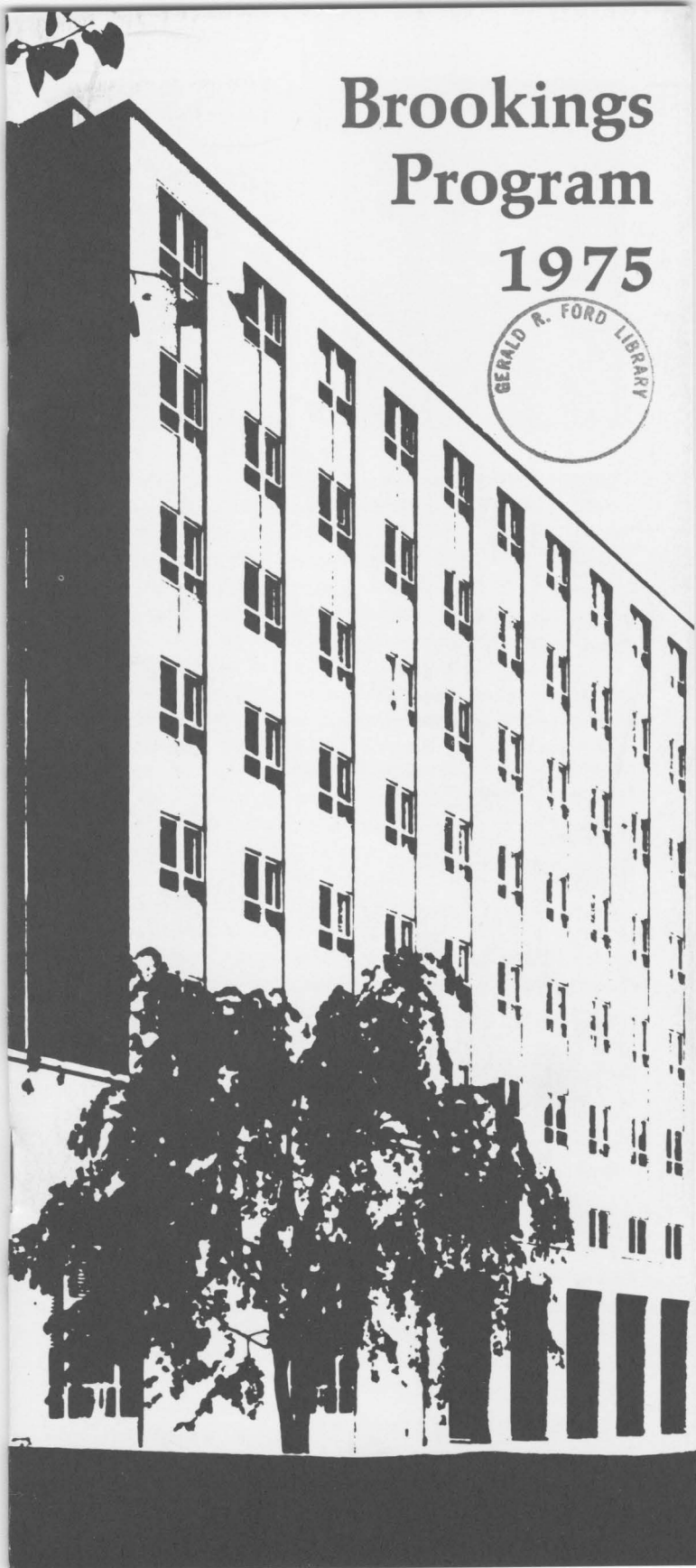
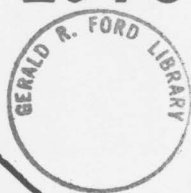


The original documents are located in Box 6, folder “1975/06/23 - Brookings Luncheon Speech” of the Fernando E.C. De Baca Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald R. Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Brookings Program 1975



Brookings Program 1975

Economic Studies 3

Joseph A. Pechman *Director*

Governmental Studies 7

Gilbert Y. Steiner *Director*

Foreign Policy Studies 9

Henry Owen *Director*

Advanced Study Program 13

Walter G. Held *Director*

Social Science Computation Center 16

Michael R. Leavitt *Director*

Publications 17

Roland A. Hoover *Director*

Other Brookings Activities 18

Recent Publications 19

An asterisk signifies a study planned for publication in 1975; other studies not so designated may also appear during the year. Titles of published studies may differ from the names of research projects in which they originate.

The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Kermit Gordon *President*

Stanley A. Nicholson *Director of Administration*

Martha J. Long *Treasurer*

Edna M. Birkel *Secretary*

Felix B. Gorrell *Controller*

Ruth C. McCarthy *Business Manager*

James D. Farrell *Information Editor*

About Brookings



The Brookings Institution is a private nonprofit organization devoted to research, education, and publication in economics, government, foreign policy, and the social sciences generally. Its principal purpose is to bring knowledge to bear on the current and emerging public policy problems facing the American people. In its research, Brookings functions as an independent analyst and critic, committed to publishing its findings for the information of the public. In its conferences and other activities, it serves as a bridge between scholarship and public policy, bringing new knowledge to the attention of decision makers and affording scholars a better insight into policy issues. Its activities are carried out through three research programs (Economic Studies, Governmental Studies, Foreign Policy Studies), an Advanced Study Program, a Social Science Computation Center, and a Publications Program.

The Institution was incorporated in 1927 to merge the Institute for Government Research, founded in 1916 as the first private organization devoted to public policy issues at the national level; the Institute of Economics, established in 1922 to study economic problems; and the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, organized in 1924 as a pioneering experiment in training for public service. The consolidated institution was named in honor of Robert Somers Brookings (1850–1932), a St. Louis businessman whose leadership shaped the earlier organizations.

Brookings is financed largely by endowment and by the support of philanthropic foundations, corporations, and private individuals. Its funds are devoted to carrying out its own research and educational activities; under the terms of its charter it may not make studies for private clients. Upon request it undertakes some unclassified government contract studies, reserving the right to publish its findings.

A Board of Trustees is responsible for general supervision of the Institution, approval of fields of investiga-

tion, and safeguarding the independence of the Institution's work. The President is the chief administrative officer, responsible for formulating and coordinating policies, recommending projects, and selecting the staff.

The officers and staff conduct a continual review of the Institution's fields of interest. Discussions with government officials, members of Congress, businessmen, foundation officers, and other scholars help identify issues for study. Subjects are selected for study on the basis of their significance and timeliness, adequacy of information and techniques of investigation, availability of personnel and funds, and the relation of the projects to the Institution's objectives. Each Brookings study is offered as a competent scholarly treatment of a subject worthy of public consideration; the Institution itself does not take positions on policy issues.

Economic Studies

Joseph A. Pechman *Director*

This program seeks to increase public knowledge and understanding of the major economic problems confronting American society and to explore possible solutions. The current studies listed below emphasize fields in which Brookings has long specialized: international economics, economic growth and stability, industrial organization, public finance, and the economics of human resources.

International Economics

* *The Japanese Economy*, Henry Rosovsky, Hugh Patrick, and others. A comprehensive study conducted by fifteen American scholars with the collaboration of Japanese social scientists. In addition to the comprehensive study, separate monographs are being prepared by Richard E. Caves with the collaboration of Masu Uekusa on industrial organization; by Lawrence B. Krause and Sueo Sekiguchi on trade policy; by Edward F. Denison and William Chung on economic growth; and by Walter Galenson with the collaboration of Konosuke Odaka on labor relations.

