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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

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ANNUAL REPORT

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**THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND**

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ANNUAL REPORT

**1983**

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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.

The Twentieth Century Fund  
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## DEDICATION

### Benjamin V. Cohen (1894–1983)

Benjamin Cohen was the epitome of the dedicated public servant. To most Americans, Ben Cohen's name, if familiar at all, is associated with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "Brain Trust." During the New Deal and for part of Harry Truman's Fair Deal, he held one or another position from which he served as an adviser, counsel, strategist, and confidant to the White House. He then "retired" from public life, but his largely anonymous existence was devoted to teaching and advising and tending an ever-widening group of admirers, many of them holding high office in Washington. As historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a fellow Fund Trustee, noted, "His half century of influence was not the influence of a politician possessing a mass constituency or the influence of a publicist possessing a mass audience. It was the influence of a man possessing a brain; the influence of reason quietly and lucidly brought to bear on public policy."

The son of immigrants, Ben was born in Muncie, Indiana, on September 23, 1894. A brilliant student at the University of Chicago, he went on to the University of Chicago Law School (1915) and Harvard Law School (S.J.D., 1916), and then became secretary to U.S. Circuit Court Judge Julian Mack in Chicago.

A year later, he accepted the first of a long line of positions in the public service, working as an attorney for the U.S. Shipping Board until the end of World War I. When the war ended, he served as counsel to the American Zionists both at the Paris peace conference and in London, where his skills as a legal draftsman were first recognized. He returned to the United States in 1921, engaging in private practice in New York in the 1920s and early 1930s. He was then called to Washington to help draft a bill to save Roosevelt's securities legislation. His Washington career had begun.

Ben Cohen's role in drafting the Securities Act and other New Deal legislation is recognized by historians and legal scholars. A retiring figure, he gained notoriety because of his partnership with Thomas Corcoran—they were dubbed the "Gold Dust Twins" by the press for their drafting and lobbying activities. His public career, which took place mostly behind the scenes, continued through the long years of World War II. He was instrumental in formulating the lend-lease legislation providing military supplies to Britain before the official entry of the United States into the war. And while devoting himself to helping the war effort, Ben was thinking of the return of peace, aiming at furthering economic stability and international cooperation.

After the war, President Truman appointed him to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly (1948–52). He also served on the United Nations Disarmament Commission (1952) and had a role as special assistant on disarmament to Senator John F. Kennedy during his presidential campaign.

One of the earliest critics of American involvement in the Vietnam War, he made known his views where they counted most—in the corridors inhabited by policymakers.

His views were also heard at the Fund, which he served as Trustee since 1948. He was active in the financial management of the Fund; in 1968, he became a member and then chairman of the Finance Committee as well as Treasurer of the Fund. He also was a longtime member of the Projects Committee. All of us at the Fund have fond memories of Ben Cohen. Perhaps he will be best remembered as a genuine wise man as trenchant in analyzing a Fund project as he was in analyzing a public policy issue.



**Charles P. Taft**  
(1897–1983)

Charles Taft, the son of President William Howard Taft, was a founder of the World Council of Churches, an adviser at the San Francisco Conference that led to the establishment of the United Nations, a loyal son of Old Eli, and a longtime Trustee of the Fund, but first and foremost, Charles Taft was Mr. Cincinnati.

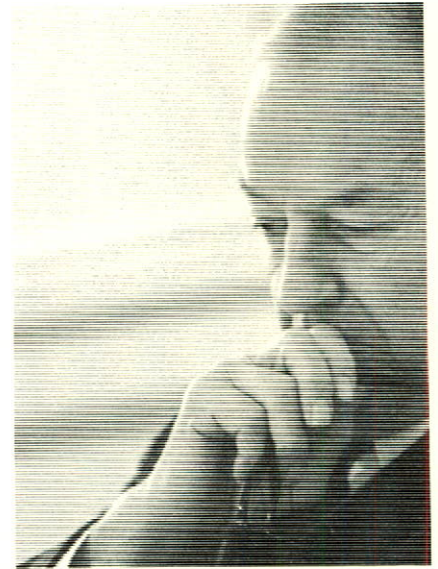
Born in Cincinnati in 1897, he attended public school before going to Yale University. His years at Yale, where he was tackle on the varsity football team, were interrupted by World War I. After serving in France in the army—he ended his army career a first lieutenant—he returned to Yale to finish his bachelor of arts degree and then went on for a law degree. Before going into private practice with his brother, Robert, in 1922, he spent another year at Yale, coaching football.

His private law career in Cincinnati was just one part of a life devoted to family, church, and community. Charlie Taft helped change Cincinnati's government. Along with a group of reformers, he turned Cincinnati from a city run by a political machine into the first major municipality with a city manager form of government. Serving on the city council for thirty-two years, he played a central role in the redevelopment of downtown Cincinnati in the 1960s, especially in the construction of the stadium that is home to Cincinnati's Reds and Bengals, its major league baseball and football teams.

Although he never sought federal office, he saw service in Washington. During World War II, he was director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs in the State Department, and was in charge of the department's Office of Transportation and Communication. In 1945, he was an adviser at the San Francisco Conference that established the United Nations.

Charlie Taft helped to establish the World Council of Churches in 1948. He attended Council meetings around the world and served as chairman of the Council's news and publicity committee from 1955 to 1961. The author of *City Management* and host of a five-minute radio show in Cincinnati called "Charlie Taft Zeroes In," he was passionately interested in city government.

Mr. Cincinnati became a member of the Fund's Board in 1937 and served on the Projects and Finance committees during his long tenure. He was always available for advice and counsel on Fund projects dealing with urban affairs. His last few years were plagued by illness, but Charlie could be counted on each fall to attend the Fund meetings—and the Yale-Harvard game. All of us who knew him will long remember his ebullient optimism and his ardor for the things he cared most about.



## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

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Perhaps the most critical public policy issues these days are in the financial area. The huge projected deficit in the federal budget, the most prominent issue, has captured the attention of investors and politicians, policymakers and the general public, because deficits are a potential source of instability. Since we are in an election year, there is little prospect that the problem will be dealt with quickly; the best that can be hoped for in the short run is that revenues turn out to be higher and spending lower than currently expected. Thus, direct government measures to trim the deficit are not only a year away, but it is doubtful that either the next administration, whether Republican or Democratic, or the new Congress will resort to drastic action unless it is clear that the alternative is a resumption of the inflation that proved so disastrous in the 1970s. Although there are those who think that the budgetary deficits make inevitable a new inflationary cycle—and their forebodings appear to be influencing the securities markets—it is much more likely that the threat of a new economic tailspin, and the rise in social tension that is bound to accompany it, will lead to a combination of fiscal and monetary measures significant enough to bring about a substantial budgetary correction.

This is not to take a Pollyannish view of our economic outlook. The dangers of a new inflationary spiral or of another decline in productivity are real. But the widespread concern about the deficits—the headlines in the newspapers and the time devoted to them on television news programs, as well as the emphasis given to them by politicians—suggests that the climate is conducive for decisive action. This does not mean the deficits will disappear. Nor should they. Given their magnitude, too drastic a reduction, if it were possible, might be a cure that kills as surely as the disease. A clear change in direction, though, appears both possible and desirable. As an institution sponsoring public policy research, the Twentieth Century Fund has long been concerned about the American proclivity for deficit spending, and is therefore sponsoring a number of projects on one or another aspect of this problem.

Another related issue is the deficit in the nation's international trade, which the media have correctly described as a crisis. The trade deficit is, of course, intimately related to our federal budget deficit, and an improvement in the latter will bring improvement in the former. But it is also subject to other influences, such as what appears to be the excessive strength of the dollar relative to other currencies and the fact that our economic upturn, which has stimulated demand for foreign goods, began so much earlier and is still so much more robust than the recovery abroad. The trouble is that the deficit has prompted pressure for protectionist measures from farmers and automobile workers and other affected groups; despite its fealty to free markets, the Reagan administration has recognized the political value of negotiating import quotas to maintain American production and jobs. The Fund has two projects dealing specifically with this problem; since it is likely to be a long-term problem, we are searching for others.

Then there is the great international debt crisis, which last year threatened to undermine the world's financial structure. Naturally, the developing countries, which are the debtors, are affected by both our domestic deficit and by our trade deficit. True, they have managed to step up their exports by a substantial amount over the past year. But they have been unable to repay their loans, in part because of the strength of the dollar. Rather, their indebtedness has increased as they have had to borrow more to pay the interest on their existing loans.

There has been a continual series of intensive negotiations aimed at "rescheduling" the debts of the developing countries, rescheduling being the euphemism for postponing repayment while arranging for a fresh loan so that the debts can be serviced. Most of these negotiations are now so routine that they barely rate a mention in the press. Only the biggest loans, or the most precarious, attract coverage. While it is true that disaster has been averted, the international debt problem has been postponed, not resolved.



Indeed, the debt of the developing countries is at least \$200 billion higher than it was when the international debt crisis first developed. This is because the banks, and especially American banks, have resisted writing off the loans, which would mean reducing their asset base. Almost everybody knows that the big American banks were victimized by their own greed and folly, but they have managed to convince the Treasury that they would face bankruptcy, and not just financial embarrassment and shareholder resentment, if they had to take write-offs. Here again, the administration seems to be acting out of character. It may be beguiled by the Chrysler bailout, especially since it proved successful, but succoring the banks by bowing to their plans and stretching out the debt of the developing countries might eventually lead to widespread debt repudiation—and that would be far more costly than allowing the developing countries to pile up new debt in order to protect the banks.

Admittedly, the pessimists who predicted catastrophe have been confounded so far. Economic growth has been halted in the developing countries as they have mended their profligate ways. Government spending, whether for the military, for state-owned enterprises, or for public works, has been cut, bringing reductions in speculative activity and spending on luxuries. As a result, imports have been curtailed while exports have increased, giving many developing countries a surplus in their balance of trade. So the orthodox treatment prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank has been working.

But the belt-tightening now going on cannot bring a resumption in growth, or a rise in employment or in living standards. On the contrary, if restrictive policies are kept in place for too long, they are bound to incite social and political opposition. The new democratic government in Argentina, for example, which was not responsible for the debts incurred by its corrupt and incompetent military predecessors, may at some point face domestic pressures to reflate—and the cost of resisting that pressure may be political suicide. Argentina and Mexico and Brazil deserve credit for running trade surpluses, but history, in particular our own history, has demonstrated that it takes deficits to achieve development.

This does not mean that the developing countries should forget about their debts—they should be encouraged to be more hospitable to foreign investment, a traditional source of development funds that they have spurned for nationalistic reasons—but that those debts be written off in realistic fashion in much the same way as the banks have had to write off their bad domestic loans. Otherwise, the threat of outright repudiation remains.

That being the case, the creditor nations are asking for trouble by focusing on the charade of rescheduling debt. It guarantees a continuing crisis for at least the rest of this century, increasing the risk that, sooner or later, we will have a chain of defaults. If past history is a guide, default will not come when a debtor nation is at the bottom. It is after it has begun making repayments and finds that its continued burden is so crippling—and so politically dangerous—that default or repudiation takes place.

As a relatively small and independent institution, the Fund can ask questions that larger institutions tend to avoid, either because they have official ties or are regarded as having them. So it is with the international debt crisis. We are assembling an independent Fund Task Force to explore what happens if a default takes place and to make recommendations about how to keep it from spreading. Undoubtedly, contingency planning is going on in one or another official or quasi-official institution, but these institutions are constrained, if only for reasons of politics, in a way that the Fund is not. We can be responsible but candid.

A final set of financial issues, admittedly less explosive but not less interesting in terms of the policy problems they pose, revolves around the extensive changes that have taken place in the nation's financial system of private institutions—the banks,

investment banks, brokerages, mutual funds, pension funds, and the markets in which they operate. Many different factors—technology, inflation, dangerous deregulation, innovation, along with the shocks to the system that began roughly with the severing of the gold backing for the dollar in the 1960s—have been involved in what has been a virtual transformation of the markets, the most comprehensive set of changes since those of the early days of the New Deal.

It is now possible to discern the shape of a new financial system. There are some changes still to come—for example, it is safe to predict a wave of bank mergers, as the commercial banking system consolidates with the crumbling of previous geographic barriers, and probably new institutions, as the formidable wall between banks and nonbanks is continually blurred. But most of the changes, including the most influential, have already taken place. What we have not seen, partly because the extent and pace of change have been so great and so furious, is any examination of what ought to be the response of public policy and of the institutions charged with overseeing the financial system. For the most part, the institutions and weapons of policy have not adapted beyond the salutary acquiescing in rates and services that favors savers rather than borrowers.

We at the Fund think that we can make a contribution by supporting a series of studies designed to analyze what changes are needed in public policy to accommodate to the changes in the financial system. We are also contemplating sponsoring a number of individual studies of various sectors of the market, and the market as a whole, to determine what ought to be done. I do not want to suggest that the Fund's projects will have all the answers. Far from it. But they will give to a broad audience a comprehensive understanding of what has taken place in our financial markets and should provoke constructive debate over what should be done about them. That, after all, is what the Fund is about.

**M. J. Rossant**  
**Director**

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research program.

\*Emeritus

\*\*Resigned May 18, 1983

## INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, the Twentieth Century Fund has provided scholars with an opportunity to challenge the prevailing wisdom on significant public policy issues, to evaluate critically the performance of public and private institutions, and to identify new tasks for the government. The Fund seeks scholars who—regardless of political persuasion or institutional affiliation—promise to bring a fresh perspective to this examination of public problems and who have the ability to communicate to a broad, informed, and not merely specialist audience.

The staff seeks scholars who want to work in one of the four broad areas of study on which the Fund is currently focusing: Domestic Policies, Politics, and Economics; Communications, Science, and Technology; Urban Economic and Social Issues; and U.S. Policy in the International Area.

The fundamental challenge for scholars examining any of the issues in these areas is to find more effective ways of dealing with problems of broad public concern. Independent Task Forces, convened by the Fund, provide a forum for addressing discrete and timely issues and for making specific policy recommendations. Book-length projects permit individuals to take a more reflective view of political, economic, and social problems.

