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**Annual Report**  
**1989 • 1990**

**The Twentieth Century Fund**

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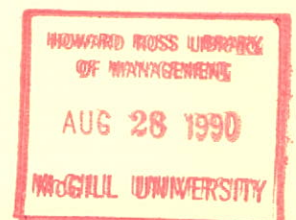




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# ANNUAL REPORT

The Twentieth Century Fund / 1989 • 1990



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*The Twentieth Century Fund is a research foundation engaged in policy-oriented studies of economic, political, and social issues and institutions. It was founded in 1919 by Edward A. Filene, who made a series of gifts that now constitute the Fund's assets.*

Those interested in submitting proposals for support for research projects that would result in full-length books should send a request for the "Guide to Submission of Proposals" to the Twentieth Century Fund at the address below. Information on the process governing submission of proposals for writing Twentieth Century Fund papers is also available.

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# Director's Report

*More than seventy years ago, the Twentieth Century Fund was conceived in an effort to help bridge the gap between the world of ideas and the world of affairs. Its roots were in the progressive movement that dominated so much of American public policy thinking during the early decades of this century. Many of the questions that animated the Fund's first leaders remain central to the American agenda.*

*What is the proper role of government in an overwhelmingly private-sector economy? What should be the international mission of the United States? How can we create fairness and opportunity for all our citizens? What should be done to improve the quality of government and, more generally, the management of many of our significant economic and social institutions?*

*Given the scope and complexity of these and related questions, it is not surprising that they remain relevant as we enter this last decade of the century. Indeed, it appears certain that, like the Constitution, such inquiries must be routinely reinterpreted in the course of events. Sometimes, however, the necessity to rethink and revitalize the Fund's agenda is especially compelling. Such is the case today. In the relatively short period since assuming the Directorship of the Fund, I have worked with the Trustees to reconsider and, to a limited extent, reshape the program of this institution. While maintaining our historic willingness to construe the mandate of the Fund in the broadest terms, we have embarked on a modest effort to concentrate the bulk of our resources on several critical areas of public policy. The first involves nothing less than assessing the state of America's foreign policy, military alliances, and economic relations.*

*The extraordinary events occurring in what was called the Communist bloc represent a watershed in world history. Coming at a time when the postwar economic order already was in rapid transition, these changes, to some extent, impose themselves on the agenda of an operating foundation concerned with public and international affairs. Research and writing about the implications of these developments is likely to be a major focus of our program for years to come. This emphasis is all the more certain because it builds on a long tradition of Twentieth Century Fund work in these areas.*

*This continuity, likewise, is present in another area of concentration: the revival of our concern with balance between private and public interests in society. The Fund was a pioneer in examining regulatory issues and the governing structure of U.S. corporations. Today, we sharpen such research by concentrating on evaluating the consequences of a decade and a half of deregulation and corporate restructuring.*

*In at least one other area, we are restoring an emphasis that had atrophied in recent years: a commitment to taking on the problems of some of America's least prosperous citizens, essentially the minority poor in cities. Here, our work involves task forces on public housing and urban school governance, research on drug treatment and education, and several books and monographs on related topics.*

*In these and other program areas, the Fund is considering ways to move beyond support of the research and writing phases of our studies to enhance the dissemination of the finished products. From the beginning, the Fund's founder, Edward A. Filene, was insistent that the Fund's projects be designed to get something done. He and his colleagues were properly concerned that the Fund's work pass a threshold test of relevance. Thus, part of our stewardship of his legacy involves ensuring that the research informing our studies has implications for the agenda of those who actually shape public policy. Moreover, our publications must not only engage those who are directly involved in policy but also be accessible to a broad audience.*

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*In our view, high standards of scholarship are not incompatible with the mission of informing public debate on the great issues. The Fund's books, papers, task forces, conferences, and other activities are part of a general program conceived with the Board of Trustees and executed by a professional staff. Our goals often require challenging existing policies and the conventional wisdom. They always necessitate a commitment to excellence in analysis and writing. The Fund does not make research grants, award fellowships, or support dissertation research. Instead, as an operating foundation, it directly administers its projects.*

*As a practical matter, the task of running this institution involves heavy reliance on a great many people—particularly when one is new to the job. In recent years, the Fund has had a sweeping turnover in key personnel. The more than two-decade-long tenure of Murray Rossant as Director ended with his death in 1988. For most of that year and the following, the Fund was led by Marcia Bystryn, serving as Acting Director. Marcia's efforts were no mere holding action. Her work was distinguished and added significantly to the reputation of the Fund. I owe her a personal debt for her generous assistance during the first months after my arrival.*

*Building on the past labors of such people and the continuity provided by the Board, I believe the next few years can be among the most exciting and productive in the history of the Fund. The times provide an irresistible incentive to adopt a new boldness in our programs. Our mission is to be equal to that opportunity.*

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard C. Leone". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "R" and "L".

Richard C. Leone

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# Current Studies

## INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

### *U.S. FOREIGN POLICY*

*The 1990s will be an era of change for U.S. foreign policy. For forty years, containment of the Soviet Union and other Communist nations served as the foundation for U.S. relations with the rest of the world. Now, under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union seems less of a threat, and the nations of Central Europe have regained their sovereignty and sought a place in an expanded European Community. These shifts demand new thinking and new directions for U.S. foreign policy.*

*For seventy years, the Fund has been associated with the tradition of bipartisan internationalism—a tradition that shaped our most successful post-World War II economic and security policies. This tradition properly remains a source of inspiration and guidance for U.S. foreign policy. One central activity of the Fund in the next few years will be interpreting and applying the principles underlying that tradition in terms of a changing world.*

*The Fund's current portfolio in the U.S. Foreign Policy area includes analyses of the implications of political and economic change in Central Europe, the future of arms control, the U.S. role in European security, and the U.S. role in Latin America and the Pacific Rim.*



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### **U.S. Policy toward Eastern Europe**

For the past forty years, the United States has promoted national liberation in Eastern Europe and tried to help East European countries emerge from political and economic exile. Bennett Kovrig of Trinity College in Toronto is tracing U.S. relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and assessing future policy options. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **The U.S.-West German Security Partnership**

The future of Germany has become a central question for the foreign policy of the United States. Elizabeth Pond, former correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, is examining the U.S.-West German security partnership in light of German reunification and other recent events. Her project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **Securing Europe**

The radical political, economic, and social changes taking place in Europe call for a new concept of security. Richard H. Ullman of Princeton University is examining the possibilities in a project scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **The Need for a New U.S. Foreign Policy Focus**

The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe make clear the need to reevaluate the U.S. foreign policy focus. James Chace, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is well along in that task. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **American Foreign Policy in the 1990s**

With the collapse of communism in Central Europe, the United States must rethink the fundamental assumptions of its foreign policy. Walter Russell Mead, a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute, is assessing which policies will best advance America's vital national interests and democratic ideals in this new era. His project is scheduled for completion in 1992.