China's Economic Growth and Foreign Trade, Alexander Eckstein. An analysis of the rate and pattern of China's growth in agriculture and industry between 1952 and 1972, and of the evolution of its trade policy with the United States.

The Creation and Transmission of Worldwide Inflation, Lawrence B. Krause and Walter S. Salant, editors. Report of an international conference examining the origins of worldwide inflation and theories on how it is transmitted, and reviewing recent experience in several countries.

Economic Growth and Stability

* *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Arthur M. Okun and George L. Perry, editors. A thrice-yearly journal devoted to the live issues of national economic performance.

* *Development of Wage-Price Policy in the United States*, Craufurd D. Goodwin and others.

* *Phase II: The Price Commission Experience*, Robert F. Lanzilotti, Mary T. Hamilton, and R. Blaine Roberts

Phase II: The Pay Board Experience, Daniel J. B. Mitchell and Arnold R. Weber

The Impact of Specialization in Mortgage Lending, William E. Gibson. Economic consequences of governmental subsidies intended to encourage thrift institutions to channel funds into the housing sector.

Regulation of Economic Activity

* *Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament*, James W. McKie and others

- * *Bread upon the Waters: Federal Aids to the Maritime Industries*, Gerald R. Jantscher
- * *Promoting Competition in Regulated Markets*, Almarin Phillips and others

Public Finance

- * *Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy*, Allen V. Kneese and Charles L. Schultze. Economic incentives compared with governmental regulation as means of controlling air and water pollution.
- * *Setting National Priorities: The 1976 Budget*, Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, and Robert W. Hartman. Sixth in the annual series of analyses of major decisions in the President's budget and their short- and long-run implications.
- * *A New View of the Property Tax*, Henry J. Aaron. Policy implications of recent developments in tax incidence theory as applied to the property tax.
- Inflation and the Tax Structure*, Henry J. Aaron and others. A conference to be held in fall 1975 on the structural changes required in the tax system under conditions of inflation.
- Tax Research Based on Household Survey and Tax Return Data*, Joseph A. Pechman and Benjamin A. Okner. Preparation of a new file of microdata to provide the basis for estimating the distribution of tax burdens.
- The Problem of Governmental Poverty*, Robert D. Reischauer. Fiscal capacities and needs of state and local governments.
- The Individual Income Tax*, Richard Goode. Revision and updating of the first edition published in 1964.
- Land Use Planning: Federal Policy Alternatives*, Laurence E. Lynn, Jr.
- Long-run Energy Policy*, Charles L. Schultze and Nina W. Cornell. Federal budgetary choices that will have to be made soon to improve the domestic energy outlook.
- Federal Tax Reform*, George F. Break and Joseph A. Pechman. Effects of alternative federal tax reform proposals on total revenues and on the distribution of tax burdens.
- Farm and Food Policy*, James T. Bonnen. Effects of alternative food and agricultural policies on the federal budget.
- Urban Transportation*, Wilfred Owen. Methods of alleviating the urban transportation problem and their impact on the federal budget.
- Intergenerational Transmission of Wealth*, John A. Brittain. How inheritance of material and human capital affects the distribution of wealth and economic status.
- Effect of Estate and Gift Taxes on the Transmission of Wealth*, Gerald R. Jantscher

Social Economics

- * *The Tradeoff between Equity and Efficiency* (the 1974 Godkin Lectures at Harvard University), Arthur M. Okun. How can public policy promote a more equitable distribution of income without impairing economic efficiency?
- * *The Experiment in Educational Performance Contracting*, Edward M. Gramlich and Patricia Koshel
- * *Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment*, Joseph A. Pechman, P.

Michael Timpane, and others. Report of a conference that reviewed the strengths, weaknesses, and significance of the New Jersey experiment.

- * *The Planned Variation Technique*, Alice M. Rivlin, P. Michael Timpane, and others. Report of a conference assessing two planned variation techniques, the Head Start and Follow Through programs, for education and child development.
- Ethical and Legal Issues in Social Experimentation*, Alice M. Rivlin, P. Michael Timpane, and others. Report of a conference designed to develop a framework for protecting human values in social experimentation.
- * *Resource Claims in the Seventies*, Barry Bosworth, James S. Duesenberry, and Andrew J. Carron. Projection of investment requirements and savings in the United States for the remainder of this decade.
- * *National Health Insurance*, Karen Davis. An analysis of costs and benefits of alternative national health insurance plans.
- Health and Poverty*, Karen Davis. How to deliver improved health care to the poor.
- Income Distribution*, Benjamin A. Okner and Alice M. Rivlin. Recent trends in the distribution of income and alternative policies for changing it.
- Federal Incentives for State Reform in Financing Higher Education*, Robert W. Hartman
- Unemployment, Inflation, and the Poor*, Edward M. Gramlich
- Implications of Alternative Data Sources for Estimates of the Poverty Population and the Distribution of Income*, Joseph J. Minarik
- Global City-Building and the Urban Renaissance*, Wilfred Owen

Economic Studies Staff

Senior Fellows

Henry J. Aaron
David W. Breneman
John A. Brittain
Karen Davis
Edward F. Denison
Alexander Eckstein
Edward M. Gramlich
Robert W. Hartman
Lawrence B. Krause
Benjamin A. Okner
Arthur M. Okun
Wilfred Owen
George L. Perry
Alice M. Rivlin
Walter S. Salant
Charles L. Schultze

Research Associates

Catherine Armington
Barry Bosworth
Nina W. Cornell
William E. Gibson
Gerald R. Jantscher
Stephen M. Marston
Joseph J. Minarik
Robert D. Reischauer

Statistical Associate

Evelyn P. Fisher

Research Assistants

James M. Becker
Jan Broekhuis
Barrington Brown
Sharon Collins
Nancy J. Delaney
Marc Duvall
Barry J. Eichengreen
Mary Bell Handley Hevener
Nancy A. Kandoian
Marjorie Kessler
Nora Krasney
Larry J. Tenison
Genevieve B. Wimsatt
Melba G. Wood

Associated Staff

Gardner Ackley *University of Michigan*
William J. Barber *Wesleyan University*
James T. Bonnen *Michigan State University*
George F. Break *University of California, Berkeley*
Richard E. Caves *Harvard University*
William Chung *U.S. Department of Commerce*
James L. Cochrane *University of South Carolina*
Neil deMarchi *Duke University*
James S. Duesenberry *Harvard University*
Walter Galenson *Cornell University*
Nathan Glazer *Harvard University*
Richard Goode *International Monetary Fund*
Craufurd D. Goodwin *Duke University*
H. Scott Gordon *Indiana University*
Mary T. Hamilton *Loyola University*
Robert F. Lanzillotti *University of Florida*
Laurence E. Lynn, Jr. *Harvard University*
Edwin S. Mills *Princeton University*
Daniel J. B. Mitchell *University of California, Los Angeles*
Hugh Patrick *Yale University*
Merton J. Peck *Yale University*
Almarin Phillips *University of Pennsylvania*
R. Blaine Roberts *University of Florida*
Henry Rosovsky *Harvard University*
P. Michael Timpane *The RAND Corporation, Washington*
Henry C. Wallich *Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System*
Arnold R. Weber *Carnegie-Mellon University*

Governmental Studies

Gilbert Y. Steiner *Director*

Brookings research in government provides a continuing examination of national political institutions, governmental mechanisms, and public policies, emphasizing relations between the policy process and policy product. Current studies deal with the electoral process, social policy, urban governance, administrative organization and policy, and intergovernmental relations.