In reviewing proposals in each of its program areas, the Fund looks for studies that identify emerging problems and promise to produce useful policy recommendations based on thorough and critical examinations of significant issues. The Fund takes no position on the political controversies of the day, leaving its authors free to reach their own conclusions.

The purpose of the Fund's research program is the publication of analytical studies of contemporary public policy issues for an audience that includes the informed public, the press, policymakers, and the academic community. Achieving this goal is not easy. It requires the completion of scholarly work of high quality on a timely basis and the presentation of the work in a lively, nontechnical manner. Procedures have been developed by the Fund to protect the scholarly independence of the project directors, while providing them with professional assistance in presenting their findings and conclusions.

As a private operating foundation under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, the Fund does not make research grants, award fellowships or scholarships, or support dissertation research. Instead, it directly administers its programs. The Fund edits the manuscripts and arranges for their publication by commercial publishers or university presses.

The Fund's staff actively solicits proposals on topics selected by the staff and Trustees. It also reviews all proposals submitted independently. An initial proposal may consist of a letter describing a policy problem for investigation and presenting a research plan. Members of the staff work closely with applicants to develop preliminary proposals; full proposals—ten to fifteen pages in length—include, in addition to a definition of the problem and a description of the research approach and methodology, a tentative book outline. Only those proposals recommended by the staff are reviewed by the Board of Trustees, and only the Board of Trustees has the authority to approve proposed projects. Proposals are judged in terms of their potential contribution to public policy, scholarship, and clarity of presentation.

Administration of Fund projects is divided into two roughly equal stages designed to facilitate the transformation of scholarly research into policy books for a broad public. Recognizing the costs and risks of research, the Fund pays research expenses, given evidence of satisfactory progress toward completion, throughout the course of the project. During the first stage, the project director, who is primarily engaged in research, is compensated on a regular biweekly basis in accordance with his schedule; in this stage, a staff member assigned to the project periodically confers with the project director. Before the end of the first stage, the project director meets

with the staff to review the status of the project and the book outline and to establish a schedule for submission of manuscript.

In the second stage of the project, the Fund continues to work closely with the project director but asks him to assume some financial risk as an incentive for timely completion of a publishable manuscript. The project director's compensation is divided in this second stage into payments for delivery of draft manuscript approved by the Fund, and a final payment for a complete manuscript approved by the Fund. Written comments by the staff on all manuscript received are provided to the project director. These comments evaluate the author's presentation and the soundness and appropriateness of the supporting research. The project director is solely responsible for the accuracy of the evidence he presents, and has complete independence in drawing conclusions and setting forth recommendations.

A "Guide for Submission of Proposals," which explains Fund procedures, is available upon request.

## CURRENT STUDIES

### DOMESTIC POLICIES,

### POLITICS, AND ECONOMICS

This program area, though limited to specifically national concerns, encompasses an unusually wide range of subjects. It examines the way in which our nation functions, covering our basic political structures, the role of the federal government in various areas, and the way in which national policies affect the private, public, and not-for-profit sectors and the relationships among them.

The group of projects that falls under the category of ideas and institutions examines the broad issues involving American democracy—how it works and how it applies to the way in which Americans live. The projects on the federal role focus on specific aspects of traditional American institutions and values. And in its examination of the private, public, and not-for-profit sectors and the relationships among them, the Fund is trying to determine ways in which national policies affect the economic and social well-being of Americans.

#### Ideas and Institutions

##### Direct Democracy in America

Around the turn of the century, the Progressives sponsored the use of a number of devices—among them, voter initiatives, referenda, and recall—aimed at increasing the control of the electorate over politicians and policies. Once again, those tools are being used, particularly at the local and state levels, where they have brought about tax reductions, limits on expenditures, and the rejection of elected officials. After a long delay, Thomas E. Cronin of Colorado College has resumed work on this project. He is seeking to determine whether this renewed interest in direct democracy, coming at a time when there is increasing concern about the apathy of the electorate, is more than a transient phenomenon, and whether it could be applied at the national level. His project is expected to be completed in 1984.

##### Consensus and Divergence in American Values and Attitudes

The basic values that determine American attitudes on social and political issues are shaped by the tension between the democratic commitment to equality and liberty and the capitalist stress on individualism. Herbert McClosky of the University of California at Berkeley and John Zaller of

Princeton University have used over twenty-five years of public opinion surveys to analyze the relationship between these competing strains of thought, showing how they have shaped contemporary political institutions and influenced public policy. Their book, a Twentieth Century Fund Report entitled *The American Ethos: The Public's Attitudes Toward Capitalist and Democratic Values*, will be published by Harvard University Press in 1985.

##### Visual Arts and the Public Interest

Since 1965, the federal government, principally through the National Endowment for the Arts, has been in the business of directly supporting the arts in America. Despite the idealistic intentions of those who support public subsidies, Edward C. Banfield of Harvard University musters evidence that leads him to conclude that subsidies have failed to serve the public interest, and may even prove detrimental to the arts. His book, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay entitled *The Democratic Muse*, is being published by Basic Books in March 1984.

##### Military Manpower Policy

Although a traditional hallmark of citizenship is the obligation to bear arms

in defense of the state, over the past ten years the United States has relied upon an all-volunteer military force—and one, unfortunately, that is increasingly unrepresentative of the American population. This change in military manpower policy has fundamentally altered the relationship between civilian society and the military and between civic rights and obligations. David R. Segal, a sociologist at the University of Maryland, will examine the effectiveness of the all-volunteer force as well as proposals for universal military service, universal military training, and universal national service. His project is scheduled for completion in 1984.

### **The Future of Social Security**

After nearly half a century of operation, Social Security has proved the most enduring—and in many ways the most successful—social program established by the New Deal. Although the system has adapted to changing social conditions and has apparently weathered its recent short-term financial crisis, it will face grave problems in the twenty-first century when the baby-boom generation reaches retirement age. W. Andrew Achenbaum, a historian at Carnegie-Mellon University, will examine the future of Social Security, including the politics of Social Security reform, analyzing not only actuarial, financial, and demographic projections but also the changing social and institutional environment in which the system functions. His study is scheduled for completion in 1984.

### **New Business Development**

Recent measures designed to spur economic growth have focused on the health and welfare of the nation's major corporations. Roger J. Vaughan, former deputy director of the Office of Development for the State of New York, argues that public policies should be more intent on stimulating new, innovative enterprises, which, he claims, would result in a more open, efficient, and equitable economy. Vaughan will both examine the barriers faced by new enterprises—such as underinvestment in research, the tax structure, and the imperfect workings of the labor market—and propose incentives to stim-

ulate their growth. His study, which was scheduled for completion in 1984, has fallen far behind schedule, and its completion is in doubt.

### **Financial Instability and the Strategy of Economic Policy**

Despite increasingly tolerant regulation and extensive innovation in financial markets and institutions in recent years, the economy remains unstable; unemployment rates are still relatively high, investment rates are unsatisfactory, and although the rate of inflation has declined, this decline may be temporary. Hyman P. Minsky of Washington University has been examining the relationship between changes in the finance industry and macroeconomic performance. His manuscript, which includes recommendations for increasing the stability and the performance of the economy, is being circulated to publishers early in 1984.

### **Public Policy Toward Disability**

More than a hundred government and private programs spend well over \$100 billion per year to help the disabled. The two largest in this complex melange of programs are disability insurance and workers' compensation. Despite all that is being spent on disability, there are gaps and overlaps in the programs, inconsistencies in defining disability, and only sporadic efforts at reform. Edward D. Berkowitz, a historian at George Washington University, will examine the evolution of the disability system, the problems in determining eligibility created by the changing definition of disability, and both past and present efforts at reform. His study is scheduled for completion in 1985.

### **The American Trade Policymaking System**

The postwar American trade policymaking system was a success, developing, implementing, and managing trade policy in a fashion that minimized international conflicts, although occasionally at the expense of some U.S. interests. That system, along with the belief that eliminating trade barriers is critical to American prosperity, has come under attack in recent years, as domestic political pressures for new barriers to trade, which threaten serious disruptions, have increased. I. M. Destler, a policy analyst

at the Institute for International Economics in Washington, D.C., is examining how the system evolved and how it proved so effective as a means of considering new ways to strengthen its workings under changing domestic and international conditions. The manuscript is scheduled for completion in 1984.



### **National Service in America**

In a 1906 essay entitled “Moral Equivalent of War,” William James called for a national service to ensure social cohesiveness in times of peace and eventually substitute civic (and civilian) values for military honor. Today, that call is being sounded again. There are bipartisan bills in Congress to set up a select commission to examine the issues associated with national service, and proposals ranging from the underwriting of youth volunteers to the linkage of eligibility for the guaranteed student loan to local community service are frequently couched in terms of national service. Charles C. Moskos, a professor of sociology at Northwestern University and author of several books on the military, is examining the current national service debate within the broad context of citizenship rights and obligations. His study is scheduled for completion in 1985.

### **The Federal Role**

#### **Federal Power and the Electoral Rights of Blacks and Hispanics**

Equal representation at the polls was granted by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and a subsequent series of federal court decisions that eliminated the barriers denying minorities access to the voting booths. Last year, the original legislation was not only extended but expanded—almost to the point of attempting to guarantee equality in results. Abigail M. Thernstrom, an authority on “one man, one vote” and related issues, is examining both the legal and political causes for the expanded federal role in providing access to the polls, and the consequences of this development. Her study, already subject to delays, is expected to be completed in 1984.

#### **Task Force on Political Action Committees**

Since the 1980 election campaign, political action committees (PACs) have attracted increasing public attention—and considerable concern. While PACs are not new, they have emerged, in the past decade, as a major force in the electoral process, channeling funds from labor, business, and political groups to candidates for public office. PACs have grown so dramatically because of the campaign finance reforms of the early 1970s and because of long-term changes in American political institutions—most notably the decline of the major political parties and the rise of interest groups—and the emergence of new and expensive technologies. The Fund has convened an independent Task Force to examine the impact of PACs on the political process. Entitled *What Price PACS?*, the Report of the Task Force, which was chaired by former Senator Edmund S. Muskie, is being published by the Fund, along with a background paper by Frank J. Sorauf, in January 1984.

#### **Federal Support for the Humanities**

From its founding in 1965, the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) has supported scholarly research as well as educational and public programs in the humanities. While its budget grew dramatically over the years, so did tensions and criticism over its handling of this dual mandate. Stephen Miller, a writer on culture and politics and a



former staff member of the NEH, has been examining the NEH's programs and performance, as well as the politics surrounding it. His manuscript, *Excellence & Equity: The National Endowment for the Humanities*, will be published by the University of Kentucky Press in May 1984.

### **Private, Public, and Not-for-Profit Sectors**

#### **Mortgage Policy and Housing Markets**

The increased need for housing created by the maturing of the postwar baby-boom generation is unlikely to result in a boom in the housing industry without new government policies. The ravages of inflation, which pushed housing prices out of reach for many families that might now be buying first homes, along with rapid shifts in the structure of the finance industry—caused by changes in government regulation and innovation within the industry itself—are curtailing the capacity of potential homebuyers to purchase housing. Kenneth T. Rosen of the University of California at Berkeley concludes that, in order to make first-time home purchases feasible, the finance industry will have to provide new kinds of mortgage instruments and the government will have to develop new approaches to regulation to ensure a healthy mortgage market. His book will be published by Ballinger Books in 1984.

#### **National Retirement Policies**

The sharp and acrimonious debate over the Social Security system during the past few years abated with the adoption of recommendations put forward by the bipartisan panel chaired by Alan Greenspan. The passage of the comprehensive changes suggested by the panel to shore up the system's failing finances has, however, resolved the immediate cash-flow problem, not its long-term problems. By the time the baby-boom generation reaches retirement age, substantial cuts in benefits, or increases in taxes, or both, may be necessary. Michael J. Boskin of Stanford University believes that postponing the resolution of these critical problems will result in fundamentally unjust treatment of those supporting the Social Security system now, and will place intolerable burdens on those workers whose taxes

will have to support the Social Security system in the future. He is developing policies that will ensure equity, consistency, and solvency in our Social Security system. His long-delayed project is scheduled for completion early in 1984.

#### **Domestic Youth Unemployment**

The attempt to absorb the baby-boom generation into the job market in the late 1960s and 1970s created numerous economic problems, many of which were not successfully resolved. The result was very high unemployment for many young people and inadequate income for others. Michael L. Wachter of the University of Pennsylvania believes that traditional public policies that assumed the difficulties were based solely on youthfulness were misguided and may well result in serious inflationary pressures as the next, much smaller, baby-bust generation enters the labor force. His manuscript, which is being edited, will be circulated to publishers in 1984.

#### **Task Force on Conflicts of Interest in the Arts**

Politicians, bureaucrats, and private professionals are responsible for determining which institutions and individuals receive government subsidies. While there has been widespread debate over the amount and nature of these subsidies, little attention has been paid to the conflicts of interest that exist in the selection process. The Fund is seeking an informed investigator to identify the incidence and abuse of such conflicts in government grantmaking to the arts. If investigation reveals significant abuses in this area, an independent Fund Task Force will be created to study them.

#### **Financial Resources of Foundations**

The volatile securities markets of the 1970s accompanied by rampant inflation were injurious to the financial health of many institutions, including the nation's foundations. An examination of how the endowments of major foundations are managed to determine how they have fared in investing their assets seemed a useful and interesting exercise, and Harvey Shapiro, a financial analyst and writer, was asked to report on and analyze their performance. This project was intended to fill a con-

spicuous gap in studies of the Third Sector and to supplement the Fund's own work on the grantmaking performance of large foundations. Because the author failed to produce any draft material, the project has been terminated, and he has been asked to return the compensation paid to him.

