -- Sens. Ben Ray Luján (D-NM), Thomas Tillis (R-NC), Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY), Markwayne Mullin (R-OK), Richard Durbin (D-IL) and John Cornyn (R-TX).

**School Infrastructure**

NAFIS reintroduced the day before the Fall Conference. This legislation increases funding for school infrastructure and is the result of merging NIISA and NAFIS infrastructure bills from last Congress. Sens. Hirono, Klobuchar and Gillibrand are co-sponsors (still looking for a Republican sponsor).

**Impact Aid Coalitions**

The bipartisan House and Senate Impact Aid Coalitions were established in the 1990s and have since led successful efforts to protect and prioritize the Impact Aid program. There are more than 100 current Members of Congress on the coalitions.

We are hoping to continue to grow these numbers and have the largest coalitions yet by the end of the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress. If you talk to a Member who is not currently on the coalition, suggest they join. Have them contact [NicoleRussell@nafisdc.org](mailto:NicoleRussell@nafisdc.org) to sign up or with any questions. NAFIS ask:

- **JOIN the House or Senate Impact Aid Coalition for the 118th Congress.**
- **It is an easy way to show your support for federally impacted schools and Impact Aid. Membership does not require any commitment of time or staff.**
- **The coalition serves as a resource to NAFIS in supporting and protecting Impact Aid.**

- XII. FLISA Leadership and NAFIS Board Position
  - A. March FLISA Election Thoughts
  - B. NAFIS Board Position March, 2025

**FLISA Board (voting members) consists of:**

Cathie Peznoski (President thru March 2024, Past-Pres thru March 2026),  
 Mark Naugle (Past-President thru March 2024),  
 Frank Sheboy (Vice President thru March 2024),  
 Becky Allan (Treasurer thru March 2025),  
 Christine Walker (Secretary thru March 2025),  
 Mary Ticknor Advocacy Chairpersons (Thru March, 2024)  
 Bob Reichert\* Membership Chairperson (Thru March, 2024)  
 Mark Cross Messaging Chairperson (Thru March, 2024)

**Non-Voting Members-at-Large**

Jerry Ellender (Member-at-Large), Wes Eversole (Member-at-Large)

**Past-Presidents:**

Terry Tamblyn  
 Tom Davenport  
 Craig Hutcheson

Tom Madden  
 Tom Schneider  
 Mark Naugle\*

Sandy Doebert  
 Bob Reichert\*



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### Section 3 By-Laws Excerpt:

- a. *Terms of Office: Executive Board members shall be elected at large for two-year terms with the exception of the member elected to the office of President who shall serve a four-year term, two years as President, followed by two years as Immediate Past President. [...] Executive Board members shall be elected at the spring meeting. The President, Vice-President and At Large Members shall be elected during even numbered years. The Secretary, and Treasurer shall be elected during odd numbered years. Newly elected Executive Board Members shall take office upon the conclusion of the final FLISA meeting of the spring NAFIS conference.*

### XIII. Committee Updates and Committee Work (See Below)

#### Committee Reports and Goals for Fall Meeting:

- C. Mary Ticknor--**Advocacy** Committee
  - b. Advocacy for \$80K+ Club
    1. Determine Congressional Districts with Federal Lands
  - c. Advocacy to Key Members of Congress without Federal Lands
  - d. Frank Sheboy—Review MERIT Hill Visit Technique—
    1. MERIT Award (The FLISA Award for MERIT Excellence =
  - e. Google Aides for Background Information
  - f. Compare Efforts with NAFIS Advocacy Plan
- D. Bob Reichert--**Membership** Committee
  - a. Why Join FLISA 1-Pager”
  - b. Outreach to high Impact Aid (\$80K+ Club) Receiving but Non-FLISA Districts to Join
  - c. Maintain/Increase Membership Strategies
  - d. Determine which non-participating districts need to be contacted
  - e. Update Contacts Thoughts
- C. Mark Cross--**Messaging** Committee
  - a. Kittatinny Video Use
  - b. Message for Congress and School Communities
    2. MISA Faces of Impact Aid Sample
  - c. Social Messaging Thoughts
    - A. Twitter or X or Instagram?
  - d. New News Section on Website—Messaging Committee Tool

Review Talking Points and 1-Pager for March 12, 2024 Hill Visits (Messaging Committee)

### XIII. FLISA Extra Mile Award and **Call for Nominations**

### XIV. FLISA Meeting Locations

#### a. **Summer, 2024** –Dates:

1. Committee Work Thursday, June 20<sup>th</sup>—

a. Thursday Meeting Start Discussion

a. **General Membership Meeting Friday, June 21<sup>st</sup>**

b. Summer, 2024—Location: Wyndham San Diego Bayside—1355 North Harbor Drive, San Diego, CA—Registration Form

#### c. **Winter, 2025** –TBD—

1. **Committee Work Thursday, February 6<sup>th</sup>—**

2. **General Membership Meeting Friday, February 7<sup>th</sup>**

1. First Weekend in February (February 6-7, 2025)

2. Thursday Afternoon Start Details

3. Location Discussion

### XV. Look Ahead: What do we need for a successful:

- Interim communications
- Summer 2024 FLISA Meeting Information—San Diego, CA
  - Committee Meeting Schedule Appointments Thursday starting at Noon-6PM (FLISA Board will Schedule around)

### XVI. Action Items:

**16-A. Approval of FLISA Spring Meeting Minutes**

**16-B. Appoint Members to the Budget Committee to prepare and present budget at Summer, 2023 meeting**

**16-C. Approval of Donation to FISEF**

**16-D. Approval of New Winter/Summer Meeting Registration Fee Amount \$\_\_\_**

**16-E. Approval of Selection of Winter, 2024 Meeting Location/Dates**

### XVII. Next Meeting Information

- a. Winter 2024 FLISA Meeting, Hyatt Clearwater, Florida—February 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday Afternoon)
- b. Spring NAFIS Conference, Washington DC, March 10-12, 2024
- c. FLISA Summer, 2024 Meeting—TBD—Starts Thursday, June 20<sup>th</sup>—General Membership Meeting Friday, June 21<sup>st</sup>
  - i. Call for Presentations\*
- d. Fall NAFIS Conference, Washington DC, September 21-25, 2024

Enhancing the FLISA Meeting Agenda – Our Thanks to Mary Ticknor for presenting at the Winter Meeting, in Clearwater.

### **\*Call for Presentations—Next Summer FLISA Meeting**

Do you have important best practices to share with the educator community? Are you an expert on a cutting-edge issue in youth development or education? Can you captivate a crowd? Well, it's time to bring your ideas to a national audience – become a presenter at the FLISA Summer Conference in California.

We would love to learn more about what you are doing to address this issue or any other issue you'd like to share. Contact Tom Schneider to reserve your spot ([schneiderthomasw@hotmail.com](mailto:schneiderthomasw@hotmail.com))



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## Advocacy Action Plan Work

1. Attendees will join/re-join a committee
  - i. Committees working together will assign all of the items (tasks) thought of individually and add new tasks as developed. (40-60 minutes). See Committee Plan suggestions below.
  - ii. Report out to the entire group. (40-60 minutes) The Goal is to get a list of tasks organized by committee and assignments to be completed between now and July meeting.

### Messaging Committee

#### A. *What is our Message for this Congressional Term?*

##### 1. **Impact Aid Dollars Advocacy Message**

- a) What Does Funding as described in Mission Statement Look Like
  - (1) *Memo to Biden Transition Team (+\$54M--\$129M Total)*
  - (2) *How are Impact Aid Dollars distributed*
- b) **Arguments for Funding to Congress**
- c) **Arguments for funding at Home**

### Advocacy Committee

##### 2. **At Congress (Who Do We Need to See?—Targeted Lobbying/Messaging)**

- (1) *Our Federal Lands Members of Congress*
  - (a) *See FLISA Above 80K FY 19 Spreadsheet,*
  - (2) *Key Committee Members of Congress*
- b) **At Home (Who Do We Need to See?)**
  - (1) *School Community (Boards/Teachers/Students)*
  - (2) *Media*
- c) **At Home (How do we communicate?)**
  - (1) *School Community (Boards/Teachers/Students)*
  - (2) *Media*

# Membership Committee

- B. *How do we PLAN to Improve ACTION among members as an ORGANIZATION?***
1. **What Does Member Action Between Meetings Look Like?**
  2. Homework Assignments for the quarter between meetings
    - a) Using Mid-Quarter Zoom Temperature Checks
- C. *How do we PLAN to Maintain Organization?***
1. Increased Participation
    - a) Currently 68—Last Yr 61 Districts Paying Dues,
    - b) Recruiting Districts to Support FLISA
    - c) Measures of Involvement (What does it look like?)
  2. Organization Health
    - a) FLISA Financial Situation,
    - b) Continued Balanced Leadership,

## Committee Suggestions

1. Committee Reports and Goals for NAFIS Spring Meeting:
  - a. Messaging Committee
    - a. Message for Congress and School Communities
    - b. Methods for communicating with above
      1. Social Messaging Committee?
    - c. MISA Faces of Impact Aid Booklet
  - b. Advocacy Committee
    - a. Advocacy for \$80K+ Club
      1. Determine Re-districted School District Congressional Districts with Federal Lands
    - b. Advocacy to Key Members of Congress without Federal Lands
    - c. Set additional meetings with members of Congress for September
  - c. Membership Committee
    - a. Outreach to high Impact Aid (\$80K+ Club) Receiving but Non-FLISA Districts to Join
    - b. Maintain/Increase Membership Strategies
      1. Site Committee?
      2. Fellowship Committee?
    - c. Determine which non-participating districts need to be contacted



**Section 7002 YTD FLISA Treasurer's Report**  
**July 1, 2023 thru June 30, 2024 (as of January 17, 2024)**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
	<b>FY23-24 Adopted Budget</b>	<b>FY23-24 YTD Actual</b>	<b>Variance</b>	<b>FY22-23 Actual</b>	<b>FY21-22 Actual</b>	<b>FY20-21 Actual</b>	<b>FY19-20 Actual</b>	<b>FY18-19 Actual</b>		
<b>Revenue</b>										
1	Membership dues (2) (6) (12) (13)	24,000	21,150	(2,850)	22,900	24,100	12,550	21,600	21,750	1
2	Winter Conference (5) (8)	4,500	4,480	(20)	5,230	4,000		4,960	5,120	2
3	Summer Conference (4)	4,500	-	(4,500)	3,680	3,720	1,000	-	4,160	3
4	<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>33,000</b>	<b>25,630</b>	<b>(7,370)</b>	<b>31,810</b>	<b>31,820</b>	<b>13,550</b>	<b>26,560</b>	<b>31,030</b>	4
<b>Expenditures</b>										
5	Executive Director									5
6	Compensation (7)(11)	10,000	10,000	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	7
8	Travel	5,000	4,804	(196)	2,660	6,466	95	3,170	8,409	8
9	Printing/other (9)	2,000	-	(2,000)	1,125	-	809	2,194	1,565	9
10	Subtotal	17,000	14,804	(2,196)	13,785	16,466	10,904	15,363	19,975	10
11	Executive Committee									11
12	Printing	300	-	(300)	-	-	-	-	36	12
13	Office/Other/Contingency	750	-	(750)	-	-	-	-	500	13
14	Subtotal	1,050	-	(1,050)	-	-	-	-	536	14
15	FRO/MISA/NIISA Outreach (3)									15
16	Travel	1,500	1,189	(311)	-	-	-	500	2,036	16
17	Printing/Other (15)	500	-	(500)	500	500	-	-	-	17
18	Subtotal	2,000	1,189	(811)	500	500	-	500	2,036	18
19	General Operations									19
20	Bank Charges	250	-	(250)	385	209		12	-	20
21	Website Development/Maintenance (10)(14)	11,000	2,119	(8,881)	8,035	440	588	617	926	21
22	Software License	500	815	315	702	712	228	755	360	22
23	Printing	200		(200)					193	23
24	Miscellaneous	600	199	(401)	234		1,335	132	9	24
25	Winter Conference (8)	6,500	160	(6,340)	7,740	2,753	2,000	3,676	5,901	25
26	Summer Conference (4)	4,500	4,924	424	4,672	858	-	-	1,556	26
27	Subtotal	23,550	8,216	(15,334)	21,768	4,972	4,151	5,192	8,943	27
28	<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>43,600</b>	<b>24,210</b>	<b>(19,390)</b>	<b>36,054</b>	<b>21,938</b>	<b>15,055</b>	<b>21,055</b>	<b>31,490</b>	28
29	<b>Net Income</b>	<b>(10,600)</b>	<b>1,420</b>	<b>12,020</b>	<b>(4,244)</b>	<b>9,882</b>	<b>(1,505)</b>	<b>5,505</b>	<b>(460)</b>	29
30	<b>Beginning Balance</b>	<b>70,735</b>	<b>70,735</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>74,979</b>	<b>65,097</b>	<b>66,602</b>	<b>61,097</b>	<b>61,558</b>	30
31	<b>Ending Balance</b>	<b>60,135</b>	<b>72,156</b>	<b>12,020</b>	<b>70,735</b>	<b>74,979</b>	<b>65,097</b>	<b>66,602</b>	<b>61,097</b>	31
32	Winter Conference Revenue	4,500	4,480	(20)	5,230	4,000	-	4,960	5,120	32
33	Winter Conference Expenditures (8)	6,500	160	(6,340)	7,740	2,753	2,000	3,676	5,901	33
34	Winter Conference Net Income	(2,000)	4,320	6,320	(2,510)	1,247	(2,000)	1,284	(781)	34
35	Summer Conference Revenue	4,500	-	(4,500)	3,680	3,720	1,000	-	4,160	35
36	Summer Conference Expenditures (4)	4,500	4,924	424	4,672	858	-	-	1,556	36
37	Summer Conference Net Income	-	(4,924)	(4,924)	(992)	2,862	1,000	-	2,604	37

