

**MEMORANDUM**

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**Subject: The Historical Policy Context for the FY1977-FY1996 Funding Gaps: Excerpts from Government and Media Sources**

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This memorandum responds to multiple requests for CRS to provide background on the historical policy context for the 17 funding gaps that occurred between FY1977 and FY1996.<sup>1</sup> These funding gaps are listed in CRS Report RS20348, *Federal Funding Gaps: A Brief Overview*, by Jessica Tollestrup.

In response to these requests, CRS located a number of media and government sources that identify potential contributing factors for each funding gap that relate to this historical policy context. Relevant excerpts from these sources that summarize these potential contributing factors are listed in **Table 1**.<sup>2</sup> The first four columns of the table identify the fiscal year, final date of budget authority, full days of gaps, and the date on which the gap terminated, for each of the 17 funding gaps that occurred during this period. The fifth column provides the text of the excerpt. CRS is able to provide the full text of these sources upon request.

The excerpts in this table are only intended to address the historical policy context for these funding gaps and not whether a shutdown occurred on any of these occasions. For background on federal government shutdowns, see CRS Report RL34680, *Shutdown of the Federal Government: Causes, Processes, and Effects*, coordinated by Clinton T. Brass. Resources related to recent shutdowns are summarized in CRS Report R41759, *Past Government Shutdowns: Key Resources*, by Jared C. Nagel and Justin Murray.

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<sup>1</sup> A “funding gap” (also referred to as a “funding lapse”) is the interval during the fiscal year when appropriations for a particular project or activity are not enacted into law, either in the form of a regular appropriations act or a continuing resolution. For further information on funding gaps, see CRS Report RS20348, *Federal Funding Gaps: A Brief Overview*, by Jessica Tollestrup.

<sup>2</sup> A number of CRS analysts contributed to the research for this memorandum, including Clinton Brass, Pat Towell, David Randall Peterman, Baird Webel, Eugene Boyd, William Painter, Carol Hardy-Vincent, Karen Spar, Ida Brudnick, Jim Monke, Marian Lawson, David Bearden, and Matthew Glassman.

**Table I. Appropriations Funding Gaps Since FY1977-FY1996**

Fiscal Year	Final Date of Budget Authority <sup>a</sup>	Full Day(s) of Gaps <sup>b</sup>	Date on Which Gap Terminated <sup>c</sup>	Excerpts Related to the Historical Policy Context
1977	Thursday, 09/30/76	10	Monday, 10/11/76	<p>“Congress Oct. 1 cleared and sent to the President a continuing appropriations resolution (H J Res 1105—PL 94-473) to provide temporary funding for several categories of health, education and jobs programs. The activities covered by the resolution lacked regular fiscal 1977 appropriations because they had not been authorized in time for inclusion in the \$56.6-billion appropriations bill (HR 14232) for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Without a measure to tide them over until the next Congress, the programs would have received no further funding after Sept. 30.</p> <p>“Although it did not specify dollar amounts for most individual programs, the resolution required sufficient funding to sustain the activities at their fiscal 1976 levels of operations until supplemental appropriations could be enacted. The measure also freed funds for the Energy Research and Development Administration, whose authorization got caught in a last-minute pre-adjournalment snarl, and contained small appropriations for emergency flood damage, federal crop insurance and payment of claims against the U.S. government.”<sup>d</sup></p>
1978	Friday, 09/30/77	12	Thursday, 10/13/77	<p>“When fiscal 1978 began on Oct. 1, three of the 13 regular spending bills had not been sent to the White House. The reasons, largely unrelated to spending levels, were these:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o The bill for the Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Departments was stuck in a conference committee that could not decide whether any of its funds should be used for abortions.</li> <li>o The foreign aid bill lay in a conference committee that was hung up over House insistence that World Bank aid be denied to a group of nations.</li> <li>o The District of Columbia bill had not cleared the Senate because the D.C. government was three months late submitting its budget request and the Senate was tied up by a filibuster over natural gas pricing.”<sup>e</sup> <p>“1977 Action: [The HEW bill was delayed because] [t]he House again voted to ban all federal funding of abortions....The Senate had voted, 56-39, to keep the 1976 exception, for abortions needed to save the mother’s life, and to add to others, allowing abortions that were “medically necessary” and those that would terminate a pregnancy resulting from rape or incest. It took five months and 25 roll-call votes for the two chambers to resolve their differences.”<sup>f</sup></p> </li></ul>