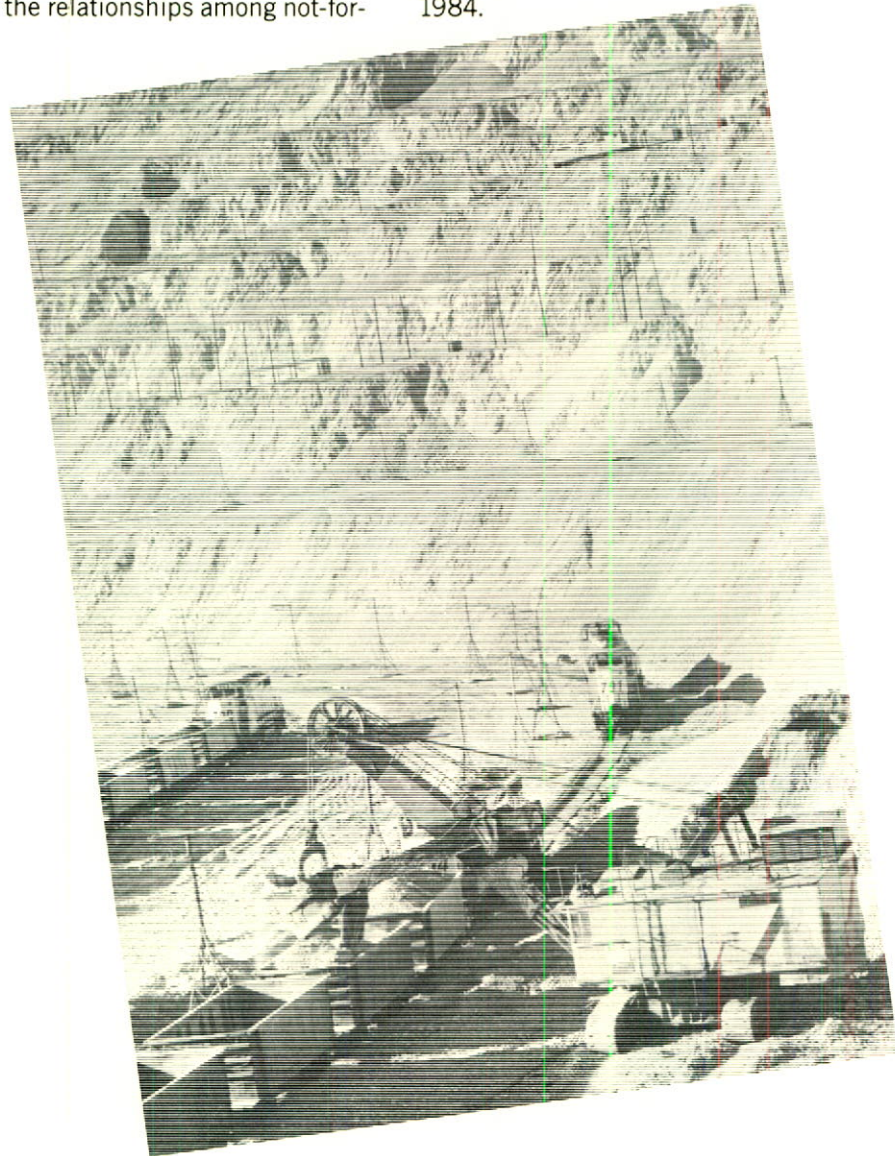
### **The Not-for-Profit Sector in a Mixed Economy**

Voluntary, not-for-profit organizations provide Americans with a multitude of services ranging from health care to education to the arts. With the reductions of the federal government commitment in many of these areas, not-for-profit organizations, which comprise the so-called Third Sector, are being called upon to take up the slack. Burton A. Weisbrod, an economist at the University of Wisconsin, is examining the not-for-profit sector in the United States—its role, size, and financial health—as well as the relationships among not-for-

profit institutions, government, and private, for-profit institutions. His study is scheduled to be completed in 1984.

### **The Availability of Nonfuel Minerals**

While most Americans are well aware of the importance of oil supplies from overseas, few realize the extent of our dependency on foreign supplies of nonfuel minerals that are equally vital to the U.S. economy and our national security. The difficulties inherent in assuring a reasonably priced and reliable flow of nonfuel minerals continue to present a challenge to policymakers. Raymond F. Mikesell of the University of Oregon is studying the availability of nonfuel minerals, calculating future consumption trends in light of changing industrial needs and new technology, assessing U.S. vulnerability to supply disruption, and analyzing the effectiveness of the current U.S. stockpiling program. His study is scheduled for completion in late 1984.



This program area focuses on the political, economic, and social consequences of developments in communications, science, and technology. The Fund's long-standing interest in the area of communications naturally expanded to cover the effects of new technological developments such as satellite communications and computers. From there, it was a small step to the examination of the effects of rapid developments in technology and, carried a step further, in science on society. It has become clear that these developments have policy implications that are often realized only after the fact. The Fund is therefore actively seeking proposals in this area.

### **International News Services**

Most of the news that reaches the non-Communist world is transmitted by cable or satellite to the four major Western news agencies—the Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France Presse. While these agencies are influential, global organizations, they are also fragile business enterprises subject to economic constraints and struggling to adapt to new technologies and markets. They are also the object of criticism by the advocates of a new world information order, who accuse the agencies of promoting biased images of the Third World. Jonathan Fenby, a former correspondent and editor for Reuters and now with *The Economist*, examines the origins and current workings of the major news agencies, assessing the services they offer and how they can best respond to the technological, economic, and political pressures that affect their operations. His book will be published by Schocken Books.

### **International Communications Development in the 1980s**

The debate over a new world information order, which began in UNESCO in the 1970s, has pitted values intrinsic to Western journalism against those of the new "developmental" journalism. What is often lost in the debate over news and information is a realistic view of the diverse communications systems in Third World countries and their technological needs. Robert L. Stevenson, a communications scholar at the University of North Carolina, is examining communications systems in a number of developing states to assess

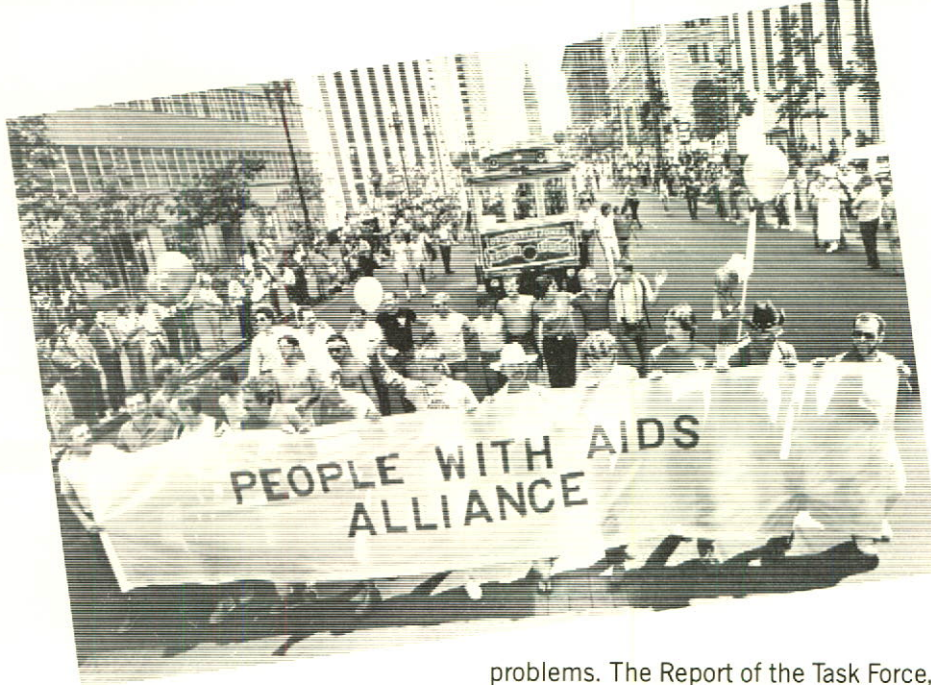
both the accomplishments of the past two decades and the improvements still sought. His study is expected to be completed in 1984.

### **Legal Institutions and Technological Change**

The role of the courts in making judgments about technological change and scientific developments is expanding at a rapid pace. Yet the capacity of the judiciary to make knowledgeable and sound judgments is open to question. What to do about improving the familiarity of judges with the latest in scholarship and enhancing their ability to weigh conflicting or abstruse evidence has been a task that has preoccupied Joel Yellin of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for several years. Because of his failure to produce a complete or readable manuscript, his project was terminated.

### **Task Force on the Communication of Scientific Risk**

The risks and benefits of technology affect most of the nation's citizens, raising such policy issues as how, under what circumstances, and with what controls technological advances should be carried out. The public must be informed if it is to participate intelligently in addressing these issues; however, public confusion over toxic wastes, nuclear power, and acid rain suggests that the communication process has worked poorly. The Fund has convened an independent Task Force to examine the problems in communicating scientific and technological risk to the public and to consider ways of remedying these



problems. The Report of the Task Force, which was chaired by Harrison E. Schmitt, former astronaut and senator from New Mexico, along with a background paper by Dorothy Nelkin of Cornell University, is being published in April 1984.

#### **Task Force on Conflicts in the Commercialization of Scientific Research**

Increasing corporate involvement in university-based scientific research has been met by both applause and alarm. Advocates argue that, given the decline in public funding for such research, corporate support is necessary to maintain the nation's scientific enterprise. Critics charge that the benefits are outweighed by the threat these arrangements present to the independence of the university and the free flow of scientific ideas. The Fund has convened an independent Task Force to examine the conflicts of interest that arise when universities depend on corporate support and to identify ways in which abuses can be prevented. The Report of the Task Force, headed by Robert L. Sproull, president of Rochester University, along with a background paper by Nicholas Wade of the *New York Times*, will be ready for publication early in 1984.

#### **Commission on Presidential Debates**

Although candidates of the major parties debated in each of the past two presidential campaigns, debates are still not an assured feature of presidential politics. In 1980, the debates took place only after months of trying negotiations, and the single confrontation between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, which took place late in the campaign, assumed the proportions of a "winner-take-all" affair. The Fund, which in 1979

sponsored a Task Force on Televised Presidential Debates, plans to convene a commission to discuss the past contributions and future viability of presidential debates. A background paper was prepared for the work of the commission by Joel L. Swerdlow, a Washington-based journalist; entitled *Beyond Debate*, it analyzes the role of the debates in presidential campaigns and sets forth options on debate format and sponsorship as well as on the means for institutionalizing the debates.

#### **A Reexamination of the Fairness Doctrine**

The fairness doctrine, one of the pillars of broadcast regulation in the United States, requires radio and television stations to devote a reasonable amount of time to controversial issues of public importance and to present divergent views on those issues. The doctrine has never been popular with broadcasters, and it has recently been challenged by the head of the Federal Communications Commission. Joseph N. Onek, a Washington, D.C., lawyer, began to examine the debate over the doctrine and to write a report aimed at reformulating it. After completing a preliminary draft of the report, he has asked to be released from his contract because of the press of his legal work.

#### **Metropolitan News Media and Urban Policy**

As the names Scripps, Hearst, and Pulitzer testify, the press has played a major political role in the nation's urban centers. Early in this century, newspapers and magazines exposed political corruption, and social and economic abuses stimulated reforms. But the structure of the press and its influence have changed radically since then. There are fewer competitive daily newspapers, more conglomerate ownership, many new publications such as city magazines and "alternative" newspapers, and, of course, the electronic media. Phyllis C. Kaniss, a scholar specializing in urban and regional planning at the University of Pennsylvania, will study the role of the media in shaping urban development policies—specifically examining changes in how the press and broadcast media cover urban news and what influences their editorial positions. Her study is scheduled for completion in 1985.

Another major area of Fund interest is the problems of America's cities. In recent years, the effects of social disruption on life in the cities have become an important subject of concern; during the 1970s, the Fund convened a number of Task Forces to examine such problems as the ways in which the courts deal with criminals and the problems of policy toward young offenders. The Fund has also sponsored a number of projects examining the roots of the fiscal crises facing the nation's large older urban areas; for example, it established two Task Forces to explore New York City's financial difficulties and two more on the tax-exempt capital market, through which cities and local government units raise a good portion of needed capital. The projects listed below are a sampling of the subjects relating to this vital area that are of interest to the Fund, which is actively seeking new projects relating to our nation's cities.

#### **Gambling in Atlantic City**

The chief beneficiaries of the legalization of casino gambling in Atlantic City are casino owners and real estate speculators, not the citizens who voted for legalization as a means of revitalizing the city and enriching the state treasury. George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes of Rutgers University have carefully analyzed the effects of legalization. They demonstrate that casinos do not mean improved housing and more jobs for local residents; rather, the costs of municipal services increase their property taxes. They also warn other states contemplating legalization that they will have to share in the limited amount of money that Americans will spend on gambling. Their book, *The Atlantic City Gamble*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report, is being published by Harvard University Press in November 1983.

#### **The Politics of Urban Infrastructure**

Media coverage of bridge collapses or water main breaks creates an image of the nation's cities facing an infrastructure crisis and raises fears about their capacity to deal with the problems. Heywood T. Sanders of Trinity University has been studying the political processes through which decisions on urban infrastructure are made. He argues

that, while serious infrastructure problems do exist in some cities, cries of a "national crisis" are merely a political effort to generate support for solutions that are unlikely to address the problems adequately and may even make them worse. His manuscript, which will be completed in 1984, will suggest other options for dealing with urban capital requirements.

#### **Capital Requirements and the Future of the Cities**

The quality of life in our cities depends in many ways on the quality of their infrastructure—the roadways, water and sewer systems, transit lines, schools, and other public facilities so essential to the city dweller's well-being. But both new, expanding cities and older, declining cities are experiencing difficulties finding the financial resources needed to finance new infrastructure and to maintain infrastructure already in place. George S. Tolley of the University of Chicago and Larry Huckins of Baruch College of the City University of New York predict that this problem—especially in light of current fiscal stringency—will grow worse. In their long-delayed study, which is expected to be completed in 1984, they make recommendations for policymakers at all levels of government facing infrastructure problems.



### **Fiscal Problems of Urban America's Fire and Police Pension Systems**

Uniformed urban workers, especially police officers and fire fighters, were the first municipal employees to win pensions and, over the years, have been among the most successful in securing more liberal benefits. Other municipal employees, citing them as an example, have also won pensions; the growing costs of public employee pensions have increased the fiscal difficulties of the nation's cities. Despite reform efforts, many systems remain underfunded, and the long-term pension obligations, particularly those of the police and fire fighters, will continue to burden the cities. Robert M. Fogelson, a historian at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has examined the history of big-city police and fire pension systems, tracing their fiscal problems and investigating the obstacles to reform. His book, *Pensions: The Hidden Costs of Public Safety*, will be published by Columbia University Press in July 1984.