SEE FOOTNOTES ON NEXT PAGE

**Section 7002 YTD FLISA Treasurer's Report**  
**July 1, 2023 thru June 30, 2024 (as of January 17, 2024)**

Footnotes:

- 2) Dues for FY08 - FY12 were charged in accordance with the by-law amendment at Fall '08 NAFIS meeting.
- 3) On 6/26/15 the Exec Board approved FLISA representation/attendance at MISA and NIISA meetings as well as Fed Rel Outreach.
- 4) Summer conference expenses and income may not be recorded by June 30th.
- 5) As a result of fund balance growth, at the fall 2011 meeting the 8002 Executive Board proposed to reduce the winter & summer meeting registration fees to \$50 (from approx \$150) per person, not including add'l meals. This is reflected in FY12-FY15 data.  
NOTE: At March 2014 meeting, the Exec Board approved returning to \$150 registration for summer/winter meetings beginning 2015-16.
- 6) Dues for FY13 - FY15 are established at 50% of the rate established by the fall '08 by-law amendment, per summer '12 by-law amendment. Beginning in FY16 dues return to 100% of the rate established by the fall 2008 by-law amendment.
- 7) Executive Board approved additional \$500 to Exec Dir compensation for 2013-14.
- 8) The 2014-15 winter meeting was hosted by NISA in Las Vegas. NISA collected all revenue and paid all expenses, thus nothing appears on the 8002 books for the event.
- 9) On 6/26/15 the Exec Board increased the budget for expenses related to Exec Dir cell phone service and computer purchase/lease.
- 10) On 6/26/15 the Exec Board approved expenditures for website design in 2015-16 and annual maintenance in subsequent years.
- 11) On 6/23/18 membership approved an amended budget for 2018-19 that increased Executive Director compensation to \$10,000.
- 12) Dues for FY20 - FY21 are established at 50% of the rate established at the May 5, 2020 meeting.
- 13) Dues for FY21-FY22 are restored to 100% of the rate.
- 14) At the January 6, 2022 meeting, the Exec Board approved a future \$5,000 expenditure to fund contract with a Microsoft Teams consultant (Angus Frost) to start the process of migrating the Advocacy Action plan to Microsoft Teams. This money was not spent in FY21-FY22 for a Microsoft Teams consultant. The FY22-FY23 budget for this line item includes \$2,000 for website development and maintenance; \$5,000 for a stipend for an IT consultant (paid in two equal installments, one half after each FLISA Winter and Summer meeting); and \$4,000 for travel expenses for the IT consultant to attend the FLISA Winter and Summer meetings.
- 15) Includes \$500 donation from FLISA to FISEF.



Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., and House Speaker Mike Johnson, R-La., negotiated a \$1.66 trillion topline but still have to hammer out the details before initial funding expires on Jan. 19. TOM WILLIAMS

Management

## Congress pivots to full-year funding bills after bipartisan agreement on spending levels

Deal would avoid major cuts but appropriators have just 10 days to avoid a partial government shutdown.

ERIC KATZ | JANUARY 9, 2024

BUDGET

SHUTDOWN

CONGRESS



Updated at 3:37pm ET

As Congress finally has a bipartisan agreement on the top spending levels for fiscal 2024, it now turns to the difficult task of crafting individual bills to set line-by-line funding at agencies across government with just 10 days to avoid a partial government shutdown.

Lawmakers reached a breakthrough over the weekend when House Speaker Mike Johnson, R-La., and Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., announced a deal on top-line funding levels of \$1.66 trillion for the fiscal year that began more than three months ago. The agreement preserved the funding levels President Biden negotiated with since-ousted House Speaker Kevin McCarthy, R-Calif., last year as part of a deal to raise the debt ceiling, though it created new offsets to fund a small chunk of the spending. Overall, defense spending will jump 3% to \$886 billion and non-defense spending will stay essentially flat relative to fiscal 2023 at nearly \$773 billion.

Negotiators now have a tight turnaround to pass spending bills before funding expires for some agencies on Jan. 19. Top appropriators in the House and Senate were in talks Tuesday to determine how to divvy up the money, as key lawmakers said at the Capitol they were still awaiting that information so they could begin writing the bills. Already, several senators were discussing the need for another short-term extension and by Tuesday afternoon, Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., said a stopgap measure would "obviously" be necessary.

The negotiators on the high-level budget deal left out the significant spending cuts that conservative lawmakers had demanded, which the Biden administration had warned would have drastic impacts on agency operations. The statutory spending cap of \$1.59 trillion technically remains in place, but Johnson and Schumer agreed to preserve an additional roughly \$70 billion in additional funding for domestic agencies.

As part of the deal, the Internal Revenue Service will see \$20 billion cut from its Inflation Reduction Act funds in fiscal 2024. Initially, that was intended to be spread out over two years. Lawmakers also identified more than \$6 billion in additional unspent COVID-19 relief funds to rescind.

“When we began negotiations, our goal was to preserve a non-defense funding level of \$772 billion, the same level agreed to in our debt ceiling deal last June, and that \$772 billion was precisely the number we reached,” Schumer said on the Senate floor on Monday. “Not a nickel—not a nickel—was cut.”

Johnson, however, highlighted the new offsets and the rejection of the \$14 billion in additional funds above the Fiscal Responsibility Act’s level that the Senate had added to its spending bills. In a letter to his colleagues, Johnson called the deal “the most favorable budget agreement Republicans have achieved in over a decade.”

Schumer added the deal will protect vital programs for veterans, health care, small businesses and federal law enforcement. He said it was a “huge step towards avoiding a government shutdown,” but drafting and passing the 12 annual appropriations bills that Congress must approve each year would “not be easy.” Democrats will not accept any “poison pill” policy riders in the funding measures, he said, and Republicans would be responsible for “careening towards a shutdown” if they push to do so.

Johnson, meanwhile, acknowledged the spending deal would “not satisfy everyone” who had pushed for deeper cuts, but would allow Republicans to “fight for the important policy riders” his colleagues included in their initial fiscal 2024 appropriations bills.

Appropriators now face a tight timeline to determine the amount of money they will allocate to each of the 12 annual bills, draft legislation and move them through both chambers. Under the most recent stopgap continuing resolution, funding for the departments of Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, Energy, Veterans Affairs and Agriculture will run out Jan. 19. The remaining agencies are funded through Feb. 2.

“We cannot afford to delay further, so I will be working with my colleagues around the clock in the coming days to prevent a needless shutdown and pass bipartisan spending bills free of partisan poison pills that protect key investments and help meet the challenges our constituents are facing,” Sen. Patty Murray, D-Wash., who chairs the Senate Appropriations Committee, said.

another stopgap bill to buy themselves more time. Johnson has vowed, however, not to pass any more short-term measures this fiscal year. Murray on Tuesday did not rule out the possibility of needing more time to pass the funding bills, saying she was working with the House to determine the allocations for each of the 12 spending bills. Some Republican senators said on Tuesday more time would almost certainly be necessary, pointing to March as a possible new deadline.

"I think it's gonna be really difficult to get them done in that shorter the timeframe," said Sen. John Boozman, R-Ark., who sits on the Senate Appropriations Committee. "We're still not really knowing our allocations even now. So I would say probably, March is a fair statement."

Sen. Chris Coons, D-DeL., the top appropriator on the panel that funds the State Department, said he had not yet received his allocation.

"We're going to try hammer out these bills between now and the 19th," Coons said, adding, "That is a very short timeline."

If Congress dispensed with the appropriations process altogether and instead opted to pass a full-year CR, a provision of the 2023 debt ceiling law would force devastating, across-the-board cuts that would likely require employee furloughs and significant disruptions to agency operations.

Avoiding that outcome by passing funding bills will require bipartisan support in both the House and Senate, as conservative lawmakers in both chambers quickly derided the spending caps Johnson negotiated as insufficient. That likely means Johnson will have to depend on Democrats to get any funding bills to President Biden's desk.

Murray is working with her counterpart in the House, Rep. Kay Granger, R-Texas, to determine how much funding will go to each appropriations bucket.

"The longer that takes, the more difficult it's going to be to make the first deadline," said Sen. Susan Collins, the top Republican on the Senate Appropriations Committee.

McConnell was more direct, saying a CR would be required and it was up to Johnson and Schumer to determine its length. Schumer was less committal, saying only that negotiators were working tirelessly to get the work done as quickly as possible.

Both the House and Senate appropriations panels have moved fiscal 2024 spending bills, but the committees will now have to adjust those to find mutual agreement and meet the parameters of the new caps.

The White House praised the budget agreement for sticking to the broad outlines of the Fiscal Responsibility Act and called on congressional Republicans to avoid any tactics that might lead to a further spending impasse.

They "must do their jobs and stop threatening to shut down the government and fulfill their basic responsibility to fund critical domestic and national security priorities," White House Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre said on Monday. "It's time for them to act. And so, that's what we expect."

Another potential hurdle is the ongoing negotiations over immigration policy changes that a bipartisan group of senators is aiming to attach to President Biden's supplemental funding request to aid foreign allies and boost resources at the border. Some lawmakers have pushed to merge that package with the funding battle, but an agreement does not appear immediately imminent and the issues may remain on separate timelines.

*This story has been updated throughout with additional comment from lawmakers.*



The Washington Post

# Congress keeps punting on the hard work, then leaving town for recess

The latest stopgap funding bill gave lawmakers an early-March deadline, but now their schedules call for a light workload in February



Analysis by [Paul Kane](#)  
Congressional bureau chief

January 20, 2024 at 7:00 a.m. EST

Once the House on Thursday finished kicking the can on government funding until early March, lawmakers did what almost comes naturally at this point.

They left town for a 10-day break, not returning until the night of Jan. 29.

Exempting half-days that are scheduled for traveling into or out of Washington, the House has only five full legislative days on its calendar before lawmakers leave Feb. 16 for what is slated to be an almost two-week break from the Capitol.

The original schedule had lawmakers returning the night of March 5, at which point the House would have already missed the first deadline for funding 20 percent of the government. On Friday, House GOP leaders announced that they would bring members back to the Capitol a few days early, so they can approve something by the March 1 deadline.

Senators, for their part, have only a slightly busier schedule despite their very heavy workload. They'll be in Washington this coming week, followed by two shortened workweeks with each having just one full day to consider legislation. In addition to trying to pass all 12 bills that fund the government, Senate leaders also want to consider a critical, and controversial to some, \$110 billion national security package.

Yet their current schedule has senators leaving town the afternoon of Feb. 8 and not returning until the evening of Feb. 26, a two-and-a-half-week break to honor Presidents' Day.

All told, between now and late February, the House and the Senate will be in session at the same time just seven days, several of those coming on shortened fly-in/fly-out travel days.

Veteran lawmakers of both parties see another train wreck coming and the need for possibly another short-term bill — three of which have been approved since Sept. 30 — to punt the final decisions deeper into the spring.

"I think that's where we're headed, unless something dramatic happens," Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), the majority whip and a senior member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, said as he left the Capitol on Thursday.

Sen. Susan M. Collins (Maine), the top Republican on the spending panel, voiced some hope that the committees could finish their work if only top lawmakers would decide how to divvy up the agreed-upon figure of \$1.66 trillion in overall funding for federal agencies.

But the whiplash schedule sure isn't helping, Collins told reporters Thursday. "It would be helpful if there were better coordination on the schedule."

To be sure, the blame should not fall entirely on the people who produce the annual calendars for Congress — usually the offices of the House and Senate whips, in consultation with the House speaker and Senate majority leader. Those aides get to work on the calendars in the fall and release them by early December so rank-and-file members can plan their year ahead of time.

Back then, as Collins noted, House leadership was just coming out of a three-week paralysis after ejecting Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) as speaker and Republicans choosing three failed nominees before finally landing on the new speaker, Mike Johnson (R-La.).

"There was a lot of chaos in the House as far as leadership at that point," she said.

But just as important, ever since, has been congressional leadership moving in slow motion, without a sense of urgency. Johnson has been learning on the job and trying not to offend the far-right corner of his caucus, sometimes spending days or weeks lagging with those 15 or so archconservatives before making decisions.

That has left Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) to focus on confirming presidential nominees and nudging along negotiators on the security package to bolster defenses of Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan that also includes a legislative deal related to the U.S.-Mexico border.

Johnson formally took the speaker's gavel Oct. 25, midway through an initial 47-day bridge for government funding. He tried to stick with the very conservative fiscal outline his far-right flank favored, but he could pass only three funding bills before his ideological wings fought and ended that process.

So Johnson agreed to another "continuing resolution" that funded the government in two chunks, until Friday and then Feb. 2, but then Congress left town for a nearly two-week break over Thanksgiving. Upon returning, Johnson decided to negotiate with the Senate over a new top-line funding level so that each chamber could pass their spending bills — and then no decisions were made till Jan. 7.

And that wasn't much of a negotiation: Johnson merely agreed to the numbers that McCarthy and President Biden had already settled on back in May in a debt-and-budget deal.

