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Memo to: Board and Members
From: Carol Cox Wait and Susan Tanaka
Date: February 1, 1999

Subject: The President's FY 2000 Budget: Warning!
Surpluses May be Dangerous to Fiscal Health

The President's Budget turns savings into spending, and new tax receipts into negative outlays—all the while claiming to turn spending into savings—and all in the name of saving Social Security.

That's why experts call it the "millennium budget"—one budget like this is more than enough to last us a thousand years.

The budget is in balance, but risks sending us back into the red. To fund all of the President's priorities (nearly \$400 billion over the next five years), and keep the budget in the black, the Administration relies on all of the following:

- \$258 billion in budget surpluses over the next five years—including \$145 billion of Social Security Surpluses;
- \$34.4 billion increased revenue from a 55¢ tobacco tax increase, plus acceleration of the BATF excise tax;
- \$16 billion over the next five years in "recoupment" from State tobacco settlements (reductions in State-administered federal public health, children's, youth smoking reduction and other programs);
- \$44 billion in other revenue increases and corporate loophole closers;
- \$48 billion in mandatory savings and \$5 billion in paygo balances.

The budget may be in the black, but this reminds us that black is the color of mourning. We mourn the passing of simple budget concepts and fiscal transparency so important to government accountability.

Remember what happened at the end of the last Congress. Many of the offsets assumed in the President's Budget failed to materialize. Nonetheless, the Administration continued to push for funding for the President's priorities. Republican Congressional leaders responded by pushing their own spending priorities, and we wound up with a so-called "emergency" spending bill larger than the budgets of all but ten States in the country.

Congressional Republicans want a large tax cut. We expect Congress will reject many of the President's proposed offsets. We fear the most likely compromise is a big tax cut for Republicans—and lots of new spending for the President—with most of the financing coming from Social Security surpluses. That would reduce the amounts of publicly held debt Treasury can retire, increase interest costs, and place a greater burden on future taxpayers. And this rush to instant gratification could make Social Security and Medicare reform even more difficult than they always promised to be.

Table 1: President's Initiatives and Source of Financing

	FY 2000-2004 (\$ billions)
Initiatives	
Discretionary spending increases	213
Mandatory spending increases	22
Universal Savings Accounts	96
Other tax cuts	33
Additional interest expense	<u>24</u>
Total	388
Financing	
Discretionary spending savings	0
Mandatory spending savings	48
Tobacco taxes	34
Other revenues and receipts	44
On-budget surpluses	114
Social Security surpluses	145
Paygo balances	<u>5</u>
Total	390

Economic and Budget Projections

OMB and CBO project large and growing surpluses well into the next century. As recently as May 1996, CBO projected deficits rising nearly to \$400 billion within 10 years. (See attachment 1 for a comparison of economic assumptions underlying budget projections.) Today, the country faces the prospect of surpluses of a similar magnitude. For politicians, projected budget surpluses may be more fun, but no less difficult to address than the escalating budget deficits of only a few years ago.

Table 2. Baseline Budget Deficits (-) /Surpluses (+)
(\$ Billions)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
CBO											
Off-budget	127	138	145	153	161	171	183	193	204	212	217
On-budget	-19	-7	6	55	48	63	72	113	130	143	164
Unified Total	107	131	151	209	209	234	256	306	333	355	381
OMB											
Off-budget	121	129	134	142	151	158	173	180	190	198	205
On-budget	-41	-12	0	45	31	50	58	103	130	156	188
Unified Total	80	117	134	187	182	208	231	283	320	354	393

Conventional wisdom says that projected surpluses are fantasy. Too bad. Running surpluses would allow government to reduce outstanding public debt, lower interest costs dramatically, and strengthen the country's ability to address looming costs of the baby boom's retirement.

Baselines assume steady economic conditions (no recessions or adverse economic difficulties), no major unforeseen events such as wars or catastrophic disasters, and no changes to current policies. Forget nature or the uncertainties of the global economy. Pundits and experts scoff at the notion that politicians will let surpluses accumulate untouched. Fiscal prudence and long-term planning don't win elections.

The President's FY 2000 Budget¹

The President's Budget plays hide and seek with Congressional Republicans. The budget uses surpluses to fund Administration priorities. It creates the illusion that there are no surpluses available to pay for broad-based tax cuts, which are the top priority of Congressional Republican leaders. Toward this end, the budget makes the surpluses disappear. (See table 3.)