### **Metropolitan Segregation**

America's great metropolitan centers have historically been the home of immigrant groups who form ethnic enclaves in the older areas of the cities, each group replacing a former wave of immigrants that has managed to assimilate or move up the social-economic ladder. The more recent relocation of blacks from the rural South, the immigration of Hispanics from the Caribbean, Mexico, and South America, and a large influx of Asians—along with new attitudes about assimilation and ethnic pride—have created new problems, including increased fiscal strain and a need for a broad array of new social services. Gary Orfield of the University of Chicago is examining the patterns of urban segregation, its socioeconomic and political consequences, and the effectiveness of public policy prescriptions. His project, which is behind schedule, will be completed in spring 1984.

### **Police Undercover Work**

Over the past twenty years, undercover investigations and intelligence gathering by law enforcement agencies have increased at the federal, state, and local levels. But undercover work, which is particularly difficult to supervise and, as

a result, potentially subject to misuse, raises serious questions about police accountability and civil liberties. While undercover operations are sometimes brought to public attention, little is known about the conditions under which they are initiated, how they are carried out, and what controls are exercised in their management. Gary T. Marx of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is examining these issues and will make recommendations for more constrained use of undercover work in his study, which is expected to be completed in 1984.

### **Task Force on Urban Preservation Policies**

With federal, state, and local laws providing incentives to those who preserve older buildings rather than tear them down, historic preservation has become something of a growth industry. But with growth has come controversy. At the same time that preservation and landmark policies provide economic benefits, they also increase legal control over individual buildings and entire neighborhoods. Furthermore, there is debate about whether preservation policies are in the public interest or whether they discriminate against and displace poor and minority groups. The Fund is currently examining proposals for a background paper on this critical issue, with the expectation of convening a Task Force early in 1984.

### **Law Enforcement Policy Toward Organized Crime**

Police efforts to control organized crime are based on the widely accepted view that the perpetrators are interconnected criminal groups operating under at least some degree of central control. Jonathan B. Rubinstein of the Center for Research on Institutions and Social Policy in New York argues that this view is mistaken and has led to widespread inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the fight against organized crime. His study, due to be completed in fall 1984, will examine illegal activity in such areas as liquor and cigarette tax evasion, sports and numbers betting, prostitution, and pornography, evaluate how law enforcement agencies deal with these problems, and make recommendations for more effectively countering organized criminal activities.



This program area has a broad focus that embraces relations between the United States and other nations. Some of the projects in this area analyze the effects of international affairs on U.S. policy; others examine U.S. policy toward and role in international institutions; and still others explore development economics, which has critical long-term implications for the United States.

Although the Fund began its investment in this area in the post-World War II era, its international projects have become one of its most important program areas. The Fund is continuing to seek out projects dealing with significant policy issues in this field.

### Relations with Other Nations

#### U.S.-Puerto Rican Relations

Among the most sensitive issues facing American policymakers is the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. Economic issues tend to dominate, but the question of Puerto Rico's political status is, as it has been since the formal relationship began in 1898, in need of resolution. Raymond Carr, the warden of St. Antony's College at Oxford and a noted historian, has analyzed the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico, paying close attention to the status question, the cultural and economic problems, and security issues. His book, a Twentieth Century Fund Study entitled *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, is being published by New York University Press in April 1984.

#### Task Force on International Debt and Default

In mid-1983, the already massive international debt climbed to more than \$700 billion; interest payments alone on the total principal outstanding will amount to over \$100 billion a year. The increasing frequency of debt rescheduling reflects the growing extent of the problem, which, for debtors and lenders alike, is a political time bomb. While ad hoc rescheduling arrangements have eased some immediate financial pressures, they have not solved underlying problems; furthermore, the arrangements include austerity measures that reduce the standard of living and generate social tension and political in-

stability. Such pressures could lead debtor-country governments to choose either default or a moratorium, which could place the entire world banking system in serious trouble. The Fund has been searching for a writer to prepare a background paper on this urgent problem, and plans to convene a Task Force on International Debt and Default in 1984.

#### The United States and Latin America in the 1980s

The Reagan administration's policies toward Latin America rest on the assumption that the United States has a special relationship with the region, based on mutual strategic and economic interests. According to Abraham F. Lowenthal of the University of California at San Diego, economic and political transformations in Latin America during the past twenty-five years have significantly reshaped inter-American relations, and it is now time for policymakers to rethink U.S. interests in the region. He argues against the current regional approach in favor of a global policy toward all developing nations. After a number of delays, the author reports that he is making progress; the project is now scheduled for completion in 1984.

#### Middle East Policies: Options for the West

The continued need for nations of the Atlantic Alliance to serve in a peace-keeping role in Lebanon demonstrates how deeply the Alliance has become em-

broiled in Mideast affairs. But while the Western allies share vital interests in the region, critical differences on such issues as the Arab-Israeli conflict, defense of the Persian Gulf, Soviet involvement in the region, and the sale of nuclear arms and technology to Middle Eastern oil exporters threaten to strain and conceivably fracture Western unity. Robert E. Hunter, a former staff member of the National Security Council, was attempting to explore ways in which policymakers could resolve tensions in their relations arising because of conflicting approaches to problems in the Middle East. Unfortunately, the manuscript proved unacceptable and was returned to the author for placement.

#### **Political Intelligence Policy**

The availability of technological intelligence collection has led the major powers to spend increasing amounts of money on satellite surveillance and all sorts of listening and measuring devices that have furnished huge amounts of data to intelligence agencies. But it is human intelligence, according to Walter Laqueur, the noted historian, that is critical in making worthwhile use of the information obtained. In his far-ranging, analytical survey of advances—and setbacks—in intelligence operations, he argues for measures to improve the assessment and application of data. His study will soon be circulated to publishers for release in 1984.

#### **The Future of Economic Summitry**

Annual meetings of heads of state to discuss global economic problems are a relatively new feature in the international diplomacy of the leading industrial powers. But the effectiveness of recent economic summits is less clear. Given the gravity of international economic problems, and the difficulty in finding an appropriate forum in which to discuss and resolve the complex issues of trade, finance, and development policy, the Fund will convene a conference to analyze past performance at economic summits, to determine what summits can and cannot be expected to accomplish, and to propose ground rules for future summits. David Watt, former director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and a well-known British commentator on political and economic matters, is preparing a background paper that will serve as the starting point for discussion at a conference of high-level planners for and participants in economic summits. The conference is scheduled for 1984.

#### **Contemporary Emigration Policies**

A new and disturbing phenomenon—state manipulation of population flows—has complicated the worldwide refugee problem. In the name of nation building, governments have expelled ethnic and religious groups, relocated entire populations, and with different policy implications, suspended emigration. Alan Dowty of the University of Notre Dame examines such examples of these developments as the Soviet suppression of its citizens' rights to emigrate, Cuba's purge of dissidents through the port of Mariel, and Nigeria's expulsion of its Ghanaian migrant population, in order to determine what motivates these actions, and what can be done to prevent them in the future. His project is scheduled for completion in 1985.

#### **Relations with International Political and Financial Organizations**

##### **United States Policy Toward UNESCO**

Lawrence S. Finkelstein of Northern Illinois University has been working on a study of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) since 1977. When he failed





to produce manuscript after repeated promises that draft would be forthcoming, his project was terminated.

### **Politicization in the United Nations System**

In the 1970s, the specialized agencies of the United Nations were torn by political controversies over racism, colonialism, and human rights. Because these conflicts caused energies to be diverted from the technical work of these agencies, the United States withdrew for a time from the International Labor Organization. Daniel G. Partan, a legal scholar at Boston University Law School, has been examining the problems of politicization in the UN system. His study, which fell far behind schedule, now faces termination.

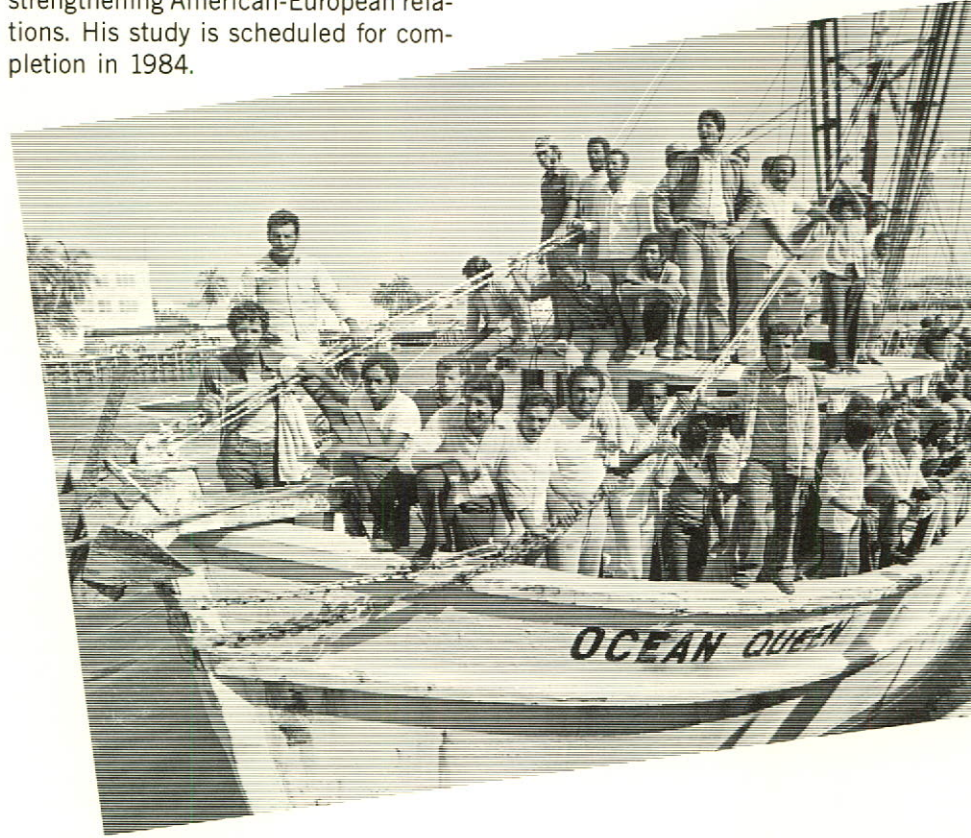
### **U.S. International Monetary Policy**

In the 1970s, for the second time in this century, currency exchange rates were allowed to "float," that is, to be determined by the market, with only limited attempts by governments to fix values of each currency relative to the others. As a result, there were extraordinary swings in currency values and considerable international financial instability, culminating in strong political movements for protectionism, which also occurred in the 1920s, the first time that currencies floated. Robert Z. Aliber of the University of Chicago argues that a return to international financial stability and the maintenance of a free trading system will require more structured and predictable relationships among currencies, along with international institutions to support those relationships. His study, which is expected to be completed in 1984, will recommend policies intended to increase the stability of the international monetary system.

### **A New U.S. Policy for the Atlantic Alliance**

The Atlantic Alliance, forged as the centerpiece of the postwar order, is the most important and enduring of America's relationships. Although policymakers and analysts on both sides of the Atlantic have frequently worried about the problems it faced, the Alliance has survived, and the differences have always been successfully resolved. Changes—economic and political—in international relationships, though, raise questions about the strength of the ap-

paratus for dealing with intra-alliance tensions and problems. David P. Calleo of Johns Hopkins University is examining the shifting international conditions that are weakening the Atlantic Alliance in order to determine the appropriate American strategies and tactics for strengthening American-European relations. His study is scheduled for completion in 1984.



## **Development Economics**

### **Development Planning**

Government intervention—whether helpful or harmful—has played a significant role in postwar economic development planning. But now, extensive reliance on centralized government planning is weakening, and many economists envision a much more modest role for government. Raanan Weitz of the Settlement Study Center of Rehovot, Israel, has been examining the effectiveness of government and private initiatives in relation to the degree and geographical spread of economic development. He plans to provide policymakers and planners—both in developing countries and in those countries and agencies that provide them with development assistance—with recommendations on the extent and kind of government intervention that will be most effective. His study is scheduled for completion in 1984.

Since its inception in 1919, the Twentieth Century Fund has been a pioneer among foundations, disseminating its research, usually in book form, to as wide an audience as possible. Today, the Fund continues in this tradition, providing timely analyses and policy prescriptions on a broad spectrum of critical public policy issues.

The guiding principle in the placement of Fund manuscripts is the requirement that they make their own way in the marketplace. Therefore, the manuscripts that result from the Fund's research are placed with commercial publishing houses or university presses without publishing subsidies. Fund manuscripts are sent to all publishers who have asked to see them; in addition, the Fund submits manuscripts to publishers whose lists suggest that they are interested in the subject area. Standard contracts are signed, which provide for advances and royalties that are used to defray the project's costs, making more revenues available for the Fund's research program.

Of particular interest to the Fund when deciding which publisher to sign with are provisions assuring timely publication, a reasonable price, and, whenever possible, a low-cost paperback edition, in order to provide prompt, widespread distribution. Accordingly, the publishers' proposals for marketing, promotion, and advertising are carefully weighed.

The rigors of the marketplace require comprehensive research, penetrating analysis, and a clear writing style. As a consequence, the Fund has always placed a premium on the editing of its manuscripts, which takes place before they are sent to publishers. As adverse financial conditions within the publishing industry have put a growing emphasis on the sales potential of books, the editorial process—which assures greater readability and accessibility—has assumed increased significance. Since publishers now shy away from longer manuscripts that are more costly to produce, special efforts are made to ensure precision and economy of language without compromising ideas.

The Fund works closely with publishers to launch all books bearing the Twentieth Century Fund imprimatur. On the eve of publication, press releases are issued and press conferences are held to alert the electronic and print press to the findings and recommendations of a study. In addition, the Fund's dissemination program includes the placement of op-ed pieces and articles by Fund authors whose books have just been released, as well as arrangements for television and radio interviews and attendance at relevant conferences. Three or four times a year, the Fund issues a Newsletter, available free on request, that provides information on new Fund releases and books in progress. In conjunction with publishers, the Fund also keeps an eye out for the possibility of foreign translations. To ensure continuing attention to Fund works, out-of-print Fund books frequently are placed with reprint houses.