By delaying that not-very-hard decision many weeks, leaders wasted much of the winter and have extended this annual ritual of funding the government possibly into the spring.

Some Republicans blame Johnson for living in fear of those far-right lawmakers, which draws out the process and increases tensions rather than quickly ending this particular funding battle.

"If we keep extending the pain, creating more suffering, we will pay the price at the ballot box," Rep. Patrick T. McHenry (N.C.), a senior Republican who served as acting speaker during the October tumult, told reporters Thursday. "At this point, we're sucking wind because we can't get past the main object in the road. ... We need to get the hell out of the way. Cut the best deals we can get and then get on with the political year."

Instead, House Republicans have set themselves up with at least seven more weeks of haggling over these agency budgets. Now two weeks since agreeing to stick with the original \$1.66 trillion outline, congressional leaders and top members of the Appropriations committees have yet to agree on slicing up that pie, which is the only way for Congress to then approve the 12 bills covering all the agencies.

"I have no insights as to why it's taking so long," Collins said.

Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.), chair of the Senate spending panel, suggested that one or two of the dozen allocations were hung up in a partisan squabble and that has delayed everything else, because lawmakers need to settle precisely on how much money each pot gets before they can finish writing the appropriations.

"We can't get the 12 bills passed until we agree on the 12," Murray said.

Senior staff will, of course, remain in Washington and continue these negotiations, but at certain points, when issues get the most contentious, committee chairs and congressional leaders need to be in the same room together to make the calls.

With the House out of session till the end of January, and the Senate leaving Feb. 8 for half of that month, there won't be much time to make these decisions and then decide how to process all the spending bills.

There is broad agreement that lawmakers want to finish their work — just 13 senators, all conservative Republicans, voted Thursday to simply extend current funding levels until the end of the fiscal year, against 82 pushing for a final budget — but they just keep going in circles.

It's normal for Congress to blow past the Sept. 30 statutory deadline for funding the government, but lawmakers usually finish up before Christmas after passing a couple of "CRs" to avoid a shutdown.

House Republicans, beginning in McCarthy's tenure as speaker, have vowed to not ball up all 12 appropriation bills into one massive package and approve it, a ritual that insiders call passing an "omnibus" funding bill. Those packages often get released with thousands of pages and only a few days for review, and with conservatives complaining they're being held hostage ahead of the holiday break.

Now, through House gridlock and Senate inaction, Congress has blown well past the holiday season and might need to approve another CR in March to buy more time. That would violate Johnson's original pledge in mid-November to not approve any more of these piecemeal plans.

Each vote comes with more pain for House Republicans, whose vote tallies keep dropping. In May, almost 150 GOP lawmakers voted for the McCarthy-Biden deal, a number that dropped to 107 on Thursday, with 106 Republicans voting against the stopgap bill.

Some just want to move on.

"To draw out the calendar doesn't actually help produce political wins, and it's not actually shown to create policy wins," McHenry said. "I'm here for policy wins."



The Washington Post

ECONOMIC POLICY

# These GOP lawmakers hate federal spending, except for their own districts

Far-right Republicans who have pushed the government to the verge of shutdowns in recent months are set to win hundreds of millions of dollars for their districts in earmarks.



By Jacob Begagé

January 29, 2024 at 6:45 a.m. EST

Far-right Republicans in Congress have pushed the federal government near the brink of shutting down in recent months in their quest to cut the budget. But many of them have also signaled that they do like some federal spending — at least when they're steering the money to their own districts.

Lawmakers have long used what are known as earmarks, where members of Congress can request funding for pet projects, to help move spending legislation along. The practice was cut back in 2011 but has since returned, with new rules and more transparency.

Now a bloc of conservatives in the House — who have loudly opposed several measures to fund the government since the fall — are on track to direct a total of \$371.8 million back to their home districts through individual requests. They stand to take credit for federal funding for projects important to their constituents even if they vote against the legislation that includes the money.

"In the old days, if you got an earmark, you were expected to vote for the legislation. And now the fact that you can get the earmark and at the same time vote against the legislation, appropriators back in the '80s would have been baffled by that," said Kevin Kosar, who studies Congress and lawmaking at the center-right American Enterprise Institute.

Congress has faced three government shutdown deadlines since September, and another looms in March. House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) and Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) have agreed on a \$1.66 trillion framework to fund the government for the rest of the 2024 fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30.

But far-right members of Johnson's caucus have reacted to that deal and to several short-term government funding laws with fury. The House Freedom Caucus, a group of archconservatives that has antagonized GOP leadership for nearly a decade, called the agreement a "total failure."

Yet many of them have also put in earmark requests, according to a Washington Post review of annual spending legislation. Many of those lawmakers justified the requests by pointing to what they said were crucial needs back home. They said their opposition to larger underlying bills didn't conflict with comparatively modest spending for their communities.

Congress still must pass the annual spending, or appropriations, bills to officially greenlight the earmark funding. Some far-right Republicans did vote for earlier versions of those bills that passed the House but stood no chance of passing the Democratic-controlled Senate and becoming law. And they now oppose the deal between Johnson and Schumer that is Congress's best chance to fund the government.

Overall, for the 2024 government spending cycle, House appropriators granted 4,715 earmark requests worth \$7.4 billion: \$4.5 billion for Republicans and \$2.7 billion for Democrats, according to committee disclosures, plus more than \$100 million more in bipartisan earmarks. Those requests still must be reconciled with separate submissions from the Senate.

That's a lot of money, but also a minuscule share of the \$1.66 trillion discretionary budget Congress is working to allocate — and an even tinier share of overall spending, which topped \$6.13 trillion in fiscal year 2023, primarily because of Social Security and Medicare.

Still, some lawmakers who have blasted government spending are also contributing to it through earmarks.

Rep. Randy Weber (R-Tex.) is set to win \$144.3 million in community project funds for his district, which spans East Texas from Beaumont to south of Galveston along the Gulf of Mexico.

The bulk of that money — \$100 million — will go toward deepening the Sabine-Neches Waterway, a crucial freight passage on the Texas-Louisiana border, to accommodate larger watercraft traveling to the busy Port of Beaumont and harden it against intensifying hurricanes and tropical storms.

"For us, this is huge, huge, huge," Weber said. "We want to protect the citizens of the Gulf Coast, protect the energy we use and, of course, protect the environment."

Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who led a revolt among far-right lawmakers to oust former speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) over spending issues, is slated to get \$50 million for his district on the Florida panhandle for a helicopter hanger at Naval Air Station Whiting Field.

House appropriators approved \$42.1 million and \$39.6 million, respectively, for Reps. Ben Cline (Va.) and Andy Harris (Md.), leading GOP spending hawks. (Harris voted for a November law to prevent a government shutdown, but opposed similar measures in September and January.)

Cline's project would widen portions of I-81, a major interstate that snakes through central and western Virginia. Harris's 14 earmarks cover various infrastructure improvements on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

Representatives for Gaetz and Harris did not respond to requests for comment.

**TO** This is the only project I've requested for any appropriations bill," Cline told The Post. "I have impressed upon [appropriators] that this is my top priority, and hopefully that does carry more weight."

Rep. Clay Higgins (R-La.) drew \$26.2 million in earmarks for infrastructure projects and a new Science, Technology, Engineering, Agriculture and Mathematics Innovation Center at Louisiana State University at Eunice.

He opposed a deal last spring between McCarthy and President Biden to suspend the nation's debt limit and set totals for future discretionary spending, the agreement that underpins the current budget talks. He also voted against three short-term bills to prevent government shutdowns in September, November and January.

"These projects are born of the most pure interests of the American people and I make no apologies for my success in the arena of [community project funding]," Higgins said in a statement. "However, I will always oppose massive overspending in the federal budget that overwhelmingly does not meet those same standards, and for that principled opposition, I also make no apology."

Rep. Chuck Fleischmann (R-Tenn.), who supported stopgap legislation to keep the government open, is on track to get Congress's largest earmark of the 2024 cycle: \$237 million for maintenance of a lock along the Tennessee River.

Earmarks, known as "congressionally directed spending" by boosters and derided as "pork-barrel spending" by opponents, have been around for generations. Party leaders once doled them out to whip votes on pieces of legislation: Lawmakers would back bills because they included local projects they sought to fund.

The practice was useful, but it also led to abuses. Notorious examples of wasteful spending led Congress to nix earmarks in 2011. One proposed 2005 earmark for a remote Alaskan bridge, often called the "bridge to nowhere," would have cost \$398 million. In 2006, a federal judge sentenced former congressman Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R-Calif.) to more than eight years in prison for leveraging earmarks to elicit bribes from defense contractors.

Congress brought back earmarks in 2021 after years of advocacy from some lawmakers who said their districts were missing out on crucial funds. But the spending requests returned with significant restructuring. Earmarks have new transparency requirements, rules on the kinds of projects eligible and procedures that divorce spending requests from party leaders' control. Lawmakers must post their requests on their congressional websites and must certify that they and their immediate family do not have financial interest in the proposed projects.

Still, even the term "earmark" has a bad reputation among some lawmakers.

"They're not called earmarks, because that's a bad connotation. Back in the day, they were abused and misused by the people in power," Weber told The Post.

Some experts still say the requests are tinged with too much political influence, which can affect how projects are selected and distract from larger spending issues.

"Both the old way and new way of doing earmarks are still more politics than policy," said Maya MacGuineas, president of the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

Federal officials who can broadly evaluate the U.S. government's spending needs without the appearance of political interference would be better at choosing projects to fund, she said.

The projects also sometimes allow politicians to highlight what they see as wasteful spending, MacGuineas said, while ignoring the main drivers of the federal deficit. Under the 2022 rules, earmarks can cover no more than 1 percent of nondefense-related discretionary spending. Mandatory programs, such as Social Security and Medicare, take up the vast majority of federal dollars.

"This is a very small fraction of the budget, and it absorbs an inordinate amount of attention, compared to the much bigger programs and how those dollars are spent," MacGuineas said. "But on the other hand, millions of dollars are millions of dollars. And every million dollars spent is a million in taxes that some group of people had to pay, and we should spend it as best we can."

Lawmakers say earmarks are an important part of legislating and provide funding for crucial projects. Some members of Congress say it's better for elected officials to decide which projects to fund than to leave it to unelected federal workers.

"I have been trying to take authority away from the massive federal bureaucracy and restore it to the actual representatives of the people here in Congress," Cline said. "The bureaucrats in the Education Department, the Transportation Department, the Commerce Department, know less about the priorities of the working men and women of the sixth district of Virginia than their elected representatives."

Even Democrats frustrated with GOP colleagues in the House for trying to block spending bills don't begrudge Republicans who direct money back to their districts.

Linking earmarks to floor support for one bill or another smacks of bribery, Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.), Capitol Hill's chief earmark evangelist, told The Post: "If we turn it into simply, 'You don't get the project, if you're not for the bill,' then it becomes just sort of buying votes."

That kind of directed spending is also good for Congress's institutional reputation, said Hoyer, 84, who earlier in January said he would run for his 23rd term representing a southern Maryland district home to tens of thousands of federal workers.

His district is set to receive \$10.6 million for infrastructure projects and youth and anti-homelessness nonprofits. Making those requests forces lawmakers to pay attention to what their communities need, Hoyer said, and allows them to show their constituents tangible results, something he hopes will increase voters' confidence in Congress and democracy.

"I can go to somebody in my district and if they've got a problem I can help them," he said. "That connection is a very important one. And I think the fact is, it also focuses members on their districts."

## CONGRESSIONAL MEMO

## The House G.O.P.'s Incredible Shrinking Majority

Another Republican resignation and medical absences are cutting into the party's already shaky hold on the chamber.



By Carl Hulse  
Reporting from Capitol Hill

Jan. 16, 2024

When Republicans assumed control of the House early last year after winning a narrow majority in the 2022 midterms, Representative Earl Blumenauer, a veteran Democrat from Oregon, made a bold prediction: His party had a slight chance of reclaiming power before the next election — through sheer attrition.

Republicans commanded just a thin edge over Democrats, 222 to 213, Mr. Blumenauer reasoned, and typical turnover in recent years suggested that could shrink further. Plus, a certain new Republican representative from New York by the name of George Santos did not seem likely to survive a cascade of ethics issues and criminal charges.

Still, Mr. Blumenauer's prognosticating seemed more like liberal wish-casting given the dominoes that needed to fall to fulfill it. A year later, though still highly unlikely, it suddenly doesn't seem all that far-fetched.

Day by day, thanks to a combination of coincidence, scandal, health issues and political turmoil, the G.O.P. majority keeps getting smaller.

This week, with lawmakers absent for medical reasons and the recent not-so-voluntary departures of the ousted former speaker Kevin McCarthy and the expelled Mr. Santos, the best G.O.P. attendance that Speaker Mike Johnson can muster as he tries to avoid a government shutdown is the bare-minimum 218 votes. That is before factoring in the impact of rough winter weather across the nation.

Another Republican, Representative Bill Johnson of Ohio, is resigning as of Sunday to take a job as a university president, lowering the number to 217 if Representative Harold Rogers of Kentucky, the 86-year-old dean of the House, is unable to quickly return from recuperating from a car accident. Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 Republican, is out until at least next month while undergoing cancer treatment.

As a result, the G.O.P. could soon be able to afford just a single defection on any matter if Democrats remain united and have no absences of their own.