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	Monday, 10/31/77	8	Wednesday, 11/09/77	<p>“The legal right of the District of Columbia government and the U.S. departments of Labor and of Health Education and Welfare to spend money expired last night....</p> <p>“The enactment of the D.C. budget for this fiscal year that began Oct. 1 has been held up in a dispute over a proposed convention center and the Labor - HEW budget has been stalled over federal financing of abortions. To keep the governmental units operating, Congress enacted a continuing resolution Oct. 13 that expired last night.”<sup>g</sup></p> <p>“The convention center issue is basically a clash between two lawmakers who led the two chambers to take those opposite positions - veteran Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky.), a supporter of the project, and freshman Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), an opponent of the convention center plan.</p> <p>“As chairmen of the House and Senate District Appropriations subcommittees, Natcher and Leahy faced each other across a table at two sessions of a joint conference committee that tried to agree on a budget. The conferees deadlocked on the convention center issue, and Natcher has not agreed on a third session. Leahy has said he would meet at any time.</p> <p>“There are other issues between the conferees as well, including the authorized size of the police department (Natcher wants a slightly bigger one than the city proposes) and the amount of the federal payment, which chiefly compensates the city for its inability to collect taxes on government-owned property.”<sup>h</sup></p>
	Wednesday, 11/30/77	8	Friday, 12/09/77	<p>“The breakthrough came when the House voted 181–167 to partially loosen restrictions on payment of Medicaid money for abortions for low-income women in cases of rape, incest and severe physical illness. The Senate, despite its long-standing preference for a more lenient policy, quickly approved the new wording by voice vote the same day.”<sup>i</sup></p>
1979	Saturday, 09/30/78	17	Wednesday, 10/18/78	<p>“The Defense bill was held up by veto and the necessity to rewrite the bill authorizing purchase of military hardware.</p> <p>“The HEW bill has passed both bodies and will be considered by a House-Senate conference today. But it is expected to be delayed by the annual fight over the federal funds for abortion.”<sup>j</sup></p> <p>“When fiscal 1978 began on Oct. 1, three of the 13 regular spending bills had not been sent to the White House. The reasons, largely unrelated to spending levels, were these:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o The bill for the Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Departments was stuck in a conference committee that could not decide whether any of its funds should be used for abortions.</li> <li>o The foreign aid bill lay in a conference committee that was hung up over House insistence that World Bank aid be denied to a group of nations.</li> <li>o The District of Columbia bill had not cleared the Senate because the D.C. government was three months late submitting its budget request and the Senate was tied up by a filibuster over natural gas pricing.<sup>k</sup></li> </ul>

