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Global Warming: Improve and Adapt

by John A. Charles, Jr.

The fall 2004 edition of Cascade Update's article, "Global Warming: Fact or Fiction," outlined some of the difficulties in establishing sensible public policy on global warming:

- The earth shows both warming and cooling trends, depending on where and when measurements are taken
- We have no way of knowing what part of any climate change is caused by human influences and what part by natural factors
- It's not clear that global warming would actually be a threat, given that human civilizations have flourished during periods of warmer climate

The resultant advice? Simply go about our business and be prepared to adapt to any future scenario.

This was not a very satisfying answer to some readers. To them, it implied that we shouldn't care about climate change or try to do anything about it. Yet, going about our business is not only a strategy that makes sense, it is also far from the same as just "doing nothing."

Carbon dioxide (CO₂) is the most abundant anthropogenic (human-caused) greenhouse gas and is released primarily when fossil fuels are burnt. CO₂ emissions have been increasing along with the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but not at the same rate. Since 1949, the amount of carbon used to create each unit of GDP has dropped by nearly 60 percent. The carbon intensity of the U.S. economy is now declining by an annual average of two percent. This is projected to continue indefinitely.

That's the beauty of a free market economy. The "invisible hand" of the market is its own global warming strategy because it results in a steady decline in CO₂ emissions per unit of output.

This spectacular drop is the result of two trends:

1. We are diversifying our energy base to include non-fossil fuels such as wind and solar.
2. Each year we use less energy per unit of economic output.

Energy efficiency has increased so much that we now use only about half the energy to produce an item as we did in 1949. Even if we take no special actions regarding global warming, the current US economy will steadily reduce CO₂ output.

That's the beauty of a free market economy. The "invisible hand" of the market is its own global warming strategy because it results in a steady decline in CO₂ emissions per unit of output.

Unlike centralized environmental plans that depend on coercive regulation and enforcement, market forces operate 24 hours a day and compel every participant in the economy to continually search for more efficient ways to do things.

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Oregonians Can Benefit From HSAs

by Steve Buckstein

What if you could buy health insurance at half price, and save the difference to pay for routine medical needs? That is the essence of Health Savings Accounts (HSAs), the newest and perhaps best approach to getting a handle on skyrocketing healthcare costs.

HSAs can profoundly benefit many Oregonians, especially those who are currently uninsured. The Internal Revenue Service recently found that about one third of insurance-policy purchasers who use HSAs were previously uninsured. Private health insurance providers are reporting similar statistics.

In addition to the uninsured, many other Oregonians stand to benefit from HSAs, including those already insured in the private sector, the poor and taxpayers.

HSAs were created last year by congress as a part of the Medicare Modernization Act. They allow consumers under age 65 to pay for routine healthcare costs directly out of a tax-deferred savings account and must be coupled with high-deductible health insurance. They return insurance to its original economic purpose: a means to share the financial risk of rare, costly and difficult to predict events. They help reduce costs by encouraging consumers to pay directly for routine care.

HSAs can be funded by employers and/or individuals. For those on public assistance, they can be funded by the state. Health Savings Accounts are owned by the individual, even when he or she changes jobs. Savings not spent on healthcare can be rolled over, tax-free, year after year. As the savings grow, they can be used for future healthcare needs, rolled over

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A Year of Change for Cascade

Recent months have brought significant changes to the Cascade staff. After 14 years at the helm, Cascade founder Steve Buckstein announced in October that he will step down as president. He will continue working for Cascade as a senior policy analyst, focusing on healthcare reform, fiscal policy and school choice. The Cascade Board of Directors asked me to serve as acting president until a permanent CEO can be hired, and I agreed. I am not a candidate for the position, but will help the Board identify and interview applicants.

Kurt T. Weber, Cascade's long-time vice president, has left the organization and will be pursuing other opportunities. I worked alongside Kurt for nearly eight years and benefited greatly from his high level of energy, his sense of humor and his extensive knowledge of the free-market movement. Cascade would not be where it is today without his dedication and we wish him the best in his future endeavors.

