

AMERICA'S TOUGH CHOICES

CITIZENS JURY®

ON THE

FEDERAL BUDGET

1993

A Project of the Jefferson Center
Conducted in Washington, D.C.



AMERICA'S TOUGH CHOICES

CITIZENS JURYsm

1993

Report on "Sacrifices?" Panel
January 10-14, 1993
Washington, D.C.

The Jefferson Center
364 Century Plaza
1111 Third Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55404
612-333-5300

AMERICA'S TOUGH CHOICES
1993 CITIZENS JURY_{sm}

REPORT ON "SACRIFICES?" PANEL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Summary	1
Underwriters.....	4
Overview of America's Tough Choices Project	
Project Outline	5
Agenda for "Sacrifices?" Panel.....	6
Charge to the Jurors.....	7
Findings and Recommendations	
Introduction	8
Steps in the Process.....	8
Answers to the Charge.....	9
Recommended Budget.....	12
Projected Expenditures, Revenues, and Deficits	13
Jury Proposals Compared to Clinton Proposals.....	13
Proposed Expenditures by Budget Category.....	14
<i>Chart I.</i> Expenditures:	
Infrastructure, Social Infrastructure, Other Government.....	15
<i>Chart II.</i> Expenditures:	
Defense, Health Care, Social Security.....	16
Participants	
The Jefferson Center.....	17
Advisory Committee	18
Jurors	19
Speakers and Resource People	
Thomas F. Stinson	21
Steven E. Schier.....	21
Former Rep. Vin Weber	22
Robert Kuttner.....	22
Small Group Resource People	23
Jefferson Center Project Personnel	24
Juror Evaluations	
Evaluation Summary	27
Personal Comments	28

Appendices

The Clinton Point of View

Overview from <u>Putting People First</u>	32
Clinton Budget Summary.....	33

A Conservative Point of View

Overview	34
Defense	35
Social Infrastructure	36
Social Security and Pensions.....	37
Health Care.....	38
Physical Infrastructure and the Environment.....	39
Other Government Activity	40
Taxes	41
Conservative Budget Summary Table.....	42

A Liberal Point of View

Overview	43
Defense	44
Social Infrastructure.....	45
Social Security, Pensions, and Veterans' Benefits.....	46
Health.....	47
Physical Infrastructure.....	49
Other Government.....	50
Taxes	51
Budget summary.....	52
Liberal Budget Summary Table.....	53

Small Group Discussion Summaries

Introduction	54
Defense	55
Social Infrastructure.....	56
Social Security	57
Health Care.....	58
Physical Infrastructure	59
Other Government.....	60

Press clippings

The Jefferson Center
364 Century Plaza
1111 Third Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55404
Tel: 612-333-5300
Fax: 612-344-1766

SUMMARY

The most remarkable and heartening feature of the 1992 presidential campaign was the voters' assertion of their desire for greater participation in the political process and more direct and extensive communication with their elected representatives.

This was manifested in the presidential debate in Richmond where the candidates were questioned directly by citizens in the audience rather than by a moderator or panel of journalists, and in the emergence of television and radio talk shows as means of direct communication between the candidates and the voters. Since the election, President Clinton has repeatedly voiced his determination to maintain personal contact with the citizens and Ross Perot has begun scheduling the electronic Town Hall Meetings he advocated in his campaign.

In mid-January, President Clinton and the 103rd Congress were treated to an intensive and impressive demonstration of the capacity of ordinary citizens to quickly grasp complex policy issues--in this case the federal budget--and arrive at a number of principled and sophisticated decisions that put the national welfare above their own individual interests.

A 24-member Citizens Jury, chosen from all over the United States by the Jefferson Center, met for five days, January 10 through 14, in the nation's capital to determine what priorities and difficult decisions--the theme of the conference was "Tough Choices"--the nation must make to rejuvenate the economy and ensure long-term growth and prosperity. They sent the President and the Congress the message that they were willing to raise taxes on themselves and undergo federal spending cuts in certain areas in order to achieve the priorities and goals they decided were most important to the nation's welfare.

Their answer to the primary question, "Sacrifices?" was that they were willing to make sacrifices now for the future benefit of their children and the nation as a whole. Their performance was so impressive that Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), a long-time friend and political colleague of President Clinton and a member of the powerful Senate Finance Committee, who spoke to the jury, invited them to send representatives to appear before the committee later this year. Rep. Martin Sabo (D-Minn.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, proffered a similar invitation. ABC's "Nightline" program has video tapes of the entire session and is planning to do a program on it. One of PBS's most influential stations, WETA-TV in Washington, has expressed a strong interest in producing programs on the second and third Citizens Jury panels planned for late spring and fall. The Minneapolis Star Tribune editorialized that President Clinton and the Congress should "sit up and take notice" of the jurors' judgments.

Working with the Fiscal Year 1997 federal budget figures projected by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the jurors voted for a radically reformed health care system that would cost \$20 billion more than the \$364 billion the CBO has currently projected, primarily for federal Medicare and Medicaid programs. They were willing for the taxpayers to pay more to ensure cheaper health care insurance under programs that would guarantee coverage to everyone and prohibit price discrimination on age and infirmity.

They elected to increase taxes by \$70 billion to finance their health care plan and increases in other programs such as workfare, day care, and retraining for workers who are being laid off. Because of the tax increases and their cuts in spending in such areas as defense (\$25 billion) and Social Security (\$9 billion), their budget deficit for FY 1997 was less than both those of the CBO and President Clinton, as outlined in his book, Putting People First.

The projected budget figures were: CBO--\$1.745 trillion; Clinton--\$1.763 trillion; Citizens Jury--\$1.719 trillion. The budget deficits were: CBO--\$290 billion; Clinton--\$264 billion; Citizens Jury--\$194 billion.

The 24 jurors came to Washington generally not disposed to raise taxes. When they began their deliberations, 47 percent favored cutting taxes, 17 percent were for increasing taxes, and the rest were for keeping them the same. Working with the realities of budget decisions changed their minds, however.

The jurors were selected from a nation-wide random sample of about 1,200 by two professional organizations, Survey Sampling in Connecticut and Project Research of Minneapolis, who select polling samples for public opinion organizations such as Gallup. The jurors were finally chosen to be representative of all geographic areas, gender, age, race, education, 1992 vote for president, and attitude toward raising taxes and/or cutting government programs and services. The Jefferson Center paid all their expenses and a modest stipend for their time.

They were briefed on President Clinton's proposals at the beginning by Associate Professor Steven Schier of Carleton (Minn.) College, a political scientist and authority on political economics. They then were given an alternate liberal program by Robert Kuttner, an economics writer and columnist for the Washington Post and Business Week magazine, and a conservative plan by former Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.). They were guided during their deliberations by experts in the various budget fields--defense, health care, Social Security, social infrastructure (Medicare, welfare, workfare, job retraining, etc.), physical infrastructure, and other (space, foreign aid, farm policy, etc.)

After initially being somewhat taken aback by the volume of information and the concept of the budget, they worked with increasing confidence and concern for the national good. In the process, the jurors produced a much more precise budget than the Jefferson Center organizers had anticipated. They were asked to set high and low figures in each budget area but they came up with exact figures that reflected their priorities. Their comments during the process reflect the seriousness with which they approached the task.

"I never dreamed that I'd make the choice of raising my taxes," said Philip Grant, a commercial vehicle inspector from Klamath Falls, Ore. "But we have to sacrifice now for the sake of our kids." Clair Parsh, a community college teacher from Sacramento, agreed. "This will be a better society in 1997 if this (budget) is adopted," he contended.

They also got an appreciation of the difficulty and complexity of budget decisions. "I'm a lot more aware of how hard it is and I have more respect for the people who have to do it," said John Ernst, a maintenance technician from Xenia, Ohio.

They got deeply involved in the process. "I lost \$7 billion in increases in the social infrastructure," said Juanita Graham, an unemployed computer graphics specialist from Brooklyn, NY. "But all in all I think the process was very good." Jack Goleboski, a commodities trader from Jersey City, N.J., approached it from the opposite direction. "I got \$26 billion cut out of the budget," he said. "I wanted \$50 billion but there have to be trade-offs."

The process imbued them with a sense of their importance and responsibility. "The message is that the Representatives and Senators work for us, not the special interests," said Gary Blake, a cable TV line technician from Tupelo, Miss. "Part of our responsibility is to go out from here and educate other people," said Linda Hicks, a county social casework supervisor from Lowman, N.Y.

Their speakers agreed. "This is a turning point because the political system is out of kilter and out of touch," Senator Pryor told them. "If we don't listen to what you say, we'll be judged very harshly."

Robert Kuttner cited William F. Buckley as saying that he'd rather be governed by the first 100 names in the Boston phone book than the Harvard faculty. "The concept that ordinary citizens were capable of self-government was a radical one 200 years ago. This jury reinforces that concept."

Vin Weber, who advocated relatively conservative adjustments to the health care system, made an extraordinary concession to the jurors. "You really told me loud and clear that I don't have it together on health care. I think the Administration and Congress will adopt your proposals. We Republicans have to do better in our thinking and proposals."

The jurors wound up with a specific message for President Clinton. "We'll stand behind him if he makes tough choices," said Phil Grant. "If a one-term president is what it takes, then so be it."

The Citizens Jury concept helps empower citizens to participate in policy decisions and have their voices heard. It also can free their elected representatives from the tyranny of the big-monied special interests and sound bites. We at the Jefferson Center began this project with high hopes and expectations. They were exceeded beyond our fondest dreams.

Ned Crosby
Chair and Founder
The Jefferson Center

UNDERWRITERS

Patricia Benn and Ned Crosby

The Jefferson Center

The law firm of Opperman Heins & Paquin

Jill Buckley & Associates Public Affairs

Himle-Horner Public Relations

OVERVIEW OF AMERICA'S TOUGH CHOICES PROJECT

PROJECT OUTLINE

Objective

The goal is to give citizens the opportunity to play a reflective and constructive role in helping the President and Congress face the long-term tough policy choices before the nation.

Method

Jurors are selected at random for three national panels of 24 ordinary American adults each, balanced for 1992 presidential preference, age, education, gender, geographic locale, race, and attitude toward taxes and spending.

Panels

"Sacrifices?"

The first panel met January 10-14 to review what measures and sacrifices, if any, Americans should consider in order to ensure a strong and healthy nation as we enter the 21st century. The panel adopted tax hikes and spending cuts to reduce the deficit and provide universal health care.

"Proposals"

The second panel will meet May 16-20 to review key proposals of the President, Congress, and the opposition party, including health care.

"Accountability"

The third panel will meet in the fall to review and comment on the actions of the President and Congress.

Results

The jurors' findings will be offered to the public through news conferences at the conclusion of each panel and through detailed reports sent to policy makers and the media. Videotape highlights of the panels will be available. Senator David Pryor (D-Ark.) and Rep. Martin Sabo (D-Minn.) are arranging for representatives of the "Sacrifices?" panel to present its findings to the Senate Finance Committee and House Budget Committee.

AGENDA FOR "SACRIFICES?" PANEL

National Guard Building
One Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C.
January 10-14, 1993

January 10 Day 1: Introduction and Clinton Advocate

AM Values Review Exercise
PM Federal Budget Overview, Tom Stinson, Minnesota State
Economist
Presentation of Clinton Program, Steven Schier, Carleton College
Professor

January 11 Day 2: Conservative and Liberal Advocates

AM Presentation of Conservative Vision, Rep. Vin Weber (R-MN)
PM Presentation of Liberal Vision, Robert Kuttner, Editor,
The American Prospect
Discussion between Jurors and Conservative and Liberal
Advocates

January 12 Day 3: Expenditures Review

AM Physical Infrastructure
Defense
Other (Agriculture, Environment, Foreign Aid, Government
Operations, Space, etc.)
PM Social Security
Health
Social Infrastructure (Education, Job Training, Welfare,
Housing, etc.)

January 13 Day 4: Revenues, Deficit, and Initial Budgets

AM Revenues
Deficit
Noon Meeting with Senator David Pryor (D-Ark.)
PM Budget Construction

January 14 Day 5: Final Deliberations and News Conference

AM Final Deliberations including panel of Kuttner, Weber, and Schier
PM News Conference
Media Interviews

CHARGE TO THE JURORS FOR "SACRIFICES?" PANEL

The 24 jurors on the Tough Choices Citizens Jury panel will be asked to answer the following questions:

1. What are the most significant tough choices we face if America is to be strong and healthy in the 21st century?
2. What potential sacrifices do we face? Which sacrifices are you prepared to recommend? Are these distributed equally over society, or will some be asked to sacrifice more than others?
3. What budget would you propose for the federal government? If this differs significantly from what is proposed by President Clinton, explain where and why.
4. What are the smallest and largest budgets (either in terms of revenues and expenditures or deficit) you would propose? Under what circumstances would you propose these and why?
5. In light of what you have learned, do you think that President Clinton is asking too many sacrifices of the public, too few, or about the right amount? Why?
6. Is there anything additional that you would recommend to the President and Congress in terms of what is needed to make America strong and healthy in the 21st century? Do our problems rest mainly in deciding what will work, or mainly in making tough choices regarding options which are fairly clear?

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Our findings and recommendations are presented in three sections. First, we summarize the process we went through in order to arrive at our findings. Second, we answer the six questions put to us in the charge. Then in the third section we review our budget recommendations and compare them to three sets of proposals: those made by President Clinton during the campaign, those made by Robert Kuttner, representing a liberal point of view, and those made by Vin Weber, representing a conservative point of view.

Steps in the Process

These are the steps we went through to arrive at our proposed budget. In all of our discussions, we dealt with FY 1997, using as our baseline the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) figures for that year.

1. On Days 1 and 2 of the hearings, we were presented with three points of view: the proposals made by President Clinton during the campaign, a Conservative point of view presented by Vin Weber, and a Liberal point of view presented by Robert Kuttner. Each of these views was backed up by written materials on the six major spending areas of the federal budget and on revenues and deficit (See Appendices).
2. On Days 3 and 4, we broke into small committees to review federal spending (divided into the six major categories), the deficit, and revenues. Each of the expenditure groups came up with specific recommendations regarding government spending in its area. The deficit committee arrived at a target for the deficit. The revenue committee came up with an overview of how taxes might be raised if it were necessary to increase them by as much as \$100 billion. The committee reports are found in the Appendices.
3. On the afternoon of Day 4 and in the first hour of Day 5, we reviewed our six spending committee findings. Each was discussed in detail and the amount to be spent in FY 1997 was agreed upon. Although we increased spending in some areas and decreased it in others, the total was very close to current CBO projections for FY 1997.
4. We then reviewed the recommendation of the revenues committee and decided what to do if we wanted to raise taxes. Our decision was that if we had to raise taxes by up to \$20 billion, this would be done through taxes on alcoholic beverages and tobacco; if another \$30 billion were needed, this would come from a tax on persons with incomes over \$200,000; and if another \$20 billion were needed, this would come from an energy tax. We agreed that this order of increasing revenues was the most appropriate. Taxes on tobacco would be more than tripled and taxes on alcohol more than doubled to reach the figure, and even the smokers among us agreed with this tax. The tax on the wealthy is virtually the same as proposed by President Clinton in his campaign. Finally, the energy tax would be a broad-based

tax on all sources of energy. Compared to a straight gasoline tax, it would have a smaller impact on an individual driver.

5. At this point, we had a gap of about \$90 billion between our spending target and our deficit target, which the deficit committee recommended be set at \$200 billion. This gap would have to be closed through further spending cuts, by raising taxes, or by raising our deficit target. In light of this, we spent another two hours looking at our spending targets and came up with recommendations for spending which were \$26 billion lower than CBO projections.
6. We then reviewed what to do to make up the gap of \$64 billion between our spending and deficit targets. After some discussion, we decided to adopt the full \$70 billion of tax increases we had discussed earlier, thereby lowering our initial deficit target from \$200 billion to \$194 billion.
7. Finally, we went through the charge to answer the questions about tough choices and sacrifices. We discovered that the specific budget we arrived at incorporated many of our feelings about the kinds of tough choices and sacrifices which should be made. What is reported as our decision is the majority vote.