Table 3. President's FY 2000 Budget Deficits (-) /Surpluses (+)
 (\$ Billions)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	5-Yr. Total: 2000-2004
Off-budget surpluses*	121	130	134	142	151	158	714
On-budget deficits/surpluses:	-42	-12	0	44	31	50	114
Proposed adjustments:							
Transfer to Social Security		-85	-70	-92	-90	-109	-445
Transfer to Medicare		-18	-20	-28	-27	-30	-124
USAs		-14	-16	-22	-21	-24	-96
Add'l discretionary spending			-26	-41	-36	-34	-138
Add'l interest costs		-0	-2	-4	-8	-10	-24
Total Adjustments	0	-117	-134	-187	-182	-207	-827
Adjusted on-budget deficits	-42	-130	-134	-142	-151	-158	-714
Unified Total**	79	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Social Security surpluses, effectively.

**Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: *President's FY 2000 Budget*

The Administration correctly argues that saving surpluses, i.e., buying down debt held by the public, would help make Social security more affordable. CBO projects that saving the entire surplus would reduce outstanding public debt from 44 percent to 9 percent of GDP between 1998 and 2009. Net interest would decline to \$95 billion, compared to \$243 billion in 1998.

¹ See Attachment 3 for more detail.

We believe that Congress and the Administration should adopt a “surplus lite” policy: they should limit new spending and/or tax cuts to on-budget (non-Social Security) surpluses. (OMB projects \$114 billion and CBO estimates \$165 billion in on-budget surpluses over five years.)

Unfortunately, the President’s budget would spend far more than that. OMB estimates that Social Security accounts for 86 percent of total surpluses (CBO says 82%) through 2004. But the budget would credit back to Social Security only 54 percent of total surpluses over the same period. (The President’s widely-publicized 62 percent figure for surpluses allocated to Social Security is based on 15 years, which would give the on-budget surplus time to grow. As we discovered, it is hard enough to estimate budget outcomes one year in advance, let alone 15 years!)

In other words, the budget proposes to save only 62 percent of Social Security surpluses for Social Security (\$445 out of \$714 billion) over the next five years. But you can be certain that the Administration will blast Republicans in Congress if they propose to use one dime of these surpluses to pay for tax cuts.

The sad fact is that projected budget surpluses will not be large enough to fund either the President’s priorities or Republicans’ desire to cut taxes and save Social Security’s surpluses. Had the President held the new initiatives in his budget to the amount of operating or “on-budget” surpluses, he would have held the high ground. He might have forestalled a feeding frenzy. Instead, the President’s budget may provide cover for Republicans who will argue it is better to get money out of Washington than divert Social Security taxes to pay for other parts of the budget.

Priority Initiatives

The budget also includes \$23 billion in unspecified “priority initiatives” for 2001-2004. Because the budget freezes non-defense discretionary spending from 2000 through 2004, these amounts are intended to provide flexibility in future budget making but are contingent upon enactment of Social Security reform.

Creative Accounting

The budget makes liberal use of reserves, contingent adjustments, allowances, and offsets to disguise proposed spending increases, particularly on the discretionary side of the budget. (See table 4.) These measures allow the Administration simultaneously to appear to live with the levels consistent with enacted discretionary spending caps while adding \$213 billion in new outlays.

Are we headed down that same path again? That may be the most likely scenario. Republicans want tax cuts and more defense spending. The President wants more spending for defense and his domestic priorities. The most likely outcome, given large looming surpluses is some of each.

Table 4: Net v. Gross Discretionary Spending
 (\$ Billions)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Discretionary (net of offsets and funding from surpluses)					
Defense	275	283	293	305	314
Non Defense	317	303	289	295	301
Offsets	-18	-13	-14	-16	-15
Total Discretionary	574	573	569	584	600
Discretionary (gross)					
Defense	275	293	310	318	329
Non Defense	316	320	313	318	320
Total Discretionary	592	612	623	636	649
Difference					
Defense	0	-10	-17	-13	-15
Non Defense	0	-17	-24	-23	-19
Total Discretionary	-18	-39	-54	-52	-50

The President's Social Security Proposal

As he did last year, the President calls for Social Security reform. In this budget, he proposes the following general framework:

1. Transfer 62 percent of cumulative 15-year budget surpluses² to the Social Security Trust Fund. (See earlier discussion about spending unified budget surpluses.)
2. Invest 21 percent of the amounts transferred in private equities (in the hope that increased earnings will extend the "solvency" of the Social Security Trust Fund).
3. Add new tax credits to provide subsidized individual savings accounts (Universal Savings Accounts—USAs) intended to supplement Social Security benefits in retirement.
4. Unspecified program changes to be developed through bipartisan cooperation.