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1980	Sunday, 09/30/79	11	Friday, 10/12/79	<p>“The House Sept. 28—just two days before the new fiscal year was to begin---adopted the conference language on the pay raise and backed its conferees’ refusal to yield on abortion. It then recessed for 10 days, leaving the Senate either to accept both the pay raise and the House abortion language or kill the funding resolution.”</p> <p>“The resolution would have provided short term funding through November 20, 1979 for affected federal agencies, “House insistence on a pay raise and its abortion language coupled with a decision to recess for 10 days so irritated the Senate that it rejected the conference report on H. J. Res. 404 Sept. 28. The action killed the bill that would have provided emergency funding beginning Oct. 1 for almost all federal departments and agencies. The funding was necessary because Congress had not enacted 10 of the 13 regular fiscal 1980 appropriations bills by the beginning of the fiscal year.</p> <p>“Once again the issues were turned over to House-Senate conferees, who reached a shaky truce Oct. 12 that both chambers agreed to accept. The resolution (H.J. Res. 412---P.L.96-86), which was signed Oct. 12, came just in time. An official at the Office of Management and Budget said that some 2.3 million federal paychecks would have been reduced or not issued at all if the dispute hadn’t been resolved by Oct. 17.”<sup>l</sup></p> <p>“The federal government heads in to a new fiscal year tomorrow without funding for most agencies and departments because of an inflamed dispute between the House and Senate over abortions for low-income women and congressional pay raise.”<sup>m</sup></p>
1982	Friday, 11/20/81	2	Monday, 11/23/81	<p>“After a dramatic confrontation with President Reagan that forced a temporary shutdown of much of the government, Congress Nov. 23 approved an emergency continuing appropriations measure (H J Res 368 — PL 97-85) to fund federal agencies through Dec. 15. ...</p> <p>Reagan Nov. 23 had vetoed an earlier continuing resolution ...</p> <p>Funding for the government had run out at midnight Friday Nov. 20 — the expiration date of the first continuing appropriations resolution ...</p> <p>Action on the resolution was necessary because only one of the 13 regular appropriations bills for fiscal 1982 — the Legislative Branch measure — had been enacted. Two other bills, for the District of Columbia (HR 4522) and energy and water programs (HR 4144), had been cleared by Congress but not signed by the president as of Nov. 25.”<sup>n</sup></p> <p>“The Government shut down many of its operations today because of a budget impasse between Congress and the White House. But it was a temporary disruption, with Congress later providing funds to permit Government workers to return to their jobs Tuesday.</p> <p>“As Congress rushed to respond to Mr. Reagan’s early-morning veto of an emergency spending</p>

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				resolution, the Government shut some of its offices and began furloughing nonessential personnel.” <sup>o</sup> □
1983	Thursday, 09/30/82	1	Saturday, 10/02/82	<p>“To make up for the lack of funding legislation, Congress had to clear a mammoth continuing appropriations resolution (HJRES 599) before it departed. That, too, was late. It did not clear until late on Oct. 1, leaving the federal government technically broke for a full workday. Administration officials, anticipating the passage of the resolution, kept federal workers on the job anyway. Congress worked on, too, clearing Oct. 1 a \$7 billion appropriations bill (HR 6968) for military construction during fiscal 1983.”<sup>p</sup></p>
	Friday, 12/17/82	3	Tuesday, 12/21/82	<p>“It was four days late and caused many frayed nerves, but the second continuing appropriations resolution for fiscal 1983 was finally signed into law Dec. 21 (H J Res 631 — PL 97-377).”</p> <p>“No one was totally satisfied with the \$379 billion measure, which was required because only three of the regular fiscal 1983 appropriations bills had been signed into law by the time the existing continuing resolution (PL 97-276) expired at midnight Friday, Dec. 17. (Four additional bills cleared before Congress adjourned.) Technically, much of the government was without funds during the four-day lapse. (Box, p. 241; PL 97-276, p. 225)”</p> <p>“The Senate began consideration of the measure late Dec. 16. Debate continued through that night and into the next, when the existing continuing resolution expired. The Senate resumed work on H J Res 631 Dec. 18, and was about ready to vote on final passage when John P. East, R-N.C., one of the group of conservatives filibustering the highway/gas tax bill (HR 6211), took to the floor to prevent the final vote. East hoped that by holding the funding bill hostage he could prevent a final vote on the gas tax. (Highway bill, p. 317) After some parliamentary maneuvering, the leadership finally regained control of the floor. But East's actions meant that the final vote was put off until Dec. 19. Conferees were actually meeting and working out the final agreement when the Senate voted 63-31 to approve the continuing resolution. (Vote 451, p. 75-S)”<sup>q</sup></p> <p>“In a scene that is becoming increasingly associated with congressional adjournments, the lawmakers were fighting a government shutdown deadline. Funding for most government agencies ran out at midnight Dec. 17.”</p> <p>“Congress raced the clock as it tried to clear a massive continuing appropriations bill that would keep the government in business after Dec. 17.... However, since the expiration date fell on a Friday, Congress believed it had the weekend to resolve the funding problem before the government would be threatened with a shutdown. And as Dec. 17 wore on, it became increasingly apparent that Congress would not meet the midnight deadline.”<sup>r</sup></p>
1984	Thursday, 11/10/83	3	Monday, 11/14/83	<p>“Final passage of the continuing resolution came after a week-long confrontation between House Democrats and Reagan over nearly \$1 billion in extra domestic spending the House attached to the bill. Reagan’s veto threat dissipated, though, when House and Senate conferees Nov. 11 whittled down</p>