"It's going to be fascinating," Mr. Blumenauer said as he tallied up the numbers and saw a chance for his prediction to come true.

Whether it does or not, Republicans are in a real numerical bind. At a time when House Republicans regularly face internal rebellion from hard-line conservatives, Mr. Johnson has **absolutely no cushion if he chooses to rely strictly on the votes of his own party**, which is part of the reason he cut a deal with Democrats on spending to avoid a shutdown later this week, further angering the hard right.



Speaker Mike Johnson will most likely need to rely on Democrats to avoid a shutdown. Kenny Holston/The New York Times

Democrats say the recurring scenario of leaning on them for must-pass bills is proof that even though Republicans are the majority party on the tally sheet, they don't have a working majority because of their diminished forces and constant internal squabbling.

"When anything hits the fan, they don't have 218," said Representative Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland, the former longtime Democratic majority leader, referring to the number that represents a basic majority in the 435-member House. "They are not the majority party in this House."

Mr. Johnson, the novice speaker, said it was a problem he could handle.

"I'm undaunted by this," he said recently on CBS's "Face the Nation." "We deal with the numbers that we have."

"We do have, I think, a lot of unity on the big, important issues that we're really focused on," Mr. Johnson said. "And I'm confident that we'll get the job done and be able to demonstrate that we can govern well, and I think that's one of the reasons that we will expand this majority in the next election cycle."

At the very least, Mr. Johnson and his leadership team will have to get used to the constant health checks and airline schedule-watching that have become routine for Senate Democrats, who contended with a 50-50 Senate for two years before winning their still narrow 51-49 majority in 2022. Just a few canceled flights or cases of Covid can mean the difference between winning and losing on the floor.

Senator Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat and majority leader, has learned to be judicious in scheduling votes when dealing with a spate of missing senators. He has also had to account for the availability of Vice President Kamala Harris, who has been called on to cast so many tiebreaking votes that she recently set the Senate record for doing so.

"It is tricky," Mr. Schumer said. "You have to be patient."

He said his secret was constant communication with his members about upcoming events such as weddings, scheduled medical procedures and important appearances back home, as well as trying to instill in Democrats a sense that they must pull together on big votes given their scant numbers.

"It's sort of magic," said Mr. Schumer. "It's sort of a glue that comes together."

Mr. Johnson, though, is in a sticky situation of a different sort since on almost any issue there seems to be one faction or another of his membership that breaks away. The ruptures are mainly on the right, but occasionally Republicans in politically competitive districts dig in their heels when the far right goes too far right.

Even on the issues that seemingly unite them against Democrats, like potential impeachments or contempt citations, Mr. Johnson will have to thread the needle precisely to succeed. In planning potential votes this week on holding Hunter Biden in contempt of Congress, Republican leaders said they would need absolutely all available hands on deck.

Eager to paint a contrast with Democrats in how they manage the chamber, House Republicans put themselves at a disadvantage by ending the remote proxy voting that Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, then the speaker, instituted during the pandemic. As a result, lawmakers out for medical reasons, such as Mr. Scalise or Mr. Rogers, cannot register their votes from afar as members of both parties routinely did during much of the last Congress.

Democrats have a chance to snare one of the vacancies if they can win the Feb. 13 special election to fill Mr. Santos's New York seat, potentially increasing their numbers to 214. But Democrats are then going to have a new vacancy of their own next month. Representative Brian Higgins of New York has announced he will give up his Buffalo-area seat in February, triggering a special election to fill that opening.

On the Republican side, the special election for Mr. McCarthy's Bakersfield, Calif., seat will be held in late May, keeping that safely Republican seat open until then. The general election to fill the Ohio seat being vacated on Sunday will be held on June 11, leaving Republicans without that vote for five months.

A major uncertainty about the stability of the current party divide is whether others will bolt before the November elections. Dozens have already said they will not run again given the constant tumult in the House, and it is conceivable that at least a few of them would make an early exit should the right opportunity present itself.

Then there is the more grim threat to the majority noted by Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, Republican of Georgia, on social media last month.

"Hopefully no one dies," she wrote.

Even with the shifting numbers, it is hard to see the Republican membership falling below that of Democrats, though it is possible that on some days, more Democrats than Republicans could be on the floor and voting because of illness or any number of other reasons. Democrats say that if that were to become a regular occurrence, they would not hesitate to capitalize on the situation.

"We'd elect a speaker," Mr. Hoyer said.

**Carl Hulse** is the chief Washington correspondent, primarily writing about Congress and national political races and issues. He has nearly four decades of experience reporting in the nation's capital. [More about Carl Hulse](#)

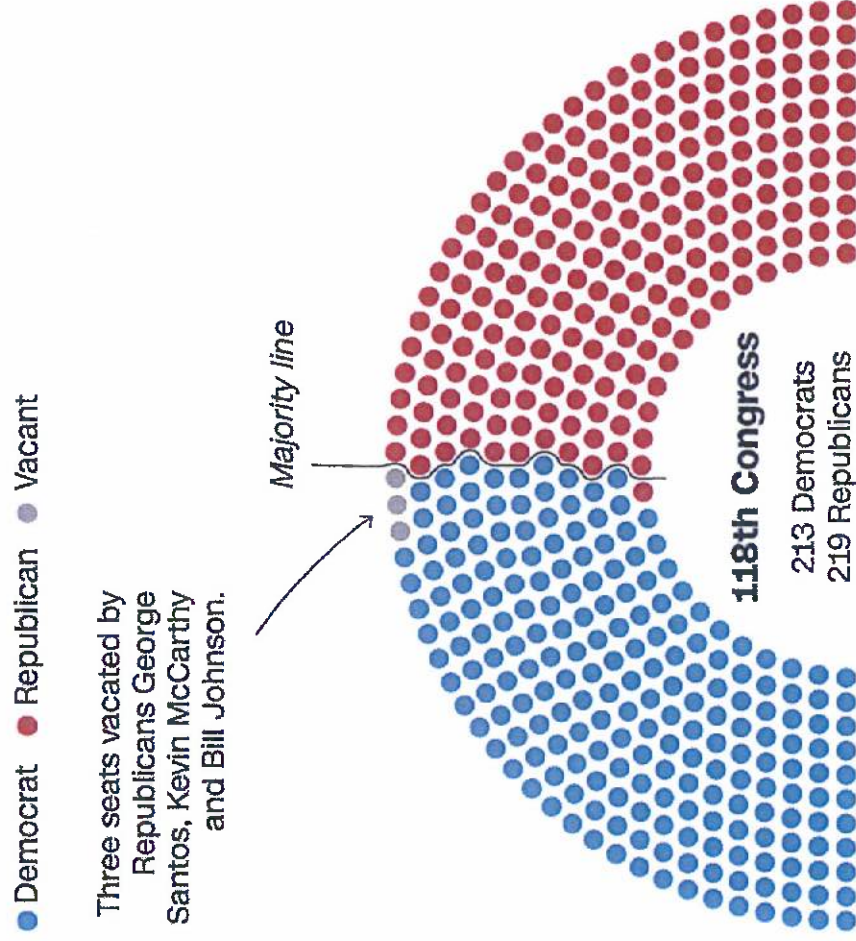
A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 11 of the New York edition with the headline: House Republicans Edge Closer to Losing Their Majority

Representative George Santos was expelled from the House after a vote by his peers. Kenny Holston/The New York Times

"It was insanity that the first thing they did was abolish remote voting," Mr. Blumenauer observed.

## CNN Graphic | Speaker Mike Johnson's thin GOP majority gets even thinner

Republicans are down three seats, which means the new speaker can only afford to lose two votes on any measure. The vacancies include Rep. Bill Johnson, who announced an early resignation in January to become president of Youngstown State University; Rep. George Santos, who was expelled from Congress in December; and former House Speaker Kevin McCarthy, who resigned at the end of last year.



Note: Although Republicans have one more vote than a typical majority, the three vacancies mean they can lose up to two votes and still win a vote if all lawmakers are present.

Source: US House of Representatives  
Graphic: Annette Choi, CNN

## About CPR House Race Ratings

The CPR House Race Ratings assess the competitiveness of all 435 House elections in 2024. Competitiveness is determined by several factors, including the district's political makeup, the candidates' strengths and weaknesses, the political environment in the state and nationally, and interviews with candidates and campaign professionals. When sourcing the CPR Race Ratings, please refer to our terms of use. To inquire about API access and licensing, please submit a request.

23

Current rating

## RATINGS SUMMARY

SOLID DEMOCRAT

171

18

13

23

8

10

218

192

SOLID REPUBLICAN

- **Solid:** These races are not considered competitive and are not likely to become closely contested.
- **Likely:** These races are not considered competitive at this point but have the potential to become engaged.
- **Lean:** These races are considered competitive races, but one party has an advantage.
- **Toss Up:** These races are the most competitive; either party has a good chance of winning.

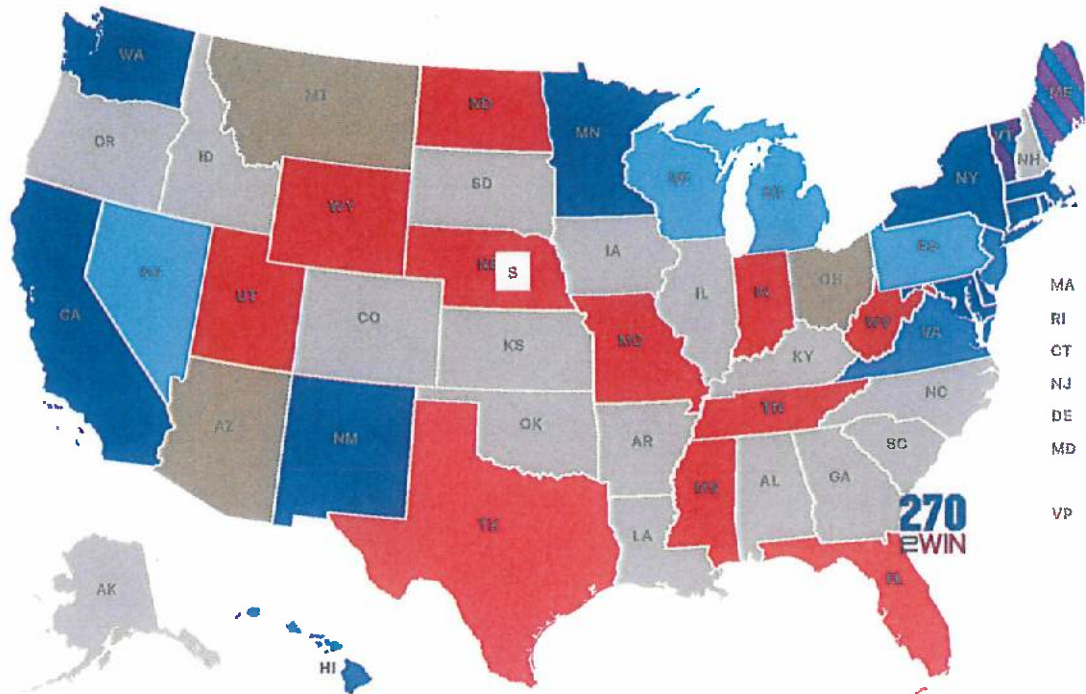
17 Dem • 1 Rep 0 Ind	13 Dem • 0 Rep 0 Ind	10 Dem • 0 Rep 0 Ind	0 Dem • 13 Rep 0 Ind	0 Dem • 8 Rep 0 Ind	0 Dem • 10 Rep 0 Ind
AL-02 New Seat	AK-AL Peltola	CO-08 Caraveo	AZ-01 Schweikert	CA-45 Steel	CA-03 Kiley
CA-09 Harder	CA-47 Open (Porter)	ME-02 Golden	AZ-06 Ciscomani	CO-03 Open (Boebert)	CA-40 Kim
CA-49 Levin	CT-05 Hayes	MI-07 Open (Slotkin)	CA-13 Duarte	IA-03 Nunn	FL-05 Rutherford
FL-09 Soto	IL-17 Sorensen	MI-08 Open (Kildee)	CA-22 Valadao	MI-10 James	FL-13 Luna
FL-23 Moskowitz	IN-01 Mrvan	NC-01 Davis	CA-27 Garcia	NE-02 Bacon	IA-01 Miller-Meeks
KS-03 Davids	NV-03 Lee	NM-02 Vasquez	CA-41 Calvert	PA-10 Perry	MT-01 Zinke
MD-06 Open (Trone)	NY-18 Ryan	OH-13 Sykes	NJ-07 Kean Jr.	VA-02 Kiggans	NY-01 LaLota
MI-03 Scholten	OH-01 Landsman	PA-07 Wild	NY-03 Vacant	WI-03 Van Orden	PA-01 Fitzpatrick
MN-02 Craig	OH-09 Kaptur	PA-08 Cartwright	NY-04 D'Esposito		SC-01 Mace
NH-01 Pappas	OR-06 Salinas	WA-03 Perez	NY-17 Lawler		TX-15 De La Cruz
NH-02 Kuster	PA-17 Deluzio		NY-19 Molinaro		
NJ-03 Open (Kim)	TX-34 Gonzalez		NY-22 Williams		
NV-01 Titus	VA-07 Open (Spanberger)		OR-05 Chavez-DeRemer		
NV-04 Horsford					
OR-04 Hoyle					
TX-28 Cuellar					
VA-10 Open (Wexton)					
WA-08 Schrier					



**Current Senate 118<sup>th</sup> Congress**
 **Interactive Map Contested 2024**
 **2025 Senate 119<sup>th</sup> Congress**

You are viewing: [2024 Consensus](#)

**Democrats 47** 45 2 **50 Republicans**  
28 no 2024 election      12 3 4 3 2 10      no 2024 election 3



Map Updated: Nov. 9, 2023 at 21:29 UTC (4:29 PM EST)

**Map Color Palette**

Safe     Likely     Leans     Toss-up

Independent ratings for AZ, ME, and VT only

Count Independent as  
AZ ME VT

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### Senate Elections 2024





















		Upcoming Elections			
		Current	2024	2026*	2028
Current		51	0	49	
<small>*A: 1</small>		48	20	13	15
Consensus Forecast		47	0	50	3
<small>*A: 1</small>		49	11	19	19
<small>* Excludes Nebraska seat with a special election in 2024</small>					
Interactive Map Above		47	0	50	3
<small>*A: 1</small>					

The arrows on the counter above the map designate the controlling party. 50-50 is decided by Vice-President (VP)

2024	2026	2028			
State	Incumbent	Party	Since	Term	Consensus
AZ	 Kyrsten Sinema		2019	1st	
FL	 Rick Scott		2019	1st	
ME	 Angus King		2013	2nd	
MI	 Debbie Stabenow		2001	4th	
<small>Incumbent not running for re-election in 2024.</small>					
MT	 Jon Tester		2007	3rd	
NJ	 Bob Menendez		2006	4th	
NV	 Jacky Rosen		2019	1st	
OH	 Sherrod Brown		2007	3rd	
PA	 Bob Casey		2007	3rd	
TX	 Ted Cruz		2013	2nd	
VA	 Tim Kaine		2013	2nd	
WI	 Tammy Baldwin		2013	2nd	
WV	 Joe Manchin		2011	3rd	
<small>Incumbent not running for re-election in 2024.</small>					

The following races are rated as safe for the incumbent party.