### **U.S. Foreign Policy Interests**

Since World War II, U.S. foreign policy has sought not only to preserve national security but also to safeguard international law, contain communism, and promote freedom, economic growth, and American ideals. Alan Howard Tonelson of the Economic Strategy Institute is assessing how to reduce the

roster of U.S. commitments while maintaining U.S. security. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **U.S. Policy toward Latin America**

More often than not, Latin America has been given short shrift by Washington policymakers. Henry Raymond, a distinguished journalist, is examining the history of U.S.-Latin American relations to draw lessons that may guide more constructive hemispheric relations in the future. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **U.S.-Chilean Relations, 1964-89**

Chile has long been considered a test case for U.S. efforts to promote democracy and economic growth through political, military, covert, and diplomatic means. Paul E. Sigmund of Princeton University is assessing the lessons that can be drawn from the mixed results of twenty-five years of U.S. policy toward Chile. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **America, Iran, and the Persian Gulf**

After more than a decade of troubles, future relations between the United States and Iran remain uncertain. In fact, much of U.S. policy toward the region is still the subject of intense domestic criticism and even legal action. Gary Sick, a former staff member of the National Security Council, is assessing the recent course of U.S. Persian Gulf policy. His project is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

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### America and the Struggle for Democracy Worldwide

Over the years, U.S. efforts to export democracy have aroused both fervent support and vehement criticism. Tony Smith of Tufts University is assessing U.S. policies and actions, successes and failures, as the United States has tried to encourage democracy worldwide. His project is scheduled for completion in 1992.



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### Task Force on Covert Action

Covert action abroad raises difficult questions of politics, policy, and morality. The Fund has brought together a diverse group of experts to debate the constitutional and policy issues inherent in covert action. Their report, along with a background paper by Allan E. Goodman of Georgetown University and Bruce D. Berkowitz of George Washington University, will appear in early 1991.

#### *List of Members*

*David Aaron*, Author

*Hodding Carter III*, President, MainStreet TV Productions

*Edward E. David, Jr.*, President, EED, Inc.

*Lee Hamilton*, Congressman from Indiana

*Thomas Latimer*, Former Staff Director, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives

*Walter Mondale*, Partner, Dorsey and Whitney

*Walter F. Murphy*, Professor, Department of Politics, Princeton University

*Richard E. Neustadt*, Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, Emeritus, John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

*Janne E. Nolan*, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

*F. A. O. Schwartz, Jr.*, Partner, Cravath, Swaine & Moore

*Deanne Siemer*, Partner, Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro

*Theodore C. Sorensen*, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

*Gregory F. Treverton*, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

*Admiral Stansfield Turner*, USN (retired), Olin Professor, U.S. Military Academy at West Point

\* \* \*

*Allan E. Goodman*, Task Force executive director, Associate Dean and Director, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

*Bruce D. Berkowitz*, Task Force executive director, Associate Lecturer in Political Science, George Washington University

### Task Force on the Future of American Trade Policy

Over the past five years, the U.S. government has retaliated against EEC and Japanese trade barriers by erecting trade barriers of its own. An independent Task Force set up to assess this policy issued two reports: one supporting free trade and multilateral negotiations, the other arguing for managed trade through bilateral deals to open the markets of our major trade partners. The reports are accompanied by a background paper by Gary C. Hufbauer of Georgetown University in a volume entitled *The Free Trade Debate* published by Priority Press Publications in 1989.

#### *List of Members*

*Anne Krueger*, chair, Professor of Economics, Duke University; Consultant, World Bank

*Lawrence J. Brainard*, Senior Vice President, Bankers Trust Company

*Patrick D. Choate*, Vice President for Policy Analysis, TRW Inc.

*Harry L. Freeman*, Executive Vice President, Corporate Affairs and Communications, American Express Company

*Paul Krugman*, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Robert Kuttner*, Economics Editor, *The New Republic*

*Robert Z. Lawrence*, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution

*Clyde V. Prestowitz*, Senior Associate, The Carnegie Endowment

*Howard D. Samuel*, President, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

*Herbert Stein*, Senior Fellow, The American Enterprise Institute

*Alan Wm. Wolff*, Attorney, Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood

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*Gary C. Hufbauer*, rapporteur, Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

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## GLOBAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

*The global political and economic order is changing dramatically. The system of international institutions established at Bretton Woods, when the United States was the dominant economic power, needs modernization. In today's multipolar economic world, the United States is learning to share authority with its industrialized partners, and the lessons are not all pleasant.*

*The Fund's work in the area of Global Politics and Economics examines the arrangements that govern trade, finance, economic relations, and security, as well as developments within specific countries or regions.*

*Among topics of special interest are how the United States will adapt to the emergence of Europe and Japan as major economic powers, how existing international institutions can adapt to a changing political and economic order, and whether new institutional arrangements are necessary.*

*Another special interest is communications and the information economy. Changes in technology and markets affect the entire economy and pose new challenges to policymakers. We intend to examine this complex issue through a variety of programs and publications.*



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### **America, Japan, and Germany in the New Economic Order**

As the world economy becomes ever more interdependent, its three major industrial powers must reconcile growing economic competition with an increasing need for cooperation. Jeffrey E. Garten, a former government official, now managing director of The Stamford Company, is assessing how the fundamental differences among these three nations shape the competition among them, and how that competition might be better managed. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Western Economic Policies toward Eastern Europe**

The nations of Eastern Europe are making radical changes from command to market economies. Thomas A. Baylis of the University of Texas at San Antonio is looking at recent changes and their implications for the foreign economic policy of the United States. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **Amazon Development and World Environmental Security**

There is broad agreement that unbridled development of the Amazon rain forest will have enormous ecological and environmental costs, but remedies must take national sovereignty and economic development into account. Veteran journalist Juan de Onis is examining the tensions between the demands for local sovereignty and international concern for preservation of this critical habitat and is assessing ways to promote responsible use of the Amazon's great natural resources. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **Brazil's "Second Chance"**

Even with its staggering debt burden and deep-seated social problems, Brazil is a country with remarkable potential that is trying to reinstate constitutional democracy on a durable basis. Lincoln Gordon, former U.S. ambassador to Brazil, is assessing which domestic Brazilian policies would best promote economic development, social justice, and political stability. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Mexico's Problems and International Relations**

There has always been a certain ambiguity in Mexico's relations with the United States. The peoples of both countries share an ambivalence that is almost an inevitable by-product of such proximity, diversity, and intimacy. Hugh Thomas, an eminent British historian, brings to bear his considerable knowledge of Latin American and Hispanic culture in his examination of Mexican relations with the United States and with the rest of the world. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **The Democratic Revolution in Latin America**

A significant turn toward democratic government is taking place in Latin America—a welcome transition that presents pitfalls as well as opportunities for U.S. foreign policy. Howard J. Wiarda of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst assesses failed U.S. initiatives in Latin America and recommends a new U.S. foreign policy course. His book, *The Democratic Revolution in Latin America*, a Twentieth Century Fund Book, was recently published by Holmes and Meier.

### **African Hunger**

Famine is no longer just a visitor to Africa. In the face of persistent hunger, illness, and starvation, it is critical that food production and distribution be improved. Carl K. Eicher of Michigan State University is assessing the failures and successes of the war to eradicate famine from Africa. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Aid and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Despite noble intentions, the results of foreign aid to the nations of sub-Saharan Africa have been mixed. Shifting aid strategies have distorted African development, recipient governments have been inefficient or corrupt, population increases continue to outstrip economic growth. Carol J. Lancaster of Georgetown University is examining the role played by outsiders in African development with an eye toward policy reform. Her project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **International Cooperation and Management of Refugee Issues**

Rapid advances in communication and transportation technologies have created increased opportu-

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nities to escape oppression, raising difficult moral and practical questions for governments and international organizations. Gil D. Loescher of Notre Dame University draws on his work with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to trace the history and assess the contemporary dimensions of refugee issues. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

#### **The United Nations in the 1990s**

Changes in the international climate may bring about a resurgence of the United Nations as an effective forum for international debate and an attractive policy institution to the United States. Max Jakobson, former Finnish ambassador to the United Nations, is reviewing likely trends in international relations to evaluate the future of the United Nations and its policy role in the 1990s. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

#### **The United Nations and the Paralysis of Western Diplomacy**

Rosemary Righter, an editorial writer for the London *Sunday Times*, is assessing the policies of the United States and its allies toward the United Nations in

the wake of diminished Western influence and evaluating the role of the United Nations in a period of increased multilateralism. Her project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

#### **The Crisis of Multilateralism**

More and more nations are turning to multinational organizations for assistance in an increasingly difficult international political and economic environment. John Gerard Ruggie of the University of California, San Diego, is examining the rise of multilateralism, the reasons it has been ineffectual, and the contributions it still can make in the conduct of international relations. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

#### **The United States and the Multilateral Trading System**

The difficulties encountered in recent years by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has led some to predict its demise. Patrick Low, a former official of the GATT, is examining the future of the United States in the world trading system. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.