Answers to the Charge

1. What are the most significant tough choices we face if America is to be strong and healthy in the 21st century?

It is very difficult to raise taxes, but we concluded that it has to be done in order to provide needed services as well as start to bring down the deficit. We faced up to the difficulty of cutting budget areas in defense, physical infrastructure, Social Security, and other government programs such as space and agricultural subsidies. The cuts were hard but we felt we could not leave the deficit burden for our children and future generations to bear. We also provided smaller increases than some wanted in social infrastructure spending.

We were convinced, however, that it is "all or nothing" on health care reform and were willing to foot the bill for a major cost increase in this area in order to guarantee reasonably priced coverage and access for everyone. We believe Congress must bite the bullet and do it now; health care reform cannot be phased in slowly.

2. What potential sacrifices do we face? Which sacrifices are you prepared to recommend? Are these distributed equally over society, or will some be asked to sacrifice more than others?

We were willing to make the sacrifices of paying more taxes now and cutting spending in areas that will affect us all in order to benefit our children and the nation as a whole.

We proposed raising taxes by \$70 billion, distributed among "sin taxes" on alcohol and tobacco (\$20 billion); income taxes on those with annual incomes of more than \$200,000 (\$30 billion); and energy taxes (\$20 billion).

Recognizing that more people may be unemployed because of cutting spending on physical infrastructure and defense, we still favored making these cuts. We suggested directing defense contractors into other areas such as environmental projects. We believe the federal government must continue to play a major role in non-defense related research and development, and we therefore increased the amount for such funding significantly (\$10 billion).

3. What budget would you propose for the federal government? If this differs significantly from what is proposed by President Clinton, explain where and why.

We recommended a FY 1997 budget of \$1.719 trillion, compared to President Clinton's campaign budget of \$1.763 trillion. The tables on the following pages detail the specific figures.

- We proposed cutting an additional \$5 billion over the \$20 billion that President Clinton wants to cut in defense. With the end of the Cold War, we felt the U.S. needs to be able to wage two major actions simultaneously rather than three, and our readiness capability could be reduced accordingly. Another key ingredient of this cut was closing military bases. We felt strongly about leaving the decision on which bases to cut to the Pentagon rather than Congress to avoid political interference.
- Under social infrastructure, which includes welfare, jobs, and education, we favored an increase of \$7 billion, compared to the \$24 billion increase proposed by President Clinton. We suspect there is considerable waste in the government programs in this area and believed that money could be saved by simply tightening up. We favored education and training for useful jobs. Skill training, earned income tax credit, and child care are among the programs we supported.
- In Social Security, we also proposed to cut more than President Clinton, \$9 billion compared to his \$6 billion reduction, which was primarily in administrative overhead. We recommended requiring states to extend coverage to new government employees, reducing the cap on the tax deduction that private business takes for employees' Social Security, and taxing the benefits of higher income citizens. We would raise the minimum retirement age and also allow people to work as long as they want without paying a penalty in benefits.
- Health care was also an area of major budget difference. We are convinced that major overhaul of the system is the only way out of the current health care crisis. We liked the "managed competition" system which would set up government guidelines within which private insurance programs would operate. We also favored a cut-back on rules, regulations, and mandates which add cost and delay to the system. President Clinton's budget proposed a reduction of \$4 billion, based on the belief that the cost savings will be enough to fund the new system. We accepted the figures of \$70 billion for a new system, \$50 billion in savings, and therefore a net increase of \$20 billion for the federal budget. We put high priority on this \$20 billion addition to the budget. We also adopted the conservative

proposal for tort reform and revision of FDA regulations to make the introduction of new drugs and procedures less costly.

- We showed a sharp difference with the President on physical infrastructure, where we suggested a decrease of \$15 billion, while he proposed an increase of \$24 billion. Our main concern here again was the high amount of waste we believe exists in the federal roads and bridges projects. "Roads to nowhere" must no longer be built. Rewards should be made for contracts that are finished on time. There is enough money available for the needed infrastructure improvements, if political pork barrel projects are eliminated.
 - Finally, on other government programs, we found cuts of \$4 billion possible, while the Clinton budget added \$3 billion. We would cut the manned mission to Mars as something that the country just cannot afford at this time. We proposed lowering crop subsidies to large farmers and corporations, although retaining them for small farmers. Mortgage deductions would be capped at loans of \$250,000. We also agreed to selling off some limited government holdings, including unused buildings, land, and possibly government-held loans. We did increase by \$10 billion the funding for federal research and development in such areas as the National Science Foundation, and the Departments of Energy, Agriculture, and Commerce. Recognizing that there will be cutbacks in defense research, we felt strongly that the government needs to continue to play a large role in funding other research.
4. What are the smallest and largest budgets (either in terms of revenues and expenditures or deficit) you would propose? Under what circumstances would you propose these and why?

We went beyond what was asked of us and decided on specific budget figures rather than smallest and largest figures. The figures cited in these pages and the charts following are our recommendations for actual budget amounts.

5. In light of what you have learned, do you think that President Clinton is asking too many sacrifices of the public, too few, or about the right amount? Why?

We felt that we did not have enough information about the specific programs President Clinton will offer to be able to evaluate the sacrifices he is asking of the public. We believe that the next America's Tough Choices panel will be better able to answer this question.

6. Is there anything additional that you would recommend to the President and Congress in terms of what is needed to make America strong and healthy in the 21st century? Do our problems rest mainly in deciding what will work, or mainly in making tough choices regarding options which are fairly clear?

We want to stress the importance of accountability. We favor a line item veto to enable voters to hold the President accountable for his promises. We urge the President and Congress to remember that citizens elected them to office. Representatives and Senators work for citizens, not for the special interest groups

and lobbyists. It is time, we believe, to pay more attention to citizens' voices over those of lobbyists.

We hope that our elected officials will have the courage to make the tough choices we made, even if it results in the tough sacrifice of not getting re-elected. Starting with major health care reform, we invite the President and Congress to take the political risks necessary to lead the country into economic health.

Recommended Budget

Our specific recommended budget figures for Fiscal Year 1997 are shown in the charts following this page.

When possible our 1997 baseline is taken directly from CBO's August, 1992 update of the Economic and Budget Outlook. However, since expected expenditures by function are not reported for 1997 for discretionary expenditures, some simplifying assumptions were made. We have used as our discretionary spending baseline Scenario 2 (page 42) in the CBO update noted above. Individual discretionary domestic programs are assumed to maintain their 1992 pro-rata shares of total domestic discretionary spending.

The following baseline category totals come from Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal 1993, Table 1-2, Appendix 1. Budget authority for 1992 is used as the baseline. Specific components of each major section are as follows:

Defense:

Mission 050

Social Infrastructure:

Missions 500, 603, 605, 609

Social Security, Pensions, and Veterans' Benefits:

Missions 601, 602, 650, 700

Health:

Missions 550, 570

Physical Infrastructure and the Environment:

Missions 251, 371, 400, 450, 604, 300

Other Government Activity:

Missions 150, 252, 270, 350, 372, 373, 376, 750, 800

RTC Fund expenditures are ignored for the purposes of this exercise.

PROJECTED EXPENDITURES, REVENUES, AND DEFICITS

Projected expenditures

FY 97 CBO projected budget: \$ 1,745 B

Citizens Jury proposed budget: 1,719 B

Spending decrease proposed by jurors: \$ 26 B

Projected Revenues

FY 97 CBO projected budget: \$ 1,455 B

Citizens Jury proposed budget: 1,525 B

Revenue increase proposed by jurors: \$ 70 B

Projected Deficit

FY 97 CBO projected deficit: \$ 290 B

Citizens Jury proposed deficit: 194 B

Deficit decrease proposed by jurors: \$ 96 B

JURY PROPOSALS COMPARED TO CLINTON PROPOSALS

	FY 1997	Clinton Proposals	Jury Proposals
<u>Projected expenditures</u>			
Defense	\$ 281 B	-\$ 20 B	-\$ 25 B
Social Infrastructure	204 B	+24 B	+7 B
Social Security	502 B	-6 B	-9 B
Health Care	364 B	-4 B	+20 B
Infrastructure	109 B	+24 B	-15 B
Other Government	98 B	+3 B	-4 B
Net Interest	<u>284 B</u>	<u>-2 B</u>	<u>0 B</u>
Change from CBO forecast:	0 B	+19 B	-26 B
Total expenditures	1,842 B	1,861 B	1,816 B
Total less offsetting receipts	1,745 B	1,763 B	1,719 B
<u>Projected revenues</u>	1,455 B	1,499 B	1,525 B
Tax increases included:		+44 B	+70 B
<u>Projected deficit</u>	\$ 290 B	\$ 264 B	\$ 194 B

PROPOSED EXPENDITURES BY BUDGET CATEGORY

Defense			
FY 92 actual			\$289 B
FY 97 projected			<u>281 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-20 B	261 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	-50 B	231 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-8 B	273 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	-25 B	\$256 B

Social Infrastructure			
FY 92 actual			\$ 184 B
FY 97 projected			<u>204 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+24 B	228 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+25 B	229 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-7 B	197 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	+7 B	\$ 211 B

Social Security			
FY 92 actual			\$390 B
FY 97 projected			<u>502 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-6 B	496 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	-14 B	488 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-8 B	494 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	-9 B	\$ 493 B

Health Care			
FY 92 actual			\$ 214 B
FY 97 projected			<u>364 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-4 B	360 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+20 B	384 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-25 B	339 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	+20 B	384 B

Infrastructure (physical)			
FY 92 actual			\$ 95 B
FY 97 projected			<u>109 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+24 B	133 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+40 B	149 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-21 B	88 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	-15 B	\$ 94 B

Other Government			
FY 92 actual			\$ 101 B
FY 97 projected			<u>98 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+ 3 B	101 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+10 B	108 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-42 B	56 B
Jurors' proposed change:	FY 97	-4 B	\$ 94 B

Chart 1. Expenditures: Infrastructure, Social Infrastructure, Other Government

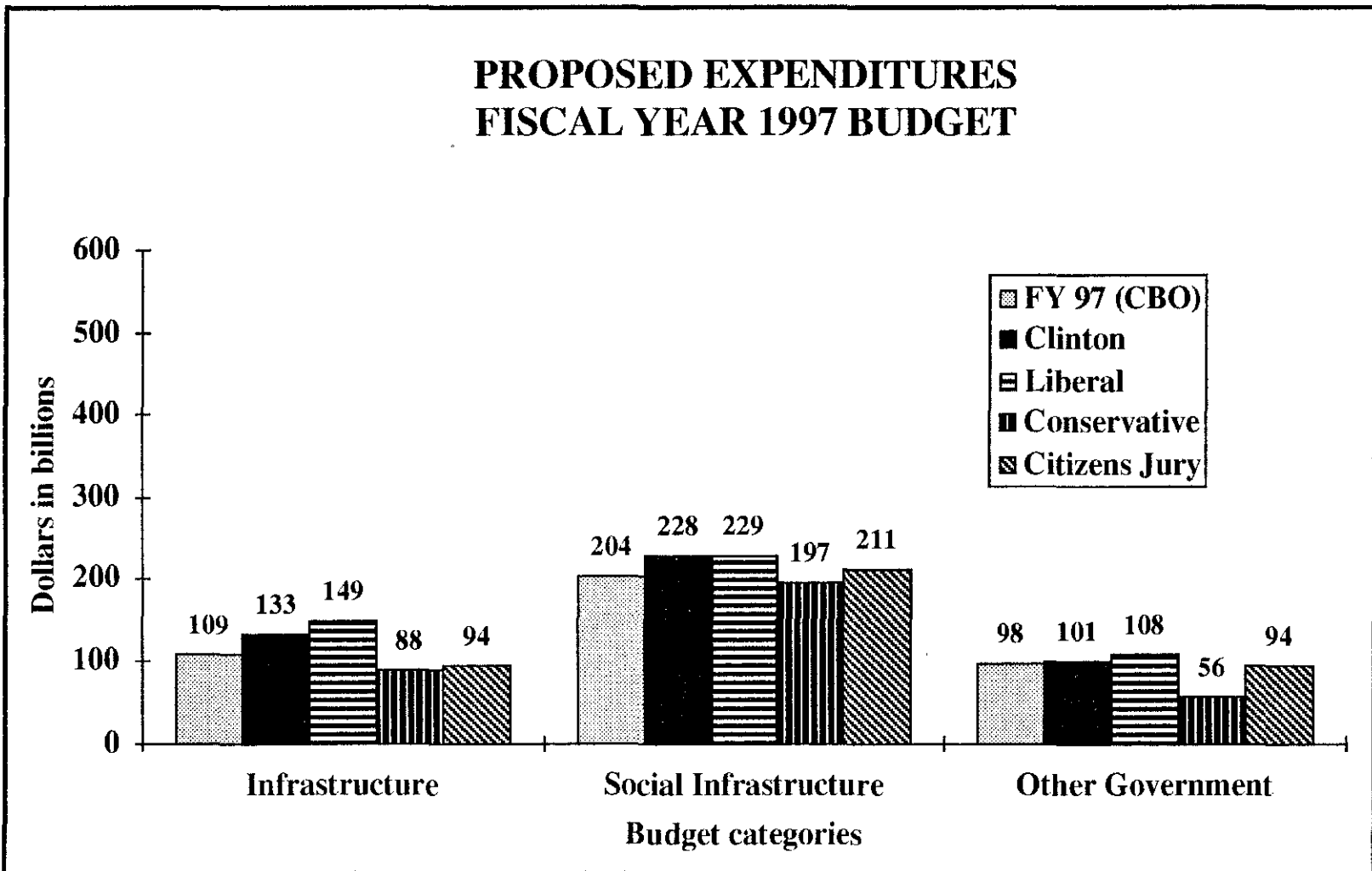
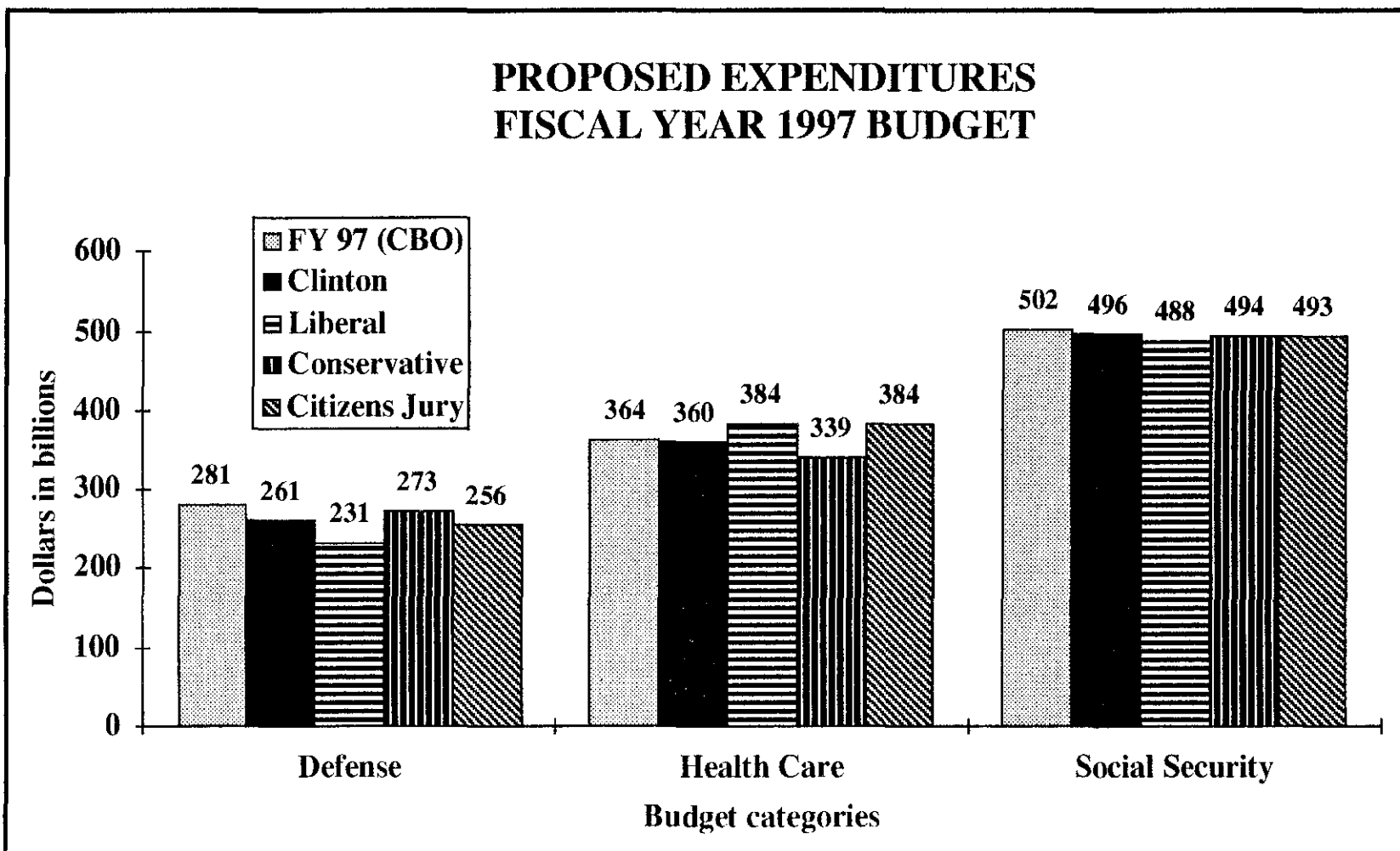