During fiscal 1983, the Fund books published included *Economic Development: Theory, Policy, and International Relations*, a Twentieth Century Fund Book by Ian M. D. Little, issued by Basic Books in October 1982; and *A Pole Apart: The Emerging Issue of Antarctica*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report by Philip W. Quigg, released in November 1982 by McGraw-Hill. In February 1983, two books were published: Lexington Books brought out *The Public Library in the 1980s: The Problems of Choice* by Lawrence J. White and Basic Books released *Court Reform on Trial: Why Simple Solutions Fail*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report by Malcolm M. Feeley.

A Twentieth Century Fund monograph, *Deficits and Detente: Report of an International Conference on the Balance of Trade in the Comecon Countries* with a background paper by Richard Portes—the product of a jointly sponsored effort by the Center for Research on International Institutions

and the Graduate Institute of International Studies, both of Geneva, as well as the Twentieth Century Fund—was published by the Fund in March 1983. *Making the Grade: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy*, with a background paper by Paul E. Peterson, was published by the Fund in June 1983; a press edition of the Task Force Report was issued in May.

Contracts were signed during fiscal 1983 for the publication of: *Patrons Despite Themselves: Taxpayers and Arts Policy*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report by Alan L. Feld, Michael O'Hare, and J. Mark Davidson Schuster, published in July 1983 by New York University Press; *The Atlantic City Gamble*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report by George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, published in November 1983 by Harvard University Press. In the spring of 1984, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Raymond Carr, will be simultaneously published in hardback by New York University Press and in paperback by Vintage Books; *The Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest*, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay by Edward C. Banfield, will be published by Basic Books; and *Excellence & Equity: The National Endowment for the Humanities* by Stephen Miller will be published by the University Press of Kentucky.

In addition, Terry Nichols Clark made arrangements with Columbia University Press to publish *City Money: Political Processes, Fiscal Strain, and Retrenchment* in October 1983, and Steven Spiegel has made arrangements with the University of Chicago Press for fall 1984 publication of *The War for Washington: The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*.

Fund works continue to attract international attention. *Quest for World Monetary Order: The Gold-Dollar System and Its Aftermath*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Milton Gilbert, originally issued by John Wiley in September 1980, was published in Japanese translation in May 1983 under the imprint of Toyo Keizai Shinposha; a Russian translation is scheduled by Progress Publishers in Moscow sometime in 1984. *Corporate Control, Corporate Power*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Edward S. Herman, originally released in April 1981 by Cambridge University Press, will be published in Japanese translation in March 1984 by Jichosha Ltd. of Tokyo. *Social Limits to Growth*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Fred Hirsch, originally published by Harvard University Press in 1976, and subsequently brought out in Swedish, German, Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese editions, will be issued in Spanish by Fondo de Cultura Economica of Mexico in November 1984. Seth S. King's abridgment of *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Gunnar Myrdal, will be issued in hardback for sale in India by Kalyani Publishers in fall 1984; the Fund is negotiating a contract with Kalyani for a paperback edition as well. In addition, Kawade Shobo Shin Sha Ltd. will translate and publish a Japanese edition of *The Big Foundations*, a Twentieth Century Fund Study by Waldemar Nielsen, originally published by Columbia University Press in 1972.

### **Current Major Fund Studies, Reports, and Essays, Cloth Bound, in Print**

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

By Alan L. Feld, Michael O'Hare, and J. Mark Davidson Schuster, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. The significant deductions granted rich patrons of the arts by U.S. tax laws give them a dominant voice in shaping arts policies while raising the tax burden on all other taxpayers. The authors note that almost two-thirds of government support received by the arts is provided indirectly through deductions, not directly through grants. They do not recommend a complete overhaul of the current system, but they do insist that changes are needed to ensure that those who support the system are given some say about how the money they provide is allocated. 263 pages, July 1983, \$22.50. Publisher: New York University Press.

### **Court Reform on Trial: Why Simple Solutions Fail**

By Malcolm M. Feeley, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. Concern about ever-increasing crime rates, unfair or indifferent treatment of the accused, and inefficiency in meting out justice have all created dissatisfaction with the criminal court system. The author, a prizewinning writer on the criminal justice system, explores the workings of the criminal courts, analyzes the effectiveness of four recent criminal court reforms—new bail practices, pretrial diversion, mandatory sentencing, and speedy trial rules—and makes recommendations for creating a fairer, more efficient, and more effective criminal justice system. 251 pages, February 1983, \$14.95. Publisher: Basic Books.

### **A Pole Apart: The Emerging Issue of Antarctica**

By Philip W. Quigg, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. The continuing debate over the Law of the Sea and the Falklands War have reawakened interest in the Antarctic, a region governed jointly by the twelve nations that signed the Antarctic Treaty in 1959. The treaty is subject to review in 1991, and claims of the developing nations to a share of the resources of the area raise serious international questions that will affect renewal of the treaty. Quigg, former managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, has analyzed the extent to which the promise of wealth from minerals lying miles beneath the Antarctic ice is real and recommends policies for the future. 299 pages, November 1982, \$19.95. Publisher: McGraw-Hill/New Press.

### **Economic Development: Theory, Policy, and International Relations**

By Ian M. D. Little, a Twentieth Century Fund Book. Efforts to increase the pace of economic development in less-developed countries have met with mixed results. While there are a lot of success stories—notably Brazil, Mexico, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore—the vast majority of developing countries have had unsatisfactory rates of growth. Little, an innovative theorist and frequent adviser to national governments and international organizations, appraises the evolution of development since 1944 and provides recommendations drawn from his experience. 452 pages, October 1982, \$22.95. Publisher: Basic Books.

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

By Lewis A. Dunn, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. Policies pursued by the United States and other governments will have a critical influence on the prospects for heading off runaway proliferation. As more countries—and less stable countries in conflict-prone regions—initiate or resume nuclear weapons programs, the risk that these weapons would again be used escalates dramatically. Another reason why immediate attention must be given to controlling the bomb, according to Dunn, is the danger that terrorists will seize or otherwise acquire nuclear devices. He suggests the use of new policies to strengthen existing checks on the pace and scope of proliferation and presents policy options for containing the increasing nuclear weapons activity that is likely to occur. 209 pages, March 1982, \$21.00 (paper, \$6.95). 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. Government regulation of business has come under increasing attack because of its dampening effect on the American economy. At the same time, dangers from nuclear power plants and toxic chemicals have heightened public awareness of the need for regulation, and public interest and consumer groups have continued to lobby for the protection of the consumer and the general public. Although the Reagan administration is encouraging a “path of greater reasonableness,” the authors argue that in the long run regulation will tend to increase and with it tendencies toward inflex-

ibility and unreasonableness. They also point out that "it is easy to add new regulations, but difficult to delete old ones." 375 pages, February 1982, \$22.95 (paper, \$9.95). Publisher: Temple University Press.

### **Congressional Spending**

By Dennis S. Ippolito, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. Even though passage of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 gave Congress the means for establishing spending priorities, influencing fiscal policy, curbing executive impoundments, and developing its own sources for budget data and analysis, it did not succeed in its primary objective of exerting control over federal spending. Ippolito explains the reasons for this failure and considers how best to remedy it. He favors a constitutional spending limit that would restrict government expenditures to a fixed percentage of the gross national product. 286 pages, January 1982, \$22.50 (paper, \$7.95). Publisher: Cornell University Press.

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

By John R. Meyer and Jose A. Gomez-Ibanez, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. Government programs to solve urban transportation problems—often involving billions of dollars in expenditures—have been largely ineffectual. In a work of extraordinary scope that addresses urban transportation problems and policies since World War II, the authors argue that many transportation problems can be solved through a sustained, systematic effort that must acknowledge the continuing prominence of the automobile. They assess in detail the role of public transportation, past and future, and related issues of growing concern—land use, energy consumption, air pollution, and transportation for the poor, the elderly, and the handicapped. Concluding with their own recommendations, the authors recognize that many transportation problems can be solved only by redesigning the automobile itself. 360 pages, November 1981, \$20.00. Publisher: Harvard University Press.

### **Corporate Control, Corporate Power**

By Edward S. Herman, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. In the first major work published on the American corporation since *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* by Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, which was published in 1932, Herman examines who controls the corporation and for what purposes. The study traces the shift in control of the nation's corporate giants from owner to manager, revealing that the corporate objectives of high profits and greater size remain unchanged. The author contends that, while the power and influence of the American corporation have grown tremendously during this century, the corporation continues to evade its responsibility to the public. He claims that the external control exercised by government and the influence exerted by financial institutions are exaggerated, and concludes that there has been no significant taming of the corporation. 432 pages, April 1981, \$18.95. Publisher: Cambridge University Press.

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

By Paul E. Sigmund, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. Since the rapid increase in the number of nationalizations of foreign-owned concerns in Third World countries, many observers have predicted the demise of the multinational corporation in the developing world. Sigmund challenges the notion of a rising tide of nationalization, arguing that, in Latin America at least, most of the exposed enclaves in the extractive industries that were the major targets of the economic nationalists have now been taken over, removing the major irritants affecting the relations of Third World governments with foreign investors. He perceives the beginnings of a new era of bargaining between Third World governments and foreign investors, in which there is a diminished role for the U.S. government and mutual recognition by investors and host governments of the benefits to be secured by a bargaining relationship. 426 pages, October 1980, \$22.50 (paper, \$6.50). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

**Quest for World Monetary Order: The Gold-Dollar System and Its Aftermath**

By Milton Gilbert, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. In this work, published posthumously after editing by two of the author's former colleagues, Peter Openheimer and Michael Dealtry, the author reflects on the question of foreign-exchange reserves and international monetary cooperation. Drawing on his experience as a high official first of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation and later of the Bank for International Settlements, Gilbert sets forth his ideas in a wide-ranging analysis of the world monetary network and its functioning from 1944 to the late 1970s. He moves from a discussion of the abrogation of the dollar's convertibility into gold in August 1971 to the consequences of that act, including inflation and the decline of the dollar's exchange rate. 255 pages, September 1980, \$19.95. Publisher: Wiley-Interscience.

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

A Twentieth Century Fund Report. A compilation of seven monographs on conflicts, which the Fund had issued earlier, along with substantial new material. The entire project was under the supervision of a Steering Committee, which was chaired by Roy A. Schotland, professor of law, Georgetown University, and included William L. Cary, Dwight Professor of Law, Columbia University; Benjamin V. Cohen, lawyer, Washington, D.C.; Roger F. Murray, former S. Sloan Colt Professor of Banking and Finance, Columbia University, and chairman, the Common Fund for Non-Profit Organizations; M. J. Rossant, Director, the Twentieth Century Fund; and William Stott, William Stott Associates. In addition to the monographs published earlier, the book contains a new monograph on real estate investment trusts by Schotland and a new introduction and conclusion by Schotland detailing the Steering Committee's call for an effective self-policing effort by the securities industry, including industrywide guidelines, concrete written provisions, and effective implementation machinery. The seven previously published monographs included in the work are *Commercial Bank Trust Departments* by Edward S. Herman, *Corporate Pension Fund Asset Management* by John Brooks, *State and Local Pension Fund Asset Management* by Louis M. Kohlmeier, *Union Pension Fund Asset Management* by Richard Blodgett, *Investment Banking* by Nicholas Wolfson, *Broker-Dealer Firms* by Martin Mayer, and *Non-profit Institutions* by Chris Welles. 736 pages, April 1980, \$35.00. Publisher: Quorum Books.

**Unloving Care: The Nursing Home Tragedy**

By Bruce C. Vladeck, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The author makes recommendations that call for drastic revisions of the roles of the hospital and home care, including a sharp reduction in the number of nursing home establishments. Presenting a comprehensive and analytic review of the incremental legislation that has given the nation its present system of nursing homes, the book criticizes the politics and economics of the nursing home industry, touches on the scandals of recent years, and deals with the human—or in the author's view, inhuman—way of coping with the problems of the aged. 308 pages, March 1980, \$13.95 (paper, \$5.95). Publisher: Basic Books.

**The Changing American Voter**

Enlarged Edition, by Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The authors of this critically acclaimed book on electoral behavior have brought their study up-to-date with a trenchant analysis of the 1976 presidential election. Basing their study on a comprehensive survey of American voters, they document and analyze the dramatic changes in attitudes toward political parties, issues, and candidates since the last major work on the subject, in 1952. A timely yet scholarly account, it has many significant implications for policymakers, politicians, and the public. 430 pages, January 1980, \$15.00 (paper, \$5.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press.

**Fund Studies, Reports, and Essays, Cloth  
Bound, in Print**

**The Art Museum: Power, Money, Ethics**

By Karl E. Meyer, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. In this critical assessment of the nation's richest cultural institution, the author presents a full and timely account of the major problems confronting museums and the public. The book examines the continuing controversy over the role of museum trustees; acquisition and de-acquisition policies; the "blockbuster" show; the dealer, patron, curator nexus; and the professionalism of the museum staff. Meyer, author of *The Plundered Past*, interviewed museum directors, authorities, and critics across the country to gather information for this wide-ranging work. 352 pages, February 1979, \$15.00 (paper, \$8.95). Publisher: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

**Island China**

By Ralph N. Clough, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The author gives insight and perspective to the problems that arose with the recognition of the Republic of China and the role of the United States vis-a-vis Taiwan. Formerly a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and now a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Clough served as deputy chief of the U.S. mission in Taipei and as director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the State Department; he has brought his extensive background to bear on evaluating the effects on Taiwan of changing relationships among the major nations engaged in Asian trade and concerned about the region's security. 264 pages, October 1978, \$12.50. Publisher: Harvard University Press.

**The Changing Role of the Individual  
Investor**

By Marshall E. Blume and Irwin Friend, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. The individual investor, who has been considered a vanishing species in a market increasingly dominated by the institutional investor, is the focus of this study. It presents new information on the attitudes and plans of individual investors and evaluates the various proposals that have been made to increase their participation. The authors have many important findings about the risk preferences of individual investors and their impact on the efficiency of the markets. 243 pages, September 1978, \$16.95. Publisher: John Wiley & Sons.

**U.S. Policy in the Caribbean**

By John Bartlow Martin, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay. In the face of such issues as the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico's status, relations with Cuba, and the need for access to raw materials, the author points to the need for a coherent U.S. policy reflective of our rapidly changing political, economic, and strategic interests in the new Caribbean. He reviews and rejects both the activist policy of the Kennedy administration and the passive attitude of more recent administrations and makes policy recommendations aimed at cooperative U.S.-Caribbean relations. 420 pages, May 1978, \$19.00. Publisher: Westview Press.