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				<p>the extra education and social welfare spending to \$98.7 million, one-tenth of the \$997.7 million that House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, first proposed.”<sup>s</sup></p> <p>“The dramatic disorder on the continuing resolution had different themes in the House and Senate. But in both chambers, the common thread was the desire of lawmakers to attach controversial items to one of the last pieces of legislation they felt certain would clear before this year’s adjournment, now set for Nov. 18. In the House, the first version of the interim spending bill fell victim to a band of freshman Democrats making a symbolic protest against soaring federal deficits.... The House battle also focused on the controversial plan, offered by Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, to add nearly \$1 billion to the bill for education and social programs. In the Senate, the major sticking point was abortion funding by federal employee health insurance plans. After a filibuster and several close votes, the Senate joined the House in barring the use of federal employee health benefits to pay for abortions except when the mother’s life is in danger. The Senate also engaged in its regular practice of decorating a catchall money bill with extraneous amendments. One of the more timely amendments appropriated \$100,000 for a reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons involved in the Nov. 7 bombing of the Capitol.”<sup>t</sup></p> <p>“Final passage of the continuing resolution came after a week-long face-off between House Democrats and Reagan over nearly \$1 billion in extra domestic spending the House attached to the bill.... Reagan’s veto threat dissipated, though, when House and Senate conferees Nov. 11 whittled down the extra education and social welfare spending to \$98.7 million, one-tenth of the \$997.7 million that House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, originally proposed.”<sup>u</sup></p> <p>“By the time it adjourned Nov. 18, Congress had cleared 10 of the 13 regular annual appropriations bills for fiscal 1984. All were scaled to stay within limits acceptable to President Reagan, who had threatened to veto measures that exceeded his budget proposals. Programs covered by the three remaining bills were funded through Sept. 30, 1984, by a catchall continuing appropriations resolution (H.J. Res 413 - PL 98-151) cleared Nov. 12. The House had rejected an earlier version of the continuing resolution (H J Res 403) after Democratic leaders succeeded in adding nearly \$1 billion for social programs. Reagan adamantly opposed the extra money, which the House approved on a 254-155 key vote (R 22-134; D 232-21). The resolution itself was rejected 203-206, as rebellious freshman Democrats, angry over Congress’ stalemate on deficit reduction legislation, voted against the measure.”<sup>v</sup></p>
1985	Sunday, 09/30/84	2	Wednesday, 10/03/84	“President Reagan signed H J Res 648 on Oct. 12. The measure was needed because only four of the 13 regular fiscal 1985 appropriations bills had been enacted by the Oct. 1 start of the 1985 fiscal year.