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Cascade is pleased to welcome Elizabeth Merritt to the administrative staff. Elizabeth worked previously as managing editor at *Liberty* magazine. She began working at Cascade part-time last summer but rapidly made herself too valuable for that limited role. She is assisting publications director Nicole Williams in editing and design of Cascade publications, assisting with the administration of Children's Scholarship Fund – Portland, maintaining financial records and managing the office on a daily basis. She is a great addition to our staff.

On the policy front, Cascade saw progress in several areas this year. The charter school movement, which Cascade helped establish in Oregon, is rapidly growing and shows no signs of slowing down. The school choice genie is clearly out of the bottle and it's only a matter of time before parents begin demanding even bolder reforms, such as vouchers or tax credits for use in private schools.

Ballot Measure 37, sponsored by Oregonians in Action, passed by a huge margin and will put the brakes on at least some of the land grabs by local zoning officials. To their credit, a number of land-use professionals within government have admitted that much of the backlash against land-use planning was brought on by

their own rigid application of regulations that were simply inappropriate in some cases. I am confident that the implementation of Measure 37 will spark a broader examination of the entire Oregon land-use system with an eye towards making it more equitable.

State-run enterprises such as SAIF and the Oregon Public Employee Retirement System—both the subject of policy papers by Cascade in recent years—are finally coming under much-needed scrutiny for their financial and management practices. While the ballot measure to get rid of SAIF was not approved by the voters, it's clear that legislators are aware of its problems and we can expect them to have a sense of urgency in making changes during the upcoming legislative session.

By the time you receive this you will likely have also received a year-end fundraising appeal from Cascade. I hope you will reflect on your partnership with Cascade during 2004 and conclude that the organization merits your continued support in the coming year.

Thank you for making our work possible.



John A. Charles, Jr.
acting president

Cascade Addresses the U.S. Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court recently agreed to hear the case of *Kelo v. City of New London*. This will decide whether governments may continue to use eminent domain to take homes and small businesses to give an unfair advantage to big businesses.

In *Kelo*, the New London, Connecticut, City Council is not claiming that it wants to take people's property for a public use such as a school or a road. It's claiming the property for a public purpose, meaning that the city expects to collect more taxes from a business development to be built on the land than it collects from the homes and small businesses already there. If the mere promise of more tax revenue is enough to let the city take private homes and businesses, then there is no effective limitation on any government to take any property it wishes for virtually any purpose and nobody's private property is safe. That's why Cascade Policy Institute filed an amicus brief with the U.S. Supreme Court on this case. Cascade academic advisor James Huffman, dean of the Lewis & Clark Law School in Portland, authored the brief.

Dean Huffman's brief discusses various states' narrow interpretation of public use

for eminent domain and argues that a strict standard is what the nation's Founders had in mind when they constitutionally limited government's power to take private property.

The New London property owners are being represented by our friends at the Institute for Justice (IJ), a libertarian public interest law firm. IJ senior attorney Dana Berliner explains why the New London case is so important: "If jobs and taxes can be a justification for taking someone's home or business, then no property in America is safe because anyone's home can create more jobs if it is replaced by a business and any small business can generate greater taxes if replaced by a bigger one. We have to restore the meaning of public use to what everyone once understood the term to mean—something the public would own and use, such as a road. Economic development is not a public use."

Cascade is proud to be part of the effort to stop wrongful government takings.

***Kelo v. City of New London* should be decided by June, 2005. Details about the case can be found at www.ij.org.**

Cascade Launches Wheels to Wealth Project

Over the past 45 years, American taxpayers have spent more than a trillion dollars financing various poverty relief programs including welfare, food stamps and public housing. The central problem with most of these programs is that they address recipients' short-term needs without giving them the tools they need to be self-reliant. This approach can trap generations of families in a lifestyle of dependency.