**The Subsidized Muse: Public Support for  
the Arts in the United States**

By Dick Netzer, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The author, an economist, views public support of the arts as analogous to public subsidies in such areas as housing, public transportation, and education. He considers both the public interests that may be served by government intervention to supplement the resources that the market provides to the arts and the hazards of such intervention. Netzer points out that, regardless of the amount of money available to the arts, creative individuals will always be able to think of more projects than the funds can cover. The book sets out the logical arguments for government support of the arts and appraises the record of public support since 1965 in the light of these arguments, in order to assess just what difference government subsidy has made to the arts in general. 289 pages, April 1978, \$14.95 (paper, \$7.95). Publisher: Cambridge University Press.

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

By Annmarie Hauck Walsh, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The author traces the growth of the more than 7,000 government corporations spending over \$24 billion annually on operations and new capital facilities. The book is a comparative study based on a large number—and variety—of authorities, including several Pennsylvania municipal corporations, the New Jersey Sports and Exposition Authority, the U.S. Postal Service, and several European authorities. The author analyzes the forces in politics, government, and the private sector that have favored the choice of government corporations over other institutional arrangements for the provision of public works and services. She examines the consequences of this choice for the quality and nature of authority activities, the consumers or users of authority services, the various participants in the municipal bond market, and the public. 436 pages, April 1978, \$19.95 (paper, \$9.95). Publisher: The MIT Press.

**Open Spaces: The Life of American Cities**

By August Heckscher with Phyllis Robinson, maps by Dyck Fledderus, a Twentieth Century Fund Essay. Open spaces—parks, plazas, waterfronts, the space allotted to thruways—possibly do more to define and characterize our cities than any other element. Heckscher examines the way in which open spaces are used in cities across the nation. Based on his personal observations, he draws conclusions as to the ways cities can be enhanced through better use of space. 386 pages, March 1977, \$20.00 (paper, \$9.95). Publisher: Harper & Row.

**Social Limits to Growth**

By Fred Hirsch, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. In this landmark work setting forth a new view of the changing nature of desirable social objectives and economic growth, Hirsch points out that, as societies become richer, larger numbers of people can afford and acquire the trappings of affluence. But many of these goods and services neither are available in large quantities nor can be acquired by larger numbers of people without losing their value. He concludes that fundamental changes must be made in the individual orientations and expectations of the successful few rather than the aspiring many. 209 pages, December 1976, \$10.00 (paper, \$3.95). Publisher: Harvard University Press. Available in Swedish, Japanese, Portuguese, and German translations.

**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. American politics, according to Kirkpatrick, is being transformed by a new type of political activist, one unconcerned about party organization and out of touch with the values and views of the party rank and file. The study includes the first large-scale examination of convention delegates to be undertaken in the last two decades and the only comprehensive analysis of politically active women and the obstacles they face in achieving full participation in political life. 605 pages, October 1976, \$13.95. Distributor: Basic Books.

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

By John Mellor, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. Focusing on the failure of India to carry forward its economic development, the author makes a strong case for increasing investments in agriculture rather than in industry. He asserts, with a substantial amount of data to support him, that his strategy will increase the participation of the poor in the growth process and eventually lead to greater industrial production. 384 pages, April 1976, \$25.00 (paper, \$8.95). Publisher: Cornell University Press.

**Public Employee Pension Funds**

By Robert Tilove, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. A thorough examination of the fast-growing field of public employee pension funds, this work stresses the need



for sweeping reform. Tilove indicates that it is necessary to integrate public pensions with Social Security if a taxpayer revolt is to be averted. 384 pages, March 1976, \$35.00. Publisher: Columbia University Press.

#### **Presidential Television**

By Newton N. Minow, John Bartlow Martin, and Lee M. Mitchell, a Twentieth Century Fund Report. The authors deal with the dangers that presidential access to television poses for the nation's traditional system of checks and balances. Minow and his collaborators suggest a number of reforms to preserve constitutional balance in an era of technological change. 232 pages, November 1973, \$12.00. Publisher: Basic Books.

#### **The Big Foundations**

By Waldemar A. Nielsen, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. The author presents the first detailed examination of the nation's thirty-three largest foundations (each with assets of over \$100 million). Although he defends the idea of foundations, he criticizes the disturbing failures of these institutions and suggests ways in which they can realize their unique potential. 484 pages, October 1972, \$25.00 (paper, \$12.00). Publisher: Columbia University Press.

#### **Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations**

By Gunnar Myrdal (abridged). Seth S. King's condensed version of Myrdal's three-volume Fund Study contains the essence of the original analysis of the institutional attitudes and conditions—economic, social, and political—affecting development in South Asia. 446 pages, January 1972, \$10.00 (paper, \$3.95). Publisher: Pantheon. Available in French, German, Italian, Japanese, Persian, and Spanish translations.

#### **The Alliance That Lost Its Way: A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress**

By Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onis, a Twentieth Century Fund Study. This work is widely recognized as the most useful and wide-ranging critique of the programs begun under the Kennedy administration to strengthen the economies and governments of Latin America. 338 pages, November 1970, \$7.95 (paper, \$2.95). Publisher: Quadrangle Books. Available in Spanish translation.

#### **Fund Task Force Reports in Print**

##### **Making the Grade**

The report, which examines America's troubled public school system, presents the recommendations of an independent Task Force consisting of eleven noted educators. The Task Force, which was chaired by Robert Wood of Wesleyan University, former secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, concluded that the only hope for America's schools is a "national commitment to excellence." The report demands that the federal government take the lead to assure that all public school students acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for participation in our democratic society. The Task Force presents a number of specific recommendations aimed at improving the quality of teachers, ensuring adequate training in mathematics and science, and promoting the teaching of English to non-English-speaking students. The background paper by Paul E. Peterson of the University of Chicago presents a detailed examination of the state of the public school system. 174 pages, May 1983, \$6.00. Publisher: Twentieth Century Fund.

##### **Deficits and Detente**

The report of an international conference on the balance of trade in the Comecon countries declares that the indebtedness of Poland and the other Comecon nations poses a threat to the stability of the international financial network. In their report on the balance of payments of the Soviet Union and its East European allies, the

participants at the conference—bankers, economists, journalists, and political scientists—noted that the deficits of the Comecon countries had to be regarded as part of the huge overhang of debt that has to be addressed by both creditor banks and debtor governments. The background paper by Richard Portes explores the depth of the indebtedness problem. The conference was sponsored by the Center for Research on International Institutions, Geneva, the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, and the Twentieth Century Fund. 92 pages, March 1983, \$6.00. Publisher: Twentieth Century Fund.

#### **New York—World City**

The report, which examines the long-term economic and fiscal difficulties facing New York City, presents the recommendations of an independent Task Force, consisting of sixteen businessmen, politicians, and educators and chaired by retired Judge Charles Breitel, brought together by the Fund. The Task Force identifies foreign investment as the brightest spot in the city's economy and recommends policies that will enhance New York City's position as a global marketplace. The report also strongly recommends the preservation and reconstruction of existing residential neighborhoods and infrastructure. The background paper, which makes economic and demographic projections to 1990, was written by Masha Sinnreich, formerly of the Fund staff, and the appendix, which estimates the city's capital investment needs to 1986, was written by former New York City Budget Director David A. Grossman. 230 pages, December 1979, \$8.95 (cloth, \$17.50). Publisher: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, Inc.

#### **With the Nation Watching**

This report suggests that televised presidential debates by the leading contenders for the nation's highest office be a "regular and customary feature" of presidential campaigns. To ensure that such debates become a reality in the 1980 campaign and beyond, the Task Force, composed of distinguished Americans—all experienced in broadcasting, journalism, politics, and public affairs—urges immediate action on the organization, financing, and format of the debates. In each of these areas, the Task Force arrived at specific policy recommendations based on its deliberations, the information provided by the detailed background paper written by Lee M. Mitchell, and interviews with a variety of guest witnesses. The Task Force, chaired by Douglass Cater, a senior fellow of the Aspen Institute and president of Observer International, also offers a blueprint for exploiting the potential of television in future campaigns. 120 pages, June 1979, \$5.95 (cloth, \$12.95). Publisher: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath & Company.

#### **A Free and Balanced Flow**

In early 1978, a group of distinguished journalists and communications experts was brought together by the Twentieth Century Fund to examine the dispute over the imbalance in the flow of information between developed and developing nations. Headed by Françoise Giroud, former French minister of culture, the Task Force held a series of meetings, here and abroad, listened to the views of guest witnesses, and then assessed the charges and countercharges over imbalances in the flow of information and threats to freedom of the press. The report of the Task Force presents the conclusions and recommendations of this distinguished group, including the call for an independent body to monitor efforts designed to deal with the dispute. 77 pages, December 1978, \$5.75 (cloth, \$12.50). Publisher: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath & Company.

#### **Winner Take All**

Since the beginning of the Republic, the electoral college has been the subject of controversy. An ingenious compromise, it was devised to be acceptable to both advocates of direct popular election and those of congressional election of the president. The Task Force, a bipartisan group including both supporters and critics, has evaluated the present electoral system and various proposed alternatives and has

arrived at a totally new approach to the presidential election process—the national bonus plan. 82 pages, August 1978, \$9.00 (cloth, \$16.50). Publisher: Holmes & Meier Publishers.

#### **Confronting Youth Crime**

This report confronts the dilemma of protecting and nurturing the young while effectively deterring youth crime and addresses the difficult problems of the transition from juvenile to criminal court. In its recommendations, the Task Force sets forth the basic outlines of a coherent and just sentencing policy. 120 pages, April 1978, \$7.50 (cloth, \$16.50). Publisher: Holmes & Meier Publishers.

#### **The Raised Curtain**

The report makes recommendations for U.S. policy regarding present and future exchange agreements and their implementation and explores ways of improving the access to research material by U.S. scholars participating in Soviet-American exchange programs. 101 pages, August 1977, \$3.00. Publisher: Twentieth Century Fund.

#### **Those Who Served**

This Task Force report recommends maintenance of existing special programs for veterans until general social welfare measures, such as Social Security, a national medical program, and other services, provide equal or better benefits. It calls on the federal government to provide employment for all Vietnam-era veterans who are willing to work but cannot find jobs. 134 pages, December 1974, \$3.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

#### **Easy Money**

This Task Force report examines the increasing resort to legalized gambling by state and local governments as a means of increasing revenue and combating organized crime. Concluding that the major benefits claimed for legalized gambling are illusory, the report states that legal gambling cannot be counted on either to raise public revenues or to reduce organized crime. 88 pages, November 1974, \$5.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

#### **The Rating Game**

This Task Force report recommends the establishment of an independent nonprofit information center to compile and publish reports on the fiscal conditions of state and local government borrowers. The accompanying background paper provides a comprehensive survey of the tax-exempt market. 161 pages, April 1974, \$7.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

#### **A Free and Responsive Press**

This Task Force report urges the establishment of an independent National News Council to hear complaints from the press and the public on questions of accuracy, fairness, access, and government interference, as well as to study and report on issues involving freedom of the press. The background paper traces the development of the British press council and of state and local press councils in the United States. 88 pages, February 1973, \$8.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

#### **Press Freedoms Under Pressure**

This Task Force report studies government pressure against the press through subpoenas, censorship, and legislation. The background paper provides a survey of various forms of such pressure. The appendixes present a list of state shield laws currently in effect, the Department of Justice guidelines for subpoenas to the news media, and Supreme Court opinions in the Pentagon papers case. 192 pages, May 1972, \$8.00. Publisher: Kraus Reprint Company.

## Other Books in Print

### **The Public Library in the 1980s: The Problems of Choice**

By Lawrence J. White. Many public libraries are closing; others are finding funding in short supply and in danger of disappearing altogether. Even though only a relatively small portion of the public makes use of libraries, most Americans think of the public library as a significant cultural institution. White, a professor of economics at New York University, addresses the dilemma, offering recommendations to strengthen the finances of libraries, to ensure that relevant information and statistics are gathered frequently, to encourage libraries to place greater emphasis on services for children and students, and to consider a fee-for-services structure. The author's proposed solutions to the serious and long-term problems facing libraries include a discussion of the possible uses of new technology. 208 pages, February 1983, \$22.95. Publisher: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath.

### **Reforming the Reforms: A Critical Analysis of the Presidential Selection Process**

By James W. Ceaser. Almost two decades have passed since the Democratic convention was rocked by demands for new presidential nominating procedures. Reforms have been carried out that attempt to weaken the power of traditional party leaders, foster rank-and-file participation in the candidate selection process, and reduce the influence of special interest groups. Today, the number of states holding primaries has doubled, delegates are more closely bound to a national candidate, and public financing exposes backroom deals and encourages participation by candidates who are not wealthy. Have these changes been successful? Ceaser thoroughly covers the role of the parties and their primaries and conventions, both historically and under the new revisions. 201 pages, February 1982, \$16.00. Publisher: Ballinger Publishing Company.

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

By Lauchlin Currie. If they are to accelerate the pace of growth in the developing countries, foreign economic advisers must reach and influence the political leaders and policymakers who can act on their advice. Currie, who led the first World Bank mission to Colombia in 1949 and who has subsequently served as a resident economic adviser to that country, examines the performance of many of the foreign missions to Colombia over the past thirty years and shows why so much of their advice was inappropriate. He makes recommendations for improving the content and influence of advice, explaining that, although domestic advisers have begun to play a greater role in developing nations, foreign economists remain responsible for much of the economic policymaking in those countries. 270 pages, December 1981, \$27.50. Publisher: Greenwood Press.

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

By Walter Galenson. This work presents an insider's view of the International Labor Organization, from which the United States had withdrawn in protest in 1977 and later rejoined in 1980. The source of conflict, the author argues, arises not from the day-to-day operations of the ILO but from its basic tripartite structure. The book examines why the United States had perceived conditions as having changed sufficiently to warrant its rejoining and presents recommendations for the appropriate U.S. role in ILO affairs in order to make relationships more productive during this second phase of U.S. participation. 351 pages, May 1981, \$21.50 (paper, \$7.75). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

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

By Frank J. Popper. This book examines the land-use reform movement that arose in the late 1960s—one of the major currents in recent American political history.