Chart II. Expenditures: Defense, Health Care, Social Security



PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROJECT

THE JEFFERSON CENTER

The Jefferson Center is a non-partisan, non-profit political research and reform organization. Its purpose is to help ordinary citizens have a greater voice in public decisions which affect their lives.

The Center was founded in Minneapolis in 1974 by Ned Crosby, political scientist and community activist. The Center is governed by a board of directors and a citizen-oversight panel.

Among the Center's principal services are Citizens Jury Panels, Values Review Games, and Extended Policy Discussions.

"America's Tough Choices" is the thirteenth Citizens Jury project of the Center and the first national Citizens Jury. Three of the Citizens Jury election projects have been sponsored by the League of Women Voters, including the 1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senatorial Citizens Jury. The New Jersey League of Women Voters is planning a Citizens Jury panel for its 1993 gubernatorial election. The Joyce Foundation has contributed \$100,000 for Citizens Jury panels in the 1994 elections in the Midwest.

Prior juries include:

- | | |
|---|------|
| • 1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senatorial | 1992 |
| • Hennepin County Budget Priorities | 1991 |
| • Low Income Housing | 1991 |
| • Arts in the Schools | 1990 |
| • 1990 Minnesota Gubernatorial Election | 1990 |
| • St. Paul, MN, Mayoral Election | 1989 |
| • School-based Health Clinics | 1988 |
| • Organ Transplants | 1986 |
| • Agriculture and Water Policy | 1985 |
| • Peacemaking in Central America | 1981 |
| • 1976 Presidential Election | 1976 |
| • National Health Care Plan | 1974 |

The Jefferson Center
364 Century Plaza
1111 Third Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55404

Tel: 612-333-5300
Fax: 612-344-1766

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- Rep. David Bonior
House Majority Whip,
U.S. House of Representatives;
Mt. Clemens, MI
- Guido Calabresi
Dean, Yale Law School,
New Haven, CT
- Joan Anderson Growe
Minnesota Secretary of State,
Minneapolis, MN
Former President, National Association of Secretaries of State
- Tom Horner
Partner, Himle-Horner Public Relations,
Bloomington, MN
Republican Commentator, Minnesota Public Radio and
KTCA-TV Almanac;
Former Chief of Staff,
U.S. Sen. David Durenburger, (R-Minn.)
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson
Dean, The Annenberg School for Communication,
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA
- Susan Lederman
Immediate Past President, League of Women Voters
of the United States;
Professor, Kean College, NJ
- Vance Opperman
Senior Partner, Opperman Heins & Paquin,
Minneapolis, MN
- Sharon Schuster,
President, American Association of University Women,
Washington, D.C.
- Greg Thomes,
Board Chair, U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce,
Tulsa, OK

JURORS

Robert Allen Austin, TX	Air Force veteran, cardiac monitor technician, University of Texas, Austin student	23 years old
Gary Blake Tupelo, MS	Cable TV line technician	34
Russell Brown Granite Falls, WA	Self-employed builder	40
Alfred Carter, Sr. Marrero, LA	Self-employed in truck service	54
Pat Deibler Mooresville, NC	Homemaker	49
John Ernst, Jr. Xenia, OH	Maintenance technician	36
Miriam Galvin Forest Park, IL	Medical receptionist	72
Ernestine Garza Houston, TX	Clerk/computer operator	44
Jack Goleboski Jersey City, NJ	Commodity broker	32
Juanita Graham Brooklyn, NY	Computer graphics specialist, unemployed	45
Philip Grant Klamath Falls, OR	Weighmaster/commercial vehicle inspector	34
Mary Happas Somerville, MA	Secretary	50
Carla Harris Reydon, OK	Nurse's aide	44
Keith Hauenstein Wapakoneta, OH	Welder, equipment operator	34
Linda Hicks Lowman, NY	Casework supervisor	47
Brian Jones Sarasota, FL	Human resources/education	29

Clair Parsh Sacramento, CA	Community college teacher	59
Mildred Phillips Trinity, AL	Homemaker	48
Leora Spann Colorado City, TX	Retired teacher	58
Evelyn Swanson Napa, CA	Supply clerk	64
Nancy Vandenberg Ankeny, IA	Homemaker	34
Howard Vagt Naugatuck, CT	Engineer	64
Amy Lynn Walton Salt Lake City, UT	Full-time student	21
Richard Wilson Detroit, MI	Retired--maintenance	79

Alternates

Cara Bryant Texas City, TX	Telephone operator	37
Mabel Lyles Alexandria, VA	Teacher	65
Jeff Sultan Menlo Park, CA	Engineer	44
William Thewes Rockville, MD	Systems engineer	35
Laura Vrba Kalamazoo, MI	Student	22
Rusty Young Monroe, LA	Case management secretary	36

SPEAKERS AND RESOURCE PEOPLE

PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS

Thomas F. Stinson Economic Resource Person

Thomas F. Stinson was selected by the Jefferson Center to present an analysis of the federal budget to the Tough Choices Citizens Jury. Stinson is a Professor in the Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Minnesota. Since 1987 he has also served as the Minnesota State Economist where he is responsible for preparing the state revenue forecasts.

Prior to joining the faculty at the University of Minnesota, he served as an economist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture where he conducted research on tax policy as well as on alternative strategies for rural economic development. Among his publications is the U.S. Senate Committee publication Governing the Heartlands: Can Rural Local Governments Survive the Farm Crisis, prepared while he was detailed to the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations in 1986.

Stinson holds a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Minnesota, and an undergraduate degree in political science from Washington State University. He is a past president of the Minnesota Economic Association and a member of the Minneapolis Star Tribune's Board of Economists.

Steven E. Schier Analyst of Clinton Program

Steven E. Schier was selected by the Jefferson Center to present an analysis of the Clinton program to the Tough Choices Citizens Jury. Schier is Associate Professor of Political Science at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota and has directed the Carleton in Washington study program since 1983. He currently serves as the political analyst for WCCO television in Minneapolis. Columns by him have appeared in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, USA Today, and other newspapers. He has commented on national politics on Cable News Network, the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, and numerous radio programs. In 1992 he served as a consultant to the Mondale Forum of the Hubert Humphrey School of Public Policy at the University of Minnesota.

Schier received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1978. He is the author of two books and numerous scholarly articles, and coeditor of a volume on the political economy of western democracies. In 1992 he published his most recent book, A Decade of Deficits, which explains why Congress and the president have failed to meet the central national challenge of a fiscal policy out of control.

Former Rep. Vin Weber Conservative Advocate

Vin Weber, selected by the Jefferson Center as the conservative advocate, is president of the Weber Group, a Washington, D.C.-based consulting firm, and a commentator for National Public Radio.

He was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1980 and was re-elected every two years until 1992, when he retired. He was a member of the Appropriations Committee and served as secretary of the House Republican Caucus. In 1992, he served as a national co-chair of the Bush-Quayle Re-election Committee. Weber was elected vice president of his Republican freshman class and an assistant regional majority whip. He has served on the platform committee of the Republican National Convention and chaired the Minnesota Reagan-Bush Re-election Committee in 1984.

Prior to being elected to the U.S. House, Weber was campaign manager for Rudy Boschwitz' successful 1978 Senate bid in Minnesota and served as Boschwitz' chief Senate aide in 1979 and 1980. Weber attended the University of Minnesota (1970-74) and worked as the co-publisher of the Murray County Herald newspaper.

Robert Kuttner Liberal Advocate

Robert Kuttner, selected by the Jefferson Center as the liberal advocate, is co-editor of The American Prospect, a journal of politics and policy. He is author of four books, The End of Laissez-Faire (1991), The Life of the Party (1987), The Economic Illusion (1984), and Revolt of the Haves (1980).

He is a contributing columnist to Business Week and a contributing editor to the New Republic. His editorial column on political economy originates in the Boston Globe, and is syndicated nationally by the Washington Post. His work appears in other major publications, including The Atlantic, The Harvard Business Review, the New York Times, and Dissent. His commentaries are heard on National Public Radio.

Kuttner has taught at Brandeis University, Boston University, the University of Massachusetts, and Harvard's Institute of Politics. He has been a John Kennedy Fellow, a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, and a Guggenheim Fellow. His editorial column was the 1988 winner of the John Hancock Award for excellence in business and financial journalism.

Previously, he has been a U.S. Senate investigator for the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, a national staff writer for the Washington Post, and executive director of President Carter's National Commission on Neighborhoods.

Kuttner was educated at Oberlin College, the University of California at Berkeley, and the London School of Economics.

SMALL GROUP RESOURCE PEOPLE

Expenditures

Physical Infrastructure

Conservative:

Matt Kibbe
Chamber of Commerce

Liberal:

Max Sowicki
Economic Policy Institute

Defense

Conservative:

Grover Norquist
Americans for Tax Reform

Liberal:

Bob Sherman
Staff, former Rep. Les AuCoin

Other Government

Conservative:

Steve Moore
The Cato Institute

Liberal:

Todd Shaffer
Economic Policy Institute

Health

Conservative:

Grover Norquist
Americans for Tax Reform

Liberal:

Jeremy Rosner
Progressive Policy Institute

Social Infrastructure

Conservative:

Matt Kibbe
Chamber of Commerce

Liberal:

Isaac Shapiro
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Social Security

Conservative:

Steve Moore
The Cato Institute

Liberal:

Robert Ball
Social Security Commissioner, 1960-73

Revenues

Conservative:

Steve Robinson
Republican Study Committee

Liberal:

Robert McIntyre
Citizens for Tax Justice

Deficit

Conservative:

Scott Hodge
Heritage Foundation

Liberal:

Jeff Faux
Economic Policy Institute

These individuals were selected by Vin Weber for the conservatives and Robert Kuttner for the liberals.

JEFFERSON CENTER PROJECT PERSONNEL

Patricia Benn Moderator

Patricia Benn is a long-time contributor to the Jefferson Center and the wife of Jefferson Center founder Ned Crosby. She is a French teacher in the Robbinsdale, Minnesota school district and chairs the professional issues committee of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers. She served as president of the Robbinsdale Federation of Teachers in 1976 and 1977.

Harriette Burkhalter Moderator

Harriette Burkhalter is a senior advisor to the Jefferson Center and served as chair of the 1990 Minnesota Citizens Jury project. She is former vice president, League of Women Voters of the United States, and a former president of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and has served in every area of League activity at every level of the organization in her 25 years of membership. She has negotiated numerous candidate debates, and served as moderator of the televised 1982 LWVMN U.S. Senate Debate. Burkhalter was a 1992 Republican candidate for state Senate in Minnesota.

Ned Crosby Principal Moderator

Ned Crosby founded the Jefferson Center in 1974 and is currently chairman of the board. He has developed several processes to promote democracy, including Citizens Jury Panels in elections and policy making, Values Review Games (The Game to End All Games), and Extended Policy Discussions. He served as president of the Minneapolis Legal Aid Society in the early 1970's. He helped found and later chaired Operation De Novo, one of the nation's first pre-trial diversion projects. Crosby received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota in 1973, with extensive work done on the foundations of attitude measurements and on moral philosophy.

James Dickenson Media Relations

James R. Dickenson is an independent consultant who handles media relations for the Jefferson Center and the Citizens Jury projects. He is former political reporter, editor, and columnist for the Washington Post, the Washington Star, and the National Observer.

Robert Meek
Media and Funder Relations

Robert Meek is president and chief executive officer of the Jefferson Center. He previously served as a communications consultant to the center. He has been a political commentator for Minnesota Public Radio since 1986. He was a vice president of Hill and Knowlton Public Relations and held various communications posts with Dayton Hudson, International Multifoods, and Tonka Corporation. He served on the staff of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and was a consultant in Democratic political campaigns for many years.

Susan Ruether
Juror Relations

Susan Ruether is a senior advisor to the Jefferson Center and was chair of the steering committee of the 1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senate Citizens Jury project. She has been a League of Women Voters member for 15 years, currently serving as director of marketing, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania. She has also served in numerous elected positions at the local level. She chaired the 1991 Budget Committee for the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania.

Tam St. Claire
Media Relations

Tam St. Claire is a Jefferson Center senior advisor and is currently responsible for the 1993 New Jersey Gubernatorial Citizens Jury. She served as project director of the 1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senatorial Citizens Jury Project. She served for four years on the board of directors of the League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania, most recently as vice president, communications. She has been a League member for 10 years, holding elected offices at the local, county, and state levels. She has extensive experience at all levels in media relations and voter service, most recently overseeing all LWVPA public relations, marketing, publications, and newsletter operations. She chaired the LWVPA Debates Committee and negotiated debates with candidates.

Susan Stuart-Otto
Juror and Funder Relations

Susan Stuart-Otto is an independent public relations/public affairs consultant retained by the Jefferson Center to assist jurors and funders. Stuart-Otto previously served as vice president and general manager of Hill and Knowlton Public Relations and Public Affairs in Minneapolis. She was a political advisor to Walter and Joan Mondale and directed communications for KTCA public television and the University of Minnesota Hospitals. She has chaired numerous community and charitable organizations and served as president of AMICUS, a unique Minnesota non-profit volunteer organization serving prisoners.

Virginia Sweeny
Moderator

Virginia Sweeny worked with the Jefferson Center as project director of the Citizens Jury since 1990 when she headed the Minnesota Gubernatorial project. She now holds the position of executive director of the Citizens Jury. She came to the Jefferson Center from 15 years of work with the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and Connecticut where she had held leadership positions in every facet of the organization at the local and state levels, most recently as vice president of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and Minneapolis site director for the proposed national League presidential debates in 1988.