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	Wednesday, 10/03/84	1	Friday, 10/05/84	<p>The size of the bill and its timing — it was one of the last major legislative vehicles considered before Congress adjourned Oct. 12 —made enactment a struggle.”<sup>w</sup></p> <p>“... While working on the spending bill Wednesday [October 3, 1984], the Senate rejected a proposal that would have forbidden the Central Intelligence Agency or the Defense Department to use funds for military or paramilitary activities in Nicaragua. The House of Representatives passed its version of the stopgap spending bill on Sept. 25, but the Senate has adopted many amendments while it considered its version, and the two versions must be reconciled in a conference of members from the two chambers. Lawmakers, eager to adjourn Friday, said the negotiations would be difficult. The bill, which provides spending authority of nearly \$500 billion, has become a vehicle for dozens of pet projects and major legislative initiatives dealing with foreign aid, missiles and ships, water projects, bridges and other public works.”<sup>x</sup></p>
1987	Thursday, 10/16/86	1	Saturday, 10/18/86	<p>“Conferees approved their version of H.J.Res 738 on Oct. 15. However, they did not resolve differences on six items, which they returned to the two chambers for final decisions. [After acceding] to the Senate on two, the House reasserted its stand on the others and sent these items together with the conference agreement to the Senate. On Oct. 16, the Senate by voice vote adopted the conference agreement and then, like the House, had to deal separately with the unresolved items. This situation opened the way procedurally for last-ditch attempts by Senators to reopen other questions, including a dispute over funding for military training aircraft, which was to delay final Senate action for nearly a day ... [The Senate also decided] to reject two House-passed provisions. One barred construction firms from evading union strictures by shifting work to non-union subsidiaries, the other, a ‘Buy-American’ rule, required that half the materials and labor used in offshore oil-drilling rigs be of U.S. origin. Both provisions were opposed by the administration. Senators’ rejection of the [two provisions] meant that H.J.Res 738 returned once more to the House.”<sup>y</sup></p> <p>“Four successive temporary funding measures kept the government going as Congress struggled with the yearlong bill. The last of these stopgap measures expired at midnight Oct. 16. By then, both chambers and the Reagan administration had agreed on the major elements of [the yearlong bill] but a handful of relatively minor disputes held up final action.”<sup>z</sup></p>
1988	Friday, 12/18/87	1	Sunday, 12/20/87	<p>“The third [short-term CR]...was for just 48 hours to keep pressure on conferees to resolve their differences. For the same reason, it was allowed to lapse Dec. 18 as members continued working.”</p> <p>“House and Senate negotiators Dec. 18 approached settlement on numerous differences. But the compromise still needed approval... in a vote that could be held no earlier than Dec. 20, given the computations and paperwork to be completed.... The major issues dividing negotiators included foreign aid, particularly for the contras, the fairness doctrine [balanced reporting by broadcasters] and farm-program costs.”<sup>aa</sup></p>

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1991	Friday, 10/05/90	3	Tuesday, 10/09/90	<p>“The standoff between the White House and Congress was created when the House rejected the first budget pact-which Bush had said was critical to the future of the nation-by a 254-179 vote... The White House said it had warned all along that if the budget legislation were defeated, a shutdown would follow, and the administration refused to ease the situation for Congress by signing the stopgap funding measure.... Most of the objections to the first budget package centered on \$60 billion in Medicare cuts and \$134 billion in taxes contained in the five-year, \$500 billion deficit-reduction package.”<sup>bb</sup></p> <p>“Five months of increasingly desperate budget negotiations collapsed in politically embarrassing failure Oct. 5. Summit negotiators' best efforts could not bridge the House's radically different visions of how to solve the nation's fiscal crisis, and rank-and-file House members refused to approve a painful, take-it-or-leave-it budget package barely a month before they had to face re-election... The immediate cause of the political disaster for President Bush and top House leaders of both parties was a rare alliance of the House's left and right wings. Conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats who had seethed in frustration for months as mostly moderate negotiators drew up a budget deal for them finally got their chance to join the process, combining forces to kill or at least temporarily cripple the package in a decisive 179-254 House vote. Republicans outraged at the plan's new taxes and Democrats furious over cuts in safety net programs and the added burden on low- and middle-income taxpayers formed a bloc more than large enough to shrug off a week's worth of high-level lobbying by the White House and top House leadership.”<sup>cc</sup></p>
1996	Monday, 11/13/95	5	Sunday, 11/19/95	<p>“The first CR expired at midnight Nov. 13. Only three of the spending bills had been signed; Clinton had vetoed a fourth bill, for the legislative branch, saying Congress should not take care of its own business before funding other parts of the government.</p> <p>GOP infighting over ancillary issues such as abortion and environmental regulations had brought progress on the remaining appropriations bills to a near standstill. And Republican leaders were devoting much of their energy to finishing the separate budget-reconciliation bill.”</p> <p>“Republicans had made the new CR (HJ Res 115) tougher, in part to raise pressure on Clinton to come to terms on the unfinished appropriations bills, several of which he had threatened to veto, and in part to satisfy GOP conservatives who were spoiling for a fight, even if that risked a government shutdown.</p> <p>Included in the CR was a provision to immediately invoke a GOP plan to keep Medicare's optional Part B premium for doctor care at 31.5 percent of program cost, rather than allowing it to drop back as scheduled to 25 percent on Jan. 1, 1996. The proposal was part of the unfinished budget reconciliation bill.</p> <p>In addition, House Republicans attempted to add a controversial provision to impose lobbying restrictions on organizations that received federal grants. But the inability to find language satisfactory</p>