The President focuses on how to pay for Social Security.

The President and other supporters of the current Social Security program seek to focus on financing mechanisms rather than program design and affordability. Thus, they focus primarily on extending the solvency of the Social Security Trust Fund.

² 62% when surpluses used for additional interest costs are not counted, but 57% of \$4.9 trillion in projected total surpluses.

This approach de-emphasizes the fact that future taxpayers will bear the cost of future Social Security benefit payments, whether or not the trust fund is solvent. Measures to extend trust fund solvency may limit future payroll tax burdens, but they would increase the amount of revenues from other sources (primarily income taxes) that would be needed to finance future benefits.

CBO projects that under current laws Social Security benefits will increase by amounts equal to 2 percent of GDP between now and 2030. In today's terms, that is about \$175 billion. CBO also projects that current law Medicare and Medicaid expenditures will triple as a percent of GDP over the same period. Future taxpayers will have to pay those bills unless Congress and the President act to cut promised benefits.

No free lunch.

Government could borrow to pay higher benefit costs, but that would strap future taxpayers with increased interest bills on top of the benefits. Moreover, CBO and other economic experts warn us, borrowing on the scale that would be needed indefinitely to cover those costs eventually could do serious damage to the nation's economy. Government could buy stocks—and hope to reap non-tax income for Social Security—but Treasury would have to forego purchases of publicly held debt. Social Security might gain, but the non-Social Security budget (and taxpayers) would be stuck with higher interest costs.³

Trust fund solvency misses the point. Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan warned Congress last week that Social Security Reform requires benefit reductions or tax increases. Henry Aaron points out that the Administration could have diverted enough resources into the trust fund to extend its solvency all the way to 2075 and beyond. The Administration explicitly recognizes the need for program reforms. But the President's budget is silent on those issues. It focuses instead on attractive add-ons and apparently painless financing issues.

We very deliberately spared you an explanation of why the President's proposal to devote 60 percent of projected surpluses to Social Security is a gimmick. (If you want to know, call and we will send you the explanation.) Suffice it to say the gimmick has no economic merit. The President's proposals would permit some repurchases of government debt held by the public. The economic benefits of paying down public debt could be very large and very real. But doing nothing at all potentially would result in more debt reduction than the President's budget proposals.

The fact is, the gimmick lets the President take credit for extending trust fund solvency for seventeen years—but it does not create a dime's worth of new resources. It likely will serve to undermine those on Capitol Hill who would try to hold the line and limit new spending or tax increases to the resources represented by on-budget (non-Social Security) surpluses. And it could destroy any political incentive to face up to the real problem.

³ The Committee's report, *Social Security Reform: Economic, Budget Concepts, Enforcement, and Scorekeeping Perspectives* (December 1998),

Proposed Budget Process Reforms

The budget proposes a number of budget process reforms:

- *Transfer existing paygo balances* to the discretionary side of the budget (to support an increase in defense programs);
- *End scoring of intra-budgetary payments as discretionary* if they result from legislative increases in mandatory spending that have been scored as paygo.
- *Reserve Funds*—enact higher caps for defense and discretionary spending, consistent with the reserves contained in the budget, provided Social Security reform is enacted.
- *Biennial budgeting* (perhaps including a joint resolution to lock in agreements between Congress and the President, on aggregate budget levels, for two years), even if Congress continued to provide better predictability and planning certainty to program administrators and beneficiaries.
- *Biennial appropriations* are not necessary to the success of biennial budgeting—but making two year appropriations would increase predictability of funding and would also permit congressional committees to perform their oversight functions in the off year with less distraction, according to the budget.
- *Expedited rescission authority*—The Supreme Court ruled the Line Item Act unconstitutional. The President continues to have authority to propose specific rescissions and withhold funds for 45 days. If Congress does nothing within the 45-day period, funds must be released. The Budget supports legislation requiring Congress to vote on Presidential rescission proposals as a means to ensure effective use of taxpayer dollars.

Building a Better Future: An Exercise in Hard Choices—Project Update

In January, over 700 people attend our Dallas ***Building a Better Future: Exercise in Hard Choices*** meeting. These meetings are open to the public and allow participants to focus on the type of government (including Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid) they want and how to pay for it as the population ages and the economy changes. Twenty-nine groups are participating in this major effort.