Electoral Policy and Representation

- * *Congressional Ethics*, Paul E. Beard and Stephen Horn
- * *Presidential Nominating Politics*, Donald R. Matthews and William R. Keech
- Congressional Coalitions*, John F. Manley
- The Senate's Confirmation Power*, Judith H. Parris
- Organizing the Presidency*, Stephen Hess
- Congressional Power*, James L. Sundquist

Social Policy

- Public Policies Affecting Children*, Gilbert Y. Steiner
- * *Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn from Europe*, James L. Sundquist
- The Courts and Social Policy*, Donald L. Horowitz
- Parole Systems*, David T. Stanley. A review of the purposes and performance of the federal and selected state parole systems.
- Public Perceptions of the Social Security System*, Leonard Goodwin
- Citizen Participation in Environmental Policymaking*, Daniel A. Mazmanian
- Northern School Desegregation*, Gary Orfield. An analysis of public and private efforts to carry out the relevant Supreme Court decisions.
- * *Controlling Expenditures for Social Services*, Martha Derthick
- Higher Education Policies and Politics*, Chester E. Finn, Jr.

Urban Governance

- Urban Governing Structures*, Charles E. Gilbert
- Governing Philadelphia*, Jon Van Til and Charles E. Gilbert
- Governing Pittsburgh*, Raymond E. Owen
- Governing Minneapolis*, Thomas M. Scott
- Governing Cleveland*, Thomas A. Flinn and Elinor Bowen

Administrative Organization and Policy

- Political Control of the Federal Bureaucracy*, Hugh Heclo
- * *Evolution of Federal Agencies*, Herbert Kaufman. A detailed picture of agency births and deaths over the past fifty years and their significance for public administration.

Intergovernmental Relations

- * *Revenue Sharing in Practice*, Richard P. Nathan and others. A study of the economic and political consequences of revenue sharing in sixty-five cities, counties, and states.
Alternative Formulas for Revenue Sharing, Allen D. Manvel and others

Governmental Studies Staff

Senior Fellows

Martha Derthick
Stephen Hess
Herbert Kaufman
Allen D. Manvel
Richard P. Nathan
David T. Stanley
James L. Sundquist

Research Associates

Chester E. Finn, Jr.
Hugh Heclo
Donald L. Horowitz
Gary Orfield
Judith H. Parris

Research Assistants

Daniel Fiorino
Steven R. Jones
André Juneau
Pauline H. Milius
Joy Silver

Associated Staff

Paul E. Beard *University of Massachusetts at Boston*
Thomas A. Flinn *Cleveland State University*
Charles E. Gilbert *Swarthmore College*
Leonard Goodwin *Worcester Polytechnic Institute*
William R. Keech *University of North Carolina*
John F. Manley *Stanford University*
Donald R. Matthews *University of Michigan*
Daniel A. Mazmanian *Pomona College*
Raymond E. Owen *University of Pittsburgh*
Thomas M. Scott *University of Minnesota*
Jon Van Til *Rutgers University*

Foreign Policy Studies

Henry Owen *Director*

Brookings research is concentrated largely in three areas of primary importance: defense policy, U.S.-Japanese relations and other Northeast Asian issues, and foreign economic policy.

Defense Policy

- * *The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities*, Barry M. Blechman
* *The Problem of Military Pay: Causes, Effects, and Reform*, Martin Binkin
Congress and the Defense Budget: Prospects for Reform, Alton H. Quanbeck and Edward Baker
* *Soviet Strategic Policy and Forces*, Archie L. Wood
* *Alternatives for the U.S. Strategic Bomber Force*, Alton H. Quanbeck and Archie L. Wood
* *Deterrence and Defense in Korea*, Ralph N. Clough. What would be the consequences of various U.S. force levels in Korea?
* *The U.S. Marine Corps: Size, Structure, and Missions*, Martin Binkin and Jeffrey Record
* *U.S. Strategic Arms Policy*, Jerome H. Kahan. An historical analysis from the Truman through the Nixon administrations.
U.S. Security Assistance and Arms Sales to Foreign Countries, Philip J. Farley and William H. Lewis
Game Theory and Defense Analysis, Martin J. Bailey
U.S. Military Training Programs for Developing Countries, Ernest W. Lefever
U.S. Policy toward the Spread of Nuclear Weapons, Ernest W. Lefever
Military Force as a Political Instrument since the Second World War: Policy Implications, Barry M. Blechman
The Growing Soviet Army, Jeffrey Record

U.S.-Japanese Relations and Northeast Asia

- * *East Asia and U.S. Security*, Ralph N. Clough. How should U.S. security policies in East Asia be adjusted to changing trends in that area?
* *The United States, China, and Arms Control*, Ralph N. Clough, Jerome H. Kahan, A. Doak Barnett, and Morton H. Halperin
Future Problems in U.S.-Japanese Relations, Edward R. Fried, Philip H. Trezise, and Martin Weinstein
Foreign Policymaking in Japan and the United States, Morton H. Halperin, Priscilla A. Clapp, I. M. Destler, Haruhiro Fukui, and Hideo Sato. Studies of past crises in U.S.-Japanese relations and the lessons to be drawn concerning communication and bargaining between the two governments.
Chinese Foreign Policy, A. Doak Barnett
* *U.S.-Japanese Security Relations*, Fred Greene

Foreign Economic Policy

Adjustment Assistance, Charles R. Frank. An analysis of federal aid to industries, labor groups, and areas adversely affected by import competition.

Central American Economic Development and Integration (conducted by Brookings and the Secretariat of the Central American Common Market), William Cline and Alan I. Rapoport

Income Distribution in Developing Countries (conducted by Brookings and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University), Charles R. Frank, Richard J. Szal, and Richard C. Webb

- * *International Monetary Reform and Developing Countries*, William Cline. Examines how the movement toward flexible exchange rates affects developing countries, and whether the creation of new international liquidity should be "linked" to development assistance.

U.S. Foreign Direct Investment, C. Fred Bergsten, Thomas O. Horst, and Theodore Moran. How U.S. private investment overseas affects U.S. interests, and what U.S. policy toward such investment should be.

- * *International Organization and Economic Policy*, C. Fred Bergsten and Lawrence B. Krause. An analysis of the relations between international economics and international political issues, and alternative institutional arrangements for reforming the international economic system.

- * *International Food Reserves: Problems and Prospects*, Carroll G. Brunthaver and Philip H. Trezise

- * *Higher Oil Prices and the World Economy: An Appraisal of Adjustment*, Edward R. Fried and Charles L. Schultze

World Agriculture: Reassessment of Trends and Policies, Fred H. Sanderson

U.S. Foreign Economic Policymaking, I. M. Destler

Joint U.S.-Latin American Economic Research. Five studies are being conducted in collaboration with Latin American research institutions:

International Price and Real Income Comparisons, Jorge Salazar-Carrillo

Urban Consumption Patterns and Income Distribution, Philip Musgrove

The Structure of Manufacturing Wages, Jorge Salazar-Carrillo

Problems of Labor Force Absorption in Industrialization, Juan J. Buttari

International Comparisons of Consumption, Income, and Prices. A symposium of U.S., Latin American, and European specialists sponsored by the Hamburg Institute of Latin American studies and Brookings, edited by Robert Ferber.

Other Studies

International Institutions and American Foreign Policy: The Impact of Technological Change, Seyom Brown, Larry L. Fabian, Nina W. Cornell, and Edith Brown Weiss. How should the United States respond to international needs created by new technologies affecting the oceans, space, and weather?

- * *The Atlantic Relationship*, Philip H. Trezise. A discussion of prospects for military, political, and economic relations between North America and Western Europe.