Recent research has shown that an overlooked factor—car ownership—is an empowering tool that can have a significant, positive effect on both employment and wages. According to Carolyn Hayden and Bronwyn Mauldin of the National Economic Development and Law Center, numerous academic and policy studies have concluded that owning a car:

- increases hours worked and earnings
- reduces reliance on the state among welfare recipients
- is a viable solution to transportation barriers to work for low-income people

Car ownership also has the potential to reduce the employment gap between whites and minorities. According to Steve Raphael and Michael Stoll of UC-Berkeley and UCLA respectively, "Our empirical estimates indicate that raising minority car-ownership rates to the white car-ownership rate would eliminate 45 percent of the black-white employment rate differential and 17 percent of the comparable Latino-white differential."

These findings point the way to a relatively inexpensive and non-bureaucratic way to reduce poverty: Provide low-interest loans to poor families to facilitate car ownership. For this reason, Cascade is initiating a new project called Wheels to Wealth.

The central problem with most of [welfare] programs is that they address recipients' short-term needs without giving them the tools they need to be self-reliant.

Currently, public policies in Portland are specifically designed to "get people out of their cars." Many public officials see driving as socially undesirable and are continually looking for ways to make it as expensive and inconvenient as possible. Examples include the state Transportation Planning Rule that requires the state's four largest cities to reduce their vehicle miles traveled and parking availability; the recommendation by

the governor's Global Warming Task Force to impose an expensive new mandate for carbon dioxide emissions reductions on new automobiles; burdensome taxes on property owners in certain Portland neighborhoods to pay for the construction of new streetcar and light rail lines; and a recently-increased payroll tax by TriMet to pay for expanded light rail service.

All of these programs destroy wealth when we should be trying to create wealth. A much better approach would be to spend relatively small amounts of money in grants or loans to help low-income people own cars. This would dramatically increase their likelihood of getting a job and thus increase their income. It would also save taxpayers money because the need for public transit, which is much more costly per trip than private auto use, would decline.

Car ownership also has the potential to reduce the employment gap between whites and minorities.

As part of Cascade's mission over the next year to educate journalists and policy makers about the value of car ownership, we plan to host a one-day conference with national experts to explore various aspects of this issue.

We will also conduct research on the travel patterns of low-income families in Portland. This will determine the scope of the transportation problem so that strategies can be devised to increase car ownership.

There are over 40 low-income car ownership programs in the country that have helped thousands of poor families gain access to private automobiles. Because Portland has not seen the value of such a program, the central goal of Cascade's Wheels to Wealth project is to create a new public understanding of the value private vehicles play in improving the standard of living for poor families. Once this value is understood, Portland's discriminatory policies can be reversed.

A much better approach would be to spend relatively small amounts of money in grants or loans to help low-income people to own cars.

Environmental activists are the most resistant groups to such policies because of concerns about air pollution and traffic congestion. But auto-related pollution has dropped substantially over the past three decades and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

Even if these concerns are legitimate, we should not try and solve them on the backs of our poorest citizens. This will provide the greatest social benefits at the lowest cost.

Wheels to Wealth will be directed by acting president and environmental policy director John A. Charles, Jr. He can be reached at john@cascadepolicy.org.

Wheels to Wealth

- Research and characterize the travel patterns of Portland's low-income and minority residents
- Analyze how the existing regulatory framework affects the transportation needs of low-income individuals
- Reach out to social service organizations that might be interested in promoting low-income car ownership
- Educate journalists and policy makers about the value of car ownership for generating wealth
- Promote policies that reduce barriers to car ownership

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Most global warming activists have a difficult time accepting this. They passionately argue for various forms of government intervention, of which the most severe would be a worldwide cap on CO2 emissions. They envision a “carbon-constrained” world in which international agreements are used to ration fossil fuels.

This vision would likely create a global carbon cartel making something that is naturally plentiful—fossil fuels—artificially scarce. If the United States chose to go along with this scheme (which, under both Presidents Clinton and Bush, it hasn't), Americans would pay dramatically higher prices for gasoline, home heating fuel and electricity.

Would these costs be offset by measurable benefits?

In the short term, the answer is no; in the long term, probably not. Greenhouse gases stay in the atmosphere for a long time, so any changes we make now in our emission rate will not make any difference for decades or even centuries. Forcing people to cut back on energy use through a rationing process would have no benefit to anyone alive today.