JUROR EVALUATIONS

EVALUATION SUMMARY

(23 forms completed)

1. In general, how do you feel about the Citizens Jury on America's Tough Choices now that you have completed the project?

18 Very Satisfied	0	Neutral	0	Dissatisfied
5 Satisfied			0	Very dissatisfied

2. How do you feel about the different parts of the project?

	<u>very</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>neutral</u>	<u>dissatisfied</u>	<u>very</u> <u>dissatisfied</u>	<u>no</u> <u>answer</u>
Values review	10	10	0	0	0	3
Presenters:						
Kuttner	20	3	0	0	0	0
Weber	17	5	1	0	0	0
Schier	14	8	1	0	0	0
Pryor	15	4	2	1	0	0
Resource people:						
Liberals	10	12	1	0	0	0
Conservatives	8	12	2	1	0	0
Small group discussions	14	7	2	0	0	0
Full group discussions	16	6	1	0	0	0
Individual private discussions						
among jurors	16	4	0	1	0	2
Moderators' role	19	4	0	0	0	0

3. One of our aims is to have the staff and volunteers of the Jefferson Center conduct the project in an unbiased way. How satisfied are you with their performance in this regard?

22 Very Satisfied	0	Neutral	0	Dissatisfied
1 Satisfied			0	Very dissatisfied

PERSONAL COMMENTS (Optional)

I want to take this opportunity to thank everybody involved in putting this project together. This opportunity was both educational and enjoyable. I hope that our voice is heard and that future Citizens Juries will have as much success as we did. I pray for the future that President Clinton can make the right choices.

Robert Allen
El Paso, TX

I feel the effort that went into the planning and delivery of this committee was commendable. I had a very enjoyable time, but it also included some very tough decisions to make regarding budget cuts and tax increases. The conclusion of the entire jury is that if more of the general public had more information regarding budget decisions, the country would be in a lot better shape. Special thanks to all the folks from the Jefferson Center and also to the resource and information people.

Russell Brown
Granite Falls, WA

The Jefferson Center staff was most cooperative in explaining and answering questions pertaining to the function of the Citizens Jury. I commend them for being such patient and dedicated workers. Thank you for selecting me to serve.

Alfred Carter, Sr.
Marrero, LA

I want to thank the staff of the Jefferson Center for giving me this very rewarding learning experience. The hard work involved on the staff part was tremendous in every aspect. We as a group were provided with the necessary data and more for us to be able to come to our conclusions. The staff was wonderful and informative.

I think anyone given the opportunity to participate in a Citizens Jury will find it very rewarding.

Pat Deibler
Mooresville, NC

As we draw to a close in our involvement in the Tough Choices Citizens Jury on sacrifices, I have been amazed at what goes on in making a federal budget. I hope that all people would be able to live with what we did. In all we learned, we believe we did the best we could. Hopefully, we did some good, and President Clinton will see what we will be willing to sacrifice if we get accountability from government.

John B. Ernst, Jr.
Xenia, OH

This session was the most enlightening experience I've ever had. I always thought doing the business of the country was simple. Just get smart and honest people for the job. I learned so much more. It's not a simple job.

The Jefferson Center group treated us so well. They planned everything they could to make our job understandable and very relaxed. I can't thank them enough. I'll be singing their praises everywhere.

Miriam Galvin
Forest Park, IL

Thank you, Jefferson Center, for the opportunity you gave me to participate in a process that I couldn't believe would ever happen or even think would work out. I was a skeptic, I admit, but I came anyway to find out. To my amazement a diverse composite of ordinary people with different views put together a proposal for our Congress and new President. We were provided with varied and great sources of information in which we all had to make choices and come to an agreement for the betterment of a strong and healthy America. The conclusion is that we Americans either sink or swim and the tough choice was sacrifice now or pay later.

Ernestine Garza
Houston, TX

The process itself is a wonderful concept, which needs to be expanded. We in this country need to take back our government from the lobbyist and special interest groups. We also need to hold public officials more accountable. We must demand that they act out of principles rather than their own interest to do what's best for the country as a whole and not their little "niches" and pork projects and to make tough choices for us which is what they're elected to do. Principles before Personalities.

As far as staff, they were absolutely superb. I appreciate all the help and impartiality, especially Tom Stinson's contribution. Thank you for a valuable life experience, a once in a lifetime experience. We all are sure to be the envy of America.

Jack Goleboski
Jersey City, NJ

The project was quite stimulating and offered a terrific way of educating the people and politicians on views that govern the world. If I had to do all this myself, I would do it exactly the same way.

Choosing the average American for this type of project was the appropriate way of doing this, since so much depends on the lives of average citizens.

Once again, thanks for the opportunity. It will always be a very important and rewarding part of my life.

Juanita Graham
Brooklyn, NY

Anyone who thinks that the people of this committee reached this conclusion without feeling responsible would be wrong.

Philip Grant

What I liked about this whole process was that I as an average American had a say in the way I wanted my tax dollars spent and I had the opportunity to voice my opinion. I didn't always agree with others but I still had a say by vote on what the outcome was. I would like to have been able to talk with the other jurors first about issues before we spoke in front of the moderators and the media.

The best part of it for me was meeting the wonderful people from the Jefferson Center without whom all of this couldn't have been possible.

Mary Happas
Somerville, MA

The Citizens Jury was conducted very professionally. All staff members were very supportive and gave no personal opinions to us jurors. The Jefferson Center staff was also very helpful in getting materials and information for us. It was a once in a lifetime experience I would never have missed. I enjoyed every minute of the experience. I now know more about our government system on spending and revenue and do not envy our Congressmen and Congresswomen their difficult chore.

Carla Harris
Reydon, OK

Looking back at the last five days, it seems like a year all in a week. I was very impressed with the quality of the staff. The personal attention paid to all the jurors was excellent. The process of the program I feel was very good. There was an unbiased opinion from all the staff. For an experiment of this magnitude, it was performed in a very professional way. I hope this process can be moved on to other juries in the future.

Keith Hauenstein
Wapakoneta, OH

It isn't necessary to publish this but it does give me the opportunity to express my sincere appreciation. The entire process gave me an education that I could get nowhere else. The staff was personable, sincere, helpful but non-intrusive. They kept everything going smoothly. The witnesses were very knowledgeable. It would have helped if they spent less time debating. I also wish we'd all had a chance to hear each subject area and it might have helped if we'd gotten the position papers and Clinton information further ahead of time. It was a lot to absorb all at once.

I also have a couple of suggestions. As I mentioned to Virginia, it would have been helpful if I could have talked with a previous juror about the process at an early date in the process to assure me I wouldn't be sold vitamins or time shares. It was difficult at times to concentrate on topic areas when you had 2 or 3 groups in the same area with just a cloth between us. You may need to sacrifice video for process. It was also difficult to have a conversation in that configuration. Sitting around a table would have been more conducive to conversation and maybe would have eliminated some of the debates. And finally, I hope that you will be able to give us information from time to time to let us know where the '97 budget ended up and what happens (if anything) with our ideas. Many of us do not have access to information locally that will help although I know I'll make special efforts to find more up to date items when I can. In Elmira, N.Y. much is so watered down it'll never do again.

I feel as though I'll be missing part of my family with the ending of this process but I'd do it again if my number gets called at random by a total stranger. I know it'll be worth it.

Linda Hicks
Lowman, NY

"Tough Choices." What an appropriate name for this activity. Our choices included options of mortgaging our future (through higher deficits); increasing the public liability and reducing personal income (through higher taxes); or reducing opportunity for the less fortunate (through spending cuts). We found that while there are no simple solutions for these problems, the problems do lend themselves to discussion and, by making tough choices, decisions can be made. I was encouraged by the fact that "ordinary" citizens are knowledgeable about the issues facing the country, and given the opportunity are willing to make the "tough choices" necessary to solve the country's economic ills.

Clair Parsh
Sacramento, CA

I was very impressed with the experts who gave and defended their points of view. On one hand, I wish I would have known who was going to speak, so I could have gone to the library and done some homework, but then if I had known of the prestigious speakers, it would have made me more nervous. Also I was glad to hear several of them mention their young families and the concern they have for this country 20 or 25 years from today. This is something that is very important to me.

The staff, without exception, was very helpful and had a talent for putting each person at ease.

Evelyn Swanson
Napa, CA

I would like to say this has been an unforgettable experience and I'm just glad that I was chosen to be a part of this whole process. Thanks to all of the Jefferson Center for everything.

Nancy Vandenberg
Ankeny, IA

Just to say that I'm very pleased and much satisfied to have been a member of the panel known as the Citizens Jury. The performance of the panel was simply amazing. Thanks to Ned Crosby and his staff.

Richard Wilson
Detroit, MI

APPENDIX

THE CLINTON POINT OF VIEW

Summary taken from
Putting People First: A National Economic Strategy for America
by Bill Clinton

NB: The jurors were provided with copies of the entire book Putting People First (31 pages). Only the introduction is reproduced here.

During the 1980's, our government betrayed the values that make America great: providing opportunity, taking responsibility, rewarding work. While the rich got richer, the forgotten middle class--the people who work hard and play by the rules--took it on the chin. They paid higher taxes to a government that gave them little in return. Washington failed to put people first.

No wonder our nation has compiled its worst economic record in fifty years.

Our political system isn't working either. Washington is dominated by powerful interests and an entrenched bureaucracy. Americans are tired of blame. They are ready for a leader willing to take responsibility. My national economic strategy puts people first by investing more than \$50 billion each year for the next four years while cutting the deficit in half. These investments will create millions of high-wage jobs and help America compete in the global economy.

My strategy includes:

- Putting America to work by rebuilding our country, converting from a defense to a peacetime economy, revitalizing our cities, encouraging private investment, and opening up world markets.
- Rewarding work by proving tax fairness to working families, ending welfare as we know it, providing family leave and cracking down on deadbeat parents.
- Supporting lifetime learning by bringing parents and children together, improving schools, training high school graduates, offering every American the chance to borrow money to go to college and serve our nation, and retraining workers.
- Providing quality, affordable health care by radically controlling costs, reducing paperwork, phasing in universal access to basic medical coverage, and cracking down on drug manufacturers and insurance companies.
- Revolutionizing government by cutting 100,000 federal jobs, eliminating wasteful spending, limiting the power of special interests, stopping the revolving door from public service to private enrichment, and reforming campaign finance and practices.

To pay for our investments and reduce the national deficit, I will save nearly \$300 billion by cutting spending, closing corporate tax loopholes, and forcing the very wealthy to pay their fair share of taxes. My plan will cut the deficit in half within four years, and assure that it continues to fall each year after that.

CLINTON BUDGET SUMMARY

Spending

Defense

FY 92 Authority	\$289 B
FY 97 Projected	281 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-20 B</u>

Social Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$184 B
FY 97 Projected	204 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+24 B</u>

Social Security

FY 92 Authority	\$390 B
FY 97 Projected	502 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-6B</u>

Health

FY 92 Authority	\$214 B
FY 97 Projected	364 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-4 B</u>

Physical Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$95 B
FY 97 Projected	109 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+24 B</u>

Other Government

FY 92 Authority	\$101 B
FY 97 Projected	98 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+3 B</u>

Net Interest

FY 92 Authority	\$200 B
FY 97 Projected	284 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-2B</u>

Total Expenditures less Offsetting Receipts

FY 92 Authority	\$1,402 B
FY 97 Projected	1,745 B

Total proposed change	<u>+19 B</u>
-----------------------	--------------

Revenue

Individual Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$474 B
FY 97 Estimated	\$654 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+27 B</u>

Corporate Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	133 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+17 B</u>

Social Insurance

FY 92 Actual	\$414 B
FY 97 Estimated	553 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Excise Taxes, Other Revenue

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	115 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Total Revenues

FY 92 Actual	\$1,088 B
FY 97 Estimated	1,455 B
Total Proposed change FY 97	<u>+44 B</u>

Fiscal Summary for 1997 (CBO Baseline Growth Rate)

Spending (FY 97)	\$1,763 B
Revenues (FY 97)	<u>1,499 B</u>
Deficit	<u>264 B</u>

A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW OVERVIEW

This approach is based on the belief that deficit reduction is an important but not ultimate goal of government policy, and it must be placed in the proper context. To reduce the deficit successfully, you need to begin by asking the right question. The challenge is not simply how to balance the budget. The real question is how to reach the highest level of economic growth, control the size of government, and reform an array of programs to empower individuals. The size of the deficit will be a critical measurement of our success in attaining those goals.

Economic growth is the most fundamental objective, because it is the basis for rising living standards, low unemployment, and declining poverty. Any sound deficit reduction plan must begin with policies that will invigorate the entrepreneurial economy.

While economic growth is the prerequisite for deficit reduction, it is also critical to control the size of government. Our structural deficit, even as government revenues rise year after year, is clear evidence of undisciplined government spending.

Finally, we must invest individuals with responsibility and increase their opportunities in a way that will address some of our most vexing societal problems, problems that will never be solved simply by increased government spending.

Any attempt to reach these goals will involve change, or "sacrifice." Some argue that giving the government more taxes and increasing regulations are the sacrifices needed to reduce the deficit and solve the country's problems. While such an approach will be painful, it will not be successful.

Any sacrifice should help to meet the challenge of stimulating economic growth, expanding individual opportunity, and rewarding personal responsibility. By an approach that favors lower taxes for a strong private sector, lower spending for a leaner federal government, and less regulation for greater individual freedom, we will move toward greater economic growth, higher levels of employment, and reduced poverty and dependency.

DEFENSE A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

Despite the end of the Cold War, we still face a dangerous world. For a strong and healthy America, we must continue to provide a defense force that can protect our vital national interests and respond to security needs which are now more complex and require a leaner, more mobile military force.

Tough Choices

Defense spending has declined markedly over the past seven years, and that decline will continue. We must maintain a capable force, but defense will decline to 16 percent of the federal budget by 1997, down from 27 percent of the budget in 1985. The tough choice is to continue to provide adequate funding for defense at a time when political pressure will be strong to use those funds for domestic programs.

Sacrifices

The defense budget is going through a radical reduction. The Pentagon is closing 800 bases and installations worldwide. Between 1989 and 1995, one million positions will be eliminated in the Department of Defense. In the past four years, 120 different weapon systems have been canceled, and \$300 billion has been cut out of the long-range defense budget.

Some sacrifice is needed to maintain an adequate level of defense. Our experience in the early 1950s and the late 1970s shows that if we reduce our force too drastically, we convey a sense of weakness that can encourage our adversaries to take aggressive action. This can force us to recommit force to combat in some future conflict, paying a price for the lack of readiness. We must ensure that we remain a reliable force for peace in the world, that our soldiers are well-trained and well-equipped, and that our adversaries understand our willingness and ability to protect our vital national interests.

Budget Implications

While defense spending has already declined, we can make some continued savings. By reducing the size of our force while keeping it well-trained and well-equipped, we can save \$20 billion over the next four years.

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

Our aim in this area is to reform programs in a way that will empower individuals and allow greater choice and opportunity. This especially applies to welfare reform and allowing choice in education. While the budget savings may be limited, the long-term benefits to the country will be substantial.

Tough Choices

These reforms will impose some tough requirements for those on welfare, while offering them the assistance and training to move off welfare and return to the productive economy. In education, it means offering parents the choice of where to send their children to school, so that excellent schools and teachers are rewarded, and mediocrity is not rewarded.

Sacrifices

We must change our current welfare system, even though some sacrifice is required. Our poor communities are suffering from family dissolution, and welfare is creating a crippling dependency. Of families on welfare today, over sixty percent will be on welfare for eight years or longer. We need to use welfare to promote work and family stability, provide effective training, but also make clear that welfare assistance is limited and will end.

We also need fundamental change in our education system to ensure that parents, regardless of income, can send their children to the school that is best for them. Choice in education will reward excellence and make the educational system more adaptable to the complex challenges of the 21st Century.