Political Development and Foreign Policy in the Third World, Robert H. Johnson

Financing International Environmental Programs, Joseph A. Yager and Eleanor B. Steinberg

Civic Development in the Developing World, H. Field Haviland, Jr.

Civic Education in Chile and Venezuela, Kalman H. Silvert

Comparative Profiles of Latin American Leaders, James W. Rowe

Inter-American Relations in the Seventies, John N. Plank

Soviet Policy toward Eastern Europe, Melvin Croan

U.S. Decision-making in the Vietnam Conflict, Leslie H. Gelb

Nationalism and the American Presence in Asia, Selig S. Harrison

Foreign Policy Studies Staff

Senior Fellows

A. Doak Barnett
C. Fred Bergsten
Martin Binkin
Barry M. Blechman
Seyom Brown
William Cline
Ralph N. Clough
Philip J. Farley
Edward R. Fried
Joseph Grunwald
Ernest W. Lefever
William H. Lewis
Alton H. Quanbeck
Fred H. Sanderson
Philip H. Trezise
Archie L. Wood
Joseph A. Yager

Research Associates

Priscilla A. Clapp
Irving M. Destler
Thomas O. Horst
Stephen Kaplan
Theodore Moran
Philip Musgrove
Jeffrey Record
Shyamal Roy
Hideo Sato
Richard Szal
Eleanor B. Steinberg
Motel P. Wainer

Research Assistants

Richard Asplund
Faith Campbell
Alou B. Diao
Alan A. Foley
Paul Kinsinger
Jorge C. Lamas
Robert Owen
Thomas E. Popovich
Laurel Rabin
Alan I. Rapoport
Thomas G. Rohback
Donald L. Stanley
Louisa Thoron

Associated Staff

Robert E. Asher *Washington, D.C.*
Martin J. Bailey *University of Rochester*
Juan J. Buttari *ECIEL, Rio de Janeiro*
Melvin Croan *University of Wisconsin*
Larry L. Fabian *The Middle East Commission*
Robert Ferber *University of Illinois*
Haruhiro Fukui *University of California at Santa Barbara*
Leslie H. Gelb *New York Times, Washington Bureau*
Fred Greene *Williams College*
Morton H. Halperin *Twentieth Century Fund*
Selig S. Harrison *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
H. Field Haviland, Jr. *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*
Robert H. Johnson *Colgate University*
Stanley D. Metzger *Georgetown University Law School*
John N. Plank *University of Connecticut*
James W. Rowe *Washington, D.C.*
Jorge Salazar-Carrillo *ECIEL, Rio de Janeiro*
Jorge Sanguinetti *ECIEL, Rio de Janeiro*
Kalman H. Silvert *Ford Foundation*
Richard C. Webb *Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University*

Advanced Study Program

Walter G. Held *Director*

Through its conferences, seminars, round tables, and other educational activities, the Advanced Study Program aids leaders in government, business, and the professions in increasing their understanding of public policy issues and their significance in a democratic society. The Program thus contributes to the strengthening of government services and to the preparation of leaders in private life for more active and enlightened participation in public affairs. National, state, and local government officials, business executives, scholars, union officials, journalists, and other public figures contribute to the Program as lecturers and discussants, sharing their insights with the several thousand persons in positions of leadership who participate each year.

Activities for Government Officials

Each year more than 500 senior federal officials come together with scholars and corporate executives in conferences and other activities incorporating a spectrum of informed views on significant public questions. Some programs are designed to sharpen judgments of current and emerging public policy issues, others to explore the roles of government and business in contemporary society.

Conferences on Public Policy Issues are held six times a year for senior federal management and program executives. Each conference, lasting two weeks, provides opportunities for study, analysis, and discussion of major public issues in a setting removed from the pressure of daily business. Resource leaders from the academic world, the media, and other parts of the private sector serve as catalysts, introducing important questions and advancing new perspectives. The sessions are informal and off the record in order to stimulate a full exchange of views.

Conferences on Business in Contemporary Society are held five times a year in the headquarters cities of major U.S. corporations. In these week-long sessions, senior federal executives meet with officers of nine or ten corporations to explore their philosophy and operations, the development of corporate policies, the responsibilities and outlook of corporate officials, and the impact of government on the private sector of the economy.

Conferences on Issues in Science and Technology are held four times yearly in Williamsburg, Virginia, for senior government scientists, administrators of government science programs, and engineering executives. Aided by nationally prominent academicians and leaders in public and private life, participants in the six-day sessions explore numerous aspects of the relationships of science and technology to

public policy. In addition, *special programs for problem solving and evaluation* are conducted from time to time at the request of federal agencies and the Congress. Seminars for members of Congress and their staffs are held in cooperation with the Congressional Research Service and with the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Activities for Business Executives

In cooperation with the business community, Brookings has conducted since 1961 more than 200 conferences, round tables, and seminars for senior corporate executives. Some focus on public policy processes, others on specific public policy issues. All share the goal of improving communication between leaders in business and government.

Conferences on Federal Government Operations, held ten times a year, are designed to acquaint participants with the complexities of federal government processes and business-government relations, and to increase their understanding of the responsibilities, pressures, and problems that confront leaders in public life. Supplemented by discussions with scholars and senior news correspondents, the six days of meetings with leaders in the legislative and executive branches in Washington provide a balanced view of current and emerging policy issues.

Round Tables on Government, the Economy, and American Society are conducted for corporate policymakers concerned with the impact of government on political, economic, and social aspects of the business environment. Five three-day conferences usually are held in Washington from February through June, each focusing on a significant issue or trend in public policymaking. The participants gain insights into the direction of governmental policy and provide a sounding board for official thinking on emerging policy issues or choices.

Seminars on Critical Public Policy Issues bring together senior business executives with federal policymakers and scholars to explore particularly timely problems. Topics in the 1974-75 series include inflation and employment, the multinational corporation, food and critical raw materials, energy policy, and fiscal and monetary policy. Participants in the series of four-day sessions include senior government officials as well as leaders from the business community.

A Management Study Course on Government and Business is offered as a self-study program for business executives at company locations. Special orientation programs are conducted for the Presidential Interchange Executives, the Faculty Fellows of the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, and the Luce Scholars.

Policy Process for Urban Growth

The process brings together citizens, public officials, and scholars in a systematic effort to use social science research in devising public policies suited to local or regional needs. The work typically includes up to sixty hours of seminars spaced over ten months, with extensive background reading and participation on teams concerned with specific policy alternatives. Programs have been conducted in Albuquerque, Memphis, North Central Texas, Phoenix, Tacoma, the Piedmont, the Ohio Valley, East Arkansas, Alaska, and Washington State.

Advanced Study Program Staff

Senior Staff

A. Eric Bubeck
Joseph Dellen
Fordyce Luikart
Peter Malof
James M. Mitchell
John Osman
David A. Rhodes
Richard B. Simons

Staff Associate

Barbara Littell

Social Science Computation Center

Michael R. Leavitt *Director*

The Social Science Computation Center provides computing services to the Brookings research staff and to other nonprofit organizations in the Washington, D.C., area that are engaged in quantitative social science research. The Center advises the research programs on the effective use of its time-shared computer system and provides training in the use of quantitative methods and computational techniques. In addition, the Center staff is conducting its own program of research to adapt the computer system to the needs of the research community.