Climate alarmists argue that we should take action now for the benefits of future generations. Most people would be willing to make changes if we could be assured that our heirs would be better off. But no one can guarantee the benefits of CO2 reductions. No one has ever demonstrated a causal link between anthropogenic greenhouse gases and climate change. It is simply speculation to say that reducing our use of fossil fuels will reduce global warming. So it's entirely possible that we could all make the sacrifices necessary to create a carbon-constrained world and have no climate benefits to show for it 100 years from now. Yet the loss of wealth over that period would be in the trillions of dollars.

It's unlikely that most Americans would wish to deprive their heirs of so many financial resources when the benefits of “climate stabilization” are merely speculative. That's why free-market advocates believe that we should only take actions to reduce global warming that make sense for other reasons.

Would these costs be offset by measurable benefits? In the short term, the answer is no; in the long term, probably not.

For example, business managers can improve their companies' profitability by using fossil fuels more efficiently. If their efficiency has a long-term positive effect on the environment, all the better. But such decisions can be justified even if current

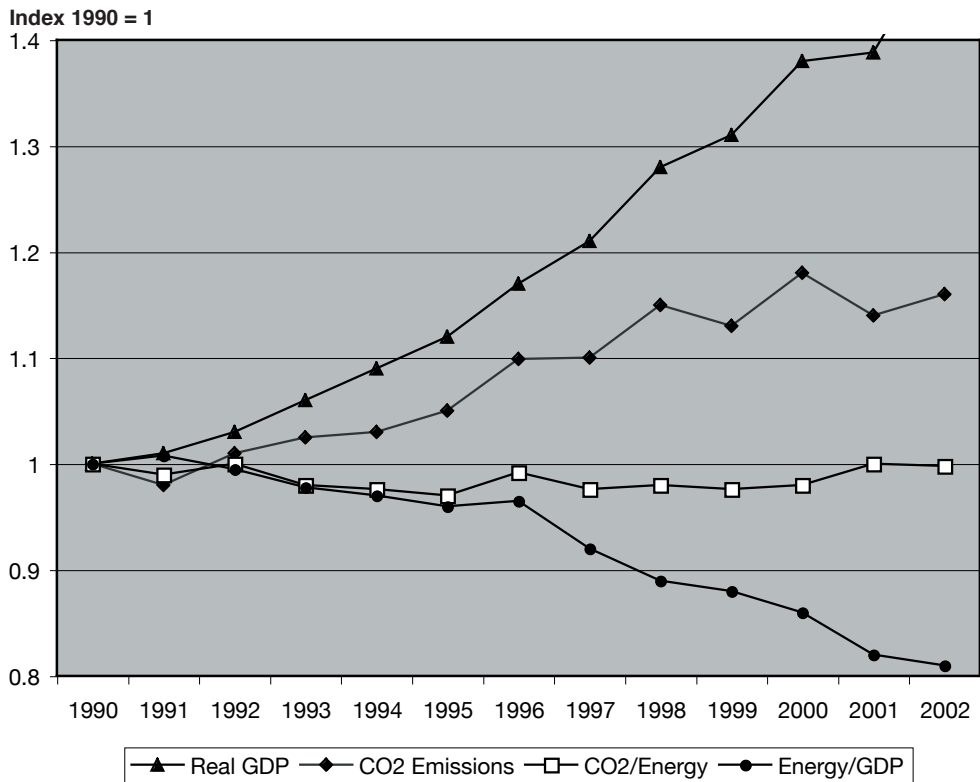
the US economy has been steadily declining, it has been rising in countries that are less economically free. For instance, the tons of CO2 emitted in the creation of each thousand dollars of GDP in the US was 0.99 in 1980, 0.76 in 1990 and 0.65 in 2000. In contrast, Iran's numbers for those same years were 1.64, 2.40 and 2.50.

China, which has moved rapidly towards a market economy in recent years, has a carbon intensity trend that reflects this shift: It needed 8.83 tons of CO2 per thousand dollars of GDP in 1980, 5.69 in 1990 and only 2.90 in 2000. This stunning decline in carbon intensity suggests that a global strategy of promoting markets and property rights will dramatically reduce greenhouse gases while also improving the quality of life for billions of impoverished people, without the costs of regulatory intervention.