Budget Implications

The goal in this area is not to make huge budget savings, although changes and reforms in these programs can yield \$20 billion in savings over the next four years. The greatest impact will be in the long-term effect it has on poor communities and our educational system.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSIONS A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

While short-term savings in this area are less achievable, long-term savings are needed to ensure the continued viability of Social Security and the federal pension system. For a strong and healthy America, we need to reform these programs to reflect increased life expectancy and the rising wage base.

Tough Choices

The tough choice facing America is to reform our entire approach to retirement as life expectancies increase and the large baby boomer generation moves toward retirement. We need to index benefits reasonably, so that they are protected against inflation but do not grow substantially faster than inflation. We also need to raise the retirement age over time.

Sacrifices

In the short term, federal retirement programs should be reformed to conform more closely to private pension plans. That means restricting the inflation adjustment until retirees reach the age of 62 and adjusting the base on which the pension is calculated, changes which would save a substantial amount and reflect the benefit levels of generous private pensions.

Over the long term, federal pensions and social security should be reformed by raising the retirement age gradually. In addition, Social Security should slowly phase in a price (rather than wage) index to set benefit levels. Currently, most social security recipients receive back everything they put into the system, including interest, within five years. However, the current system is continuing to increase benefits faster than the rate of inflation. As our population ages, these expanded benefits will be impossible to support.

We need to phase in an adjusted base for social security benefits and raise the retirement age to 69 over the next thirty years.

Budget Implications

The changes in Social Security would make dramatic savings over the long term, but they would have a negligible impact over the short term, because the phase-in takes place over a thirty-year period. changes in federal pension programs would save \$14 billion over the next four years.

HEALTH CARE A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

For a strong and healthy America, we need to control health care costs while preserving access and choice. We must preserve strengths such as our leadership in medical technology and extensive medical coverage for seniors while pursuing reform to address some serious weaknesses.

Tough Choices

The biggest choice is between reforming a system that has given us the most advanced health care in the world and replacing it with a system run by the federal government. While nationalized health care supposedly offers coverage to everyone, it often means lower quality care, longer waiting lines, and far higher taxes to finance it. The reform approach seeks reforms in the market and in the government program to control costs while preserving quality.

Sacrifices

The increase in health care costs has been dramatic in the past twenty years. We now spend over 13 percent of our gross national product on health care, while other industrialized countries spend 8 or 9 percent. However, government-run systems control costs by limiting availability of hospital beds, health care providers, and technology. They conduct far less medical research, and they have far higher tax rates.

There is a way to have comprehensive reform without socialized medicine. There should be incentives for individuals to use health maintenance organizations and be more discriminating consumers of health care services. We need to reform insurance markets to hold down the cost of premiums. We need to change malpractice law to reduce the cost of defensive medicine, where doctors take expensive tests simply to protect themselves from lawsuits. We also need to include incentives to use electronic billing and other developments that will dramatically reduce overhead costs. Medicare now receives a large subsidy from the general treasury, and savings can be made by reducing the size of that subsidy with higher copayments.

Budget Implications

Substantial savings can be made by raising Medicare copayment and premium by five percent along with some changes on payments to providers. These savings would amount to \$70 billion over the next four years. Additional savings from broader health care reforms are difficult to quantify but could be substantial.

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

We are already spending tens of billions of dollars a year on infrastructure, and we approved a highway bill in the last Congress that will ensure continued funding over the next five years. In addition, spending and regulation on the environment has soared over the last four years. For a strong and healthy America, we must ensure that wasteful spending is eliminated and regulation is balanced and restrained.

Tough Choices

The main tough choice is for government to avoid the temptation to increase spending on public infrastructure regardless of the cost or merit of the projects involved. In addition, tough choices are needed to balance environmental and economic needs.

Sacrifices

We cannot afford to spend money inefficiently in any area of the federal government. Federal infrastructure projects carry higher costs because they are burdened by regulations that raise the price of goods and labor. In addition, local governments often respond to federal infrastructure spending by reducing their own spending, although the cost of federal projects can be 30-50 percent more than projects funded locally. Federal spending is also full of pork barrel "demonstration projects," which have little justification and can account for as much as 5-10 percent of a bill's total funding.

We also need to slow the acquisition of land by the federal government and restrain environmental regulation. The government already owns vast amounts of land, especially in western states, and further acquisitions add to taxpayer costs and limit the productive use of the land. Environmental regulation has increased dramatically over the last four years, with the Environmental Protection Agency's budget growing by 31 percent and its staff by 23 percent. Heavy-handed regulation stunts economic growth and must be controlled.

Budget Implications

By holding infrastructure spending at current levels and reducing costs for wasteful spending on unneeded projects and land acquisitions, we can save \$55 billion over 4 years and encourage economic growth.

OTHER GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

America needs a lean government to remain strong and healthy as it enters the 21st Century. As country after country around the world moves toward greater freedom and less government control, it is inconceivable that the United States would achieve economic growth through a larger and more intrusive federal government.

Tough Choices

This area includes the widest array of federal programs, many of which would see substantial growth if current policies were extended. The tough choices in this area would require Congress to reform and eliminate those programs which don't meet a vital public need or are no longer effective. It would mean a sharp reduction in the amount Congress spends on itself. And it would mean seeking to privatize federal programs where possible.

Sacrifices

Savings in this area would require sacrifices within the federal and legislative branch. A wide range of grant programs to state and local governments need to be closely reviewed to test their effectiveness. Where possible, loan portfolios and other government assets should be sold to the private sector in order to reduce the role of government. Congress should reduce the number of subcommittees and committee staff in order to streamline the legislative process. Some of these savings, like the sale of government assets, will be one-time savings. Other reforms will lead to a permanently leaner federal government.

Budget Implications

Some savings will be one-time, such as the sale of loan portfolios and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Over \$100 billion can be saved in the next four years in this broad category through privatization, reforms and consolidation, and elimination of unnecessary programs.

TAXES A CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

The Goal for a Strong and Healthy America

For a strong and healthy America, we need to revitalize the entrepreneurial economy and support the American family through key changes in the tax code. New capital formation is the lifeblood of our economy, and our tax code needs to encourage activity that will create jobs and expand the economy.

Tough Choices

The tough choice we face is to restrain the reach of government through higher taxes and to pursue instead policies that will stimulate greater economic growth. At the same time, we need to provide tax relief to families with children, because strong families are one of society's most fundamental needs.

Sacrifices

There are two changes in the tax code which would have a dramatic impact on economic growth. First, we need to unlock capital through a cut in the capital gains rate. Our economy is driven by small businesses and entrepreneurs, not the corporate giants. In the last decade, two-thirds of the 18 million new jobs created came from small business. These entrepreneurs need new capital, and without it, the economy will not expand. By reducing the tax on capital, we will encourage people to invest in new enterprises and create new jobs.

We also need to cut taxes on new business investment. New investment increases productivity and expands economic growth, but we raised the tax on new investment in 1986. By cutting this tax, we will give new businesses an added lift as they try to get off the ground.

Finally, we need to increase the personal exemption by \$1,000 for families with children. This would significantly reduce the tax burden on families and would largely restore the value of the personal exemption under Truman, before inflation eroded its value.

Budget Implications

The changes in the tax code are modest but would have a significant effect on economic growth. In fact, the added economic growth from the cut in the capital gains rate would pay for the cost of the increased personal exemption. Any additional changes in the tax code must be revenue neutral. Increasing the tax burden on the American people is a failed approach to deficit reduction.

CONSERVATIVE BUDGET SUMMARY

Spending

Defense

FY 92 Authority	\$289 B
FY 97 Projected	281 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-8 B</u>

Social Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$184 B
FY 97 Projected	204 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-7 B</u>

Social Security

FY 92 Authority	\$390 B
FY 97 Projected	502 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-8B</u>

Health

FY 92 Authority	\$214 B
FY 97 Projected	364 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-25 B</u>

Physical Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$95 B
FY 97 Projected	109 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-21 B</u>

Other Government

FY 92 Authority	\$101 B
FY 97 Projected	98 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-42 B</u>

Net Interest

FY 92 Authority	\$200 B
FY 97 Projected	284 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-18 B</u>

Total Expenditures less Offsetting Receipts

FY 92 Authority	\$1,402 B
FY 97 Projected	1,745 B

Total proposed change	<u>-129 B</u>
-----------------------	---------------

Revenue

Individual Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$474 B
FY 97 Estimated	\$654 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Corporate Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	133 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Social Insurance

FY 92 Actual	\$414 B
FY 97 Estimated	553 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Excise Taxes, Other Revenue

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	115 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Total Revenues

FY 92 Actual	\$1,088 B
FY 97 Estimated	1,455 B
Total Proposed change FY 97	<u>0 B</u>

Fiscal Summary for 1997 (CBO Baseline Growth Rate)

Spending (FY 97)	\$1,617 B
Revenues (FY 97)	<u>1,455 B</u>
Deficit	<u>162 B</u>

A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW OVERVIEW

We have a basic choice. We can decide that the basic problem facing the economy is deficit reduction. Or we can decide that it is slow growth.

Clearly, the really profound problem is slow growth. That is the legacy of 12 years of failed economic policies that led to a morning-after with chronic deficits and a troubled debt that is now more than one half of one year's total gross domestic product. But even though a lack of budget discipline was part of the problem, a crash program of deficit reduction would be a perverse cure. For it would only push the economy deeper into recession.

Therefore, we need to choose growth over austerity. The people have already had enough austerity.

In addition, we need to decide how we will obtain growth. The supply siders claimed that the road to growth was tax incentives for the wealthy. That approach has been tried. It didn't work. Instead, we need to use the power of public investment to rebuild our roads, bridges, sewers, trains, our research and development capacity, and rely on that jolt of public investment to re-energize the private economy. That's what America did during World War II--and it worked.

This approach means that the deficit goes up slightly in 1994 and 1995, but then as the economy begins growing faster, the deficit begins coming down relative to the GDP, the economy grows faster, private investment kicks in, living standards start rising again, and the great deficit crisis is over. In 1945, the national debt was more than 100 percent of one year's GDP--twice its present ratio--and 1945 was the beginning of a 20 year boom. So, we shouldn't allow the debt to paralyze our imagination or our economy. That is the most crucial choice of all.

If we choose correctly, there will be minor sacrifices for a few, mostly people who can afford them. If we choose wrong, we will all tighten our belts unnecessarily.

DEFENSE A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: A Strong and Economically Sound America

With the Cold War over, the U.S. needs to strike a balance between rebuilding its own economy and retaining an ability to defend ourselves and work with our allies to deter aggression in the world. Nearly half of the military budget of the 1980s was spent to maintain American troops in western Europe--against a Soviet threat that no longer exists.

Tough Choices

The toughest choice is whether to insist that we are the only nation that is still both an economic and military superpower with unlimited resources--or to recognize that repairing our economy is also a form of safeguarding our national security.

Another tough choice is whether to attempt to go it alone, or to involve our allies and trading partners in the burdens as well as the benefits of a collective security system. By insisting on a larger role for friendly nations that have taken advantage of the U.S. security umbrella, we will have to share authority, as well as benefit from cost-sharing.

Sacrifices

We need to sacrifice the illusion that we can carry the world on our shoulders, and this may entail some loss of national pride. Some individuals, in the armed services and in communities dependent on defense contracts, may face economic hardships and personal career sacrifices. But those sacrifices can be moderated if the nation devises a serious policy to convert defense plants to other uses, and it would be an even worse sacrifice to go on building submarines and missiles that had no defense purpose merely because we lack the imagination to redeploy the factories and the employees to better uses.

Budget Implications

Cuts in unneeded weapons can gradually reduce defense outlays as follows, and still retain a force sufficient to mount an operation of the "Desert Storm" scale, as well as a nuclear umbrella adequate to deter any nuclear attack:

FY 1992 authority	\$289 billion
FY 1997 projected	281 billion
FY 1997 proposed	<u>231 billion</u>
Net change	-50 billion

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: To make it possible for everyone who wants a job to work; to make it possible for work to pay a living wage; to insist that citizens who receive benefits from the taxpayers give something back in the form of working for a living; to assist those in genuine need; to help families stay together and for parents to raise healthy children; and to raise the productivity of the work force, on behalf of a more prosperous, competitive, and productive America.

Tough Choices

1. We can take a very hard-nosed view of welfare and simply push dependent people off the rolls indiscriminately, not discriminating the hardship cases from the freeloaders. Or we can spend additional public funds, but limit the entitlement to AFDC to two years and then make sure that when people take paid jobs, the jobs lift them out of poverty. We recommend a national strategy of making work pay, by raising the minimum wage, increasing the earned income tax credits for families, providing day care as necessary, so that work lifts people out of poverty. This will require about \$25 billion a year in additional public outlay, but it will end welfare as we know it.

2. America needs a strategy of high skills, or it will be condemned to low wages. We recommend two basic policy changes. First, the present system of unemployment insurance would be folded into a new system of lifetime training and re-skilling. People who lost their jobs would not be paid to sit idle, but would take retraining sabbaticals. Drop outs would get a second chance to be certified for a trade. Second, everyone would gain an entitlement to post-high school education either in college or in a technical school. They could pay for this either by doing two years of community service or by paying a small surtax based on their annual income. The choice, again, is to embrace a bold new program--or to drift.

Sacrifices

People accustomed to being idle on AFDC or unemployment compensation will have to take jobs. Some innocent people idled because their factory closed may have to retrain for jobs that are not their first choice. The public generally will have to pay slightly higher taxes in order to finance this plan.

Budget Implications

FY 1992 authority	\$184 billion
FY 1997 projected	204 billion
FY 1997 proposed	<u>229 billion</u>
Net change	+25 billion

Note: The borrowing entitlement will increase the federal debt, but should be budgeted as a capital item and should not fairly be counted as part of the current deficit, since it is a segregated debt subject to repayment.

SOCIAL SECURITY, PENSIONS, AND VETERANS' BENEFITS A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: To keep the social security system on a sound fiscal footing, and to honor commitments while making financing more equitable.

Tough Choices

We can turn social security into a program only for the poor by "means-testing" it. That would provide some extra money, no doubt, but it would also destroy social security as a pension earned by virtually all workers. The alternative is to turn our attention to the real problem--inequitable financing of the system--while still bolstering it for the future.

Our proposal is to increase the taxation of social security benefits, for roughly the most affluent 20 percent of social security beneficiaries. Under present law, almost 80 percent of social security recipients pay no tax--an exemption we support. However, the retirees with total incomes in excess of \$25,000 (\$32,000 for couples) must treat only half of their social security income as ordinary, taxable income, just as if it were other investment income--a far lower proportion than must be paid on pensions and other investment income. Thus we propose to raise the 50% to 85% (the same level that applies to other pension funds).

We also propose to limit the tax deductibility of pension contributions paid by corporations to employees with annual pensions in excess of the social security wage base (\$55,500 in 1992).

Sacrifices

Our proposal would require a small sacrifice in higher taxes for the most fortunate twenty percent of retirees.

Budget Implications

Our change in the tax treatment of social security will nominally reduce the consolidated deficit by some \$7.3 billion a year by 1997. Our elimination of the deductibility of private pension contributions will increase revenues by \$4.5 billion per year by 1997. We also propose to consolidate the veterans hospital system with a new universal health system, which should produce administrative savings of about \$3 billion a year.

FY 1992 authority	\$390 billion
FY 1997 projected	502 billion
FY 1997 proposed	<u>488 billion</u>
Net change	-14 billion

HEALTH A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: To combine universal health care coverage with freedom of choice for consumers and cost containment. This is the single greatest form of economic security facing American citizens, as well as the single biggest budget-buster. The federal share of health costs, all by itself, will nearly double over the next decade, increasing the deficit by over \$200 billion a year--unless we pursue comprehensive reform.