Computation Center Staff

<i>Research Services Manager</i>	Richard B. Thomas
<i>Lead Programmer</i>	Marjorie P. Odle
<i>Research Services Staff</i>	Jane G. Fishkin Christine de Fontenay Douglas Gabriel Diane Gotkin Marcia A. Mason Gregory A. Ott Joseph Tu
<i>Technical Editor</i>	Jane D. Middlebrooks
<i>Program Data Librarian</i>	Mary Ann Schade
<i>Operations Manager</i>	James D. Selario
<i>Lead Operator</i>	William Mumford
<i>Operations Staff</i>	David Durrett Beverly Hill David Padgett Steve Salzman June R. Smith Howard K. Whitaker
<i>Systems Manager</i>	William J. Franklin
<i>Systems Staff</i>	Kathleen Barry Albertini A. W. Kunderd
<i>Center Support Staff</i>	Sylvia Cubello Harbin

Publications

Roland A. Hoover *Director*

Brookings regards publication and dissemination as an essential part of the research process. Publication takes the following forms: *books* that result from the Institution's research and conferences; *research reports* that present in about 3,000 words the highlights of the books; and *reprints*, from professional journals and other publications, of selected articles by staff members.

The Institution publishes a *Biennial Report* and the *Brookings Bulletin*, a quarterly, to report on its activities. This program brochure, a list of books in print, and a descriptive book catalog, are issued annually.

Brookings books may be purchased directly from the Institution or ordered through local bookstores. Research reports and reprints are distributed only by the Institution. Subscriptions and standing order plans are offered to libraries and others wishing to obtain all Brookings publications; rates and further information are available on request.

Outside the United States, Brookings books are distributed by McGill-Queen's University Press, in Canada; by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., of London, in the traditional British market outside Canada; in all other countries and in territories of the United States by Feffer and Simons, Inc., of New York.

Publications Staff

<i>Sales Manager</i>	Felix C. Lowe
<i>Managing Editor</i>	Elizabeth H. Cross
<i>Editorial Associates</i>	Ellen A. Ash Mendelle T. Berenson Alice M. Carroll Tadd Fisher Virginia C. Haaga Barbara P. Haskins Goddard W. Winterbottom
<i>Editorial Assistant</i>	Carla L. Valenta
<i>Proofreader</i>	Meyer Zaner
<i>Associated Staff</i>	Helen B. Eisenhart Florence Robinson

Other Brookings Activities

In addition to the Advanced Study Program, Brookings' educational activities include fellowships and guest scholar appointments awarded to faculty members, graduate students, and others whose research is related to the purposes of the Institution.

Economic Policy Fellowships

Economic Policy Fellowships enable younger faculty to do postdoctoral research in the analysis and evaluation of government programs. Fellows spend fourteen months in Washington, including about one year on assignment in the federal government. Research based on this experience is begun at Brookings for continuation after their return to their institutions. Fifteen awards were made in 1974. Nominations are made by the economics departments of major colleges and universities; no individual applications are accepted.

Research Fellowships

Research Fellowships are awarded annually for predoctoral study at Brookings in economics, government, and foreign policy. No individual applications are accepted. Seventeen awards were made for 1974-75 from nominations by the graduate departments of universities.

Guest Scholar Program

Guest Scholar appointments without stipend are awarded as space is available to extend the use of the Institution's facilities to faculty members of colleges and universities and other scholars whose work is related to the purposes of the Institution. Thirty-three Guest Scholars were in residence in 1973-74.

Federal Executive Fellowships

Federal Executive Fellowships are awarded to senior government officials enabling them to undertake policy studies on leave from their agencies for periods of from six months to a year. Six Fellows were appointed for 1974-75.

Visiting Professor and Younger Scholar Programs

Visiting Professorships are available by invitation for senior scholars to spend a year at Brookings on research in foreign policy or international economics. A similar program enables scholars at the assistant professor level to come to Brookings to undertake research as part of the Foreign Policy Studies Program.

Recent Publications

Accounting for United States Economic Growth, 1929-1969, by Edward F. Denison, 1974, 355 pages, paper \$5.50, cloth \$12.95.

Between State and Nation: Regional Organizations of the United States, by Martha Derthick with the assistance of Gary Bombardier, 1974, 242 pages, paper \$2.95, cloth \$7.95.

Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, Arthur M. Okun and George L. Perry, editors. Three issues annually; one-year subscription, \$8.00; student rate \$4.00; single copies \$3.00.

Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy, by Morton H. Halperin with the assistance of Priscilla Clapp and Arnold Kanter, 1974, 340 pages, paper \$3.95, cloth \$8.95.

Cooperative Approaches to World Energy Problems, a tripartite report by fifteen experts from the European Community, Japan, and North America, 1974, 51 pages, \$1.00.

East Asia and U.S. Security, by Ralph N. Clough, 1975, 248 pages, paper \$3.50, cloth \$8.95.

Economic Regulation of Domestic Air Transport: Theory and Policy, by George W. Douglas and James C. Miller III, 1974, 211 pages, \$8.95.

The Economics of Public Finance, essays by Alan S. Blinder and Robert M. Solow, George F. Break, Peter O. Steiner, and Dick Netzer, 1974, 435 pages, paper \$4.95, cloth \$11.50.

Energy Regulation by the Federal Power Commission, by Stephen G. Breyer and Paul W. MacAvoy, 1974, 163 pages, \$7.95.

Government and the Sports Business, Roger G. Noll, editor, 1974, 445 pages, paper \$3.95, cloth \$9.95.

Monitoring Revenue Sharing, by Richard P. Nathan, Allen D. Manvel, Susannah E. Calkins, and Associates, 1975, 394 pages, paper \$4.95, cloth \$11.50.

New Forces in World Politics, by Seyom Brown, 1974, 224 pages, paper \$2.95, cloth \$7.95.

Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy, by Allen V. Kneese and Charles L. Schultze, 1975, 125 pages, paper \$2.95, cloth \$6.95.

The Presidential Campaign: The Leadership Selection Process after Watergate, an essay by Stephen Hess, 1974, 121 pages, \$2.50.

Setting National Priorities: The 1975 Budget, by Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, and Robert W. Hartman, 1974, 271 pages, paper \$3.50, cloth \$7.95.

Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament, James W. McKie, editor, 1975, 361 pages, paper \$4.95, cloth \$12.50.

Third Parties in Presidential Elections, by Daniel A. Mazmanian, 1974, 163 pages, paper \$2.95, cloth \$5.95.

Trade in Primary Commodities: Conflict or Cooperation? a tripartite report by fifteen economists from Japan, the European Community, and North America, 1974, 41 pages, \$1.50.

Uncertain Passage: China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era, by A. Doak Barnett, 1974, 387 pages, paper \$3.95, cloth \$9.95.

U.S. Force Structure in NATO: An Alternative, a staff paper by Richard D. Lawrence and Jeffrey Record, 1974, 136 pages, \$2.50.

U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Issues and Alternatives, by Jeffrey Record with the assistance of Thomas I. Anderson, 1974, 70 pages, \$2.50.

U.S. Tactical Air Power: Missions, Forces, and Costs, by William D. White, 1974, 121 pages, \$2.50.

Who Bears the Tax Burden? by Joseph A. Pechman and Benjamin A. Okner, 1974, 119 pages, paper \$2.50, cloth \$5.95.