Laphonza Butler 2023 1st

CA		Not running for a full term	2013	2nd
CT		Chris Murphy		
DE		Tom Carper	2001	4th
<small>Incumbent not running for re-election in 2024.</small>				
HI		Mazie Hirono	2013	2nd
IN		Mike Braun	2019	1st
<small>Resisting to run for governor</small>				
MA		Elizabeth Warren	2013	2nd
MD		Ben Cardin	2007	3rd
<small>Incumbent not running for re-election in 2024.</small>				
MN		Amy Klobuchar	2007	3rd
MO		Josh Hawley	2019	1st
MS		Roger Wicker	2007	3rd
ND		Kevin Cramer	2019	1st
NE		Deb Fischer	2013	2nd
NE		Pete Ricketts	2023	1st
NM		Martin Heinrich	2013	2nd
NY		Kirsten Gillibrand	2009	3rd
RI		Sheldon Whitehouse	2007	3rd
TN		Marsha Blackburn	2019	1st
UT		Mitt Romney	2019	1st
<small>Incumbent not running for re-election in 2024.</small>				
VT		Bernie Sanders	2007	3rd
WA		Maria Cantwell	2001	4th

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# 5 factors that could decide a Biden-Trump race

BY NIAL STANAGE - 01/25/24 6:00 AM ET

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The 2024 presidential election is set to be a 2020 rematch.

Former President Trump's double-digit victory in the New Hampshire GOP primary on Tuesday makes him the overwhelming favorite to be the Republican nominee.

## ADVERTISEMENT



All but one of Trump's credible rivals have exited the race, and the sole survivor, former United Nations Ambassador Nikki Haley, will soon have to decide whether to do the same. Haley could stay in until her home state of South Carolina votes on Feb. 24. But she might not want to risk embarrassment with polls showing Trump crushing her there by more than 30 points.

On the Democratic side, widespread worries about President Biden's age and low poll ratings have not led to any serious primary challenge.

Biden won the New Hampshire primary through a write-in campaign, easily defeating rivals who were actually on the ballot, including Rep. Dean Phillips (D-Minn.) and author Marianne Williamson.

So far, the polls have a Biden-Trump rematch as a very close race. The polling average maintained by The Hill and Decision Desk HQ (DDHQ) currently gives Trump a 1-point edge.

Here are five factors that could determine the election's outcome.

## The economy

Team Biden believes the economy will ultimately be an asset to the president's reelection hopes.

The campaign and its allies cite robust job growth, totaling about 14 million jobs during his tenure so far. The unemployment rate stands at 3.7 percent, down from 6.4 percent in January 2021, the month Biden took office.

The pro-Biden argument also notes how steeply the tide of inflation has receded, even as the Federal Reserve appears to have avoided plunging the economy into recession. The most recent annualized inflation rate, for December, was 3.4 percent, down from a peak of 9.1 percent in June 2022.

The belief that the Fed is in the process of accomplishing a "soft landing" of the economy has also sent the stock market to all-time highs.

The huge problem for Biden? Americans aren't feeling it.

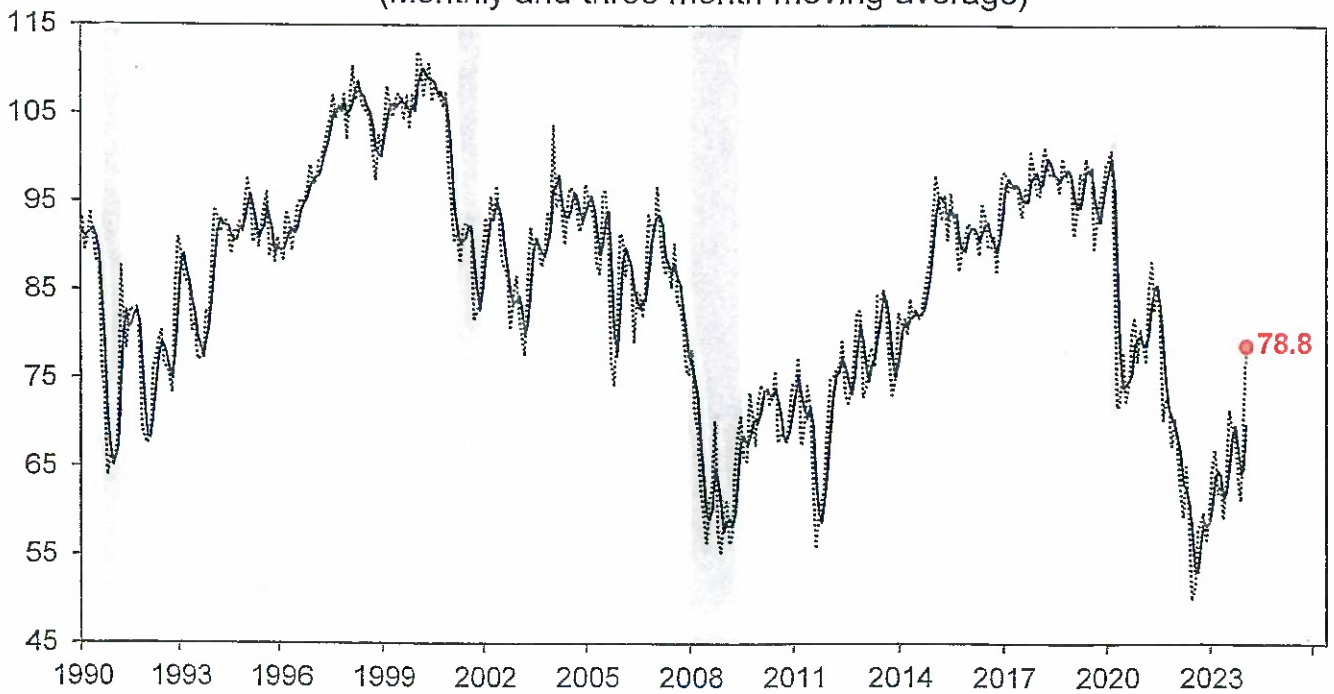
A Gallup poll last month found just 22 percent of Americans rated economic conditions as excellent or good. By contrast, 33 percent called those conditions "only fair," and a full 45 percent characterized them as "poor."

A Pew Research Center poll late last year found just 36 percent of Americans were confident in Biden's ability to make good decisions about economic policy, while 64 percent were not confident.

UPDATED INFO ON CONSUMER SENTIMENT



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University of Michigan 2024

It's possible those numbers turn around between now and November.

If they don't, Biden may well be doomed.

## **Fit for office? The questions over Trump's behavior and Biden's age**

Trump has accumulated a record that would be politically fatal to virtually any other candidate.

He was impeached twice as president — the second time for inciting the Capitol riot of Jan. 6, 2021. He faces 91 criminal charges across four indictments and was found liable at a separate civil trial last year for the sexual abuse of writer E. Jean Carroll.

Trump continues to make false claims of election fraud while calling opponents "vermin" and suggesting his candidacy could be an instrument for "retribution."

None of it has harmed Trump with the GOP base, but it's a different story among the general public.

A new Economist/YouGov poll out Wednesday showed a majority of Americans, 52 percent, with an unfavorable impression of Trump.

The Biden campaign will spend much of the next 10 months painting Trump as a danger to democracy.

In a conference call with reporters on Wednesday, Biden 2024 campaign manager Julie Chávez Rodríguez cast the coming battle as between "a campaign of revenge and retribution that threatens American democracy" and one that is being waged "to protect our sacred rights and freedoms."

That said, questions over fitness for office go both directions, albeit in different ways.

Poll after poll shows a huge swathe of voters has concerns about the capacity of the 81-year-old Biden to effectively serve a second term.

In a CNN/SSRS poll last November, just 25 percent of registered voters thought Biden had "the stamina and sharpness to serve effectively as President." Even 48 percent of Democrats thought otherwise.

## Abortion

There are plenty of hot-button issues on which Republicans clearly have the advantage, including Immigration, crime and the economy.

But the GOP has a major vulnerability on abortion — a weakness that, ironically, stems from the huge judicial victory won by social conservatives when the Supreme Court struck down *Roe v. Wade* in June 2022.

The decision was, and remains, deeply unpopular.

A USA Today/Suffolk University poll released around the first anniversary of the decision found Americans disapproving of *Roe* being overturned by almost 2-to-1, 58 percent to 30 percent.

Ballot measures have been held in seven states on the abortion issue since *Roe* was overturned. The liberal side has won all of them, even in deep-red states such as Kansas and Kentucky.

The issue was clearly also part of the reason why Democrats had a better midterm election than expected in 2022.

Abortion is politically potent, in part, because of its resonance with suburban women, a key demographic, and its capacity to fire up turnout.

Trump has been hard to pin down on abortion during the GOP primary. At times, he has boasted of his role in ending *Roe*, having nominated three of the conservative Supreme Court justices who overturned the 1973 decision. But he has also been critical of some of the strictest bans.

Last September, Trump told NBC's "Meet the Press" that Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis's (R) decision to sign a six-week ban into law in his state was "a terrible mistake."

## **The Israel-Hamas War**

It's rare for a war to have an electorally seismic effect unless there are American boots on the ground.

Israel's campaign in Gaza, launched in reprisal for Hamas's Oct. 7 attacks inside Israel, may be an exception.

The reason is the conflict's clear capacity to cleave the Democratic Party in half.

Among older, more centrist Democrats, support for Israel remains strong.

But it's an entirely different picture among young progressives, who are far more likely to sympathize with the Palestinian cause.

This rift has been growing for years, but it takes on a whole new political salience when Israel is estimated to have killed more than 25,000 Palestinians, by the count of the Hamas-run Gaza Health Ministry.

Israel's campaign has forced the displacement of almost 2 million people in Gaza and drawn a charge of genocide from the government of South Africa. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has dismissed any possibility of a two-state solution to the broader conflict.

Throughout it all, Biden has remained broadly supportive of Israel. The fact that he has recently tempered his rhetoric has done little to cool the fury of progressives.

A Biden speech on Tuesday was disrupted repeatedly by pro-Palestinian protesters.

The bigger political problem for Biden is the conflict's capacity to depress turnout from key parts of the Democratic base, including young voters, Black voters and Arab American voters.

It's conspicuous that, among the battleground states, Biden is polling especially badly in Michigan. He carried the Wolverine State in 2020 after Trump had won it in 2016. Michigan is home to more than 200,000 Arab Americans.

## Third-party candidates

Third-party candidates are among the biggest wild cards in the 2024 race.

Much will depend upon their capacity to actually get on the ballot. And the question of which of the major candidates they will help and hurt is not straightforward either.

For example, some polling suggests that Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has the capacity to take more support away from Trump than Biden.

On the other hand, the Green Party's Jill Stein almost certainly poses a bigger danger to Biden, since she provides a vehicle for voters on the left to register their discontent.

The same is true of progressive activist and academic Cornel West, though his capacity to get on many states' ballots is in very serious question.

One more unknown comes in the shape of No Labels, the controversial and purportedly centrist organization.

No Labels said earlier this month that it had secured ballot access in 13 states. But it has yet to make a decision on whether to run a candidate.

If the group did so, Sen. Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) may be the most likely standard-bearer.