In a highly readable combination of sophisticated policy analysis and on-the-ground realism, the author evaluates the movement, tracing its origins, course, and results, and points out the lessons to be learned from it. Using a case study approach, the author focuses on the land-use programs of six states with strong innovative reforms. 321 pages, March 1981, \$20.00 (paper, \$7.50). Publisher: University of Wisconsin Press.

**Up Against Apartheid: The Role and the Plight of the Press in South Africa**

By Richard Pollak. This is a firsthand report on the English-language press's battle against the Nationalist's policy of apartheid. The techniques employed by the South African government to exert control and the efforts of the press to resist are documented in the examination of the one institution that remains relatively free to criticize the Afrikaner government. Portions of the Erasmus Commission reports that document the scandalous propaganda efforts of the South African government—never before published in the United States—are included. 157 pages, March 1981, \$12.95. Publisher: Southern Illinois University Press.

**Domestic Intelligence: Monitoring Dissent in America**

By Richard E. Morgan. This book examines the tension between the need to protect privacy and political dissent and the need for the government to protect the community. The past decade has revealed a number of infamous and sometimes illegal practices used by federal law enforcement agencies to monitor political dissent in the United States. In the aftermath of Watergate, the revelation of serious abuses created distrust of virtually all domestic intelligence activity and led to vigorous efforts at reform. The ABSCAM and BRILAB operations placed the FBI once again in the public eye. The author concludes that intelligence operations aimed at anticipating criminal activity are necessary in a complex, highly vulnerable society, but emphasizes that they can be conducted responsibly with appropriate guidelines and oversight mechanisms. 194 pages, October 1980, \$13.95 (paper, \$6.95). Publisher: University of Texas Press.

**Housing the Poor: The Case for Heroism**

By Alexander Polikoff. This book describes how law and public policy helped fashion the racially and economically segregated residential pattern that today characterizes most of our major metropolitan areas as well as explains why neither the courts nor local governments can be relied upon to confront this "apartheid" condition effectively. It then develops the argument for "heroism"—a federal housing dispersal policy to provide realistic housing opportunities for the poor in middle-class neighborhoods. 216 pages, March 1978, \$15.00. Publisher: Ballinger Publishing Company.

**The "Dollar Drain" and American Forces in Germany: Managing the Political Economics of Alliance**

By Gregory F. Treverton. This is a case study of a long-standing problem clouding relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany—the issue of "offset," or the financial concessions made by West Germany in connection with the stationing of U.S. troops on West German soil. On the basis of extensive interviews with participants, the author analyzes the varying interests and points of view that governed the actions of politicians and bureaucrats in both countries. 226 pages, February 1978, \$12.00. Publisher: Ohio University Press.

**Top Secret: National Security and the Right to Know**

By Morton H. Halperin and Daniel N. Hoffman. The authors of this work present a critique of recent abuses in the intelligence field. They have also constructed a blueprint for reform of America's use of executive secrecy. They argue that secrecy has been neither a rare nor a benign phenomenon, that the executive branch has

made secrecy an essential part of its modus operandi, and that fundamental and structural changes are needed to foster greater respect for First Amendment values. 158 pages, September 1977, \$8.95 (paper, \$3.95). Publisher: New Republic Books.

**Jury Selection Procedures: Our Uncertain  
Commitment to Representative Juries**

By Jon M. Van Dyke. The author reviews the historical development of the jury system and analyzes the workings of the system today. He bases his analysis on data collected from the federal courts and a large number of state jurisdictions. Claiming that current jury selection procedures fail to produce representative panels, Van Dyke concludes his work with recommendations for reform to eliminate practices that he considers discriminatory. 426 pages, February 1977, \$15.00. Publisher: Ballinger Publishing Company.

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

By David W. Adamany and George E. Agree. Arguing that the existing methods of financing political campaigns are inconsistent with democratic ideals, the authors advocate the use of a campaign finance voucher system involving citizen participation as a basis for flat and proportional grants to candidates for a range of public offices. 242 pages, March 1975, \$17.50 (paper, \$5.95). Publisher: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Energy: The New Era**

By S. David Freeman. A comprehensive guide through the maze of information and misinformation surrounding the energy crisis, this book offers a clear explanation of how the crisis developed and what should be done about it. 386 pages, May 1974, \$14.50. Publisher: Walker and Company. (Paper, \$2.45. Publisher: Vintage Books/Random House.)

**Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries**

By Naomi Caiden and Aaron Wildavsky. This book is a critical examination of the planning and budgeting processes of governments of poor countries throughout the world, recommending reforms to make the most of limited resources. 371 pages, February 1974, \$35.95. Publisher: Wiley-Interscience.

## GRANTS

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The Fund, a private operating foundation under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, devotes its income to its own program of public policy research. The Board of Trustees has exercised the Fund's limited discretion to make grants solely to demonstrate the Fund's responsibilities to the community or in connection with its own research activity.

### **New York City**

In 1983, 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. As the sixteenth annual voluntary payment to the city, the gift brings the total contribution to the city to \$276,500. The first payment, made in 1967, was for \$10,000, and increases have been made from time to time to take account of inflation.

### **Biography of Adolf A. Berle**

Adolf A. Berle was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund from 1934 to 1971 and its chairman for the last twenty of those years. As a tribute to his memory, the Fund has made a grant of \$80,000 to Northern Illinois University, which will oversee the writing of Berle's biography by Jordan Schwarz, who is the biographer of another important liberal figure of the period, Bernard Baruch.

M. J. Rossant, Director  
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Janine Ulla  
Kathy Wilkerson  
Kathryn Yatrakis\*

Consultant  
Theodore Draper

## HEADQUARTERS

## STAFF

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\* Resigned

## TASK FORCE MEMBERS

### Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy (1981)

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Democratic Institutions and the  
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University of Massachusetts

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Graduate School of Public Affairs,  
University of Washington

**Chester E. Finn, Jr.**

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Center on Education Policy,  
Institute for Public Policy Studies,  
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Department of Political Science,  
Columbia University

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Hunter College

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and Director of Education,  
State Department of Education,  
Sacramento

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former Superintendent of Schools,  
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Montefiore Medical Center,  
New York

*Rapporteur:*

**Paul E. Peterson**

Professor of Political Science  
and Education,  
Department of Political Science,  
University of Chicago

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former Secretary of State;  
former Senator from Maine

**Herbert Alexander**

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Citizen's Research Foundation,  
University of Southern California

**Yvonne Brathwaite Burke**

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Los Angeles;  
former Representative from California

**John C. Culver**

Partner, Arent, Fox, Kintner,  
Plotkin & Kahn, Washington, D.C.;  
former Senator from Iowa

**John W. Gray, Jr.**

Assistant Vice-President and Attorney,  
American Telephone  
and Telegraph Co.,  
Washington, D.C.

**Terry Herndon**

President, Citizens Against  
Nuclear War, Washington, D.C.;  
former Executive Director,  
National Education Association,  
Washington, D.C.



**William J. Holayter**

Director, Legislative and Political Action Department, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Washington, D.C.

**Arthur B. Krim**

Chairman, Orion Pictures Corporation, New York; former Finance Chairman, Democratic National Committee

**John A. Love**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Ideal Basic Industries, Denver; former Governor of Colorado

**Robert Price**

President, Price Communications, New York; former Deputy Mayor of New York

**James Rowe**

Partner, Corcoran, Youngman and Rowe, Washington, D.C.

**Richard Thaxton**

Vice-President in Charge of Political Affairs, National Association of Realtors, Washington, D.C.

**Charls E. Walker**

Chairman, Charls E. Walker Associates, Washington, D.C.; former Deputy Secretary of the Treasury

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Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota

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**Michael G. Gartner**

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**Frederic Golden**

Science Editor, *Time*

**James C. Kirk**

Vice-President for Research and Development, Conoco, Ponca City, Oklahoma

**Patrick P. McCurdy**

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**Elena O. Nightingale, M.D.**

Special Adviser to the President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York

**George Strait, Jr.**

Correspondent, ABC News, Washington, D.C.

**Lewis Thomas, M.D.**

Chancellor, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, New York

*Rapporteur:***Dorothy Nelkin**

Professor, Cornell University; Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

**Task Force on Conflicts in the  
Commercialization of Scientific  
Research (1983)**

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Executive Vice-President,  
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Kalamazoo, Michigan

**Carl Djerassi**  
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Stanford University

**Donald Duvick**  
Director of Plant Breeding,  
Pioneer Hi-Bred International,  
Johnston, Iowa

**William T. Golden**  
Private Investor,  
New York

**Homer Hagstrum**  
Member, Technical Staff,  
Bell Laboratories,  
Murray Hill, New Jersey

**Donald F. Hornig**  
Alfred North Whitehead Professor  
of Chemistry and Director,  
Interdisciplinary Program in Health,  
School of Public Health,  
Harvard University

**Roberta Karmel**  
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**Robert J. Levine, M.D.**  
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and Lecturer in Pharmacology,  
School of Medicine, Yale University

**Robert M. O'Neil**  
President,  
University of Wisconsin System,  
Madison

**Alan Patricof**  
Chairman, Alan Patricof Associates,  
New York

**Almarin Phillips**  
Professor, Department of Economics,  
University of Pennsylvania

**Stewart L. Udall**  
Attorney, Phoenix, Arizona;  
former Secretary of the Interior;  
former Representative from Arizona

*Rapporteur:*  
**Nicholas Wade**  
Editorial Writer, *New York Times*

## AUDITORS' REPORT

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To the Board of Trustees of  
Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.:

We have examined the balance sheets of Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. (a Massachusetts not-for-profit corporation) as of June 30, 1983 and 1982, and the related statements of revenue, expenses and changes in fund balance for the years then ended. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. as of June 30, 1983 and 1982, and the results of its operations and changes in its fund balance for the years then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

Our examinations were made for the purpose of forming an opinion on the basic financial statements taken as a whole. The data contained on pages 42 to 51 inclusive is presented for purposes of additional analysis and is not a required part of the basic financial statements. Such information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in the examinations of the basic financial statements and, in our opinion, is fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

Arthur Andersen & Co.

August 10, 1983

## FINANCES

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.

### Balance Sheets

June 30, 1983 and 1982

	1983	1982
<b>Assets</b>		
Cash	\$ 34,933	\$ 8,124
Accrued interest and dividends receivable	275,386	349,747
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	8,735	9,239
Investments, at cost (quoted market \$39,636,882 in 1983 and \$28,589,352 in 1982)	25,459,873	23,418,830
Fixed assets, at cost, net of accumulated depreciation of \$341,924 in 1983 and \$311,909 in 1982 (Note 2)	353,852	360,482
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>\$26,132,779</b>	<b>\$24,146,422</b>
<b>Liabilities and Fund Balance</b>		
<i>Liabilities:</i>		
Accounts payable, accrued liabilities, and other	\$ 74,450	\$ 86,340
Federal excise tax payable	60,788	71,511
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>\$ 135,238</b>	<b>\$ 157,851</b>
<i>Fund Balance:</i>		
Appropriated for research projects	\$ 1,519,699	\$ 1,458,331
Net investment in fixed assets	353,852	360,482
Available for investment and future projects	24,123,990	22,169,758
<b>Total Fund Balance</b>	<b>\$25,997,541</b>	<b>\$23,988,571</b>
<b>Total Liabilities and Fund Balance</b>	<b>\$26,132,779</b>	<b>\$24,146,422</b>

The accompanying notes to financial statements are an integral part of these balance sheets.

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.

**Statements of Revenue, Expenses, and Changes in Fund Balance**

For the years ended June 30, 1983 and 1982

	1983	1982
<b>Revenue</b>		
Interest	\$ 1,366,092	\$ 1,428,262
Dividends	850,435	962,895
Royalties on sale of publications	32,417	33,652
Other	11,056	6,180
<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>\$ 2,260,000</b>	<b>\$ 2,430,989</b>
<b>Expenses</b>		
<i>Operations:</i>		
Research projects	\$ 1,089,374	\$ 1,227,172
Publications	202,385	187,799
Management and general	537,833	505,774
<b>Total Operations</b>	<b>\$ 1,829,592</b>	<b>\$ 1,920,745</b>
<i>Government payments:</i>		
Federal excise tax	\$ 57,280	\$ 80,765
Payment to New York City in recognition of municipal services	25,000	25,000
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>\$ 1,911,872</b>	<b>\$ 2,026,510</b>
<b>Changes in Fund Balance</b>		
Net revenue from operations	\$ 348,128	\$ 404,479
Realized net gain on investment transactions	1,660,842	1,387,100
<b>Increase in Fund Balance</b>	<b>2,008,970</b>	1,791,579
Fund Balance, beginning of year	23,988,571	22,196,992
<b>Fund Balance, end of year</b>	<b>\$25,997,541</b>	<b>\$23,988,571</b>

The accompanying notes to financial statements are an integral part of these statements.

**(1) Accounting policies**

*Research projects—*

The cost of research projects is recognized as incurred. Unexpended appropriations for projects in process at year-end are reported as reservations of the Fund balance.

*Investments—*

Investments are carried at the lower of aggregate cost or market. Gains and losses on sales of investments are determined on a first-in, first-out basis. Interest income is accrued as earned. Dividend income is recorded as of declaration date. Realized net gain or loss from the sale of options on the common stock portfolio is recognized as of the expiration date or repurchase date if earlier.

*Tax status—*

Twentieth Century Fund is a research foundation engaged in the study of cultural, economic, and social issues and institutions. The United States Treasury Department has advised that the Fund is considered a private foundation, as defined in sections 501(c)(3) and 509(a) of the Internal Revenue Code, and as a private operating foundation as defined in Internal Revenue Code section 4942(j)(3). This classification results in an exemption from federal income taxes pursuant to Internal Revenue Code section 501(a).