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### Task Force on International Debt

When it became clear that the various attempts to alleviate the international debt crisis that began in 1982 were having little effect, the Twentieth Century Fund assembled a group of international experts to study the problem. After careful examination of the issues involved, these experts made a number of recommendations aimed at renewing growth in the debtor countries. Their report, along with a background paper by Rudiger Dornbusch of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was published by Priority Press Publications in winter 1989 in a volume entitled *The Road to Economic Recovery*.

#### *List of Members*

*John Gaines Heimann*, chair, Vice Chairman, Merrill Lynch Capital Markets, New York

*Richard N. Cooper*, Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics, Harvard University

*Slade Gorton*, Senator from Washington

*Jesus Silva Herzog*, Former Secretary of Finance and Public Credit, Mexico

*Albert O. Hirschman*, Professor of Social Science, Emeritus, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University

*Anatole Kaletsky*, New York Bureau Chief, *Financial Times*

*R. T. McNamar*, Managing Partner, Conover & McNamar, Inc., Los Angeles

*Frank Morris*, Former Chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston

*Bruce A. Morrison*, Congressman from Connecticut

*Rupert Pennant-Rea*, Editor, *The Economist*, London

*Kurt Schiltknecht*, Chairman of the Board, Bank Leu, AG, Zurich

*James Tobin*, Sterling Professor of Economics, Emeritus, Yale University

\* \* \*

*David Apgar*, observer, Legislative Assistant to Senator Bill Bradley

*Rudiger Dornbusch*, rapporteur, Ford International Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### Task Force on the International Coordination of National Economic Policies

Many experts believe that, in an increasingly interdependent world, there is need for greater coordination of national economic policies. A Fund Task Force is weighing the costs and benefits of such coordination and plans to issue its report, accompanied by a background paper by Robert Solomon of The Brookings Institution, in late 1990.

#### *List of Members*

*Anthony M. Solomon*, chair, Director, S. G. Warburg Group, p.l.c.

*Samuel Brittan*, Economics Editor, *Financial Times*

*Christian de Boissieu*, Professor of International Economics, University of Paris

*Richard N. Cooper*, Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics, Harvard University

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*David A. Stockman*, General Partner, The Blackstone Group

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*Robert Bench*, consultant, Managing Partner, Regulatory Advisory Practice, Price Waterhouse

*Robert Solomon*, rapporteur, Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

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## NATIONAL ISSUES

### ECONOMICS, FINANCE, AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION

*The economic shocks of the 1970s were followed by a challenge to big government and a wave of deregulation. The subsequent, almost unquestioning, ascendancy of belief in the virtues of unimpeded markets and minimal government has not solved our economic problems. Growth in real wages is lagging, while the gap between rich and poor widens. The federal budget deficit, a low national savings rate, slow productivity growth, and the short-term orientation of our financial markets are some of the economic challenges we face. At the same time, globalization of trade and finance and the increasing internationalization of the U.S. economy mean that economic and regulatory issues can no longer be addressed in a purely national context.*

*In the area of Economics, Finance, and Government Regulation, the Fund intends to look at the concrete results of policy, examining the domestic and international dimensions of competitiveness and exploring how the integration of the global economy affects such issues as regulation, taxation, and antitrust legislation.*

*The Fund has a long history of inquiry into public policy in these areas. We shall continue to examine ways in which economic policy, regulation, and business law can be shaped to realize the full potential of democratic free enterprise.*



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### **Management Leveraged Buyouts**

The "deal business" sometimes seems to have become the dominant focus of American firms. While the essential concept of mergers and acquisitions is scarcely novel, its mutations during the 1980s often took on unrecognizable forms, as in the evolution of the management leveraged buyout. All too often, the group that includes management, boards of directors, legal staff, and investment bankers sees its role as getting the transaction done, rather than acting in the interests of the shareholders. Benjamin J. Stein, a lawyer and outspoken observer of the financial scene, is examining a number of issues raised by these practices. His project is scheduled for completion in mid-1991.

### **Corruption in American Business**

Much-publicized Wall Street scandals have focused attention on a long-standing, endemic problem in American business: corporate corruption. Irwin Ross, a veteran business writer, is taking a hard look at corporate corruption in America in a project scheduled for completion in summer 1990.

### **Public-Private Partnerships**

The federal budget deficit combined with the financial constraints of state and local governments have led to increased reliance on public-private partnerships. Annmarie Hauck Walsh of the Institute of Public Administration examines the efficacy of relying on business-government cooperation to resolve public policy problems and suggests how these partnerships can be managed more effectively. Her project is scheduled for completion in 1992.

### **The Role of Defense in the American Economy**

Since 1975, U.S. spending on defense has ranged from 4.7 to 6.5 percent of the gross national product. Debate has raged over the impact of defense spending—\$289.8 billion in 1988—on the U.S. economy. Murray Weidenbaum of Washington University, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, is examining the economic effects of defense spending and how to promote efficient use of public resources for national security. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **The Revolution in Military Technology**

Advances in conventional weapons technologies may have consequences as revolutionary as those

brought about by the advent of nuclear weapons over forty years ago. Alex Gliksman, an independent consultant to the Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, is examining the technical, strategic, and political ramifications of emerging military technologies. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Concentration of Media Ownership**

Over the past decade, concentration of ownership in media has increased markedly, stimulated by worldwide changes in economics, technology, and regulation. Anthony Smith of Oxford University is examining whether new media ownership patterns will reduce the diversity of opinion available to the public in Western democracies. His paper is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **Industrial Policy Debate in the United States**

Industrial policy, sometimes hailed as the solution to declining American competitiveness and sometimes derided as un-American or simply foolish, is once again the subject of debate. Otis L. Graham, Jr., of the University of California, Santa Barbara, is assessing the uses and abuses of historical models in the industrial policy debate. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **The Future of Banking in the United States**

The continuing savings and loan crises have stirred demands for greater regulation in the financial industry. But as government debates this issue, the traditional banking establishment is changing, expanding the scope of its services and responding to challenges from financial competitors. James L. Pierce of the University of California, Berkeley, is examining the demands placed by these rapid changes on the agencies that regulate the banking industry and will make recommendations for regulatory reform. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

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### **Saving in the United States**

Many economists trace U.S. productivity and trade problems to a comparatively low national savings rate. B. Douglas Bernheim of Northwestern University analyzes why this has occurred and whether it poses a threat to economic prosperity. His paper will be published in fall 1990.

### **The Wage Crunch**

Real wage stagnation has intensified conflict over job opportunity and equity among the races, between the sexes, between the native-born and immigrants, and between the marginal poor and mainstream taxpayers. It has also created conflicts between generations over issues such as Social Security and state and local aid to education. Leonard A. Rapping of the University of Massachusetts is examining wage trends and their profound social and political consequences. His project is scheduled for completion in mid-1991.