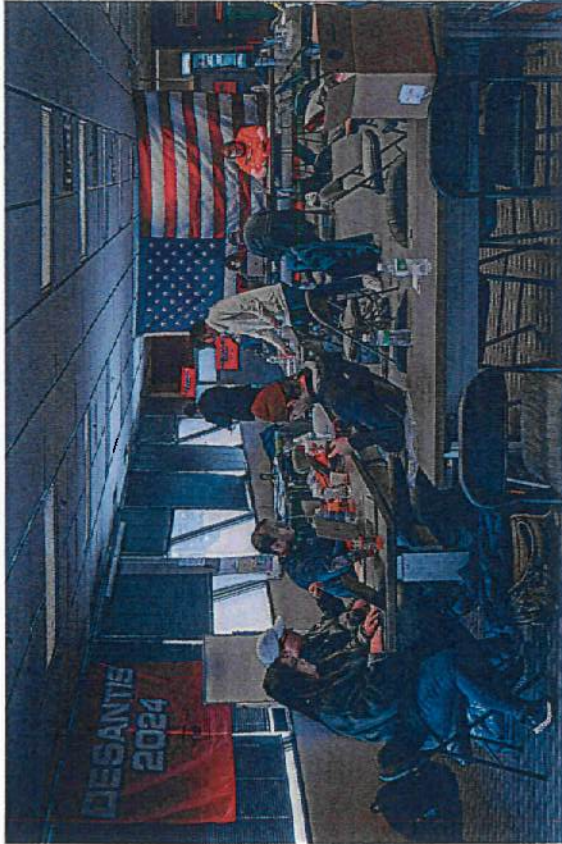


MAGAZINE

2024 ELECTIONS

## Opinion | The DeSantis Team Ran the Worst Campaign in History

The bizarre decisions behind a \$130 million debacle.



Volunteers at the Never Back Down DeSantis Campaign office gather to phone bank voters the day of the Iowa Caucuses in West Des Moines, Iowa on Jan. 15, 2024. | Jamie Kelter Davis for POLITICO

Opinion by CURT ANDERSON and ALEX CASTELLANOS  
01/19/2024 05:00 AM EST



*Curt Anderson is a veteran of the Reagan White House, former political director of the RNC and a founder of OnMessageInc, a Republican advertising and polling firm.*

*Alex Castellanos is a Republican strategist, a founder of Purple Strategies and a*

*veteran of four presidential campaigns.*

**T**im Pawlenty's and Scott Walker's presidential campaigns can breathe a sigh of relief. The mantle of Worst Republican Presidential Campaign Ever has been lifted from their shoulders, stolen by the crew that ran Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis' campaign into the dirt.

As usual, revisionist histories are being written even before the candidate has been officially buried, with DeSantis staffers and apologists offering a variety of nonsensical explanations. However, we need no gossip from inside sources to understand what happened. The debacle played out in broad daylight.

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Start with an indisputable fact: At the beginning of 2023, Gov. Ron DeSantis was in first place, ahead of former President Donald Trump. Then acknowledge that the DeSantis campaign and super PAC raised more money than any other campaign, including that of the former president. Many in the GOP billionaire class gushed over DeSantis, promising to spend whatever it would take to vanquish the former president.

What could possibly go wrong? Well, everything.

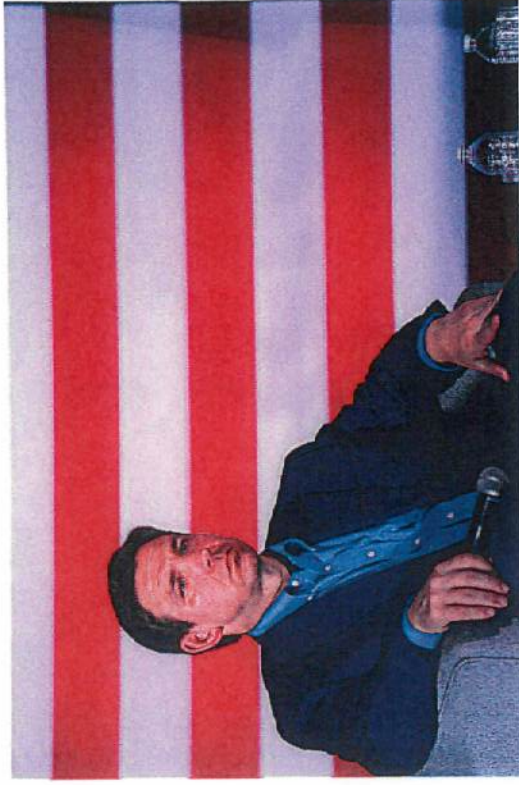
**Strategy.** The DeSantis campaign should have had one. What passed as their strategy, if we can call it that, was modeled after a weathervane. Whenever a campaign has multiple self-described “resets,” as did the DeSantis campaign, it means, from day one, they were strategically nomadic. They kept throwing strategy at the wall, hoping some of it would stick. It didn’t.

The DeSantis campaign should have defined their candidate as Trump-plus, something like the former president but better. Instead of merely trying to imitate Trump, they needed to add something of value, casting DeSantis’ own vision for how Republicans can win the future.

Instead, they offered the voters Trump-minus. DeSantis pretended to be just like Trump but in a less bombastic and less entertaining package. To be fair, many self-appointed Republican strategists believed that’s what voters wanted, though the voters, inconveniently, kept rejecting it.

Any candidate who tries to imitate Trump will fail. There is no one like The Donald. Plagiarized reproductions will always be sniffed out and discarded as inauthentic pretenders.

But DeSantis’ problems ran deeper.



Ron DeSantis listens to his wife speak to a crowd, June 2, 2023 in Gilbert, South Carolina. | Sean Davidson/Photo: iStock.com

AD

But then, something bad happened: The campaign introduced the product.

The candidate did not match the hype. He was less than advertised. In person, he was a diminutive politician. The campaign introduced him to the nation as a bright but socially awkward introvert, a nerd who did not enjoy people — which was a problem since voters tend to be people.

The campaign's rollout didn't help DeSantis' image at all. The decision by the DeSantis team to have him travel to early states campaigning for president while pretending to not be a candidate was disastrous, giving Trump a chance to savage the governor while DeSantis ignored him, conveying weakness. It was also a too-cute-by-half strategy straight out of the 1990's that fooled no one. DeSantis' official launch on Twitter was a flop too, a mess of slow feeds and broken connections that did little to make him seem competent and strong.

First impressions are wildly important in politics. The campaign never recovered from its pitiful Twitter kickoff, its discomfited candidate and the wandering purpose of his candidacy. To the campaign's surprise, the message that "I'm just like Trump, but awkward, shorter and less interesting" did not seem to catch.

The campaign and super PAC, which acted as one entity, bragged that they had a lot of "algorithms" and "1,400 different pieces of creative." That is code for rapaciously expensive advertising. They would have been better off producing one compelling piece of "creative." The campaign and super PAC spent millions on advertising that failed to move voters to their candidate. That's not just an assertion, it's a fact.

Perhaps it did not help that the advertising, like the campaign, tried to sell two conflicting propositions: It argued that their guy was more electable than Trump, but also that he was just like Trump. There was no market for the Trump Who Wasn't Trump but could not be himself.

**Money.** One way to determine who will win the Republican nomination is to ask the biggest GOP donors what they think — and bet the opposite. The rich men north of Richmond who fund the GOP are completely clueless regarding the views and aspirations of working-class Republican voters. Money can buy cowboy boots. Money can buy trips on private jets. Money cannot buy love in a presidential race.

AD

As DeSantis' poll numbers plummeted and his appeal to pragmatic GOP donors vanished, DeSantis jettisoned the preferred strategy of his wealthy backers. He swung wildly to appeal to Trump's blue-collar base, painting himself even more like Trump, though less stable, declaring war on Mickey Mouse. A war that should have been a slam dunk. After all, Disney is perhaps the perfect example of big business gone dangerously "woke," but even here DeSantis managed to overreach when he went after the company's special tax status, snatching defeat from the jaws of victory. In the end, he went home with neither donors nor voters in his camp.

**Talent.** Certainly, most staffers and consultants who worked for DeSantis are earnest, well-intentioned people who served him to the best of their abilities. But we might as well be honest: The celebrity consultant known as Jeff Roe loses virtually every race he touches and, according to his own boasts, makes mad money in the process. His string of losses in Senate races over the past few years distinguishes him: Adam Laxalt (Nevada), Carla Sands (Pennsylvania), Dave McCormick (Pennsylvania), Jim Lamon (Arizona), Josh Mandel (Ohio) and Martha McSally (Arizona, twice). Some consultants believe the next best thing to winning elections is to make money losing them. So, if losing while hemorrhaging money is your vision, Roe is your man. *(Editor's note: Roe is the founder of Axiom Strategies. Rob Phillips, president of Axiom Strategies, had this to say in response: "On Message spends more time parading as experts on Sunday shows than on winning campaigns. Axiom Strategies had more victories in the last six months than On Message has had in the last six years.*

*No one's taking seriously the musings of a Bob Dole Democrat or the brains behind Bobby Jindal's failed presidential campaign.")*

Remarkably, some close to DeSantis allege Roe was hired to "take the consultant off the field" and keep him from helping Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin or another DeSantis competitor. If this is true, DeSantis should have paid Roe to work for Nikki Haley.

**The Big Con.** Somehow, somehow, the DeSantis campaign and super PAC created a myth of epic proportions and sold it to political reporters and donors. P. T. Barnum never imagined a con job this big.

The myth: An army of paid doorknockers would fan out across the country, even in states beyond the early primaries, and deliver the nomination to DeSantis. It's hilarious. If you ever believed that it was possible to affect the trajectory of a presidential campaign with underemployed losers going door to door in between puffs of strawberry-flavored vapes, you are vaping an intoxicant yourself. When skeptics noted that the advertising was not moving the polls, they were told not to worry: There was a giant, secret army of DeSantis door knockers! The absurdity was breathtaking. Yet, the news media reported that DeSantis' ground game was his secret weapon. It was secret because it wasn't there.

Anyone near a campaign recently knows how this works: In 2023, no one in America wants a stranger coming to their door for *any* reason. And if they were given the choice between door knockers who were selling politicians or membership in a cult, it would be a close call. Also, as fun as it is to take a phone call from a politician during dinner, imagine the joy of opening your door to a political doorknocker, especially in the balmy Iowa or New Hampshire winter.

Certainly, there have been times in campaign history when person-to-person contact methods, including door-knocking, have delivered results. But in those cases, **campaigns used door-knocking to turn out existing supporters on Election Day, not to create new ones. The volunteers were turnout machines, not armies of persuasion.** Ground-game organizations are not candidate-building mechanisms. **Visits from paid strangers build brands the same way Joe Biden plays hacky sack: They don't. If they did, Dollar Shave Club would have rung your doorbell, and Budweiser would have knocked to sell you something icy in a can.**

This is The Law: First, the Candidate. Then, the Organization — because if you build a church without Jesus, all you have is an empty warehouse. Similarly, when a candidate collapses in the polls, their organization evaporates as well.

But many political reporters and donors treated DeSantis' vaunted "ground game" as if it were more than campaign hype. The only thing the DeSantis ground game built was second and third homes for the consultants who conned him out of millions. To paraphrase P.T. Barnum, "There's an ambitious Harvard grad born every minute."

Perhaps Trump's vast lead could not be overcome and this was the wrong cycle for DeSantis to run. Perhaps, for someone so uncomfortable with people, this was the wrong decade — or century. Still, that's no excuse for mispending over \$130 million and running the Worst Presidential Campaign in History.

But on the bright side, Team DeSantis may not have its title long. Other terrible candidates and consultants are already lying in wait for their opportunity to con voters — and themselves.

# Opinion Get real and read some history. The past was worse.



By Jennifer Rubin  
Columnist + Follow

December 31, 2023 at 7:45 a.m. EST

37

Nostalgia is a powerful political tool. Wielding nostalgia for a bygone era — one that is invariably mischaracterized — is a favorite weapon for fascist movements (Make America Great Again), harking back to a time before their nation was “polluted” by malign forces. In the United States, such nostalgia none-too-subtly appeals to white Christian nationalism. Even in a more benign form (e.g., “Politics didn’t used to be so mean,” “Remember the days of bipartisanship?”) plays on faulty memories. If you really go back to study U.S. history, you would find two things: The past was worse, and conflict has always been the norm.

The past was simply not “better” by any objective standard. Economically, we were all a lot poorer. “In 1960, there were roughly 400 vehicles per 1,000 Americans, about half of today’s car ownership rate. In other words, a family in 1960 could afford a car on one income, but today they would have two cars,” Matthew Yglesias wrote. Tom Nichols has written extensively on the politics of false memory. (“Times are always bad. Nothing gets better. And the past 50 years have not been a temporary economic purgatory but a permanent hell, if only the elites would be brave enough to peer through the gloom and see it all for what it is,” he wrote. “This obsession with decline is one of the myths surrounding postindustrial democracy that will not die.”)

Crime was higher by a lot in the 1970s. Poverty, child mortality, deaths from virtually any major disease, workplace injuries, high school dropout rates, etc., were all much worse in the 1950s. Also, kids got polio, Jim Crow was in full swing, gays had to be in the closet and no one had cellphones, home computers or microwave ovens. Very few people had [air conditioning](#) or [could afford to fly](#).

You might rightly decry income inequality today. However, since 2007, income inequality has been on the decline. The 1930s? The Great Depression. You prefer the 1940s? World War. Then came McCarthyism and the Cold War. The 1960s? Riots, assassinations, the Vietnam War. You get the point. Though those who rail against modernity, urbanity, pluralism, tolerance and personal freedom in service of an authoritarian perch would like to turn back the clock, a perusal of history suggests now is the best time to be alive.