Preparing to adjust to multiple climate scenarios is known in policy circles as “adaptation.” It may sound like a do-nothing approach, but it's not. Our economy is incredibly dynamic, and by fostering the market process, we allow the best technologies to emerge. Rather than locking on to some grandiose “one best plan” dreamed up by politicians, the entrepreneurial process allows an infinite number of strategies to move forward simultaneously. Market discipline will ruthlessly weed out ideas that cost too much, ensuring that global investment capital flows to where it can do the most good. This ensures that we meet our twin objectives of raising global standards of living while reducing the energy intensity of our economy.

Climate alarmists are welcome to voluntarily set their thermostats low or pay higher energy prices for alternative fuels. It will probably have no effect on climate but if it makes them feel virtuous, that's fine. However, there is no reason everyone else should be forced to do the same.

Growth in U.S. Carbon Dioxide Emissions and GDP, Energy Intensity of GDP, and Carbon Dioxide Intensity of Energy Use, 1990-2002



Sources: Energy Information Administration, Annual Energy Review 2001, DOE/EIA-0384(2001) (Washington, DC, November 2002).

concerns about global warming turn out to be unwarranted (as was the case with media hype in the 1970s about global cooling).

The beneficial effects of the free-market strategy can be seen vividly when placed in a global context. While the carbon intensity of

John A. Charles, Jr. is interim president and environmental policy director for Cascade.

Cascade Hosts MSNBC's Joe Scarborough

Cascade's September 16th Portland luncheon featured not one, but two noted authors. The main speaker was Joe Scarborough, a former Florida congressman and host of MSNBC's *Scarborough Country*. *Wall Street Journal* editorial board member John Fund introduced him.

Scarborough came to talk about his new book, *Rome Wasn't Burnt in a Day*. He explained that members of both major political parties are spending America into bankruptcy. He criticized his own Republican party as much if not more than Democrats for allowing the current record deficit and argued that fiscal conservatives should follow their principals, not their party platform.

Scarborough noted that in times when one party controls both the Congress and the White House, spending rises faster than when government is divided. Annual federal spending rose three times faster during the average year of President Bush's first term than during the average Clinton year. He took particular offense at pork-barrel spending attached to the emergency relief bill passed after 9-11.

Among the reforms Scarborough proposes is a new Taxpayer Bill of Rights, including a balanced budget amendment and pay-as-you-go rules. This would require congress to offset new spending with spending cuts from other programs.

John Fund briefly discussed his new book, *Stealing Elections*. It documents potential problems with how America votes, including a discussion of Oregon's vote-by-mail system. Together Fund and Scarborough made a powerful team in arguing for political reforms that would curb excess government power.

Both Scarborough and Fund stayed after the luncheon to autograph books. Judging by how many sold, the audience liked what both speakers had to say.



Oregon State Representative Jeff Kroph (right) shares ideas with former Florida Congressman Joe Scarborough, now host of MSNBC's *Scarborough Country* (left).



Joe Scarborough (seated) autographs his book for *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer John Fund after Fund introduced him at a Cascade luncheon on September 16.



Chairman of Victory Charter School, former Trail Blazer and State Farm Insurance agent Michael Harper discusses education policy with a group of people from the luncheon.

For a short discussion of Joe Scarborough's book, refer to the Cascade Commentary titled, "Who is Bankrupting America?" at www.cascadepolicy.org.

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into a retirement account or used to purchase long-term care insurance.

Health Savings Accounts address the three biggest healthcare concerns that most people have: cost, choice and control.

Health Savings Accounts address the three biggest healthcare concerns that most people have: cost, choice and control.