### **Workers' Rights in the Post-Union Age**

While a worker's right to fair treatment and decent working conditions is codified in law, current challenges to U.S. competitiveness, slackening productivity growth, and the trade deficit have made employers question concessions to employees. Richard C. Edwards of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst is exploring a new system of workplace rights in a project scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **Achieving Quality and Equity in Higher Education**

As public concern grows about the quality of American education, federal policies threaten to undo past achievements in promoting equitable access to institutions of higher learning. W. Lee Hansen and Jacob O. Stampen of the University of Wisconsin will review the federal government's role in financing higher education and recommend policies to improve both the quality of and access to higher education. Their project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **America's Infrastructure Needs**

After a decade and a half of drift, there are the glimmerings of a real willingness to address the deterioration of the nation's public infrastructure: transportation and communications networks, utilities, water supplies, and sewer lines. David Alan Aschauer of the University of Michigan is examining the economic

effects of public infrastructure spending to determine sensible levels of future public capital investment. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### **Water Policy in the United States**

Water policy has long been recognized as an area plagued by administrative problems, "pork barrel" politics, and gross inefficiencies. The complexity of managing this vital natural resource has resulted in a bureaucratic morass. Peter Philips Rogers of Harvard University is sorting through the current tangle of water policies in the United States and will provide a blueprint for reform. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **Solid-Waste-Management Policy**

Disposing of solid waste has become a financial and political burden for many states and localities. Marian R. Chertow and Reid J. Lifset, two leading experts in the field, are assessing the problem with an eye toward proposing reforms that will both ease the hardship on taxpayers and protect the environment. Their project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Task Force on the Interaction of Financial Markets and Corporate Strategy**

American corporate managers as well as managers of big financial portfolios are rewarded for quick results as reflected in share prices. Many believe that this leads to a focus on trading for short-term results, excessively volatile stock prices, and costly financial dealmaking. Robert J. Shiller of Yale University is preparing a background paper for a Task Force that will investigate ways to modify financial market incentives to promote innovation, investment, training, and long-term economic growth. The Task Force will convene in fall 1990.



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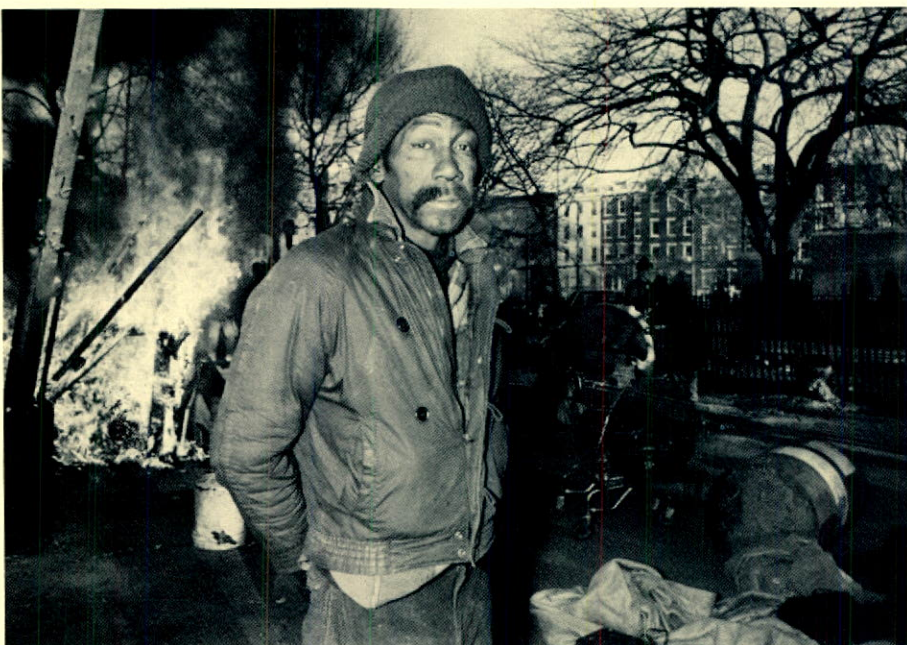
## URBAN AFFAIRS AND POVERTY

*America's cities face daunting problems, some very familiar, some quite new. Older cities are worn out. Their water and sewage systems, highways and transit systems, and other public facilities need renovation or replacement. Public hospitals are overwhelmed with victims of drugs and AIDS. Violent crimes and property crimes are up sharply. Decent affordable housing is disappearing. The homeless grow in number and visibility. At the same time, the cities are trapped in a fiscal crunch brought on by the withdrawal of the federal government from programs that formerly assisted cities and by the strained finances of state governments.*

*The future of some great cities is threatened by the growth of an urban underclass. The unskilled and semiskilled jobs that formerly offered poor persons the opportunity to work, save, and maintain a stable family are disappearing from city economies. Bleak job prospects, a high rate of school dropouts, longer-term welfare dependency, and the temptations of drugs and crime combine to make neighborhoods dangerous, despairing, and chaotic. The impact is greatest on blacks and Hispanics. Racial tensions appear to be growing; the atmosphere in many cities is characterized by fingerpointing and threats.*

*The Fund, which has had a long commitment to policy studies on urban problems, is renewing its emphasis on the cities. As a part of that renewed emphasis, we are supporting an examination of homelessness, sponsoring task forces on public housing and urban education, and have recently published a paper on the impact of AIDS on municipal hospitals.*

*Although urban problems continue to worsen, in recent years they have slipped from prominence, receiving less attention from scholars, policy analysts, and politicians. Because we hope to be a forceful source of ideas in correcting this imbalance, we are planning fresh and candid examinations of the nexus of race and poverty. We plan to highlight programs, policies, and approaches that offer sensible and hopeful options for the future.*



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### **Public Policy Strategies for America's Homeless**

Homelessness has become a common and disturbing problem in most urban areas. Diane L. Baillargeon, former head of research for New York City's Human Resources Administration, is evaluating current efforts to alleviate homelessness. Her project is scheduled for completion in 1992.

### **Public Policy and the Urban Poor**

Public policy decisions about housing, zoning, education, health care, and transportation influence the socioeconomic makeup of American municipalities. Kenneth T. Jackson of Columbia University plans to analyze three representative cities—Newark, New Jersey; White Plains, New York; and New Canaan, Connecticut—to determine how their public policies have shaped demographic patterns and continue to influence the options available to these communities today. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Incentive Zoning**

When fiscal budgets are tight and zoning laws are rigid, zoning variances allow for the authorization of discrete projects—perceived as either providing beneficial flexibility or as a way for special interests to circumvent zoning laws. Jerold S. Kayden, attorney at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, is evaluating the costs and benefits of incentive zoning. His project is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

### **Immigration Reform from an Urban Perspective**

Few would dispute that immigrants to America's cities have made enormous economic and cultural contributions. At the same time, the arrival of immigrants is perceived as a threat to the interests of the urban poor. Thomas Muller, formerly of the Urban Institute, is weighing the costs and benefits of immigration to America's cities, focusing on three major urban centers—Los Angeles, Miami, and New York. His manuscript is circulating to publishers.

### **New-Style Workfare Programs**

Welfare reform proposals increasingly stress the value of including a work requirement in exchange for benefits. Richard P. Nathan of the State University of New York at Albany, who served as Deputy Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the early 1970s, is assessing the new-style workfare programs and their implications for overall welfare policy. His project is scheduled for circulation to publishers in summer 1990.