And that brings us to the myth of bipartisanship, unity and frictionless politics. From the get-go, politics in America was vicious. The Post’s review of H.W. Brands’s latest book, “Founding Partisans: Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, Adams and the Fraying Birth of American Politics,” reminded us that “they all hastened to assume the worst of one another. Jefferson, watching the government amass power and assume state debt, concluded that Hamilton’s Federalists were royalists and corrupt financiers who had been plotting ‘to betray the people’ since independence.” In turn, “Federalists, conversely, thought Republicans ideologically deranged to the point of near-treason. Blind infatuation with a hostile (and anarchic) France, faith in state sovereignty, Luddite opinions on public debt — all of these seemed like symptoms of a deeper mania among Jefferson’s followers.” Consider whether this sounds familiar:

And so the knives came out quick and often. The parties established mouthpieces in the media to lambaste one another. Gossip about the personal lives of leaders was a favorite topic, with Hamilton and Jefferson providing good grist for the rumor mill. Come Independence Day, 1798, celebratory toasts by one party included wishes of “never-dying remorse, pain, poverty and contempt” for their opponents.

Fast forward to the mid-19th century. The country is torn asunder by slavery, a bloody civil war follows, military occupation (Reconstruction) of the South provides a brief interlude and then strict racial segregation returns.

You can flip through the history of presidential insults, devastating feuds and congressional violence. None of this suggests we ever enjoyed a sustained halcyon period of unity. To be certain, we had brief interludes when World War II united the country and when the ideological eggs between the parties were not as vast. However, we “got things done” mostly when one party (in modern times, usually Republicans) got wiped out in elections, leaving Democrats to construct the New Deal and the Great Society. Republicans vilified Democrats every step of the way (even testing out a coup against Franklin D. Roosevelt).

What we have not had before is a president who rejected democracy, attempted to retain power by force and wound up indicted on 91 criminal counts. So yes, four-times-indicted Donald Trump was worse than every president who preceded him. The resulting venom, violence and loss of faith in elections have taken a heavy toll on our democracy.

Where does that leave us? The past (especially the immediate past president) was infinitely worse in myriad ways. (This is not to say that we don’t have our problems, from climate change to homelessness to suicide; we do, however, have more resources and knowledge to address these.) Conflict and even violence have been a constant presence in American life. But so, too, has been progress, albeit halting at times, toward greater freedom and prosperity. We generally are living healthier, longer lives. If nothing else, the 21st century is evidence that we are a resilient people.

So, as we look forward to 2024 be wary: Nostalgia, especially nostalgia for a time of less freedom, less opportunity and fewer rights for many of us, is the stuff of snake-oil salesmen. Instead, bet on American progress.

## I. THE BEGINNING: IT ALL STARTED IN OKLAHOMA

The seeds for what we call Impact Aid were planted early. As early as 1940 Congress passed legislation (Latham Act) acknowledging that large numbers of children living on tax free government reservations constituted a continuing problem for some local educational agencies for which the government had some responsibility. The support provided was largely limited to housing for communities affected by a presence of the Department of Defense with some limited aid to schools.

The cry for help from school districts became louder in 1949. Crying the loudest were school districts all over the country, with the greatest concerns originating from school districts in the mid-western states of Kansas and Oklahoma. Both states hosted large numbers of troops during World War II; when those troops returned from overseas, military installation populations grew almost overnight. One of the school leaders leading the charge for federal assistance was a superintendent from the Mid-Dei School District. His name was Oscar Rose. Rose headed up a group of school leaders from Kansas (Fort Leavenworth/Fort Riley), Missouri and Alabama. Rose's concern was the increased enrollment that Mid-Dei was experiencing from civilians working at Tinker Air Force Base. Because of the groups cry for help the House Education and Labor Committee decided to study the matter before approving any permanent legislation. The committee held hearings and conducted field investigations in more than 42 states, representing nearly three-fourths of all federally impacted districts.

The committee found that *"without continued federal help, more than 1.8 million children in these federally impacted areas would not receive normal school services....The U.S. has become an industrialist, landlord, or a businessman in many communities."* Legislation was passed by both the House and the Senate with the House bill (H.R. 7940) passing by voice vote on July 13, 1950. The Senate bill (S. 2317) was later merged into the House bill, with the merged version passing the Senate on September 18, 1950 and the House on September 20<sup>th</sup>. President Truman then signed the bill into law (81-874) on September 30, 1950. In fact a separate bill that provided funds for school construction passed both the House and the Senate and was signed into law (81-815) a few weeks before 81-874.

So as Oklahomans you need to always remind your federally impacted school leaders and board members that Oklahoma (Oscar Rose) rode the lead horse that charged the hill to gain Congressional support for the enactment of Impact Aid.

A bit of irony is that the Tinker model (civilian defense workers) was initially – perhaps looked at as a trial run, gave the program its start as only the dependents of civilian workers were eligible. Remaining student categories were added as eligible in the years that followed.

1955 – Uniformed Services residing on-base are deemed eligible

1957 – Uniformed Services residing off-base are deemed eligible

1958 – Indian Lands children are deemed eligible but as category (b) children unless the child's parent worked and resided on eligible land (Rationale: State Education Agencies and LEAs were eligible to receive payments under the Johnson-O'Malley Program (Interior-BIA))

1970 – Low-Rent Housing children are deemed eligible (political – sought support from Members of Congress from large urban areas)

1970 – Indian Land children are granted category "a" status without regard to a workstation (JOM Basic phased out in 1976)

1974 – Children With Disabilities became eligible (Indian Lands & Military)

1978 – Indian land children were granted a higher weight when calculating their payments, but included the need for the local educational agency to insure equitable tribal input through the a consultation procedure known as Indian Policies and Procedures

And so with its passage in 1950 Impact Aid became the second oldest elementary-secondary federal education program administered by the Department of Education currently in law. Its purpose has not changed over the 70 years the program has been in existence – See the purpose below:

Section 7001.

In order to fulfill the Federal responsibility to assist with the provision of educational services to federally connected children in a manner that promotes control by local educational agencies with little or no Federal or State involvement, because certain activities of the Federal Government, such as activities to fulfill a responsibility of the Federal government, with respect to Indian tribes and activities under Section 514 of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940 (50 U.S.C. App 574), place a financial burden on the local educational agencies serving areas where such activities are carried out, and to help such children meet challenging State standards, it is the purpose of this title to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies that—

- (1) experience a substantial and continuing financial burden due to the acquisition of real property by the United States;
- (2) educate children who reside on Federal property and whose parents are employed on Federal property;
- (3) educate children of parents who are in the military services and children who live in low-rent housing;
- (4) educate heavy concentrations of children whose parents are civilian employees of the Federal Government and do not reside on Federal property; or
- (5) need special assistance with capital expenditures for construction activities because of the substantial enrollment numbers of children who reside on Federal lands and because of the difficulty of raising local revenue through bond referendums for capital projects due to the inability to tax Federal property

**What does the Purpose tell you?**

Does it tell you how funds received are to be spent? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Only exceptions: Disabilities Section 7003(d) and Facilities Section 7007/7008 payments

Amendments over the years have never changed the purpose of the program, but have either expanded the role of the Federal Government in pre-K – 12 education or added to the focus of the program due to changing conditions or because of Congressional action. Impact Aid remained a stand-alone law from 1950 – 1994.

**Amendments include:**

1. 1965 ESEA -- Title I, etc. they were all amendments to the Impact Aid law -- Impact Aid was the vehicle to get the ESEA put into law
  2. 1994 -- Repeal of the stand-alone law i.e. 815 and 874 in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Reauthorization. Impact Aid became Title VIII of ESEA -- included the "new" payment formula -- LOT (Learning Opportunity Threshold)
  3. 2000-2001 -- No Child Left Behind (included the small school adjustment language -- AN Oklahoma proposal)
  4. 2015 -- Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) referred to as Title VII
  5. Reauthorization through FY 2020 (Won't happen --will self-renew)
- II. Section 7002 Federal Property -- Land -- Land -- Land Purpose and Eligibility
1. These are payments made to reimburse school districts that have had significant amounts of land removed from their tax rolls after 1938 because of ownership by the federal government; and
  2. Not acquired by exchange for other federal property; and
  3. The assessed value of the land at the time the land was acquired by the federal government must be at least 10% of the total value of the taxable land within the taxing jurisdiction of the local educational agency; and
  4. The school is not receiving substantial increases in revenues from federal activities on the property, i.e., timber fees.

## How Payments Are Determined

- Take the **total assessed value of taxable land (acres)** in taxing jurisdiction of district **divided by total number of taxable acres = dollar value per acre**
- The **dollar value per acre is multiplied by number of eligible acres** in district (discounts other non-taxable land/only Section 7002 eligible land) = **total value of eligible land**
- **Value of eligible federal property is multiplied by tax rate = school district's maximum payment**
- Districts that were eligible for a payment prior to FY '10 receive a **foundation payment** which is based (calculated) on **90% of the amount received in FY '09 or an average of four years 2006-2009, whichever is highest**
- **Funds remaining** would first go to **newly eligible districts on which their foundation would be set for future years**; additional funds are to be distributed based on the new dollar per acre formula as described above.
- In many cases a districts **Foundation payment may be greater than their maximum calculated payment**

### Statistics on 7002 Districts based on the FY 2021 Department Data Base

Number of LEAs that applied 202

Total Assessed Value of all LEAs: \$180,270,426,432.63\*

Maximum Payment of all LEAs: \$858,107,267.00

Total Payments: \$76,313,000

**\* FY 22 payments are not complete – above figures subject to change**

**Nationally in FY 2021 Total funding: \$76.31 million**

**Nationally in FY 2021 Maximum funding: \$858\* million**

**Nationally the program is receiving 8.08% of what is due**

**\*Estimate**





# National Association of Federally Impacted Schools

400 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 290 | Washington, DC 20001 | (p) 202.624.5455 | www.NAFISDC.org

## TALKING POINTS: 2023 NAFIS FALL CONFERENCE

### Impact Aid Overview

Through Impact Aid, the Federal Government seeks to compensate school districts for lost property tax revenue arising from the presence of nontaxable Federal property (i.e. military installations, Indian Lands, Federal low-rent housing, national laboratories and grasslands) within school district boundaries. Funding appropriated annually by Congress goes directly to school districts and can be used for any general fund purpose, including staff, mental health supports, technology, and transportation, supporting all students. This flexibility allows school district leaders to target funds based on need. While the program’s funds are immensely helpful to school districts, it has not been fully funded in decades.

### Annual Federal Funding

**FY 2024 Appropriations** – With schools facing many challenges, including the need to build or renovate buildings, attract and retain educators, and lingering inflation, Impact Aid dollars are more precious now than they have ever been. While NAFIS had originally requested a \$70 million overall increase for Impact Aid in FY 2024, the Fiscal Responsibility Act’s strict funding caps make significant funding increases impossible. Therefore, NAFIS supports the Senate Appropriations Committee’s FY 2024 bill’s Impact Aid figures, which amounts to an approximately \$10 million overall increase for Impact Aid.

### Talking Points on Impact Aid Funding:

- If applicable, **THANK** them for their support of the \$61 million FY 2023 funding increase for Impact Aid.
- **REQUEST** support for the Senate Appropriations Committee’s approved increases for Impact Aid in FY 2024:
  - \$8.758 million increase for Basic Support
  - \$687,000 increase for Federal Property
  - \$594,000 increase for Construction
  - Level funding for Children with Disabilities
- **EXPLAIN** what even a small increase to Impact Aid could mean for your district.

Section	FY20 Final	FY21 Final	FY22 Final	FY23 Final	FY24 Senate Appropriations
Federal Property	\$75.31 M	\$76.31 M	\$77.31 M	\$78.31 M	\$79 M
Basic Support	\$1,340.24 M	\$1,354.24 M	\$1,409.24 M	\$1,468.24 M	\$1,477.0 M
Disabilities	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M	\$48.32 M
Construction	\$17.41 M	\$17.41 M	\$17.41 M	\$18.41 M	\$19 M
Facilities	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M	\$4.84 M
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,486.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,501.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,557.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,618.12 M</b>	<b>\$1,628.151 M</b>

## THE NAFIS FAMILY

**FLISA**  
Federal Lands Impacted  
Schools Association

**MISA**  
Military Impacted  
Schools Association

**LO-ISA**  
Learning Opportunity  
Impacted Schools Association

**NIISA**  
National Indian Impacted  
Schools Association

### **Advancing Toward Impact Aid Full Funding Act**

**Background:** The Federal Government has a responsibility to fully fund Impact Aid, but it has not met this responsibility since 1969. This legislation would establish a five-year glide path to full funding and ensure meaningful annual increases to districts.

The NAFIS endorsed and fully bipartisan *Advancing Toward Impact Aid Full Funding Act* has now been introduced in the House (HR 1591) and the Senate (S. 871). This legislation would fully fund Basic Support and provide a proportional increase to Federal Property, Construction, and Children with Disabilities.

#### **Talking Points:**

- **THANK** those members who co-sponsored this legislation.
- **REQUEST CO-SPONSORSHIP** from those who have not yet signed-on.
- **ORIGINAL COSPONSORS:** House -- Reps. Tom Cole (R-OK) and Mike Levin (D-CA); Senate -- Sens. Ben Ray Lujan (D-NM), Thomas Tillis (R-NC), Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY), Markwayne Mullin (R-OK), Richard Durbin (D-IL) and John Cornyn (R-TX).