Tough Choices

The details are complex, but the choice is simple. We can continue the status quo, which is wasteful, unreliable, and rapidly collapsing. We can tinker with it, offering tax credits as President Bush proposed. Or we can undertake comprehensive reform, under one of the three plans:

1. "Play or Pay." The law would require employers to provide an acceptable health plan or pay a tax that would go into a common fund that would help purchase insurance for the uninsured. The government would contribute money to buy insurance for the poor and unemployed. This system could achieve universal coverage, but it would still be a patchwork, with administrative inefficiency similar to the system's current plagues. Government costs would be about \$70 billion a year, which would be raised by new taxes.
2. "Managed Competition." Employers, employees, and the government would all contribute to a regional Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperative (HIPC). Each HIPC would certify acceptable plans with minimum benefit packages, from which its members could choose each year. Certified insurance plans would receive from the HIPCs an annual payment based on membership; they would cost the same, but the law would forbid plans from charging different rates or simply excluding consumers based on risk or preexisting conditions.
3. "Canadian/Single-payer." The government would provide every citizen with basic health insurance, financed by a health care tax. Any citizen could go to any doctor or hospital. Hospitals would receive annual payments from the system; doctors would be paid based on their caseload and qualifications. This promises equality of care and the most efficiency-savings over time, but it has the greatest budget impact, too. A single-payer system would require a \$400 billion health tax--although consumer and employer costs would more than offset the tax.

Sacrifices

Under the present system, tens of millions of people make terrible sacrifices. We already ration health care--by giving it to the wealthy and denying it to the working poor. Under a reformed system, the hard choices would become more explicit. Some old people might not receive very heroic and expensive procedures; some optional or elective surgeries might require delays. But the overall quality of care and health security would be improved and access would finally be universal, as it is in almost every other developed nation.

Budget Implications

FY 1992 authority	\$214 billion
FY 1997 projected	364 billion
FY 1997 proposed	<u>384 billion</u>
Net change	+20 billion

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: To restore public spending on basic infrastructure to historic levels; to use infrastructure spending to stimulate a depressed economy; and to use civilian government contracting to play the role that military contracting has, in leading technical innovation.

Tough Choices

In the 1980s, government spending on basic maintenance of roads, bridges, water and sewer systems, airports, and the other public infrastructure on which private commerce depends, fell to historic lows as a share of total government spending. We can let America go to ruin, for the sake of deficit reduction--or we can take advantage of the Cold War's end and restore spending to necessary levels.

Investment is necessary to restore economic growth, but the private sector has not been willing to invest in a slack economy, in which real wages have been declining. Or we can choose to energize a strong recovery by attending to necessary repairs of public facilities--which will create jobs, spill over into private contracts, and jump-start the economy much as the Depression economy was revived by the public investment of World War II.

Sacrifices

There will be minor inconveniences as roads, bridges, tunnels, and water and sewer systems are modernized. But the only sacrifice is the illusion that the invisible hand will somehow come to the rescue of public facilities. This program calls for an increase of one percent of GDP during the next 18 months, and a then permanent higher level of public investment, comparable to the real level that obtained during the 1950s and 1960s when great public works projects were being built, such as the interstate highway system.

Budget Implications

FY 1992 authority	\$ 95 billion
FY 1997 projected	109 billion
FY 1997 Our proposal	<u>149 billion</u>
Net change	+40 billion

OTHER GOVERNMENT A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

This category groups together several functions of government, including international affairs, space, energy, agriculture, housing, justice, and general government. The Goal: To operate government as efficiently as possible, and to reprogram wasted money to better uses and more urgent needs.

Tough Choices

There are some outlays that could be cut: farm price supports could probably be cut in half, as we got an agriculture agreement as part of the trade negotiations. Space outlays could be cut by 20 percent. Government generally could be administered more efficiently. At the same time, spending on housing should be increased, to emphasize home ownership for first time home-buyers and the creation of non-profit co-ops for renters. Some foreign aid could be cut, but the economic reconstruction of the formerly communist world requires western economic assistance as an investment in a more stable world, just as the U.S. invested in the Marshall Plan after World War II. These are difficult trade-offs, since we cannot afford to do everything we might wish.

One concrete choice is to limit the interest deduction for homeowners to the interest on an average-priced home. This would save the government at least \$10 billion yearly, which could be reprogrammed into mortgage subsidies for first time home buyers and would be deficit-neutral.

Another tough choice would involve cutting back the space program, but redirecting the funds to research that more directly affects the competitiveness of American industry. Again, this would be deficit-neutral.

Sacrifices

Any time the pattern of subsidies is changed, people's lives are affected. With these proposals, more affluent homeowners would lose some tax deductions. Some farmers might have to live in a riskier economic environment or find other work--a pattern that has been going on for more than a century. Some space scientists would have to shift to other forms of research. Some bureaucrats might have to work harder.

Budget Implications

FY 1992 authority	\$101 billion
FY 1997 projected	98 billion
FY 1997 proposed	<u>108 billion</u>
Net change	+10 billion

TAXES A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

1. We propose to raise approximately \$70 billion (1% of GDP) by increasing the top marginal income tax rate for families with incomes greater than \$200,000 to 38%, with a 10% surtax (similar to a 42% top rate) on those with taxable incomes over \$1 million. We also propose closing a number of tax loopholes that benefit high-income people and corporations that now cause harmful economic distortions (such as encouraging the "export" of American jobs overseas).

2. We considered raising the additional funds needed for universal health care by increasing the current 1.45% employer health insurance payroll tax by 2 percentage points and repealing the \$130,000 cap on the amount of wages subject to the health insurance payroll tax (for individuals and companies). This would raise \$70 billion. However, if the health proposals under "Health: A Liberal View" are adopted, then for the purposes of this exercise we can call for \$50 in new revenue.

3. We propose to borrow the \$20 billion for the training system.

4. To pay for new infrastructure investments, we propose to raise \$40 billion in new revenues. Two general approaches are available:

- The revenues could be raised progressively: for example, through a six percent across-the-board surtax on personal and corporate income taxes. Such a surtax would not affect poor families (who owe no federal income tax) and would have only modest effects on middle-income families.
- The revenues could be raised regressively: for example, through increased excise taxes on gasoline and other carbon-emitting fuels. Such a "carbon tax" would add about 15 percent to the well-head price of oil and natural gas, and would add about 80 percent to the nine-month price of coal. (The effect on gasoline prices would be about 10 percent per gallon.) Although such excise taxes would be much tougher on poor and middle-income families than well-off families, they would be likely to reduce consumption of gasoline and other fuels, particularly coal. This in turn, however, could cause serious economic problems for some areas of the country, particularly West Virginia.

Note: in the first two years of the infrastructure program, when costs are \$60 billion a year, we propose to borrow \$20 billion a year (as an additional stimulus to the economy).

FY 1992 Actual	\$474 billion
FY 1997 Estimated	654 billion
FY 1997 Proposed	<u>744 billion</u>
Net change	+90 billion

(Note: this figure does not include enhanced revenue from growth or the health care tax, which appears as part of the health expenditure projection.)

BUDGET SUMMARY A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

The Goal: To promote sustained growth and long-term deficit reduction.

Tough Choices

We could continue our current course of “muddle-through” economics: investing little in our economy but allowing the deficit to balloon. The deficit might begin to come down on its own within a few years, but only at a slow pace. Meanwhile, the structural problems of the economy would persist, with no hope of real recovery in sight. Wages and living standards for all Americans would continue to slip, while American industries continued to deteriorate.

A crash program of budget balancing is one oft-discussed option. We could slash spending, increase revenues, and try to muscle the deficit down in a few quick hits. This would bring down the deficit at first—but only at a staggering cost. Growth would slow down, and recessionary conditions would persist. This would ultimately reduce government revenue, which would, ironically, make budget balancing even more difficult.

The third alternative, which we choose, is a program of public investment. We spend a little now, with the knowledge that investment is the only medicine that can cure both our ailing structural economy and our long-term deficits. Investments in physical infrastructure will make the economy grow faster. That, plus investments in social infrastructure and health, will mean less outlays in income support. The result: long-term deficit reduction and, more importantly, a thriving economy for the next century.

Sacrifices

We do need to increase revenues now. To do so, we impose higher taxes on the wealthiest Americans and close loopholes on both personal and corporate income taxes.

FINAL BUDGET PROJECTIONS:

Spending FY 1997	\$1,810 B
Revenues FY 1997	\$1,596 B *
Deficit	\$ 214 B (current dollars)

To calculate revenues, we used our new “investment growth rate” (average 5.54 percent current dollars, 2.54 percent real dollars) to adjust CBO revenue projections. We then added that number to our proposed tax increases.

LIBERAL BUDGET SUMMARY

Spending

Defense

FY 92 Authority	\$289 B
FY 97 Projected	281 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-50 B</u>

Social Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$184 B
FY 97 Projected	204 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+25 B</u>

Social Security

FY 92 Authority	\$390 B
FY 97 Projected	502 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>-14B</u>

Health

FY 92 Authority	\$214 B
FY 97 Projected	364 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+20 B</u>

Physical Infrastructure

FY 92 Authority	\$95 B
FY 97 Projected	109 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+40 B</u>

Other Government

FY 92 Authority	\$101 B
FY 97 Projected	98 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+10 B</u>

Net Interest

FY 92 Authority	\$200 B
FY 97 Projected	284 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+34B</u>

Total Expenditures less

Offsetting Receipts

FY 92 Authority	\$1,402 B
FY 97 Projected	1,745 B

Total proposed change	<u>+65 B</u>
-----------------------	--------------

Revenue

Individual Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$474 B
FY 97 Estimated	\$654 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+124 B</u>

Corporate Income Tax

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	133 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+3 B</u>

Social Insurance

FY 92 Actual	\$414 B
FY 97 Estimated	553 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+12 B</u>

Excise Taxes, Other Revenue

FY 92 Actual	\$100 B
FY 97 Estimated	115 B
Proposed change FY 97	<u>+2 B</u>

Total Revenues

FY 92 Actual	\$1,088 B
FY 97 Estimated	1,455 B
Total Proposed change FY 97	<u>+141 B</u>

Fiscal Summary for 1997

(CBO Baseline Growth Rate)

Spending (FY 97)	\$1,810 B
Revenues (FY 97)	<u>1,596 B</u>
Deficit	<u>214 B</u>

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION SUMMARY

The following reports summarize the discussions in the small committees of jurors which studied the six expenditure areas (8 jurors each) and subsequently the revenues and deficit areas (12 jurors each). Recommendations from these committees were modified in the general discussion by the full jury panel on Day 4 and 5.

DEFENSE

In defense the conservative position was presented by Grover Norquist and the liberal position by Bob Sherman. Both advocated a cut in the defense budget because of the end of the Cold War.

The conservative points were to keep up the manpower needed and to maintain a technological edge in new weapons for superiority in the world. Mr. Norquist argued that a cut in the military from an allocation equal to 23% of the budget in 1985, which was the peak year in military spending to an allocation equal to 13% of the budget, as proposed by the liberal for 1997, was too drastic.

The liberal points were to think of our military defense in terms of being prepared to fight a comparable foe and to consider what is needed as a U.S. presence in the world.

The jurors in the small group set the cut at \$25 billion, leaving the allocation at approximately 16% of the budget, and emphasized that the research and development aspect was important to fund. (See chart for figures.)

It was agreed by both sides that military bases needed to be closed but that doing so was politically difficult. The liberal point of view favored closing bases in foreign countries and relocating troops and equipment in the United States, thereby saving money and keeping more U.S. bases open. The liberal advocated a pre-deployment defense strategy (having troops and equipment ready to move into other countries). Both sides agreed that this presented a tough choice about intrusion into foreign countries. The conservative argued for keeping the foreign bases and disagreed about the cost.

Jurors also acknowledged the tough choices of economic hardship in locations where bases were closed and for the one million positions that will be cut in the military vs the cost saving for taxpayers. The conservative advocate argued that the location of former bases could become economically healthier when private concerns took over. Jurors suggested that former military naval yards and personnel might be used to boost a sagging shipbuilding industry.

Jurors argued that Americans should be ready to pay more for the military if a larger enemy or threat became apparent. Finally, it was hoped that nations we help to defend would pay costs as was done in Desert Storm. Both sides did agree that we are more capable of detecting military buildup better and faster than in 1941.

Defense

FY 92 actual			\$289 B
FY 97 projected			<u>281 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-20 B	261 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	-50 B	231 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-8 B	273 B
Small group proposed change:	FY 97	-25 B	256 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	-25 B	\$256 B

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Social infrastructure refers to the areas of welfare, jobs, and education. The liberal position was presented by Isaac Shapiro and the conservative by Matt Kibbe. Both advocates agreed that welfare reform is needed with a goal of moving people on welfare into jobs.

The conservative budget position was to reduce the projected amount by \$7 B. This reduction could be accomplished by a workfare system to replace welfare. The liberal position advocated adding from \$14-16 B to the projected budget amount to improve the economic climate for jobs by enhancing wages for workers in lower paying jobs, by training to get people off welfare into jobs, and by training to get people earning low wages into better paying jobs, and by helping dislocated workers find new jobs. The additional funds would be used as follows:

1. +\$3 B for earned income tax credit
2. +\$3 B for day care
3. +\$3-5 B or welfare to work
4. +\$5 B skill training

The small group jurors split their decision with four jurors choosing the adjusted conservative position of zero savings and four jurors choosing the adjusted liberal position of an additional \$14-\$16 B (see chart for figures).

Two positions on education were not included as budget items. They were:

- The conservative position that public money should be used to pay for students who choose to go to private schools. This was discussed but not as a budget item because it would not affect the budget in the five year period and because the primary cost of education resides with the states. No conclusion was reached.
- The liberal position that people should be able to pay back their loans for post-secondary education by doing community service. This was not brought up by the liberal advocate but might explain the difference between the +\$25 B in the budget and the lower +\$14 B suggested by the advocate.

Another point discussed was raising the minimum wage. It was advocated by the liberal to improve the income of the working poor. The conservative argued against this, because he felt this would result in a loss of jobs. Because this is a policy issue and not a budget factor, no position was taken by the jurors.

Finally, the jurors and advocates agreed that a really tough choice would be to withdraw welfare from recipients who refuse to work either in workfare or at an available job. This decision is really tough because cutting welfare benefits often impacts children.

Social Infrastructure

FY 92 actual			\$184 B
FY 97 projected			<u>204 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+24 B	228 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+25 B	229 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-7 B	197 B
Small group proposed change:	FY 97	0 to +14 B	204 to 218 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	+7 B	\$211 B

SOCIAL SECURITY

After discussion with conservative advocate Steve Moore and liberal advocate Robert Ball, the small group jurors were willing to support changes to bring money into social security by:

- extending coverage to new state and local employees;
- reducing the cap on the tax deduction private business takes for contributions for employees' social security.

They felt it important to allow people to work as long as they want without paying a penalty in benefits and would raise the minimum retirement age. The cost of this change is estimated to be small at first and could actually bring in money as older workers continue to pay into the system, so no dollars were added or subtracted in the budget.

There was brief discussion of cutting the COLA for veterans' pensions until age 62 (which could save \$2.5 billion), but the jurors reached no conclusions in this area.

Social Security

FY 92 actual			\$390 B
FY 97 projected			<u>502 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-6 B	496 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	-14 B	488 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-8 B	494 B
Small group proposed change:	FY 97	-5.7 B	496.3 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	-9 B	\$ 493 B

HEALTH CARE

The liberal plan was presented by Jeremy Rosner. He proposed the managed competition approach. Employers, employees, and the government would all contribute to a regional Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperative (HIPC). Each HIPC would certify acceptable plans with minimum benefit packages. Certified insurance plans would receive an annual payment based on membership; they would not be reimbursed procedure-by-procedure. Not every plan would cost the same, but the law would forbid plans from charging different rates according to the potential client's risk or simply excluding consumers based on risk or preexisting conditions.