### **Task Force on Affordable Housing**

The Bush administration has proposed privatizing public housing to assist low-income homeowners. The Fund is assembling a group of experts on housing to evaluate these and related proposals for affordable housing. Their report, along with a background paper by Michael Stegman of the University of North Carolina, is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

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## GOVERNANCE

*Elections are vital to the health of a representative democracy. Yet even the casual observer can detect a broadly shared unhappiness about the state of American politics. Images—not issues—dominate debate. Negative attacks on character clutter campaigns and distort their outcomes. Voter turnout for presidential elections has been in steady decline since 1960.*

*The analyses of elections and American democracy sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund would fill a small bookshelf; in addition, the Fund has assisted in an important effort to encourage presidential campaign debates.*

*The problems and prospects of American democracy will remain on the Fund's agenda. The Fund plans a broad effort at improving media coverage of the presidential campaign of 1992. Other projects include studies of the effects of the international concentration of media on political debate and the efficacy of state and local campaign reforms in the United States.*





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### **Religious Pluralism and the Public School Curriculum**

At a time when religious movements have increased their political influence, it is essential that the boundaries between religion and the state be carefully drawn. Stephen Bates, a writer and lawyer, is examining the extent and significance of the conflict between religion and public education and the policy options for resolving differences between church and state in our educational system. His project is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

### **Religion in a Pluralistic Democracy**

Despite the constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state, religion has played a prominent, if indirect, role in American public life since the inception of the Republic. Ronald F. Thiemann of Harvard University's Divinity School is exploring the role of religious convictions in shaping public values and assessing the legitimate role of religious institutions in American public life. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **Power and Policy in the U.S. Senate**

The Senate, once considered the world's "greatest deliberative body," is plagued by stalemate, excessive legislative-executive conflict, and the political influence of special-interest groups. Former senator Fred R. Harris, now of the University of New Mexico, is examining the effect of recent trends and developments in the Senate and how to make the Senate more responsive to the public interest. His project is scheduled for completion in fall 1990.

### **The Role of Congress in Foreign Policy**

The battle between the president and Congress for control of U.S. foreign policy goes back to the Constitution. But over the past two decades, Congress clearly has become not only more ambitious but more active in spheres once the province of the executive branch. Barbara Hinckley of New York University is tracing the evolution of Congress's role in foreign aid legislation. Her project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### **The Politics of National Security**

Congress's increasingly active role in defense decisionmaking has sparked heated debate. The executive branch charges Congress with overstepping its authority; others claim that Congress provides an im-

portant check on executive power. Barry M. Blechman, a political scientist with experience in both the legislative and executive branches, explores the issue in his book, *The Politics of National Security*, a Twentieth Century Fund Book, to be published by Oxford University Press in fall 1990.

### **Presidential Science Advising**

It is far from clear that the president receives adequate scientific advice on such critical issues as the global environment and the nation's security. Gregg Herken of the Smithsonian Institution's National Air and Space Museum has analyzed the influence of the presidents' science advisers from the advent of nuclear weapons to the origins of Star Wars and recommended reforms in the science advisory process. His manuscript is circulating to publishers.

### **Science and the Courts**

The scientific and technological advances that have transformed our society in recent years have raised difficult moral and legal questions, increasingly brought to the courts for resolution. Sheila Sen Jasanoff of Cornell University is reviewing how well the courts have handled these cases and how to improve the process. Her project is scheduled for completion in late 1990.

### **Courts in American Society**

Over the past three decades, Americans have turned increasingly to the courts to resolve some of our most pressing and complex problems. Joel B. Grossman of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, is assessing this trend toward judicial activism. His project is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

### **Complex Institutional Litigation**

Over the past thirty years, federal and state courts have instigated significant, controversial reforms, some of which called for direct judicial intervention in the daily management of major public institutions. Charles M. Haar of Harvard Law School and Susan Haar, an attorney, are evaluating the courts' capacity for managing social change. Their project is scheduled for completion in late 1991.

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### Conference on "One Person, One Vote"

In 1962, the Supreme Court ruled in *Baker v. Carr* that "one man, one vote" was part of the Constitution. In the quarter-century since, controversies have arisen over how numerical equality can be determined and when, if ever, partisan gerrymandering violates the Constitution. These issues were addressed in a paper written for the conference by Bernard N. Grofman of the University of California, Irvine, to be published by Priority Press Publications in 1990.

### Task Force on Federal Judicial Responsibility

Recent criminal trials of three sitting federal judges raise serious questions not only about the integrity and competence of our federal judiciary but also about the effectiveness of mechanisms designed to monitor and sanction breaches of judicial conduct. An independent Task Force was convened to assess the need for new measures to ensure judicial responsibility. Its report, *The Good Judge*, accompanied by a background paper by Thomas E. Baker of Texas Tech University, was published by Priority Press Publications in late 1989.

### Task Force on School Governance

School boards, intended to oversee the education of children in light of community values, have been accused of promoting special interests and serving as conduits of political patronage. The Fund plans to convene an independent Task Force to examine the effectiveness of school governance systems.

#### *List of Members*

*A. Leo Levin, chair*, Leon Meltzer Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania Law School

*Barney Frank*, Congressman from Massachusetts

*Abner J. Mikva*, U.S. Circuit Judge, Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit

*Nancy Neuman*, President, League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C.

*Judith Resnik*, Orrin B. Evans Professor of Law, University of Southern California Law Center

*Dorothy S. Ridings*, President and Publisher, *The Bradenton Herald*, Bradenton, Florida

*Jack B. Weinstein*, U.S. District Judge, Eastern District of New York

*Charles Weltner*, Justice, Supreme Court of Georgia

*Garry Wills*, Professor of History, Northwestern University

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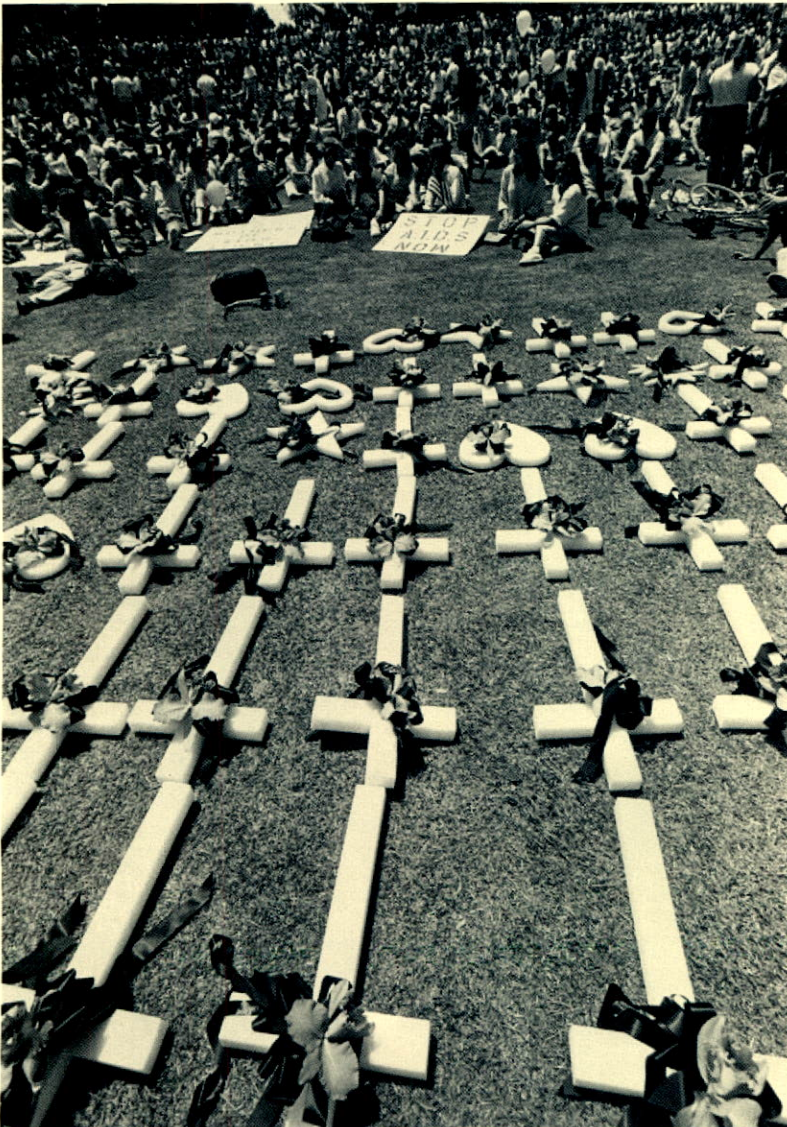
*Thomas E. Baker, rapporteur*, Professor, Texas Tech University School of Law