Eligibility

- Individuals under the age of 65 are eligible to contribute to an HSA if they have a qualified health insurance plan
- Individual policies must have a minimum deductible of \$1,000 with a \$5,000 cap on annual out-of-pocket expenses
- Family policies must have a minimum deductible of \$2,000 with a \$10,000 cap on annual out-of-pocket expenses
- Neither preventive care services nor coverage for accidents, disability, dental care, vision care and long-term care are subject to the minimum deductible

Contributions

- Annual contributions may be up to 100% of the health plan deductible or to \$2,600 for individual policies and \$5,150 for family policies, whichever is less
- Contributions may be made by individuals, family members and employers
- Contributions made by individuals and family members are tax-deductible for the account beneficiary even if the account beneficiary does not itemize
- Employer contributions are not taxable to the employee
- Investment earnings on HSA savings accrue tax-free

Distributions

HSA distributions are not taxed if they are used to pay for qualified medical expenses, such as:

- Diagnosis, cure, mitigation, treatment or prevention of disease
- Prescription drugs
- Qualified long-term care services and long-term care insurance
- Continuation coverage required by federal law (i.e., COBRA)
- Health insurance for the unemployed
- Medicare expenses (but not Medigap insurance)
- Health expenses for retired people 65 and older (Note: retiree health plans do not

have to meet the \$1,000/\$2,000 minimum deductible requirements)

Private sector workers who are currently insured can see lower costs and more likelihood of retaining their insurance. Mindy Wirkus, owner of Ledgers, a 100-employee tax preparation business, wanted to continue paying her employees' health insurance premiums. But, she said, "Health insurance costs were becoming outrageous." She was paying \$800 per month per employee. After switching to a high-deductible policy those premiums dropped to \$300 per month.

She told a reporter, "Even contributing to their personal HSAs, I still come out well ahead." This is a win-win for the company and its employees, who gain more control over their healthcare expenses, and can accumulate long-term savings from the unspent HSA contributions.

HSAs can help replace the politics of paternalism with the politics of freedom and individual choice.

HSAs can also help low-income people on the Oregon Health Plan, who currently have no incentive to economize on healthcare services. Letting them keep part or all of their savings in the plan gives them incentives to both watch their spending and build wealth for the future.

The largest group of Oregonians who can benefit from HSAs are the taxpayers. Taxpayers pay the huge costs of the Oregon Health Plan, and they pay the health insurance premiums for some 185,000 public sector employees. Nationally, taxpayers will benefit starting next

month when more than three million federal workers and their families choose from several HSA plans. If Oregonians who work for the federal government can have HSA options, our state and local governments should offer similar options to their employees.

Health Savings Accounts are already being used by a growing number of national companies, and high-deductible plans to go with them are being sold by a growing list of prominent insurance companies, including several in Oregon.

Health Savings Accounts are more than just a new mechanism to fund healthcare. They represent a new philosophy of care which may compete with, or even replace, the philosophy of managed care.

The HSA philosophy asserts that patients should have the choice and responsibility provided by economic participation in all aspects of their care; that needs should be determined by individuals, not by the "system." HSAs represent a bottom-up world view, where patients come first. This is a stark contrast to the top-down approach so unsuccessfully used by managed care providers.

Health Savings Accounts are more than just a new mechanism to fund healthcare. They represent a new philosophy of care which may compete with, or even replace, the philosophy of managed care.

HSAs can help replace the politics of paternalism with the politics of freedom and individual choice. They may be the most powerful introduction yet of this philosophy into American healthcare. On a practical level, they offer both lower costs and more choice to individuals, companies and governments. By both expanding healthcare coverage and lowering its costs, they can make life better for the uninsured, the poor, the taxpayers; for virtually all of us. These changes can't come too soon.



Steve Buckstein (third from right) speaks about HSAs at a September 21 Medicare Policy Workshop in Salem, Oregon, that was sponsored by Cascade Policy Institute, the Oregon Medical Association, the Oregon State Pharmacists Association, and Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America.

Steve Buckstein is a senior policy analyst and founding president of Cascade.

School Choice First?

by Steve Buckstein

Cascade Policy Institute is a strong advocate of comprehensive school choice as the best way to improve educational results in Oregon. This means offering the parents of every K-12 student a voucher or tax credit so they have the financial ability to choose any public, private, religious or home school for their children.

Politically, such a school choice program is not likely in the near future. But what is possible now?