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				to both chambers forced bill leaders to drop the proposal.” <sup>dd</sup>
	Friday, 12/15/95	21	Saturday, 01/06/96	<p>“Budget negotiators from both parties asked their colleagues not to force another government shutdown. But enraged House Republicans, convinced that Clinton did not really want a balanced budget, saw that as their only leverage. In effect, they took some 260,000 federal employees hostage, betting that Clinton and Democrats cared more about getting the government fully functional than they did.</p> <p>“A lot of them [Republicans] will be happy about this, because they don't think we ought to have a government up here anyway,’ Clinton grumbled.</p> <p>“Some moderate Republicans, particularly in the Senate, looked on in horror, convinced that the second shutdown and images of GOP intransigence just days before Christmas would devastate them in public opinion polls. But there was nothing they could do: By well-established precedent, the stopgap spending measure that could put the government back to work had to originate in the House.</p> <p>“Hard-line House Republicans had believed all year that if they could produce a real balanced budget, all the short-term hits they took in the polls would dissipate, replaced by a surge of public approval for solving a problem that had vexed the nation for a generation. ‘This is the most defining moment in 30 years in this town, and the question is, is it going to be business as usual, or are we going to do the right thing for our children?’ said House GOP Conference Chairman John A. Boehner, R-Ohio. The polls, Boehner said, were ‘irrelevant.’</p> <p>“House Republicans felt so strongly about not giving an inch that they publicly forced Gingrich to reverse an agreement to produce a CR once serious budget talks were under way. Although Gingrich later denied there was any deal for a CR, other GOP leaders said they had to privately confront him when he came back from a White House meeting Dec. 19 to get him to back off a tentative agreement with the White House.”<sup>ee</sup></p>

**Source:** CRS research and sources as indicated in the table notes. Data on funding gaps from CRS Report RS20348, *Federal Funding Gaps: A Brief Overview*, by Jessica Tollestrup.

a. Budget authority expired at the end of the date indicated. For example, for the first FY1996 funding gap, budget authority expired at the end of the day on Monday, November 13, 1995, and the funding gap of five full days commenced on Tuesday, November 14, 1995. The enactment of a CR on the day after the previous CR expired, which has occurred often, is not counted as involving a funding gap.

b. Full days are counted as beginning after the final day on which budget authority was available, and ending the day before the gap terminated. For example, for the first FY1996 funding gap, the full days of the gap were from November 14, 1995, through November 18, 1995, for a total of five full days.

c. Gap terminated due to the enactment of a continuing resolution, or one or more regular appropriations acts.

d. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXII, 1976, “Continued Funding, 1977,” pp. 789-790. See also *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXII, 1976, “Veto of Labor-HEW Funds Overridden,” pp. 790-804; See also GAO, *Funding Gaps Jeopardize Federal Government Operations*, PAD-31-81, Table 2, “Funding Gaps in Federal Appropriations Between FY1981 and FY1962, Major Causes of Delay, Selected Years,” p. 13, accessed at <http://www.gao.gov/assets/140/132616.pdf>.