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## HEALTH CARE

*In the past decade, health-care costs have increased faster than the general rate of inflation. The United States now spends almost 12 percent of its gross national product on health care, a much higher percentage than other industrialized nations. Yet for all the spending, some thirty-seven million citizens are not covered by health-care insurance, and many do not receive needed health care at all. Can the United States both expand health-care coverage and cut ever-increasing health-care costs?*

*Over the years, the Fund has supported a number of studies on health-care policy. Current projects examine the impact of technology on health care, the emerging health-care system created by government mandate and private insurers, and the problem of providing long-term care for the elderly.*



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### Public Health Policies for Managing Epidemics

Control of the AIDS epidemic, one of the foremost public health problems of our time, cannot be achieved without implementing a variety of public health measures. Robert M. Swenson of the School of Medicine at Temple University is tracing the history of public health policies employed to control past epidemics, with the intention of drawing conclusions for the management of the AIDS epidemic. His project is scheduled for completion in late 1991.

### Accountability in the New Health-Care System

Prompted by concern with economic efficiency, the American health-care system has undergone a radical transformation that raises serious questions about the quality of, and access to, medical care. Bradford H. Gray of Yale University explores new measures of accountability aimed at serving both private and public interests. His book, *The Profit Motive and Patient Care: The Changing Accountability of Doctors and Hospitals*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report, will be published by Harvard University Press in early 1991.

### The New American Health-Care System

Recent cost-containment measures and competition have brought about the most fundamental changes in health care since the turn of the century. Donald W. Light of the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey is assessing how to preserve access to quality health care while controlling cost increases. His project is scheduled for completion in early 1991.

### Organ Transplant Policy

The staggering cost of organ transplants, coupled with limited insurance coverage for these high-technology procedures and manifold logistical, ethical, and technical problems in organ procurement, results in very limited accessibility. Jeffrey M. Protas of Brandeis University is exploring policy reforms to improve equity and efficiency. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

### Changing Attitudes toward Access to Health Care

The rising costs of health care make it less likely that all Americans will get adequate medical attention. David J. Rothman of Columbia University is tracing access to, and the evolution of American attitudes toward, health care since World War II. His project is scheduled for completion in 1991.

### Long-Term-Care Policy

Given limited availability (and affordability) of private insurance for long-term care, and tight Medicare and Medicaid restrictions, providing long-term care to the elderly is an increasingly challenging task. Mal Schechter of Mount Sinai School of Medicine's Center for Productive Aging is assessing available options and new alternatives that would promote cost efficiency while enabling the elderly to maintain their dignity and independence. His project is scheduled for completion in 1990.

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# Publishing

*Since its inception in 1919, the Twentieth Century Fund has provided timely analyses and policy recommendations on a broad spectrum of critical policy issues in printed form. It has disseminated the findings of its research projects in book form through arrangements with publishers, and itself publishes the findings of its conferences, task forces, and policy papers. Through these publications, the Fund seeks a broad, general audience for the projects it sponsors, hoping to spark—and increase participation in—public policy debate.*

*The full-length books that result from our broad research projects are placed, after editing, with commercial publishing houses or university presses on a nonsubsidized basis. The guiding principle in placing these manuscripts is that they make their own way in the marketplace. Standard contracts are signed, providing advances and royalties that add to the revenues available for the Fund's research program.*

*Of particular interest to the Fund when selecting a publisher is timely publication, a reasonable price, and, after a relatively short interval, publication of a low-cost paperback edition to reach the broadest possible audience. Accordingly, proposals on marketing, promotion, and advertising submitted by publishers are carefully weighed.*

*Because publishers have placed a growing emphasis on the sales potential of books, and tend to shy away from lengthy manuscripts that are more costly to produce, Fund books are edited both to enhance readability and to ensure economy of language without compromising ideas.*

*The Fund works closely with publishers to launch all books bearing the Twentieth Century Fund imprimatur. Press releases are issued and press conferences held to inform the media of our authors' findings and recommendations. In addition, the Fund places op-ed pieces and articles by Fund authors, and arranges for television and radio interviews and attendance at professional conferences and conventions. In conjunction with publishers, the Fund also arranges for foreign-language publication. Moreover, to ensure continuing attention to Fund works, many out-of-print Fund books are placed with reprint houses.*

*Timely, shorter manuscripts and reports of task forces and conferences on critical policy issues are published by the Fund's own in-house press, Priority Press Publications, which allows for rapid dissemination of findings through high-quality paperback editions produced at reasonable cost.*

*In June 1990, an agreement was reached with The Brookings Institution to distribute shorter Fund works published by Priority Press Publications. These works will be included in Brookings and Twentieth Century Fund catalogs and their publication will be announced through press releases and press conferences.*

*In addition to its traditional publications, the Fund plans to explore other forms of publication—such as monographs and collections of issue papers—appropriate to the new directions in which its research program is moving.*

*In the pages that follow, Fund publications in print are briefly described. Books are available from their publishers; Priority Press Publications are available from The Brookings Institution (202-797-6258).*

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## CURRENT MAJOR FUND STUDIES, REPORTS, BOOKS, AND ESSAYS

### **The Democratic Revolution in Latin America: History, Politics, and U.S. Policy**

By Howard J. Wiarda, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An assessment of U.S. initiatives in Latin America and recommendations for a new U.S. policy course in light of the significant turn toward democratic government that is taking place in the region. 302 pages, June 1990, \$39.50 (paper, \$19.95). Publisher: Holmes and Meier.

### **A Marriage of Convenience: Relations between Mexico and the United States**

By Sidney Weintraub, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of U.S.-Mexican economic relations and how to resolve trade, debt, and migration problems between these neighboring countries. 270 pages, December 1989, \$27.95. Publisher: Oxford University Press.

### **Governing the \$5 Trillion Economy**

By Herbert Stein, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay. An assessment of how fiscal policy at the federal level can be redirected to promote the nation's prosperity, including the merits of budget deficits. 145 pages, February 1989, \$17.95. Publisher: Oxford University Press.

### **Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum, and Recall**

By Thomas E. Cronin, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An assessment of the extent of Americans' direct participation in the democratic process through initiatives, referenda, and recall petitions; the benefits and costs of using these devices; and whether they have been used wisely or effectively. 289 pages, January 1989, \$23.00. Publisher: Harvard University Press.