Board of Trustees of the Brookings Institution

Douglas Dillon, Chairman Chairman and Director, United States and Foreign Securities Corporation, New York

Louis W. Cabot, Chairman, Executive Committee Chairman of the Board, Cabot Corporation, Boston

Vincent M. Barnett, Jr. James Phinney Baxter 3rd Professor of History and Public Affairs, Williams College

Lucy Wilson Benson Former President, League of Women Voters of the United States, Amherst

Edward W. Carter Chairman of the Board, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles

William T. Coleman, Jr. Senior Partner, Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Levy & Coleman, Philadelphia

George M. Elsey President, The American National Red Cross, Washington

John Fischer Associate Editor, Harper's Magazine, Inc., New York

Kermit Gordon President, The Brookings Institution

Gordon Gray Chairman Emeritus, The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington

Huntington Harris Director, Quadri-Science, Inc., Washington

Roger W. Heyns President, American Council on Education, Washington

Luther G. Holbrook Vice President, Richard K. Mellon and Sons, Pittsburgh

Robert S. McNamara President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington

William McC. Martin, Jr. Former Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

Arjay Miller Dean, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University

Barbara W. Newell President, Wellesley College

Herbert P. Patterson New York, New York

J. Woodward Redmond Partner, J. W. Redmond & Company, Washington

H. Chapman Rose Lawyer: Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis, Cleveland

Warren M. Shapleigh President, Ralston Purina Company, St. Louis

Gerard C. Smith Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington

J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr. Richmond, Virginia

Honorary Trustees

Arthur Stanton Adams Consultant to the Director of the New England Center for Continuing Education, Durham, New Hampshire

Eugene R. Black New York, New York

Robert D. Calkins President Emeritus, The Brookings Institution

Colgate W. Darden, Jr. Norfolk, Virginia; President Emeritus, University of Virginia

Marion B. Folsom Director, Eastman Kodak Company (retired), Rochester

John E. Lockwood Lawyer: Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy, New York

John Lee Pratt Fredericksburg, Virginia; former Director and Vice President, General Motors Corporation

Robert Brookings Smith St. Louis, Missouri

Sydney Stein, Jr. Limited Partner, Stein Roe & Farnham, Chicago



The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

BROOKINGS 1975

brookings
economics
government
foreign policy
books



The Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

This catalog includes all Brookings publications in print and in preparation as of March 1975. The new books described on pages 3-25 also appear in the subject category listings arranged alphabetically by title.

International Standard Book Numbers. International Standard Book Numbers (ISBNs) are used throughout this catalog. Separate ISBNs for paperbound and cloth-bound editions precede the price in each entry. Each ISBN must carry the Brookings prefix 0-8157 for full identification.

BROOKINGS 1975

ISBN PREFIX 0-8157

brookings economics government foreign policy books

- 2 Brookings Papers
on Economic Activity
- 3 New Books
- 26 Tripartite Reports
- 27 Economics: Complete List
- 44 Government: Complete List
- 51 Foreign Policy: Complete List
- 59 Other Publications
- 59 Brookings Books in Series
- 64 Sales Information
- 65 Index of Titles, Authors,
and Editors

*See center insert for selected
Brookings Paperbacks*

The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Brookings Papers on Economic Activity

ARTHUR M. OKUN and GEORGE L. PERRY
Editors

Published three times a year and devoted exclusively to invited contributions, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* is a journal designed to provide academic and business economists, government officials, and members of the financial and business community with timely analyses of current economic developments. It offers authoritative, in-depth research studies relating to aspects of the current performance of the American economy. Each issue contains three or more major articles, shorter reports on selected sectors, and highlights of panel discussions of the papers.

Because timeliness and relevance to current economic issues are crucial, a special feature of this journal is the speed with which it is published. Unlike most journals, which have a considerable time lag between completion of a manuscript and its publication, BPEA publishes original research six to eight weeks after it was presented. This permits immediate application of new ideas to live economic issues.

The contributors are highly qualified researchers who specialize in aggregate economics and are experienced in policy-oriented analysis. They are led by Arthur M. Okun and George L. Perry, both senior fellows at Brookings, assisted by more than twenty prominent economists, who, as senior advisers, read and comment on the principal reports, participate in panel meetings, and suggest topics for future investigation.

"*Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* [provides] timely, readable, high-powered analyses of current policies and economic trends while they are still fresh enough to be acted upon." *Business Week*.

Annual subscriptions (three issues):

United States and Canada (third class): \$8.00 (students \$4.00)
United States and Canada (first class): \$11.00 (students \$7.00)
Foreign (sea mail): \$8.50
Foreign (air mail): \$13.70

Single copies: \$3.00 (students \$1.50)

Setting National Priorities: The 1976 Budget

BARRY M. BLECHMAN, EDWARD M. GRAMLICH,
and ROBERT W. HARTMAN

The federal budget, which every year guides the distribution of about one-fifth of the nation's resources, is probably the single most important expression of America's priorities. The administration's judgments about the proper distribution of national resources lead to budgetary decisions that profoundly affect national life. The appearance of the President's budget proposals each year gives the public and Congress an opportunity to examine them and to weigh them against alternative policies.

This book, the sixth in an annual series, is published as an aid to that examination. It describes the major decisions reflected in the proposed 1976 budget and projects their consequences for federal programs and for the size and composition of future budgets. It discusses some of the most important issues now confronting the nation: fiscal policy, inflation, unemployment, energy policy, and defense spending.

The authors are Brookings staff members with prior government experience who wrote the preceding edition of *Setting National Priorities*. Mr. Blechman is a senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies program; Mr. Gramlich and Mr. Hartman are senior fellows in the Economic Studies program. May 1975.

Comment on last year's book: "Like its predecessors . . . a gold mine of information about the government's policy choices for the future, including inflation, defense, and social programs." Edwin L. Dale, *New York Times*.

Comments on previous editions: "Next to the publication of the Federal budget itself, there probably is no more important item expected yearly from Washington." *Boston Globe*. "Truly informed debate on the federal budget is difficult enough. . . . But it would be more difficult still were it not for the annual effort by the Brookings Institution to dissect the budget and to put forth alternative approaches for the future." *Washington Star-News*.

c. 200 pp. / LC 74-161599 / paper 0991-9 \$3.50 / cloth 0992-7 \$9.95

Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy

ALLEN V. KNEESE and CHARLES L. SCHULTZE

Over the past fifteen years the federal government has developed policies to reduce air and water pollution that rely heavily on very detailed regulation of polluters and on generous subsidies for the construction of waste treatment plants. In this study Allen V. Kneese and Charles L. Schultze argue that the combination of regulations and subsidies is an expensive and ineffective way to deal with air and water pollution.

After summarizing the economic and technical background necessary to understand the pollution control problem, the authors review the legislative history of federal pollution control efforts and discuss the high costs and enforcement difficulties that plague those efforts. They propose alternative policies designed to change economic incentives and institutions so that individuals, business firms, and municipalities would find it in their own interest to reduce pollution. The proposed incentives take the form of effluent and emission charges—stiff taxes levied on each unit of pollutant discharged into the air or water. The authors also propose the establishment of federally sponsored regional authorities charged with developing overall plans for air and water pollution control. Finally, viewing air and water pollution as examples of a much broader class of complex social problems, they examine why Congress has trouble designing legislative solutions and suggest some means of improving congressional performance.

Allen V. Kneese, professor of economics at the University of New Mexico, was until May 1974 director of the Quality of the Environment program at Resources for the Future, Inc. Charles L. Schultze is a senior fellow in the Brookings Economic Studies program and a professor of economics at the University of Maryland. The book is a joint project of Resources for the Future and the Brookings Institution.

125 pp. / LC 74-1432 / paper 4993-7 \$2.95 / cloth 4994-5 \$6.95

Equality and Efficiency: The Big Tradeoff

ARTHUR M. OKUN

Contemporary American society has the look of a split-level structure. Its political and social institutions distribute rights and privileges universally and proclaim the equality of all citizens. Yet economic institutions, with efficiency as their guiding principle, create disparities among citizens in living standards and material welfare. This mixture of equal rights and unequal economic status breeds tensions between the political principles of democracy and the economic principles of capitalism.