- e. *National Journal*, "Congress fails to make appropriations deadline," Oct. 8, 1977, p. 1587.
- f. *Congress and the Nation*, vol. V, 1977-1980, Special Report: "Abortion: The Continuing Congressional Controversy," p. 811.
- g. *The Washington Post*, "D.C. Labor, HEW Lose Right to Spend: New Continuing Resolution in Works," November 1, 1977.
- h. *The Washington Post*, "City Budget Held up in Congressional Dispute," District Weekly; DC3, November 10, 1977.
- i. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, "Abortion Agreement Ends Funding Deadlock," Dec. 10, 1977, pp. 2547.
- j. *Washington Post*, "Funding Lags as Fiscal Year Begins," Oct. 3, 1978.
- k. *National Journal*, "Congress Fails to Make Appropriations Deadline," Oct. 8, 1977, p. 1587.
- l. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXV, "Pay, Abortion Issues Delay Hill Funding Bills," pp. 270-277.
- m. Mary Russell, *Washington Post*, "Hill Passes Compromise on Pay Bill, Measure Includes 5.5% Raise, Alters Abortion Language," October 13, 1979, p. A1.
- n. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXVII. "2nd Continuing Resolution: 1st Reagan Veto," pp. 294-301.
- o. David Shribman, *The New York Times*, "Federal Offices Shut Down as Workers are Sent Home," Nov.24, 1981, p. B15.
- p. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, "Congress Crams Bills Through in Rush to Quit," Oct. 2, 1982, p. 2415.
- q. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXVIII, "2nd 1983 Continuing Resolution: \$379 Billion." pp. 238-42.
- r. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, "Senate Holds Up Lame-Duck Adjournment" Dec. 18, 1982, p. 3039.
- s. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXIX, 1983 "Congress Clears 2nd Continuing Resolution." p. 528-31.
- t. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, "Congress Struggles to Clear 2nd Stopgap Spending Bill," Nov. 12, 1983, p. 2347
- u. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, "Congress Clears 1984 Continuing Resolution," Nov. 19, 1983, p. 2431
- v. *Congress and the Nation*, vol. VI, 1981-1984, "Fiscal 1984 Appropriations," p. 56.
- w. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXX "Last-Minute Money Bill Was Largest Ever." pp. 444-47.
- x. *The New York Times*, "Senate Works Past Deadline on Catchall Government Spending Bill," by Robert Pear, October 4, 1984, p. A29.
- y. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XLII, 1986 "\$576 Billion Omnibus Funding Bill Approved," p. 224.
- z. *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, vol. XXXXIV, "Appropriations," October 25, 1986, p. 2651.
- aa. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXXIIIV, 1988 "\$603.9 Billion Omnibus Funding Bill Clears." pp. 480-488.
- bb. Janet Cawley and Elaine Povich, *The Chicago Tribune* "Budget Impasse Shuts Down the Government," October 6, 1990. Available at: [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1990-10-06/news/9003230146\\_1\\_stopgap-funding-measure-white-house-shutdown](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1990-10-06/news/9003230146_1_stopgap-funding-measure-white-house-shutdown).
- cc. George Hager, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*, "Defiant House Rebukes Leaders; New Round of Fights Begins" October 6, 1990. Available at: <http://www.cq.com/doc/weeklyreport-WR101401576?wr=eFF6UIQqRXM3azBGMHRnTmPvWnIEZw>.
- dd. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXXXI, 1996, "Government Shuts Down Twice Due to Lack of Funding."
- ee. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. XXXXXI, 1996, "Government Shuts Down Twice Due to Lack of Funding."