### **Starting Even: An Equal Opportunity Program to Combat the Nation's New Poverty**

By Robert Haveman, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of the benefits, costs, and failures of the antipoverty programs initiated in the 1960s, and of new programs intended to increase the likelihood of equal opportunity at the economic starting line. 287 pages, November 1988, \$19.95. Publisher: Simon and Schuster.

### **A Call to Civic Service: National Service for Country and Community**

By Charles C. Moskos, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An assessment of national service as a way to deal with youth unemployment, worker training, and the provision of social services, within the context of examining the obligations and duties as well as the rights and entitlements of citizenship. 226 pages, October 1988, \$24.95. Publisher: The Free Press.

### **Latin American Debt**

By Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An evaluation of the development and extent of the debt crisis in Latin America and the steps needed to resolve it. 258 pages, September 1988, \$32.50 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: Johns Hopkins University Press.

### **Undercover: Police Surveillance in America**

By Gary T. Marx, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An assessment of the costs and benefits of undercover tactics, exploring oversight mechanisms to guard against misuse. 283 pages, June 1988, \$27.50 (paper, \$10.95). Publisher: University of California Press.

### **The New Unionism: Employee Involvement in the Changing Corporation**

By Charles C. Heckscher, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An examination of the strengths and limitations of independent trade unions and collective bargaining as well as of the potential for a new movement in labor-management relations—associational unionism. 302 pages, March 1988, \$22.95 (paper, \$11.95). Publisher: Basic Books.

### **Beyond American Hegemony: The Future of the Western Alliance**

By David P. Calleo, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. A reassessment of the Atlantic Alliance, long the pillar of American leadership, in light of profound transformations in U.S.-European relations and major economic and political developments. 288 pages, October 1987, \$20.95 (paper, \$11.95). Publisher: Basic Books.

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### **Disabled Policy: America's Programs for the Handicapped**

By Edward D. Berkowitz, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A historical overview of disability policymaking with recommendations for ensuring efficient and equitable compensation and services. 280 pages, September 1987, \$27.95 (paper, \$14.95). Publisher: Cambridge University Press.

### **The Takeover Game**

By John Brooks, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An analysis of how financial deregulation of the investment banking business has affected the investing public and the U.S. economy. 390 pages, September 1987, \$9.95 (paper). Publisher: Truman Talley Books/E. P. Dutton.

### **Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights**

By Abigail M. Thernstrom, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An exploration of the legitimacy of the transformation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 from a tool ensuring that minorities can exercise their right to vote to one promoting the election of minority officeholders. 316 pages, September 1987, \$25.00 (paper, \$10.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

### **Nonfuel Minerals: Foreign Dependence and National Security**

By Raymond F. Mikesell, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An examination of how to reduce U.S. vulnerability to disruptions of foreign supplies of critical nonfuel minerals. 257 pages, April 1987, \$24.95. Publisher: University of Michigan Press.

### **Closed Borders: The Contemporary Assault on Freedom of Movement**

By Alan Dowty, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of state control over population flows, arguing for open borders that will allow individuals to emigrate or immigrate at will. 270 pages, March 1987, \$27.50 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: Yale University Press.

### **The Global Struggle for More: Third World Conflicts with Rich Nations**

By Bernard D. Nossiter, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay. An assessment of third world prospects in the global economy, and of which third world demands might prove advantageous to the industrialized

nations. 254 pages, March 1987, \$20.95 (paper, \$10.95). Publisher: Harper & Row.

### **American Trade Politics: System Under Stress**

By I. M. Destler, an Institute for International Economics/Twentieth Century Fund Report. An analysis of the ebb and flow of American trade policy and how it affects economic prosperity worldwide. 366 pages, November 1986, \$30.00 (paper, \$18.00). Publisher: Institute for International Economics/Twentieth Century Fund.

### **Social Security: Visions and Revisions**

By W. Andrew Achenbaum, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An examination of how the Social Security system changed from a means of social insurance into a form of welfare. 300 pages, June 1986, \$24.95 (paper \$12.95). Publisher: Cambridge University Press.

### **Too Many Promises: The Uncertain Future of Social Security**

By Michael J. Boskin, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A proposal for major reform of the Social Security system that would tie benefits directly to contributions while still guaranteeing a minimal level of retirement income for all citizens. 196 pages, May 1986, \$22.50. Publisher: Dow Jones-Irwin. Available from the Kraus Reprint Company.

### **Stabilizing an Unstable Economy**

By Hyman P. Minsky, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of the history and the theoretical underpinnings of the U.S. economy, with an agenda for reform to promote economic stability and growth. 353 pages, May 1986, \$35.00 (paper, \$14.95). Publisher: Yale University Press.

### **New Roads to Development**

By Raanan Weitz, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay. An assessment of how developing nations can solve their economic problems and promote economic growth through a mix of private and government measures. 257 pages, May 1986, \$35.00. Publisher: Greenwood Press.

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### **The International News Services**

By Jonathan Fenby, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of the workings of the four major international news agencies that disseminate more than 80 percent of the news that reaches the non-Communist nations: Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France-Press. 275 pages, March 1986, \$19.45. Publisher: Schocken Books.

## **FUND STUDIES, REPORTS, BOOKS, AND ESSAYS IN PRINT**

### **A World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence**

By Walter Laqueur, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. An examination of the failures of intelligence agencies to anticipate major international events in spite of the technological advances in data gathering, as well as an assessment of the prospects for improvement. 404 pages, November 1985, \$21.95 (paper, \$11.95). Publisher: Basic Books (United Kingdom edition: Weidenfeld & Nicolson).

### **The American Ethos: Public Attitudes toward Capitalism and Democracy**

By Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A history of the tension between capitalist and democratic values in America that is at the foundation of political discussion in the United States today, including a survey on current political attitudes and values. 342 pages, February 1985, \$29.95 (paper, \$12.50). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

### **Affordable Housing: New Policies for the Housing and Mortgage Markets**

By Kenneth T. Rosen, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An assessment of how the current problems facing the housing and housing-finance industries arose, with suggestions for policies that would make good housing affordable again. 181 pages, October 1984, \$29.95. Publisher: Ballinger Publishing Company.

### **Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment**

By Raymond Carr, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. A history of the troubled relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. 477 pages, April 1984, \$35.00 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: New York University Press (Vintage Books).

### **The Atlantic City Gamble**

By George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A report on the economic, social, and political impact of legalized casino gambling in Atlantic City. 215 pages, November 1983, \$18.50 (paper, \$7.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

### **Patrons Despite Themselves: Taxpayers and Arts Policy**

By Alan L. Feld, Michael O'Hare, and J. Mark Davidson Schuster, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of indirect government support for the arts, in the form of tax deductions, and how it shapes arts policies. 263 pages, July 1983, \$35.00 (paper, \$15.00). Publisher: New York University Press.

### **Controlling the Bomb: Nuclear Proliferation in the 1980s**

By Lewis A. Dunn, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An assessment of how the United States can strengthen the checks on nuclear proliferation. 209 pages, March 1982, \$8.95 (paper). Publisher: Yale University Press.

### **Going by the Book: The Problem of Regulatory Unreasonableness**

By Eugene Bardach and Robert A. Kagan, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of government regulation of American businesses. 375 pages, February 1982, \$29.95 (paper, \$14.95). Publisher: Temple University Press.

### **Congressional Spending**

By Dennis S. Ippolito, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An assessment of why the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 failed to control federal spending. 286 pages, January 1982, \$34.00 (paper, \$11.95). Publisher: Cornell University Press.