In this revised and expanded version of the Godkin Lectures presented at the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University in April 1974, Arthur M. Okun explores the conflicts that arise when society's desire to reduce inequality would impair economic efficiency, confronting policymakers with "the big tradeoff."

Other economic systems have attempted to solve this problem; but the best of socialist experiments have achieved a greater degree of equality than our mixed capitalist democracy only at heavy costs in efficiency, and dictatorial governments have reached heights of efficiency only by rigidly repressing their citizenry.

In contrast, our basic system emerges as a viable, if uneasy, compromise in which the market has its place and democratic institutions keep it in check. But within the system, in Okun's view, society's concern for human dignity can be directed at reducing the economic deprivation that stains the record of American democracy—through progressive taxation, transfer payments, job programs, broadening equality of opportunity, eliminating racial and sexual discrimination, and lowering barriers to access to capital.

The author, a Brookings senior fellow since 1969, served as senior economist, member, and chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Johnson administration. He is the author of *The Political Economy of Prosperity* (Brookings, 1970) and co-editor of *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. May 1975.

"These lectures will be a standard 'text' around which all discussions of equality will revolve for a long time to come." Irving Kristol.

124 pp. / LC 75-5162 / paper 6475-8 \$2.95 / cloth 6476-6 \$6.95

Capital Needs in the Seventies

BARRY BOSWORTH, JAMES S. DUESENBERY,
and ANDREW S. CARRON

In recent years, as interest rates and credit restraints have fluctuated widely, the performance of capital markets has been of growing concern. Current market structure has placed certain types of socially valuable investment at a competitive disadvantage—housing and state and local government construction are prime examples. Many doubt that the rising demand for capital to find new sources of energy, to curb pollution, and to build houses, create jobs, and provide mass transit can be met.

The authors of this study project for the rest of this decade the likely magnitude of capital supply and demand, presenting a range of estimates for the major investment sectors and for the whole economy at alternative unemployment and inflation rates. They discuss the effect on capital markets of changes in federal regulations and programs—for example, changes in deposit rate ceilings and government purchase of mortgages—and of monetary and fiscal policy.

The projections suggest that the size of future capital needs, though large, is not unmanageable. While some of the newer programs are costly, there will be offsetting reductions in others, such as education and the interstate highway program; demand for consumer goods will expand more slowly than in the past, reducing the need of these industries for capital. But in the authors' view when the economy is operating at high levels of employment, a shift toward larger budget surpluses than those achieved in the past must be made to stimulate the economy and to avoid future shortages of capital.

Barry Bosworth is a research associate in the Brookings Economic Studies program; James S. Duesenberry is a professor of economics at Harvard University and a member of the Brookings associated staff; and Andrew S. Carron, a former Brookings research assistant, is now on the staff of Senator Thomas Eagleton. *June 1975.*

c. 70 pp. / LC 75-5157 / paper 1031-3 \$2.50

Phase II in Review: The Price Commission Experience

ROBERT F. LANZILLOTTI, MARY T. HAMILTON,
and R. BLAINE ROBERTS

In the beginning was the freeze, ninety days from August 15, 1971, the onset of America's first experience of wage and price controls during peacetime. From its blanket proscriptions emerged Phase II, its regulations hastily conceived and promulgated, its administration under the governance of three diversely constituted and motivated bodies that strove over fourteen months to harness the multitudinous forces that had accelerated national rates of inflation and unemployment.

Since the demise of Phase II in January 1973 and the gradual loosening of controls in Phases III and IV, debate, much of it ideological, has raged over the efficacy of controls in a free-market economy. Like the first volume in this series—Arnold R. Weber's *In Pursuit of Price Stability: The Wage-Price Freeze of 1971*—this book represents an inside perspective on how the basic pricing policies of Phase II were arrived at and acted upon, as well as their consequences: the inevitable imbalances and inequities, but even more important, their positive effects on the economy and, finally, the legacies of Phase II and lessons that must be heeded should the nation be obliged to reinstitute economic controls. The authors' conclusions turn not upon their persuasions or predilections but upon the implications of detailed econometric analysis of the sectors covered and affected by the program.

All three authors, members of the Brookings associated staff, took part in the administration of Phase II price controls. Robert F. Lanzillotti, professor of economics and dean of the College of Business Administration at the University of Florida, was a member of the Price Commission throughout its existence; and Mary T. Hamilton, professor of finance at Loyola University, Chicago, joined that body midway in its work and subsequently served on the Food Advisory Committee during Phase III. R. Blaine Roberts was an economist in the commission's Division of Price Policy and is now associate professor of economics at the University of Florida. *June 1975.*

WPP / c. 200 pp. / LC 75-5164 / paper 5143-5 \$3.50 / cloth 5144-3 \$9.95

Economic Regulation of Domestic Air Transport: Theory and Policy

GEORGE W. DOUGLAS and JAMES C. MILLER III

Airlines have become the dominant means by which Americans travel between the nation's cities. Having grown rapidly since 1938, when the Civil Aeronautics Board began to regulate them in the public interest, airlines are now big business, partly because they have been promoted—by subsidies and other techniques—as an infant industry. Thus it has become appropriate to ask whether the promotional and organizational goals that were paramount in shaping past regulatory policies are still appropriate.

To investigate that question, George W. Douglas and James C. Miller III, working from a model that describes how the airline industry works under regulation, compare the present behavior of the airlines and the regulating authority with the way both would behave if economic efficiency were the major objective of policy. By that criterion, they find that present fares are far too high and that various inefficiencies are built into the fare structure. They also find that the public interest would not be served if the airlines, by agreement among themselves, or the CAB, by exercising its regulatory powers, were to control the capacity of the industry. They review recent CAB policy actions and conclude with specific suggestions that, in their view, would improve the performance of both the industry and the regulating authority.

This book is the tenth of the Brookings Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity series. George Douglas and James Miller, members of the economics faculties at the University of North Carolina and Texas A&M University, respectively, wrote it as members of the Brookings associated staff.

"... [a] thorough and systematic analysis. . . ." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business*. "A high quality work of interest to specialists and policy makers in the field of transportation. . . ." *Choice*.

Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament

JAMES W. MCKIE Editor

Business as we know it, emerging in Western Europe several centuries ago, developed a set of organizations, functions, purposes, and methods separate from other social institutions long before it defined a creed of its own. After a time Adam Smith's classical model prevailed, according to which businessmen seeking profits in a competitive market automatically serve the public good by serving their own interest. This model, however, always somewhat remote from everyday reality, had to be altered eventually to accommodate additional economic and social concerns such as income distribution, price stability, and employment. Now corporation managers see themselves as trustees of permanent institutions that recognize obligations not only to proprietors but also to employees, customers, suppliers, and the community.

In this volume, the eleventh in the Brookings series of Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity, a group of economists and public affairs analysts present their views of business responsibility. Marvin Chirelstein writes on the law of incorporation; Thomas C. Schelling on command and control within the firm; Roland McKean on the mechanisms available to government to promote business responsibility; James Q. Wilson on the politics of business regulation; Martin Bronfenbrenner on the consumer; Charles A. Myers on the employee; Jerome Rothenberg on the impact of business on the environment; John Kain on business and the city; Benjamin Chinitz on depressed areas; and Raymond Vernon on foreign operations. The editor provides a general introduction.

James W. McKie, a member of the Brookings associated staff, is dean of the School of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Texas.