The conservative approach was presented by Grover Norquist. The basic elements of this plan were:

- Increased reliance on the private approach.
- Reform of the tort law, which would save \$20 B in medical costs by making malpractice suits more difficult.
- Reform FDA rules to allow more rapid testing and use of drugs and medical procedures. This would allow the U.S. to rely upon foreign tests of drugs. Potential savings: \$18 B.
- The introduction of a medical IRA.

The main argument presented by Mr. Norquist was that health care costs started to get out of control when the federal government adopted Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s. Since then they have proven themselves incapable of introducing effective regulations or running any aspect of the health care area effectively.

The differences between the two approaches were very large and therefore presented a very difficult choice. Each side claimed that it would greatly decrease the rise in medical costs, improve quality for the consumer and make things simpler for the consumer. Mr. Norquist agreed that the liberal approach would provide health insurance for all, but insisted that all Americans now receive medical care even if not insured and that the negative consequences of the liberal approach far outweighed any benefits deriving from universal insurance coverage.

After considerable discussion, the small group jurors were given the option of voting for either of the plans or of indicating that the evidence of what would work was not clear enough for them to choose between plans. They voted five for the liberal, three uncertain, and none for the conservative approach. They then asked if it were possible to test the plan in some way or to phase it in over a period of time. Mr. Rosner said no, so they then voted seven to one to adopt the plan as presented, but with the addition of tort reform and the revision of FDA rules to make the introduction of new drugs and procedures less costly.

Health Care

FY 92 actual			\$ 214 B
FY 97 projected			<u>364 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	-4 B	360 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+20 B	384 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-25 B	339 B
Small group jurors' proposal:	FY 97	+20 B	384 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	+20 B	\$ 384 B

PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

After discussion with conservative advocate Matt Kibbe and liberal advocate Max Sowicki, the small group jurors recommended only a small increase in spending on physical infrastructure. A number of concerns were raised by jurors about the way government funds are spent in this area.

Jurors recognized the importance of government providing a safe, efficient transportation system of roads, bridges, and airports. Other important features include communications networks, environmental protection, water resources, prisons and other bricks and mortar projects, energy networks, and disposal facilities.

The tough choices for the small group jurors were to find a way for government to provide these services efficiently and productively.

Jurors felt it would help if projects were completed in a timely manner and if decisions were decentralized. They saw limiting funds as a way to force increased productivity. They supported a small increase in expenditures in order to maintain current services and favored matching grants from federal level with state and local funds in order to expand services.

Infrastructure (physical)

FY 92 actual			\$ 95 B
FY 97 projected			<u>109 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+24 B	133 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+40 B	149 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-21 B	88 B
Small group jurors' proposal:	FY 97	+1 B	110 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	-15 B	\$ 94 B

OTHER GOVERNMENT

The liberal plan in the "other government" area was presented by Todd Shaffer and the conservative approach by Steve Moore. The number of programs in the area and their complexity made the first hour of discussion quite difficult. But in the second hour progress was made when Mr. Shaffer said that his most important proposal was for \$10 B additional to be spent in non-defense R&D. He felt the need was great and that proper governmental investments in this area would lead to an additional \$30 B expenditure by the private sector. He presented the information in Table 1:

Table 1: Expenditures for R&D as a percent of GDP

	1978	1990
United States	1.6%	1.9%
Japan	2.0%	3.0%
Germany	2.1%	2.7%

Mr. Moore responded that the idea of R&D was good, but that it should not be done through direct governmental payments. Furthermore, any increased spending in the "other" area should be offset by reductions in other programs within the area.

The small group jurors agreed on the need for R&D but also felt it would be very difficult for them to judge if the governmentally funded approach would be best. They decided, however, that if it became clear that the governmental approach were the best, they would want the \$10 B spent. They then reviewed other programs for off-setting cuts. They decided that the manned mission to Mars could be cut, saving about \$2 B and that crop subsidies to large farmers could be cut, thereby saving \$5 B out of a \$14 B program. This led them to conclude that they would be able to find another \$3 B in cuts in the remaining programs in the "other government" area.

Finally, they decided to cap mortgage interest payment deductions from income tax. All interest payments on mortgages on homes up to \$250,000 could be deducted, but all payments over that could not, saving roughly \$6 B in taxes. Of this, \$3 B should be allocated to making it easier for the non-wealthy to purchase homes (they wanted to introduce some means test rather than simply giving this benefit to all first-time homeowners) and the rest reinvested in the "other" area.

A major savings in this area proposed by Mr. Moore was to sell \$40 B of government assets, such as land holdings, petroleum reserves, and government-held loans. The small group jurors proposed that \$1 B a year be sold for four years to see how successful the program was before selling more. The net result is a \$1 B cut in the area by F.Y. 1997.

Other Government

FY 92 actual			\$ 101 B
FY 97 projected			<u>98 B</u>
Clinton budget	FY 97	+ 3 B	101 B
Liberal proposed change:	FY 97	+10 B	108 B
Conservative proposed change:	FY 97	-42 B	56 B
Small group jurors' proposal:	FY 97	-4 B	94 B
Jurors' final proposal:	FY 97	-4 B	\$ 94 B

National Perspective

ISSUES

Unofficial 'Juries' Program Renders Verdicts on Politics

By ROBERT L. JACKSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The 1992 election campaign showed that many voters prefer to question political candidates directly—and that candidates like it too. But Ned Crosby had the idea as far back as the 1970s.

That's when the Minneapolis philanthropist and political scholar established his nonpartisan "Citizens Jury" project. The idea was to create "juries" of ordinary Americans to thoroughly examine issues and candidates and write public reports on the findings.

The experiment caught on. Over the years, citizen juries became involved in a growing number of statewide elections and issues. Today, a newly formed Citizens Jury stands poised to carry the concept to a new level: evaluating the ideas of President-elect Bill Clinton.

Crosby, an heir to the General Mills fortune who holds a doctorate in political science from the University of Minnesota, calls his jury concept "a tested practical alternative to the media-driven spectacle of the traditional debate and to the superficiality of the call-in show."

He believes that the recent presidential campaign revealed a "popular dissatisfaction with the media" that led to candidates taking questions directly from voters and accelerated his citizens jury movement.

Crosby is founder and president of the nonprofit, nonpartisan Jefferson Center, which scientifically selects citizens for each 24-member panel to give it demographic, racial, economic and political balance.

The tentative first effort involved jurors in Minneapolis who studied and discussed issues of the 1976 presidential campaign, focusing on law enforcement and the economy.

In the years since, the center set up more-ambitious panels that questioned public officials and political candidates—mainly in Minnesota—about health care, education, housing, agriculture and water policy.

Four years ago, a nonpartisan

citizens jury co-sponsored by Crosby's center and the League of Women Voters questioned candidates for mayor of St. Paul and reported on their work. Last year, again with League co-sponsorship, the center branched out to the U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania, establishing juries in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh that studied issues and heard from Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) and his Democratic challenger, Lynn Yeakel.

Focusing on the candidates' records and their beliefs about education, health care and the economy, the panels rendered verdicts for the most part favorable to Specter, who won the election.

Beginning next week, 24 citizens from across the country will convene in Washington for five days to study economic proposals that Clinton made during his campaign. They will question witnesses, including a Clinton representative and experts who oppose the President-elect's proposals, such as Robert Kuttner of Boston, a liberal economist, and former Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), a conservative commentator.

Jim Dickenson, a former Washington political reporter who represents the Jefferson Center, said that the intention is "to involve ordinary Americans in substantive policy discussions."

Jurors, he said, have been selected at random and "the panel has been balanced to be broadly representative of the country in terms of '92 presidential preference, attitude toward taxes and spending, age, education, gender, geographic locale and race." They will receive \$600 for their work, plus expenses.

Critics say the voters' panels have limits. Some public policy dilemmas don't lend themselves to resolution by lay people after a few days of study and jurors can sometimes be swayed too much by the drama of presentations that they hear rather than a candidate's total record.

If the work of the first Clinton panel is well received by the public, Crosby intends to create subsequent juries to examine the new Administration's work.

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

OPINION USA

Making the voices of ordinary citizens count

Citizens Jury, beginning Sunday, will play a role in helping President-elect Clinton and Congress with the long-term tough choices facing the country.

For three days in Little Rock, President-elect Clinton heard from experts about how to fix our economy. He showed his concern about the views of average citizens by taking phone calls from them. But only the experts were seated at the table during the extensive deliberations.

Starting Jan. 10, the Jefferson Center aims to improve on this by bringing the experts to talk to 24 ordinary citizens, chosen at random from around the USA, and gathered in Washington for five days of hearings.

The jury's task is to hear from the experts and then say what needs to be done to make America strong and

healthy in the 21st century.

They are participating in the Citizens Jury process, a long-tested method for gathering a microcosm of a community or a nation to discuss important problems.

No one can volunteer for or buy a seat on a Citizens Jury. The jurors are picked at random and the panels balanced for age, education, gender, geographic locale, race, '92 presidential vote, and attitude toward taxes and spending.

In fact, each member is paid \$600, plus expenses, for his or her five days of jury meetings in order to make this jury duty open to the large

est number of people.

Among those at the jury table in January will be Robert Allen, a 23-year-old Air Force veteran, cardiac technician and university student from Austin, Texas; Juanita Graham, a 45-year-old computer graphics specialist from Brooklyn, N.Y.; and Evelyn Swanson, a 64-year-old supply clerk from Napa, Calif.

The January Citizens Jury panel will struggle with the issue of what sacrifices we face if America is to be strong and healthy in the 21st century, and who should bear them.

The jurors will not rewrite the election, but they will help flesh out the mandate for change given to Clinton and Congress. They will suggest how much room there really is for change and what the president-elect and Congress must do to keep their support.

The Citizens Jury process is hardly a radical idea. For more than 500 years, people have turned to juries of their peers to help sort out complex decisions, including issues of life or death.

What is revolutionary is the urgent need for a process that will reconnect citizens with their government



By Ned Crosby (left), president of the Jefferson Center and creator of the Citizens Jury process, and Bob Meek, the senior vice president of the center. The Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center is a non-partisan political research and reform organization.

— a process that can wipe away the forces of gridlock to clear a place for voices of reason.

Over 18 years in development, the Citizens Jury process has been tested and proved on 12 occasions. Citizens Jury panels have rated the candidates' stands on issues in Minnesota and Pennsylvania and have considered policy issues ranging from organ transplants to health clinics in schools.

A 1992 panel of Pennsylvanians challenged hospital administrators on the availability of care (the administrators did not seem to know what actually happened to poor people at the admitting desks) and forced a Senate candidate to rethink her proposal on national health care.

The jury will open with a review of the Clinton platform. Economist and *Business Week* columnist Robert Kuttner will present a liberal vision and budget direction. Republican leader and National Public Radio commentator Vin Weber will do the same for the conservatives. ABC's *Nightline* and others plan extensive coverage.

It is often said that the American people get the government they de-

How jury will be selected

The Citizens Jury uses demographic breakdowns from the 1990 Census to assure the jury is composed of a cross-section of the country. Here are some of the goals for the 24-member jury.

Target percentage		Target no. of jurors	
Women	51%	Women	12
Men	49%	Men	12
Age 18-44	58%	Age 18-44	14
45-over	42%	45-over	10
High school and less	59%	High school and less	14
Some college	41%	Some college	10
White	81%	White	19
Black	12%	Black	3
Other	7%	Other	2

Source: Census Bureau

By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

serve. We don't think so.

Rather, the American people have been stuck with a government that is neither representative nor knowledgeable — too many lobbyists, too many opinion polls and too much

manipulation. The Tough Choices Citizens Jury panels offer a fresh start by creating a forum that is both representative and knowledgeable in a new institution that the people can trust.

'Citizens' Jury' is worth heeding

By Martha Angle
CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

WASHINGTON — Some Very Important People are coming to Washington this week, and they have nothing to do with the Clinton administration or Congress. That's precisely the problem.

The VIPs are 24 "citizen jurors," randomly selected and carefully balanced by age, race, gender, education, income, political affiliation, geography and so forth to reflect the American people as a whole.

Starting today, they will spend five days listening to a Clinton representative and two competing experts outline and argue about the economic dilemmas the government faces. Then they will vote on a series of options — just as a regular jury would.

The Citizens' Jury, organized by the non-profit Jefferson Center of Minneapolis, may offer President-elect Clinton and the new Congress the only informed, considered advice they are likely to receive from average Americans on the hard choices that lie ahead.

"Informed" and "considered" are important modifiers.

Politicians regularly receive torrents of advice from all quarters, including ordinary people. But they tend to ignore most of it, assuming — with good cause — that the average citizen simply doesn't understand the complexities of the federal budget, or the tradeoffs involved in choosing one course of action rather than another.

The Citizens Jury process attempts to address that problem. It cannot teach a cross-section of Americans everything there is to know about economics, health care, education, housing etc. in five days. But it can teach them enough to make some intelligent choices.

In addition to a Clinton representative yet to be selected, the jurors will hear from liberal advo-

The Citizens' Jury may offer President-elect Clinton and the new Congress the only informed, considered advice they are likely to receive from average Americans on the hard choices that lie ahead.

cate Robert Kuttner, co-editor of The American Prospect, a journal of politics and policy, and former Rep. Vin Weber, R-Minn., one of the leading conservative voices in Washington.

At a Wednesday news conference in Washington, Ned Crosby, founder of the Jefferson Center, said, "We think it is very important to bring the considered, reflective voice of the average citizen to bear on the decision-making process in Washington."

His opinion is shared, emphatically, by some of those who will serve on the jury next week. The two who live closest to Washington were on hand to explain why they agreed to participate after being randomly selected by a computer.

"I think it's challenging," said Linda Hicks, 47, a social worker and casework supervisor from Lowman, N.Y. "I really want to know what's going on, and I don't think that from what I read and hear, I have a true picture. I also think I have something to offer."

Jack Goleboski, 32, a commodities broker from Jersey City, N.J., agreed. "I'm interested in politics, and I've formulated some opinions of my own. But I think in Washington and in politics generally, all they listen to is each other. I hope now they will stop and listen to me."

Hicks said she had been surprised at the reaction of her friends, neighbors and coworkers when they learned she was going to serve on the jury. "Everyone who hears about it has been telling me what I should tell the administration, and expounding on how problems affect them," she said. "People really want a voice in it."

Citizens' juries have been used in Minnesota since 1974, when the project was created. They have examined issues ranging from school-based health clinics to peacemaking in Central America.

Last year, the project expanded to Pennsylvania, where the League of Women Voters sponsored two 18-member jury panels to assess the U.S. Senate race between Republican incumbent Arlen Specter and Democratic challenger Lynn Yeakei. The panels — one in Pittsburgh, one in Philadelphia — took testimony from experts, examined campaign materials and grilled the candidates at length on a series of issues before reaching their judgments. The proceedings received intensive media coverage, and when their deliberations ended, the jurors gave the edge to Specter. So did Pennsylvania's voters.

The 1992 presidential campaign featured an unprecedented degree of voter participation — radio and television call-in shows, "town hall" meetings with the candidates, and a nationally televised debate featuring questions from the audience. But nearly all of that dialogue focused on the nation's problems rather than on the sacrifices to be made in solving those problems.

The Citizens' Jury will have the opportunity — and the obligation — to grapple with the hard choices that Clinton and Congress must address, and to tell their elected leaders what average citizens would like them to decide. The politicians would do well to listen.