We have completed seven of a planned ten meetings. (See attachment 4 dates and locations.) *Exercise* participants consistently indicate:

- A strong preference of keeping the federal government at its current size (19% of GDP);
- A preference for some form of individual accounts in a reformed Social Security or retirement income program, with a plurality choosing to raise payroll taxes to help fund individual accounts as supplement to basic Social Security;
- Controlling the growth of Medicare costs either through a voucher (defined-contribution) approach (half of all groups) or through rigorous incremental reforms including raising the eligibility age to age 70 (a third of all groups); and

- Capping the growth of Medicaid costs, maintaining or increasing defense spending, and reducing all other spending by about 10 percent.
- If necessary to keep the budget balanced, in order of preference, participants would raise alcohol and tobacco taxes first and individual income and payroll tax rates last.
- Almost nine out of ten groups supported using the surpluses to reduce the public debt instead of adding new spending or cutting taxes.

Budget Issue Update Distribution

We have converted to broadcast fax to distribute our Budget Issue Updates. Please remember to inform us if your fax number or address changes. (We still mail some materials.)

Comparison of Economic Assumptions (Calendar Years)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Nominal GDP (% change)						
Blue Chip	3.9	4.2	4.7	5.0	5.1	5.0
CBO January	4.1	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.6
OMB 2000 Budget	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.5	4.5
Real GDP (Q4/Q4 % change)						
Blue Chip	2.1	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.6
CBO January	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.4
OMB 2000 Budget	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.4	2.4
GDP Price Index (Q4/Q4 % change)						
Blue Chip	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4
CBO January	2.1	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1
OMB 2000 Budget	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
CPI- All Urban (Q4/Q4 % change)						
Blue Chip	2.1	2.5	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7
CBO January	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6
OMB 2000 Budget	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Civilian Unemployment Rate (%)						
Blue Chip	4.7	4.9	5.4	5.4	5.2	5.2
CBO January	4.6	5.1	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.7
OMB 2000 Budget	4.8	5.0	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3
91-day Treasury bill Rate (%)						
Blue Chip	4.2	4.4	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.0
CBO January	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
OMB 2000 Budget	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.4
10-year Treasury note rate (%)						
Blue Chip	4.9	5.2	5.7	5.8	5.8	5.8
CBO January	5.1	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4
OMB 2000 Budget	4.9	5.0	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.4

Sources: President's 2000 Budget (February 1999). CBO Economic and Budget Outlook: Fiscal Years 2000-2009 (January 1999)

President's FY 2000 Budget

\$ billions

	Actual											
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Receipts												
Individual Income Taxes	829	869	900	912	943	971	1018	1069	1125	1182	1244	1309
Corporate Income Taxes	189	182	189	197	203	212	221	229	239	251	262	273
Social Insurance Taxes	572	609	637	660	686	712	739	779	807	843	877	913
Excise Taxes	58	68	70	71	72	74	75	77	78	80	82	84
Other Receipts	75	78	87	93	102	106	112	112	115	118	123	129
Total Receipts	1722	1806	1883	1933	2006	2075	2165	2266	2364	2474	2588	2708
Outlays												
Discretionary (net of offsets and funding from surpluses)												
Defense	270	278	275	283	293	305	314	332	346	359	370	384
Non Defense	285	303	317	303	289	295	301	300	299	302	310	316
Subtotal, Discretionary	555	581	592	586	582	600	615	632	645	661	680	700
Mandatory												
Social Security	376	389	405	424	444	465	487	511	537	564	594	626
Federal Retirement	75	77	80	83	86	89	92	95	99	102	106	110
Medicare	190	202	214	228	232	250	263	284	288	311	329	349
Medicaid	101	109	115	122	131	142	153	166	180	195	211	228
Unemployment	20	23	26	28	29	30	32	33	35	36	38	39
Means Tested	99	107	112	118	124	129	134	141	142	144	151	156
Deposit Insurance	-4	-5	-2	-2	-1	0	1	1	2	3	2	2
Offsetting Receipts	-47	-40	-43	-46	-52	-47	-48	-50	-51	-53	-55	-57
Other	45	57	53	53	52	53	55	59	60	61	66	68
Sutotal, Mandatory	855	919	959	1007	1044	1110	1170	1241	1290	1362	1440	1520
Net Interest	243	227	215	206	195	183	173	161	147	131	114	95
Total Outlays	1653	1727	1766	1799	1821	1893	1958	2034	2082	2154	2234	2315