**(2) Fixed asset accounting**

Major fixed asset additions are capitalized and depreciated over their estimated useful lives. Fixed assets and the related accumulated depreciation at June 30, 1983, are summarized as follows:

	Cost	Accumulated Straight-Line Depreciation	Estimated Useful Lives
Land	\$125,000	\$ —	—
Building	175,000	115,937	40 years
Building Improvements	278,686	155,054	40 years
Equipment	117,090	70,933	7 years
Total Cost and Depreciation	\$695,776	\$341,924	

**(3) Employee benefits**

Retirement benefits for substantially all employees are provided through defined contributions by the Fund for the purchase of individual annuity contracts with Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund. The cost of the plan, which is funded currently, approximated \$53,000 and \$49,000 for the years ended June 30, 1983 and 1982, respectively. There is no unfunded prior service cost as of June 30, 1983.

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.  
**Statement of Operating Expenses by Function**  
For the year ended June 30, 1983, with  
Comparative Totals for 1982

Schedule 1

Expenses				1983	1982
	Research Projects	Publications	Management and General	Total	Total
<i>Direct Expenses:</i>					
Salaries, consultant fees, and travel	\$ 544,878	\$ —	\$ —	\$ 544,878	\$ 550,967
Special grant	—	—	—	—	80,000
Publications-printing	—	13,462	—	13,462	10,147
Public information-annual report, newsletter, and press conferences	—	—	55,651	55,651	59,630
<i>Headquarters' Expenses:</i>					
Salaries and related costs	364,534	141,897	261,137	767,568	761,897
Office equipment and supplies	26,679	7,068	12,647	46,394	78,759
Maintenance and repair of building	35,323	14,280	25,553	75,156	60,250
Option management fees	—	—	94,404	94,404	88,896
Professional fees	—	—	37,754	37,754	48,265
Meetings and conferences	53,288	10,740	23,955	87,983	92,593
Telephone and postage	17,287	6,988	12,506	36,781	29,617
Depreciation	14,107	5,703	10,205	30,015	27,414
Other	33,278	2,247	4,021	39,546	32,310
<b>Total Operating Expenses</b>	<b>\$1,089,374</b>	<b>\$ 202,385</b>	<b>\$ 537,833</b>	<b>\$1,829,592</b>	<b>\$1,920,745</b>

The accompanying notes to financial statements are an integral part of this schedule.

**Statement of Project Appropriations**

For the year ended June 30, 1983

Schedule 2

Title of Project and Project Director	Total Project Appropriation	Unexpended Balance June 30, 1982	Activity for the Year		Unexpended Balance June 30, 1983
			Net Appropriations	Expenses	
American Trade Policymaking System, I.M. Destler	\$ 91,650	\$ —	\$ 91,650	\$ —	\$ 91,650
Availability of Nonfuel Minerals, R.F. Mikesell	62,500	—	62,500	11,483	51,017
Capital Requirements and the Future of the City, G.S. Tolley	101,967	28,561	—	—	28,561
Communication of Scientific Risk, Task Force	29,500	—	29,500	19,077	10,423
Conflicts in Commercialization of Scientific Research, Task Force	34,000	31,750	—	14,968	16,782
Conflicts of Interest in the Arts, Task Force	25,000	24,500	—	—	24,500
Consensus and Divergence in American Values and Attitudes, H. McClosky	104,610	11,770	—	2,000	9,770
Contemporary Emigration Policies, A. Dowty	82,700	—	82,700	—	82,700
Development Planning, R. Weitz	91,500	7,500	—	—	7,500
Direct Democracy in America, T.E. Cronin	86,750	46,175	—	—	46,175
Domestic Youth Unemployment, M.L. Wachter	93,415	26,087	—	6,045	20,042
Economic Summitry Conference	10,000	—	10,000	1,000	9,000
Federal Education Policy, Task Force	73,000	26,499	3,898	30,397	—
Federal Power and Electoral Rights, A.M. Thernstrom	75,800	37,238	—	1,445	35,793
Federal Support for the Humanities, S. Miller	88,800	22,113	(7,678)	14,435	—
Financial Instability and Economic Policy, H.P. Minsky	41,400	5,340	—	—	5,340
Financial Resources of Foundations, H.D. Shapiro	78,500	49,164	—	—	49,164
Fiscal Problems of Urban America's Fire and Police Pension Systems, R.M. Fogelson	89,600	17,602	—	10,498	7,104
Future of Social Security, W.A. Achenbaum	73,250	73,250	—	21,989	51,261
Gambling in Atlantic City, G. Sternlieb	63,050	7,992	—	7,992	—
International Communications Development in the 1980s, R.L. Stevenson	79,500	62,967	—	33,290	29,677
International Institute of Communications, Steering Committee	25,000	5,840	(5,840)	—	—
International News Service, J. Fenby	73,850	19,559	—	10,734	8,825
Institutions and Technological Change, J. Yellin	89,912	25,591	(25,591)	—	—
Law Enforcement Policy Toward Organized Crime, J. B. Rubinstein	98,200	—	98,200	21,875	76,325



Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.  
**Statement of Project Appropriations, continued**  
For the year ended June 30, 1983

Schedule 2

Title of Project and Project Director	Total Project Appropriation	Unexpended Balance June 30, 1982	Activity for the Year		Unexpended Balance June 30, 1983
			Net Appropriations	Expenses	
<b>Metropolitan News Media and Urban Policy,</b> P.C. Kaniss	\$ 75,250	\$ —	\$ 75,250	\$ —	\$ 75,250
<b>Metropolitan Segregation,</b> G. Orfield	74,300	39,940	—	1,806	38,134
<b>Middle East Policies: Options for the West,</b> R.E. Hunter	83,750	47,816	—	546	47,270
<b>Military Manpower Policy,</b> D.R. Segal	88,200	84,999	—	49,090	35,909
<b>Mortgage Policy and Housing Markets,</b> K.T. Rosen	69,000	24,034	—	—	24,034
<b>National Retirement Policies,</b> M.J. Boskin	85,000	30,877	—	—	30,877
<b>National Service in America,</b> C.C. Moskos	83,400	—	83,400	—	83,400
<b>New Business Development,</b> R.J. Vaughan	72,500	72,500	—	30,935	41,565
<b>New U.S. Policy for the Atlantic Alliance,</b> D.P. Calleo	93,350	91,350	—	45,503	45,847
<b>Not-for-Profit Sector in a Mixed Economy,</b> B.A. Weisbrod	115,500	97,457	—	37,323	60,134
<b>Police Undercover Work,</b> G.T. Marx	94,500	81,005	—	37,150	43,855
<b>Political Action Committees,</b> Task Force	44,000	32,374	—	30,318	2,056
<b>Political Intelligence Policy,</b> W. Laqueur	128,000	58,713	—	27,276	31,437
<b>Politicization in the U.N. System,</b> D.G. Partan	56,400	22,572	—	—	22,572
<b>Politics of Urban Infrastructure,</b> H.T. Sanders	70,500	41,251	—	10,844	30,407
<b>Presidential Debates Commission</b>	20,000	—	20,000	2,500	17,500
<b>Public Policy Toward Disability,</b> E.D. Berkowitz	81,500	—	81,500	2,401	79,099
<b>Reexamination of the Fairness Doctrine,</b> J.N. Onek	10,000	—	10,000	2,000	8,000
<b>Soviet Union Balance of Payments,</b> Seminar	18,000	18,000	2,705	20,705	—
<b>U.S. and Latin America in the 1980s,</b> A.F. Lowenthal	78,900	46,478	—	7,742	38,736
<b>U.S. International Monetary Policy,</b> R.S. Aliber	121,000	76,019	—	4,511	71,508
<b>U.S. Policy Toward UNESCO,</b> L.S. Finkelstein	89,500	27,541	(27,541)	—	—
<b>U.S.-Puerto Rican Relations,</b> R. Carr	72,500	39,045	(17,045)	22,000	—
<b>Urban Preservation Policies,</b> Task Force	30,500	—	30,500	—	30,500
<b>Visual Arts and the Public Interest,</b> E.C. Banfield	65,000	(3,138)	8,138	5,000	—
<b>Total Research Projects</b>	<b>\$3,584,004</b>	<b>\$1,458,331</b>	<b>\$606,246</b>	<b>\$544,878</b>	<b>\$1,519,699</b>

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.

**Statement of Investments**

June 30, 1983

Schedule 3

Description	Cost	Quoted Market
<b>Summary</b>		
Money Market Funds	\$ 2,034,439	\$ 2,034,439
Notes	2,047,000	2,097,097
Bonds	6,051,309	6,462,935
Common Stocks	15,327,125	29,042,411
Total Investments	\$25,459,873	\$39,636,882

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.  
**Statement of Investments, continued**  
 June 30, 1983

Schedule 3

Description	Principal Amount	Cost	Quoted Market
<b>Money Market Funds</b>			
Dreyfus Liquid Assets, Inc. 8.30% (a)	\$1,063,348	\$1,063,348	\$1,063,348
Kemper Money Market Fund, Inc. 8.66% (a)	971,091	971,091	971,091
Total Money Market Funds	\$2,034,439	\$2,034,439	\$2,034,439
<b>Notes</b>			
BankAmerica Corp. 16.375% (b) 1989	\$ 200,000	\$ 200,000	\$ 202,000
Citicorp 16% 1987	100,000	99,500	106,125
Citicorp 9.25% (b) 1989	500,000	496,875	500,000
Commercial Credit Co. 14.2% 1984	200,000	200,000	208,000
Commercial Credit Co. 15% 1985	200,000	200,000	210,750
Commercial Credit Co. 15% 1987	200,000	200,000	219,600
General Motors Acceptance Corp. 10% 1985	200,000	200,000	196,500
Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) 8.95% (b) 1989	250,000	250,625	251,562
U.S. Treasury 15.5% 1983	200,000	200,000	202,560
Total Notes	\$2,050,000	\$2,047,000	\$2,097,097

(a) Money market yield changes daily. Yield as quoted on June 30, 1983.

(b) Floating interest rate is based on U.S. Treasury Bill rate.

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.  
**Statement of Investments, continued**  
 June 30, 1983

Schedule 3

Description	Principal Amount	Cost	Quoted Market
<b>Bonds</b>			
American Express Credit Corp. 11.625% 1992	\$ 200,000	\$ 198,878	\$ 199,000
Austria Republic 7.8% 1984	100,000	92,525	97,250
Bell Canada 14.5% 1991	200,000	199,000	221,000
CBS, Inc. 14.5% 1992	100,000	99,375	111,000
Central Hudson Gas & Electric 17.125% 1991	100,000	98,750	111,500
Cincinnati Bell Inc. 15% 1991	200,000	198,500	218,750
Florida Power & Light Co. 15.25% 2010	100,000	99,500	111,500
General Electric Credit Corp. 11.5% 1990	250,000	250,000	251,250
General Motors Acceptance Corp. 14.625% 1989	300,000	298,950	325,500
Imperial Oil Ltd. 15.5% 2011	200,000	200,000	236,000
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 11% 1989	250,000	246,250	245,625
New York Telephone Co. 9% 2014	200,000	170,674	150,680
Niagara Mohawk Power Co. 15.75% 1992	100,000	99,250	113,000
Public Service Co. of Indiana, Inc. 14.75% 2011	200,000	197,500	214,000
Seafirst Corp. 9.25% 2001	100,000	83,661	75,375
South Carolina Electric & Gas Co. 16% 2011	100,000	100,000	115,000
Southern California Edison Co. 15.125% 2005	100,000	99,454	111,500
Superior Oil Co. 14.375% 1991	250,000	250,000	273,750
Tenneco Inc. 14.5% 1991	200,000	198,000	221,000
U.S. Treasury 9.75% 1985	400,000	396,062	393,040
U.S. Treasury 10% 1986	600,000	594,750	588,960
U.S. Treasury 10.5% 1992	500,000	497,409	486,500
U.S. Treasury 10.75% 1990	400,000	313,875	396,800
U.S. Treasury 13.5% 1986	250,000	236,953	265,500
U.S. Treasury 13.75% 1987	250,000	247,343	272,875
U.S. Treasury 13.875% 1986	200,000	189,000	216,580
Upjohn Co. 14% 1991	200,000	198,250	219,000
Wells Fargo & Co. 14.5% 1991	200,000	197,400	221,000
Total Bonds	\$6,250,000	\$6,051,309	\$6,462,935

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc.  
**Statement of Investments, continued**  
June 30, 1983

Schedule 3

Description	Number of Shares	Cost	Quoted Market
<b>Common Stocks</b>			
Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.	12,000	\$ 469,977	\$ 573,000
American Cyanamid Co.	9,000	249,149	426,375
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	15,237	583,017	967,549
AMP Inc.	6,000	363,059	630,000
Baxter Travenol Laboratories, Inc.	24,000	383,564	1,440,000
Burlington Northern Inc.	13,300	301,362	1,143,800
Burlington Northern Inc. (Pfd.)	3,500	18,398	72,625
Cincinnati Milacron	10,400	339,584	351,000
Computervision Corp.	8,000	229,381	384,000
Deere & Co.	20,000	396,483	685,000
Dresser Industries, Inc.	32,000	413,864	692,000
Eastman Kodak Co.	7,500	575,799	544,687
Emerson Electric Co.	8,000	456,960	494,000
Federated Department Stores, Inc.	40,000	1,540,499	2,630,000
GTE Corp.	10,000	436,058	407,500
General Electric Co.	24,000	1,036,473	1,320,000
General Motors Corp.	10,000	599,258	727,500
General Signal Corp.	11,000	417,375	511,500
Georgia-Pacific Corp.	15,000	418,080	393,750
Hanna Mining Co.	9,000	340,222	195,750
Harris Corp.	10,000	324,887	462,500
Hercules Inc.	10,000	217,786	397,500
Hewlett-Packard Co.	14,000	279,080	1,274,000
International Business Machines Corp.	15,000	1,112,405	1,803,750
International Paper Co.	10,000	514,200	522,500
Merck & Co., Inc.	8,000	459,953	743,000
Mobil Corp.	30,000	291,741	945,000
Monsanto Co.	5,000	442,087	463,750
Perkin Elmer Corp.	50,000	418,189	1,725,000
Santa Fe Industries, Inc.	30,000	250,390	851,250
Schlumberger Ltd.	20,250	404,915	1,093,500
Standard Oil Co. (Indiana)	25,000	229,019	1,287,500
Union Pacific Corp.	40,000	398,386	2,315,000
Weyerhaeuser Co.	15,000	415,525	568,125
Total Common Stocks		\$15,327,125	\$29,042,411

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