Scripps Howard News Service //

Newsday

THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER

Citizens' Group Meets to Tackle Issues

By Louis Porter II
PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES H. HARRIS

Minneapolis — A microcosm of the United States is gathering in Washington today to provide President-elect Bill Clinton with a citizens' budget and a list of other policy recommendations for the new administration.

A 34-member "citizens jury" has been called to tackle those issues that the president's organizers say were ignored in the presidential campaign. The jury, set up through the Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center, will tackle issues such as national health care and issues that simply can't be broached by candidates seeking to get elected, organizers at the think tank said.

"We have been working slowly and for a long time to develop a method of citizen input that is both knowledgeable and representative," said Ned Crosby, founder and president of the center. "Public opinion polls are considered to make the nation stronger. The New York representatives on the panel are Jynette Graham of Brooklyn, a computer graphics specialist, and Linda Hicks of Larchmont, a case work supervisor.

"This is the first time I've ever gotten involved in



Linda Hicks of Larchmont, one of two New York jurors, talks to reporters

discuss what resources and sacrifices should be considered to make the nation stronger. The New York representatives on the panel are Jynette Graham of Brooklyn, a computer graphics specialist, and Linda Hicks of Larchmont, a case work supervisor.

"This is the first time I've ever gotten involved in

something like this," Graham said. "I do hope that... when I get to Washington, I will learn more about what's going on."

Graham said she hopes to be able to share what she learns with those people who would benefit from the jury findings when she returns to New York.

The center's first citizens jury was convened in 1994 to examine questions on water quality in Minnesota. Since then, 13 juries have been conducted, three in conjunction with the League of Women Voters of St. Paul, Minn.

Juries are randomly selected, although the center does some pre-screening to make sure the jury contains a demographic, geographic and racial balance.

One panel, in 1990, dealt with the Minnesota governor's race, in which one of the challengers was accused of exposing himself in front of his daughter's teenage friend. Although that scandal overshadowed the election, Crosby said the citizens jury still made a difference.

"I know that at least half of the coverage on issues

Please see JURY on Page 52

Citizens Jury Meets in D.C.

JURY from Page 19

was generated by our citizens jury," Crosby said. "We decided to gather newspaper articles on issues and stands and found about 150 articles generated by us."

The center also takes credit for bringing issues to the forefront during the U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania last year between incumbent Arlen Specter and Lynn Yankel.

Bob Meek, a spokesman for the center, said before the citizens jury process began there, media coverage of the race revolved around concerns such as Yankel's payment of taxes.

"We put the campaign back on the issues instead of personality attacks," Meek said. "After the jury came in, the issues such as the economy, health care and education got more attention."

Not everyone is as enthusiastic about the process.

Norman Ornstein, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., has called it a "nice, little modest step" toward improving the dialogue between candidates and voters. He voiced doubts that the jury process would revolutionize politics.

Crosby, who established the Jefferson Center in 1974 and uses funds from an inheritance to help run it, however, argues that many extraordinary innovations were scoffed at in their early stages.

Ruy Teixeira, a staff associate at the Brookings Institution, another

Washington think tank, said the process can make a difference — as part of a trend toward voter involvement.

"This is one project among many," Teixeira said. "It's part of a general social and political trend towards more information that is easily accessible."

Starting with today's session, jury members will hear speakers from the incoming Clinton administration as well as what the center calls "conservative and liberal advocates." For six hours each day, jury members will hear testimony on topics ranging from defense to agriculture.

The jury members will then be asked to devise two budgets for the nation. They will present their proposals on Thursday.

A second panel, set to meet the week of Feb. 22, will review Clinton's domestic policy proposals and a third will meet the week of May 8 to examine the president's first 100 days in office.

Jurors' expenses are paid and each will receive a \$600 stipend. Organizers say they expect overall costs to conduct all three juries to be \$400,000. A Minneapolis law firm has donated \$100,000 to underwrite the project and organizers hope to get more funding.

Crosby and his staff said they hope these juries will garner as much media attention as the session they conducted in Pennsylvania.

Crosby said ABC's "Nightline" plans to tape during all five days of the upcoming jury and will devote at least one of its shows to the jury. National Public Radio also plans extensive coverage.

Star Tribune

Established 1867

Joel R. Kramer Publisher and President

Tim J. McGuire Executive Editor

Robert J. White Editorial Editor

8A

Monday/January 18/1993

Higher taxes? You bet, say these Americans

Anytime average Americans say they're willing to pay higher taxes, political leaders should sit up and take notice.

That's what President-elect Clinton and Congress should do with the results of last week's Citizen Jury in Washington, the latest in a series sponsored by the Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center. The notion behind Citizens Juries is that average Americans, given information and the opportunity to deliberate, generally make sound judgments about candidates and issues, and their judgments deserve public attention.

Last week, 24 people from around the country, chosen to represent diverse points of view, met in Washington for four days to consider the federal government's fiscal plight — and again demonstrated the merit of the Jefferson Center approach.

Working with the Congressional Budget Office's fiscal 1997 projections, the jury cut the projected deficit by a third through a combination of tax

increases and spending cuts — and still found \$20 billion in new money for a universal coverage, "managed competition" health-care plan.

Jurors said yes to higher taxes on gasoline and other fuels, tobacco, alcohol and annual incomes greater than \$200,000. They also embraced a politically touchy tax on the Social Security benefits of high-income recipients. They'd cut the defense budget, naturally, but also cancel plans for some of the roads and bridges Clinton has promised, which smelled like pork to them.

That strategy still leaves a deficit of nearly \$200 billion a year — too high for America's good. But it signals to political leaders where they might go if they are willing to administer stronger medicine. And the jury's urgings to Clinton and Congress to apply such medicine suggests that something is even less popular with average Americans than higher taxes — spineless politicians unwilling to confront the nation's pressing problems.

'Citizens Jury' Demands Strong Action on Budget

Clinton Urged to 'Make the Tough Choices'

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

A "Citizens Jury" of voters from across the country spent a week wrestling with the federal budget and sent President Clinton an unambiguous message: Cut spending by \$26 billion, increase taxes by \$70 billion and damn the politicians and special-interest groups even if it means being a one-term president.

"We'll stand behind you if you make the tough choices. A one-term president may be better for the country if that's what it takes," said Philip Grant, a truck-weighing station inspector from Klamath Falls, Ore., one of 24 jurors who met here last week to consider the new administration's budget priorities.

The gathering of a microcosm of America to draft a citizens' budget after talking with fiscal experts was based on the principle that while public opinion polls may be representative, the people surveyed are not always informed, and while lobbying is usually informed, it is not often representative, said Ned Crosby, founder and president of the sponsoring Jefferson Center, a Minneapolis-based policy study group.

The jurors voted 18 to 6 for a relatively radical federal budget that would slash \$26 billion out of fiscal 1997 expenditures of \$1.745 trillion projected by the Congressional Budget Office, as compared to a \$19 billion budget increase proposed last summer by Clinton in his "Putting People First" economic plan.

At the same time, jurors recommended raising \$70 billion more in taxes than the \$1.455 trillion projected for 1997 by the CBO, compared to \$44 billion more proposed by Clinton.

The jurors' somewhat draconian budget would leave a \$194 billion deficit in 1997, \$96 billion less than the CBO's projected deficit and \$70 billion less than that envisioned by Clinton.

Jurors said they would trim \$5 billion more out of defense spending than the \$20 billion that Clinton proposed cutting; that they would cut \$15 billion out of infrastructure spending instead of increasing it by \$24 billion; and would reduce Social Security expenditures by \$9 billion, or half again as much as the \$6 billion reduction planned by Clinton.

Although jurors said they would increase spending in "social infrastructure" by only \$7 billion, com-

pared to a \$24 billion increase proposed by Clinton, they proposed increasing expenditures for health care by \$20 billion, instead of the \$4 billion reduction proposed by Clinton.

Jurors said the reason for the disparity is that they opted for a radically reformed health care system in which the taxpayer would pick up the tab for a managed care system whose users would pay minimal costs for treatment.

The \$70 billion tax increases proposed by jurors included \$20 billion in "sin taxes" on cigarettes and alcohol; \$30 billion in tax increases on Americans who earn more than \$200,000; and \$20 billion in new

Clair Parsh, a community college teacher from Sacramento, Calif., said: "We're just mortgaging our kids' future the way we're going. Once I made that decision, it was just a question of range. If these decisions go through, in 1997 we might have a better country."

When asked whether special-interest groups would not battle some of the budget proposals, Parsh replied, "One of the largest special-interest groups is gathered right around this table—the voter."

Gary Blake, a cable television technician from Tupelo, Miss., said: "Our senators and representatives work for us. They don't work for these special-interest groups."

Another panel is scheduled for the week of Feb. 22 to review Clinton's domestic policy proposals, and a third for the week of May 3 to examine his first 100 days in office.

The Citizens Jury attracted national attention during two panel discussions in Pennsylvania during last year's Senate race between Sen. Arlen Specter (R) and his Democratic challenger, Lynn Yeakel.

The jurors voted 18 to 6 for a relatively radical federal budget.

energy taxes, which would lead to a 10-cent increase in the cost of a gallon of gasoline.

"Coming into this thing, I never thought I'd make a choice to raise taxes. But I decided to bite the bullet. Our kids have to live with what we've done in this country," Grant said.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

William Raspberry

'Citizens' Juries'

Last September, before it was clear that Bill Clinton would ascend to the White House, I wrote a column in which I concluded that neither Clinton nor incumbent George Bush could come clean about the federal budget deficit.

For either to propose doing what both knew needed to be done would guarantee defeat at the polls. The problem, I suggested, was beyond the ability of politics to solve. My recommendation?

"Whoever wins in November ought to name a bipartisan panel of widely respected nonpoliticians to examine the federal budget, not just for 'waste and fraud' but with a view toward the hard choices that politicians can't make."

I thought it was a good idea. Now I think Ned Crosby may have a better one.

Crosby is founder, principal funder, and chief promoter of a concept called "citizens' juries." The process has already proven its mettle, notably in Pennsylvania, where 18-member juries in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia—selected to reflect the demographics of the western and eastern ends of the state, measurably raised the level of debate in the Senate race.

The juries held three-day congressional-type hearings—calling expert witnesses on technical matters, questioning candidates, discussing among themselves—in order to select their electoral priorities, inform themselves on the issues and, finally, to offer the voters a recommendation.

Crosby's Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center, which designed the jury idea, has now taken it a step farther.

He called together a panel of 24 people from across the country (and from across the ethnic and political spectrum) and kept them in Washington for five days to review Congressional Budget Office fiscal projections, hear from experts, reflect among themselves and then do what politicians can't: recommend the hard choices necessary to bring the federal budget under control.

You may have heard the results of their deliberations. They would cut defense by \$25 billion, reduce infrastructure spending by \$15 billion and

Sometimes the people must make tough choices the politicians duck.

reduce Social Security outlays by \$9 billion (primarily by taxing the benefits of higher-income recipients). But they would increase expenditures for health care by \$20 billion, mostly to introduce a "managed competition" program that would guarantee reasonably priced coverage to everybody.

And they would raise taxes by \$70 billion over the next four years, mainly through higher levies on tobacco, alcohol and gasoline, but also raising the income taxes of those with incomes above \$200,000 a year.

But if the details of their "tough choices" proposals are interesting (and well worth the attention of the Clinton administration) it is the process that I find exciting.

These men and women were a microcosm of America, representing the whole range of class, age and regional imperatives that make fair budgeting so difficult. But when they undertook a responsibility that went beyond their individual group interests—when they took the trouble to inform themselves and try to deal rationally with the national interest—they managed a surprising degree of consensus.

There are lessons in that—including the obvious one that this citizens' jury has done what the Founding Fathers intended Congress to do. The House in particular was supposed to be a cross-section of America committed to making decisions on behalf of America. It was to have the ability to gather information, to hear the experts, to deliberate and to decide. And it has all those things.

But it has something else. It has 435 electorates, each with its own interests and priorities. It has career politicians, meaning that their tough decisions, no matter how rational, can come back to haunt them at re-election time. And it has not just experts to inform its deliberations but money-wielding special interests to distort them.

The success of the citizen juries contains plenty of fuel for those who argue for term limits and campaign finance reform.

Yet, the success to date is largely technical. That is, the process has succeeded in cobbling together a decent set of "tough choices." But selling that package is a whole different proposition. (Follow-up juries are scheduled to meet in March and May to review White House and congressional proposals.)

Crosby's hope for the electoral juries—that they become an "institution the voters can trust"—may be a little too optimistic for the budget jury. It's not enough to have 24 well-informed and thoughtful people; what is needed is a well-informed and thoughtful citizenry.

If Ned Crosby's idea is to work at the federal budget level, all of us need to experience (probably through the medium of television) what the jurors experience. We need to hear the facts; hear the expert projections from those facts, hear the deliberations and the trade-offs and the choices.

The politicians can't do what has to be done. The people can't afford not to.

PETER B. RIDDER Publisher/President
 WALKER LUNDY Editor/Sr. Vice President
 RONALD D. CLARK Editorial Page Editor
 MINDI KEIRNAN Managing Editor/News
 KEN DOCTOR Managing Editor/Features

BERNARD H. RIDDER JR. Chairman Emeritus

OPINION

VIEWPOINT

Citizens Jury tells us Americans ready to sacrifice to balance budget



**TIM
PENNY**

GUEST COLUMNIST

Getting real lawmakers and the Clinton administration to act with the same resolve clearly will be more difficult.

The amount of sacrifice needed to bring the federal budget into balance is daunting, but Americans are willing to take painful medicine provided they understand the gravity of the problem.

A courageous group of "average" Americans acting as legislators recently proved this. Last month, the Jefferson Center in Minneapolis held a "Citizens Jury" for five days, during which a group of 24 Americans from around the country listened to speakers representing a wide range of economic and political viewpoints.

After careful consideration of the facts, an overwhelming majority of the group opted to raise taxes and cut billions from defense, Social Security and public works programs.

Getting real lawmakers and the Clinton administration to act with the same resolve clearly will be more difficult, but Americans are ready for it.

During the last campaign, for example,

WASHINGTON

they jumped at the chance to understand the nation's problems by tuning in Ross Perot's "infomercials," watching the presidential debates in great numbers and deluging candidates with questions when they appeared on call-in talk shows.

Clearly, the country is interested in hearing honest discussion about the depth of our problems, rather than unrealistic forecasts of recovery.

President Clinton would be well-advised to take a lesson from Perot and use the media to educate Americans about our problems and build consensus, much like Franklin D. Roosevelt did in his first 100 days in office in 1933.

Roosevelt used that brief window of opportunity to reduce federal salaries by 15 percent, cut veterans' pensions and reorganize government agencies, cutting the budget by about 5 percent. A similar cut today would save \$75 billion.

With his fireside chats, Roosevelt persuaded Americans to tighten their belts

despite tough times and growing civil unrest. Sixty years later, Clinton held an economic "teach-in" — a great way to start educating Americans about our economic problems. He should not let up in his use of such meetings, appearances on talk shows and other outlets to keep the momentum growing for deficit reduction.

Congress must play a major role as well, serving as an open forum to wrestle with tough decisions. The debate in Congress about whether to go to war with Iraq was one of our finest hours, allowing the wealth of the country's many opinions to be aired. As a result, the nation coalesced behind former President Bush and our policy in the Persian Gulf.

The open dialogue possible in the United States is one of our great strengths. As President Clinton eloquently stated in his inauguration speech, "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be fixed by what's right with America."

If the president, Congress and the American people can talk openly and honestly about how to spend and tax, and can educate each other about the tough choices we will have to make, there's no doubt we can reduce the deficit, as our fellow Americans on the Citizens Jury proved so well.

Penny, who represents Minnesota's 1st Congressional District, is a founder of both the Democratic Budget Group and the "Porkbusters" Coalition.