OMB February 1999 Capped Baseline

\$ billions

	Actual											
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Receipts												
Individual Income Taxes	829	869	902	918	948	976	1023	1074	1130	1187	1249	1314
Corporate Income Taxes	189	182	186	193	199	208	217	225	235	247	258	268
Social Insurance Taxes	572	609	636	660	686	712	739	777	807	843	877	913
Excise Taxes	58	68	65	67	69	71	73	75	76	78	80	82
Other Receipts	75	78	82	87	96	100	105	105	108	111	117	122
Total Receipts	1722	1807	1872	1925	1998	2066	2157	2256	2357	2467	2581	2699
Outlays												
Discretionary												
Defense	269	272										
Non Defense	286	308										
Subtotal, Discretionary	555	580	574	573	568	584	600	616	631	648	666	685
Mandatory												
Social Security	376	389	405	424	444	465	487	511	537	564	594	626
Federal Retirement	75	77	80	83	86	89	92	95	98	102	106	109
Medicare	190	202	215	229	233	251	265	286	290	313	332	351
Medicaid	101	109	115	122	131	141	152	165	179	194	209	226
Unemployment	20	23	26	28	29	31	32	33	35	36	38	39
Means Tested	99	107	111	115	121	127	132	138	139	141	148	153
Deposit Insurance	-4	-5	-2	-2	-1	0	1	1	2	2	2	2
Offsetting Receipts	-47	-40	-42	-45	-51	-46	-47	-49	-50	-52	-54	-56
Other	45	57	58	57	56	59	62	66	67	68	73	75
Sutotal, Mandatory	855	919	966	1011	1048	1117	1177	1248	1297	1368	1447	1526
Net Interest	243	227	215	206	195	183	173	161	147	131	114	95
Total Outlays	1653	1726	1755	1791	1811	1884	1950	2025	2074	2147	2227	2306

President's FY 2000 Budget Proposals

<u>Proposed New Initiatives</u>		<u>Proposed Financing for New Initiatives</u>	
	\$ bil. 2000-2004		\$ bil. 2000-2004
New Spending		Spending Offsets	
Discretionary		Discretionary	0.0
Contingent spending (funded from surpluses)			
Department of Defense	54.6		
Non-DOD	60.5		
Reserve for Other Priorities	22.6		
Offset Spending			
(Funded by mandatory/revenue changes)	<u>75.2</u>		
Subtotal, Discretionary Initiatives	212.9	Subtotal, Discretionary	<u>0.0</u>
Mandatory		Mandatory	
Child care subsidies	6.7	Health care savings	10.9
Early Learning Fund	2.7	Student loan reform	2.9
Extend welfare to work	1.0	Tobacco recoupment	16.0
Medicare buy-in	1.4	Other mandatory	17.9
Medicaid changes	0.8		
Other health	3.6		
Superfund orphan shares	1.0		
Other mandatory	<u>4.6</u>		
Subtotal, Mandatory Initiatives	21.8	Subtotal, Mandatory Offsets	<u>47.7</u>
Debt Service	<u>24.4</u>		
Total, New Spending	259.1	Total, Spending Offsets	47.7
Tax Initiatives		Revenue/Receipt Increases	
Universal Savings Accounts	96.3	Reduce/eliminate corp. tax expenditures	7.2
Child/dependent care tax credit proposals	6.3	Other revenue proposals	26.2
Energy efficiency/environment credits	3.6	Tobacco legislation receipts	34.5
Education		Reinstate Superfund excise taxes	3.8
School construction tax credit	3.7	Reinstate corp. environmental income tax	2.7
Employer-provided assistance	1.2	FAA user fees	5.3
Low-income housing tax credit	1.6	Other receipt provisions	-1.2
Long-term care tax credit	5.0		
Retirement savings	1.0		
Extend expiring provisions			
R&E tax credit	2.1		
Allow personal credits against AMT	1.4		
Other	<u>6.8</u>		
Total, Tax Initiatives	128.9	Total, Revenue/Receipt Increases	<u>78.4</u>
		Surplus	258.4
		Transfer PAYGO balances	5.0
Total, New Proposals	388.0	Total, Financing for New Initiatives	389.6

Note: Reflects OMB estimates of President's policies relative to the OMB Current Services (capped) baseline.

Building a Better Future: An Exercise in Hard Choices

1998-99 Meeting Sites

University of Oklahoma Norman, Oklahoma	January 24, 1998
Hyatt Regency Long Beach, California	February 20, 1998
Colorado Convention Center Denver, Colorado	April 6, 1998
Shriners Oasis Conference Center Cincinnati, Ohio	May 16, 1998
UNC-Greensboro Greensboro, North Carolina	June 13, 1998
Kennedy School of Government Cambridge, Massachusetts	October 17, 1998
Dallas Market Center Dallas, Texas	January 18, 1999
Seattle, Washington	Spring 1999
New York Metro	Spring 1999
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida	Spring 1999