### **Impact Aid Infrastructure Partnership Act**

**Background:** The current construction line provides only \$18.41 million annually, which is insufficient to meet most internal renovation needs and provides no funding to build new schools. There is also a significant demand for funding to renovate and construct teacher housing.

Sen. Hirono (D-HI) has just introduced the *Impact Aid Infrastructure Partnership Act*, which would add a total of \$1 billion over 4 years (\$250 million per year) to the Impact Aid Construction line item. 25% of the new funds would be made available via formula to all eligible school districts. The US Department of Education would disseminate the remaining 75% as competitive grants, with priority for those school districts with acute emergencies in their facilities (e.g., building code violations), teacher housing in need of repair, or limited or no bonding capacity.

#### **Talking Points:**

- **REQUEST COSPONSORSHIP** of the Senate's Impact Aid Infrastructure Partnership Act.
- **SEEK NEW HOUSE SPONSORS** to introduce the House version of this bill.

### **Impact Aid Coalitions**

The bipartisan House and Senate Impact Aid Coalitions were established in the 1990s and have since led successful efforts to protect and prioritize the Impact Aid program. There are more than 100 current Members of Congress on the coalitions. We are hoping to continue to grow these numbers and have the largest coalitions yet by the end of the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress. If you talk to a Member who is not currently on the coalition, suggest they join. Have them contact [NicoleRussell@nafisdc.org](mailto:NicoleRussell@nafisdc.org) to sign up or with any questions.

#### **Talking Points:**

- **JOIN** the House or Senate Impact Aid Coalition for the 118th Congress.
- It is an easy way to show support for federally impacted schools and Impact Aid. Membership does not require any commitment of time or staff.
- The coalition serves as a resource to NAFIS in supporting and protecting Impact Aid.



# Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association

Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers

## FLISA Talking Points for September 2023 Hill Visits

**FLISA Members – This is not a handout but talking points for communicating with members of Congress and staff. The NAFIS Hill Meeting Tips on the back may also be helpful. At the Hill meetings, please share the new FLISA handout.**

### Introduction and Purpose

1. We are here to explain and answer any questions about federal impact aid and ask for your support for funding.
2. *Explain impaction for each district (federal land, percentage, etc.). What would you lose without it? Tell your story.*
3. We want to make sure the program stays in place and maintain this critical source of funding for our students and taxpayers. Unlike some programs, we must have *congressional support each year to maintain this program.*

### Federal Impact Aid Background

4. The Impact Aid Program was signed into law by President Truman in 1950 and is the nation's oldest K-12 federal education program. *For nearly 75 years, Congress has provided funding to school districts with bipartisan support.*
5. Impact Aid reimburses school districts for the lost revenue associated with nontaxable federal property. This is valuable land that was seized by the government, *making that land exempt from local property taxes for schools.*
6. To be eligible, *a district must have 10 percent or more of its total taxable value owned by the federal government.*

### Student Impact and the National Associations

7. There are more than 1,100 federally impacted school districts that receive Impact Aid located across all 50 states. *Together, we educate more than 9 million public school students.*
8. Our association is the Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association (Section 7002), and [FLISA](#) represents *approximately 200 districts and nearly 900,000 children* that have federally owned land within their boundaries.
9. FLISA is part of the National Association of Federally Impacted Schools. [NAFIS](#) also includes Mid-to-Low LOT Schools (MTLLS), Military Impacted Schools Association (MISA) and the National Indian Impacted Schools Association (NIISA).

### Local Financial Implications

10. *Our Section 7002 school districts have not been fully funded since 1988.* In fact, our federally impacted school districts receive on *average about seven cents on the dollar* of what would be received from local property taxes.
11. School districts are largely funded through local property taxes and since federal property is exempt from local taxation, federally impacted school districts are at a *serious financial disadvantage in funding their schools.*
12. New lands added by the federal government in recent years means that more schools share the same amount of funds, which results in *existing school districts each getting a smaller portion of the funding* that is provided.
13. Even when Impact Aid funding increases, new property added by the federal government results in existing school districts getting a smaller portion of the available funding.

### Our Ask of Congress to Support Our Students and Schools

14. We are asking Congress to provide some additional funding to account for newly acquired lands *so that our currently federally impacted schools do not lose additional funding.*
15. Specifically, we request that you consider supporting the *currently proposed increase in the Senate of \$2 million in additional funding for Section 7002 Schools in FY24.* For federally impacted schools, *this is a grand total request of \$80,313,000 over the FY23 funded amount of \$78,313,000, which is just a 2.55 percent increase.*
16. *For those not already a member,* please consider joining the bipartisan [Impact Aid Coalition](#). More information is on our handout we will leave. *Thank those who are already a member of the Coalition.*
17. Please also consider supporting the [Advancing Toward Full Impact Aid Funding](#) Act, which is aimed at advancing towards fully funding the Impact Aid program. More information is available on our handout.

Updated 9-7-23

SEPT. 2023

**Did you know?**

Even when Impact Aid funding increases, new property added by the federal government results in existing school districts getting a smaller portion of the available funding.

Section 7002 Impact Aid has not been fully funded since 1988, putting our schools and communities at a serious financial disadvantage compared to our neighboring school districts.

Impacted schools receive an average just seven cents on the dollar in Impact Aid, compared to what would be received from local property taxes.



**Our Request for Congressional Support**

- \$ \$2 million increase in FY24 funding
- \$ This is a 2.55% increase from FY23
- \$ This would bring the grand total Section 7002 funding to \$80,313,000

www.flisa.org      www.nafisd.org



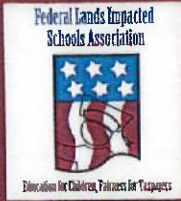
Also, please support our students by joining the bipartisan Impact Aid Coalitions and supporting the Advancing Toward Impact Aid Full Funding Act. Visit [www.nafisd.org](http://www.nafisd.org) for details.

**National Association of Federally Impacted Schools**



SEPT. 2023

**Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association**  
Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers



**Who We Are**

FLISA represents local schools, children, and taxpayers with federally owned land within their school district boundaries under Program Section 7002. FLISA is part of the National Association of Federally Impacted Schools (NAFIS), which also includes schools and children on military bases and Indian reservations.

<b>FLISA</b>	<b>NAFIS</b>
200 Districts	1100 Districts
900,000 Students	9,000,000 Students

**What is Federal Impact Aid?**

- Local school districts are reliant upon local property taxes for funding, but the Federal government is exempt from paying taxes on property that it owns.
- When a significant portion of land in a school district is Federal property, this imposes a huge financial burden on local school districts and taxpayers.
- Congress created the Impact Aid program to provide funding to offset the loss of property tax revenues in local school districts.

**Impact Aid Fast Facts**

- Funds critical educational programs and services
- Direct, flexible, and locally controlled funding
- America's oldest K-12 federal education program
- Bipartisan support has been in place for nearly 75 years, but Impact Aid is funded at just 7 percent

**How Funding is Used**

- Smaller Class Sizes
- Music
- Art
- STEM
- Physical Education
- Gifted Programs
- These are a few examples of how Impact Aid is used in each local school district and community

Data current as of September 2023



# Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association

Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers

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## ***Advocating with MERIT***

*In order to effectively advocate to our elected officials for impact aid, or for anything for that matter, one must work to convey a purpose.*

*Our message has to resonate with our audience, in this case our legislative leaders or their staffers. When they hear about Impact Aid, they should think of you. Conversely, when they hear about you, they should think about Impact Aid and what it means to your students.*

*While there are many ways to approach this work, one simple acronym may be useful, especially to those of us who are relatively new to the process.*

***Memorable*** - Your story should be something that stays with the individual you are meeting with.

***Emotional*** - Your story should connect with your audience through the heart, as well as through the brain.

***Relatable*** - Your story should evoke that head nodding response of knowing. Your audience should be able to picture your situation.

***Immersive*** - Your story should be engaging and wrap your audience up in your message.

***Tangible*** - Your story should be something that provides a sense of experience, even if it is not physically able to be touched during the conveyance.

*You can meld these elements into a short anecdote about your school. We always think about our elevator pitch. This is a method for organizing your story.*

*Jot down a few points about the story of your district and impact aid. Identify the elements:*

- What makes it **memorable**?
- What connects it to your audience's **emotional** senses?
- How is your story **relatable**?
- How does it **immerse** your audience in your district's work or in its needs?
- How is it **tangible**?

Advocating with MERIT

In order to effectively advocate to our elected officials for impact aid, or for anything for that matter, one must work to convey a purpose.

Use the graphic organizer to put down the elements of your story which align with the goal of advocating for MERIT.

What makes your story memorable?
What connects your story to your audience's emotional senses?
How is your story relatable?
How does your story immerse your audience in your district's work or in its needs?
How is your story tangible?

# HOW TO DELIVER A POWERFUL MESSAGE IN A HILL MEETING

Your goal is to become a trusted resource for your Member of Congress and his or her staff, and to develop a strong supporter of Impact Aid.

## PREPARING FOR THE MEETING

**Use the NAFIS website, [nafisdc.org](http://nafisdc.org),** to increase your familiarity with Impact Aid.

**Do your homework** by identifying your Member of Congress':

- Committee Membership
- Impact Aid Coalition Membership
- Recent local newspaper articles
- Recent press releases
- Policy interests
- Space on the political spectrum

**Prepare an example** of how Impact Aid is important for your school district.

**Develop your message** using the [NAFIS Talking Points](#) and [Elevator Pitch Worksheet](#).

**Identify a group leader and plan** what each participant will contribute and when.

**Plan to use video**, if virtual, even if the person you're meeting with is only on audio.

## DURING THE MEETING

**Be bipartisan** and stay positive.

**Share your stories** and connect them to the interests of your Member of Congress. Be yourself and bring your passion.

**Be helpful** and offer to get back to the Member of Congress if you don't have the answer to a question.

**Make your ask**, using the [NAFIS Talking Points](#) to tell your legislator what you want them to do.

- Tailor to the Member of Congress' role
- Tailor to your expertise

**Take time to listen** and give your Member of Congress and their staff the opportunity to respond.

- Ask, "How can we help you?"
- Ask, "What is your boss' position?"

## AFTER THE MEETING

**Follow up** on any promises made - unanswered questions, statistics, resources, etc.

**Foster the relationship with regular contact**

- Set calendar reminders to contact your policymakers at least once every quarter
- Share school district news and other successes with your Members of Congress
- Make sure you're following your Members of Congress on social media

**Use Twitter to thank your Congressperson** - use the [NAFIS Sample Tweets](#) for ideas - or share a brief article on your district website. Be sure to send it to them!

**Send a "Thank You" email**

- Let the person you met with know you appreciate their time and support
- Reiterate any talking points if necessary
- If the Member of Congress is not on the Impact Aid Coalition, remind them to join by sending an email to [info@nafisdc.org](mailto:info@nafisdc.org)
  - Check to see if they're on the coalition:
    - [House of Representatives Coalition](#)
    - [Senate Coalition](#)
- Invite them to visit your school district

**Remember, advocacy is a long-term process** - the meeting is only the first step!



# Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association

Education For Children, Fairness for Taxpayers

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## ***The Federal Lands Impacted Schools Association (FLISA) Mission***

- 🇺🇸 The Mission of National 7002 (Formally Section 8002) Impacted Schools is to secure federal funding which reimburses eligible districts for tax revenue lost (for student programs) due to the federal government's removal of land from the local tax roles; such revenue to be used for the public education of students.

## ***Reasons to become an Active Member of FLISA***

- 🇺🇸 Over the past 15 years, the president has proposed eliminating section 7002 Federal Properties funding from the budget 7 times. Only the advocacy efforts from FLISA members, NAFIS, and state legislators have prevented the funding from ultimately being cut.
- 🇺🇸 Recently, proposed bills from former House Leader Kevin McCarthy and Senator Bernie Sanders would have ultimately eliminated the 7002 funding your district currently receives. Members are kept up to date on these proposed bills and provided with detailed information to send to your representative legislators asking for their support.
- 🇺🇸 As a member of FLISA you will have a say and vote when it comes to new initiatives, budgets, funding formula changes, etc.
- 🇺🇸 As a member of FLISA you will understand how to maximize the funding your district receives and when you will receive funding.
- 🇺🇸 Your membership dollars will help provide the resources FLISA needs to increase funding levels and move toward a fully funded program. Currently, section 7002 Federal Properties funding is funded approximately 10 cents on the dollar.
- 🇺🇸 As a member of FLISA you will have access to the FLISA website and resources necessary to keep fully up to date on the program and your district's funding.
- 🇺🇸 Section 7002 Federal Properties is the smallest section of the Impact Aid program. We need to continue to grow our membership to have a say and remain relevant.
- 🇺🇸 The law that provides for Impact aid funding gets re-authorized and updated periodically which includes proposed changes to the funding formula. Proposed updates are written by the 7002 membership. Becoming a member and being involved protects your district's funding and future financial interests.

## ***How to Become a Member of FLISA***

- 🇺🇸 School leaders looking to protect their Impact Aid Funding can join FLISA by completing our membership form sent monthly or by contacting the FLISA Executive Director, Tom Schneider directly at: [schneiderthomasw@hotmail.com](mailto:schneiderthomasw@hotmail.com) or 219-545-1011.