For a variety of reasons, a school choice program for low-income students in the Portland Public School District is the best next step toward statewide education reform.

First, Portland is the largest school district in the state and has a high concentration of low-income and minority students. Its failure to adequately educate many students is well-documented, and the achievement gap between white, African American and Hispanic children has existed for decades.

For a variety of reasons, a school choice program for low-income students in the Portland Public School District is the best next step toward statewide education reform.

An income-based school choice program will give poor families many of the same choices as rich families. It is hard to argue that poor children should be denied the quality education available to children whose families have money simply because they cannot afford to pay both school taxes and private

tuition—or because they cannot afford to move to a more expensive neighborhood with better public schools. And in order to help the poorest families have better school choices, vouchers or tax credits would be available only to low-income families. That way, no one could argue that they only benefit those who already send their children to private schools.

Making choice available based on income rather than on school performance (as the No Child Left Behind Act does) reduces the opportunity for schools to play political games. Currently, school boards and principals can go to great lengths to keep their schools from being defined as “failing.” Thus, they prevent low-income students from being able to leave. But they would not prevent students from leaving if they had vouchers or tax credits.

A school shouldn't have to be failing before students are allowed to move on to a better one. Families who have taken advantage of the privately funded Children's Scholarship Fund-Portland have reported that their children's previous public schools weren't terrible—they simply wanted something better. They wanted to choose for themselves which school was right for their children.

The poor-first approach is working elsewhere in the country. Milwaukee, Cleveland, Washington, D.C. and other places have adopted school choice for low-income students, with documented improvements in academic achievement. Oregon should follow their example and start giving choices to low-income students as soon as possible.

Universal school choice sometime in the future would be wonderful, but poor children don't have the luxury of waiting.

Steve Buckstein is a senior policy analyst and founding president of Cascade.

Children's Scholarship Fund-Portland (CSF-P)

provides privately funded partial scholarships to low-income families so their children can attend private, religious or home schools. Now in its fifth year, the program has provided over \$2 million in scholarships to several hundred Portland area students. Cascade Policy Institute facilitates the program.

To find out more about CSF-P and how you can contribute, contact Nicole Williams at (503) 242-0900.

Lawrence W. Reed, president of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy, is flanked by Cascade's Bobby Forbes (l) and Nicole Williams (r) at Mackinac's Leadership Conference held in October, 2004. This conference focused on best management practices for think tanks and afforded the marvelous opportunity for our staffers to work closely with other institute-leaders and develop new ideas for Cascade. A hearty thank you to the Mackinac Center for facilitating and sponsoring this excellent learning experience.



Events

January 19 – An Oregon Economic Roundtable discussion of Measure 37, with land use and environmental lawyer Richard Allen. In Downtown Portland.

February 4 - “Why Free Market Economies are Ecologically and Socially Sustainable,” part of a Portland State University seminar series on social sustainability. Featuring Cascade’s John A. Charles, Jr.

April 21 – “Property Rights and the 2005 Oregon Legislature,” a presentation by John A. Charles, Jr. at the Central Oregon Builders Association in Bend. .

Event details are online at www.cascadepolicy.org, or call (503) 242-0900.



All of us at Cascade Policy Institute wish you a happy holiday season. May your new year be healthy and prosperous!

For information on how to become a Cascade supporter, call or email Roberta Forbes. (503) 242-0900, roberta@cascadepolicy.org

Publications

- **Do Schools Need More Money?** Steve Buckstein, Cascade Commentary 2004-32, December.
- **Better, Cheaper Healthcare,** Steve Buckstein, Cascade Commentary 2004-30, December.
- **Don't Spend It Again, Sam,** Kurt T. Weber and Nicole Williams, Cascade Commentary 2004-29, October.
- **Good Schools: For the Rich Only,** Clint Bolick, J.D., Cascade Commentary 2004-27, October.
- **Does Oregon Overspend?** Steve Buckstein, Cascade Commentary 2004-26, September.
- **Who Is Bankrupting America?** Steve Buckstein, Cascade Commentary 2004-25, September.

Publications details are online at www.cascadepolicy.org, or call (503) 242-0900.



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