### **Autos, Transit, and Cities**

By John R. Meyer and Jose A. Gomez-Ibanez, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A review of post-



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World War II urban transportation problems and policies. 360 pages, November 1981, \$28.00 (paper, \$10.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

#### **Multinationals in Latin America: The Politics of Nationalization**

By Paul E. Sigmund, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. Case studies of nationalizations in five major Latin American countries provide the basis for an analysis of U.S.-Latin American relations. 426 pages, October 1980, \$32.50 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

#### **Abuse on Wall Street: Conflicts of Interest in the Securities Markets**

A Twentieth Century Fund Report. Monographs on the management of corporate, union, and state and local pension fund assets; broker-dealer firms; non-profit institutions; investment banking; real estate investment trusts; and commercial bank trust departments. 736 pages, April 1980, \$46.95. Publisher: Quorum Books.

#### **The Changing American Voter**

By Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An analysis of the dramatic changes in attitudes toward political parties, issues, and candidates since the 1950s. 430 pages, January 1980, \$28.00 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

#### **Island China**

By Ralph N. Clough, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An evaluation of the effects on Taiwan of changing relationships among the major nations engaged in trade with Asia as well as of Taiwan's role in U.S.-Chinese relations. 264 pages, October 1978, \$20.00. Publisher: Harvard University Press.

#### **The Public's Business: The Politics and Practices of Government Corporations**

By Annmarie Hauck Walsh, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An assessment of the costs and benefits of using government corporations for the provision of public works and services. 436 pages, April 1978, \$16.50 (paper). Publisher: MIT Press.

#### **Social Limits to Growth**

By Fred Hirsch, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An assessment of the nature of economic growth which suggests that limits to such growth are social rather than physical. 209 pages, December 1976, \$17.00 (paper, \$7.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

#### **The New Presidential Elite: Men and Women in National Politics**

By Jeane Kirkpatrick, jointly sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund and the Russell Sage Foundation. An examination of convention delegates and the obstacles women face in achieving full participation in political life. 605 pages, October 1976, \$55.00. Distributor: CUP Services.

#### **The New Economics of Growth: A Strategy for India and the Developing World**

By John Mellor, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. A blueprint for the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of economic development based on high employment and increased agricultural production. 384 pages, April 1976, \$42.50 (paper, \$12.95). Publisher: Cornell University Press.

#### **Public Employee Pension Funds**

By Robert Tilove, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. An examination of public employee pension funds that argues for sweeping reforms that would integrate public pensions with Social Security. 384 pages, March 1976, \$54.00. Publisher: Columbia University Press.

#### **The Big Foundations**

By Waldemar A. Nielsen, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. An assessment of the performance of the nation's thirty-three largest foundations. 484 pages, October 1972, \$40.00 (paper, \$18.00). Publisher: Columbia University Press.

### **OTHER BOOKS IN PRINT**

#### **Signals from the Hill: Congressional Oversight and the Challenge of Social Regulation**

By Christopher H. Foreman, Jr. An examination of how—and how well—Congress monitors the federal agencies that assess and manage public health and safety hazards. 214 pages, January 1989, \$27.50. Publisher: Yale University Press.

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### **Beyond Malice: The Media's Years of Reckoning**

By Richard M. Clurman. An insider's look at the national news media with an eye toward improving accountability and performance. 306 pages, July 1988, \$24.95. Publisher: Transaction Books.

### **Pensions: The Hidden Costs of Public Safety**

By Robert M. Fogelson. An investigation of how firemen's and policemen's pensions systems got into serious fiscal trouble and why reform efforts have failed. 248 pages, August 1984, \$31.00. Publisher: Columbia University Press.

### **Excellence & Equity: The National Endowment for the Humanities**

By Stephen Miller. An assessment of the performance of the National Endowment for the Humanities and what can be done to improve it. 192 pages, May 1984, \$17.00. Publisher: University Press of Kentucky.

### **The Role of Economic Advisers in Developing Countries**

By Lauchlin Currie. An assessment of the role of economic advisers to Colombia over the past thirty years and recommendations on how to improve the content and influence of advice on development. 270 pages, December 1981, \$35.00. Publisher: Greenwood Press.

### **The International Labor Organization: An American View**

By Walter Galenson. An insider's view of the International Labor Organization that reveals why the United States withdrew from, and then rejoined, it. 351 pages, May 1981, \$29.50 (paper, \$13.95). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

### **The Politics of Land-Use Reform**

By Frank J. Popper. An examination of the origins, course, and results of the land-use reform movement that arose in the late 1960s. 321 pages, March 1981, \$29.50 (paper, \$12.50). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

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### **Political Money: A Strategy for Campaign Financing in America**

By David W. Adamany and George E. Agree. A proposal for a campaign finance voucher system as the basis for flat and proportional grants to political candidates. 242 pages, March 1975, \$10.95 (paper). Publisher: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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An examination of the long-term fiscal and economic difficulties facing New York City, with recommendations for attracting foreign investment and enhancing the city's position as a global marketplace. The volume includes a background paper by Masha Sinnreich, formerly of the Fund staff, and an appendix by former New York City Budget Director David A. Grossman. 230 pages, December 1979, \$15.00 (cloth, \$25.00). Publisher: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.

**With the Nation Watching: Report of the Task Force on Televised Presidential Debates**

An evaluation of how the potential of television can be exploited in future presidential campaigns, recommending that televised candidate debates become a customary feature of the campaigns. The volume includes a background paper by Lee M. Mitchell. 120 pages, June 1979, \$5.95 (cloth, \$12.95). Publisher: Lexington Books/ D. C. Heath and Company.

**A Free and Balanced Flow: Report of the Task Force on the International Flow of News**

An examination of how to deal with charges of imbalance in the flow of information between developed and developing nations and threats to freedom of the press. The volume includes a background paper by Colin Legum and John Cornwell. 77 pages, Decem-

ber 1978, \$5.75 (cloth, \$12.50). Publisher: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath and Company.

**Winner Take All: Report of the Task Force on Reform of the Presidential Election Process**

An evaluation of the electoral college system and alternatives, recommending a new approach to the presidential election process: the national bonus plan. The volume includes a background paper by William R. Keech. 82 pages, August 1978, \$9.00 (cloth, \$16.50). Available from the Twentieth Century Fund.

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### **A Free and Responsive Press: Report of the Task Force for a National News Council**

An examination of the feasibility of establishing a press council in the United States to preserve freedom of the press and to improve its performance, recommending the establishment of an independent national news council to serve both the press and the public. The volume includes a background paper by Alfred Balk. 88 pages, February 1973, \$13.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

### **Press Freedoms under Pressure: Report of the Task Force on the Government and the Press**

An examination of government pressure on the press through subpoenas, censorship, and legislation. The volume includes a background paper by Fred P. Graham. 192 pages, May 1972, \$13.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

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### **Beyond Debate**

By Joel L. Swerdlow. An examination of the history of televised presidential debates that explores reforms in organization, sponsorship, and format as well as how to ensure that these debates will be a regular feature of campaigns. 89 pages, February 1984, \$6.00. Publisher: Twentieth Century Fund.



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## Grants

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### New York City

In 1989, the Fund made an unrestricted voluntary payment of \$25,000 to the City of New York in recognition of the municipal services—police and fire protection and garbage disposal—that it receives free of charge as a tax-exempt property owner. The twenty-second annual voluntary payment to the city, the gift brings the total contribution to the city to \$426,500. The first payment, made in 1967, was for \$10,000, and increases have been made from time to time to take account of inflation.

The Fund is currently considering the form its gift will take in 1990.

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