Bread upon the Waters: Federal Aids to the Maritime Industries

GERALD R. JANTSCHER

Since the Second World War more than \$10 billion of direct federal assistance has been pumped into American shipping and shipbuilding industries, and yet this is only part of the story. In addition to operating and construction subsidies paid to them directly, the U.S. maritime industries receive a variety of other benefits. Much government business is set aside for them by statute. A substantial portion of shipping profits is sheltered from income taxes. And in some markets both industries are protected from foreign competition.

American taxpayers and consumers foot this bill; what do they get in return? Economic advantages? Greater national security? A mobile showcase promoting American ability, technology, and ingenuity in all parts of the world?

In this book, the twelfth in the Brookings series of Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity, the author examines the major forms of aid to the maritime industries, the reasons for their existence, and what they cost the public. First, he analyzes the operating and construction subsidies, the cabotage laws governing the nation's domestic oceanborne commerce; and the cargo preference laws, which require half or more of "government-impelled cargo" (military supplies and personnel, food for peace shipments, and foreign aid) to be shipped in U.S.-built and U.S.-registered vessels. He reviews the tax subsidies to the maritime industries that constitute a form of public assistance available to no other industry. Then he evaluates the effect of these various forms of subsidy on the national economy, national security, and public well-being.

His conclusion: the only rationale for maritime subsidies that stands scrutiny on the facts available is the national security argument—ships flying the American flag may be needed in times of crisis. But he also concludes that if this is the objective of maritime subsidies, the program of aid is wrongly focused and administered.

Gerald R. Jantscher is a member of the staff of the Brookings Economic Studies program and author of *Trusts and Estate Taxation* (Brookings, 1967).

REA / 164 pp. / LC 75-5165 / 4574-5 \$8.95

Promoting Competition in Regulated Markets

ALMARIN PHILLIPS *Editor*

When markets fail to allocate resources efficiently, some form of regulation is often proposed as a corrective measure. This book explores regulation in nine industries, raising the following questions: What aspects of the industry are regulated? What are the goals of regulation? Does the public benefit from regulation? Would the substitution of competitive market forces for direct regulation be preferable in some cases? The authors generally agree that competition should play a larger role in the regulation, but they differ in the degree to which they see such change as being desirable or possible.

George C. Eads considers domestic air service; Thomas Gale Moore, surface transportation; Robert Lerner, ocean shipping; Leonard Weiss, electric utilities; Walter J. Primeaux, Jr., the costs of electricity in a competitive situation; Leonard Waverman, the role of the Federal Communications Commission in intercity telecommunications; Dennis E. Smallwood, the automobile insurance industry; H. Michael Mann, the New York Stock Exchange; and Almarin Phillips, deposit financial institutions. Mr. Phillips provides an introduction to the issues, and Edwin Zimmerman, a legal overview focusing on the feasibility of the new regulatory techniques. This book is the thirteenth in the Brookings series of Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity.

Almarin Phillips, professor of economics and law at the University of Pennsylvania, has written extensively in the field of the economics of industrial organization and is a contributor to another Brookings study, *Technological Change in Regulated Industries* (1971).

REA / 397 pp. / LC 74-277 / paper 7051-0 \$4.95 / cloth 7052-9 \$12.50

National Health Insurance: Benefits, Costs, and Consequences

KAREN DAVIS

The United States has never had a comprehensive national plan for the payment and provision of health care, and current private insurance and public programs often fail to meet the needs of all Americans for affordable, high-quality medical care. Proposals for a system of national health insurance aim at reform so as (1) to ensure that all Americans have access to adequate medical care, (2) to eliminate the financial hardship of large medical bills, and (3) to limit the rise in health care costs.

This book, the twelfth in the Brookings Studies in Social Economics series, analyzes the seven major national health insurance proposals that have been introduced in Congress. The approaches they take to financing health care are varied, ranging from tax subsidies for the purchase of private insurance, through a combination of private and public insurance, to coverage that is predominantly publicly financed. Each proposal is examined against a set of questions derived from the three basic goals: who should be covered; what services should be covered; what the roles of consumers, employers, insurance companies, state governments, and the federal government should be; how the plan should be financed; and how physicians and hospitals should be paid. The costs of each plan and how they would be borne by patients and taxpayers of different income levels are weighted against the plan's benefits, measured by how well it fulfills the stated goals. Although no one proposal is endorsed, a set of requirements for any plan that is to achieve the desired goals is outlined.

Karen Davis is a senior fellow in the Brookings Economic Studies program on leave for the 1974-75 academic year as visiting lecturer on economics at Harvard University. Her extensive writing in the field of health care economics includes contributions to the annual Brookings publication, *Setting National Priorities*, dealing with the 1973, 1974, and 1975 federal budgets. July 1975.

sse / c. 150 pp. / lc 75-5154 / paper 1759-8 \$2.95 / cloth 1760-1 \$8.95

Educational Performance Contracting: An Evaluation of an Experiment

EDWARD M. GRAMLICH and PATRICIA P. KOSHEL

During the 1970-71 academic year, about 20,000 schoolchildren and twenty public school districts took part in a federally sponsored experiment of significance for teachers, school administrators, and educational policy generally. The Office of Economic Opportunity wanted to find out whether private educational firms could teach "unresponsive" students better than the public schools and whether financial incentives had any effect on teaching standards. Six million dollars and two years later, the OEO came up with a generally negative verdict: contracting for education and paying firms—and teachers—by results did *not* materially affect student achievement.

In this, the first volume in the Brookings Studies in Social Experimentation series, Edward M. Gramlich and Patricia P. Koshel, using analytical tools and evaluation techniques that have only recently been applied to social policy, confirm the OEO's general conclusion. But they raise more critical issues and view the experiment and its results more broadly than the OEO was able to do in 1972. After examining the rationale, design, selection methods, payment procedures, operation, and results, they question whether the *process* had not a great deal to do with the failure of the experiment and conclude that whenever a promising program such as performance contracting does not appear to work well, the method by which the negative judgment is made must be examined just as carefully as the underlying social policy, so as to minimize the risk of mistaken, unwarranted, or otherwise improper findings.

Edward M. Gramlich is a senior fellow in the Brookings Economic Studies program. He is coauthor of the annual Brookings publication, *Setting National Priorities*, dealing with the 1975 and 1976 federal budgets, and has contributed to *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. Patricia P. Koshel is assistant to the director of the National Institute of Education and a former member of the Brookings associated staff. Although they were not directly involved in conducting the performance contracting experiment, both authors were OEO staff members at the time. April 1975.

ssx / 76 pp. / lc 75-6592 / paper 3239-2 \$2.50

Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment

JOSEPH A. PECHMAN and P. MICHAEL TIMPANE
Editors

"Welfare" as a word and a system has acquired unpleasant connotations for giver and receiver alike, as a giveaway and a license for snooping. Federal and state welfare systems have grown over decades into a crazy quilt of programs that both overlap and leave glaring gaps in coverage. Typically, only persons unable to work have been eligible; cash payments to the able-bodied working poor, especially males, have been regarded in influential quarters as certain "to be frittered away" and "to destroy the will to work."

A program that would provide a guaranteed cash income to poor workers with families and at the same time levy a tax on all other income (without exceptions) has for some years been looked on as the brightest hope for creating a more rational welfare system. Unhappily, the provisions of this negative income tax plan run headlong into a conviction deeply rooted in the American work ethic: that it is wrong to give financial aid to those who in theory should be able to help themselves. By the mid-1960s social scientists and planners both inside and outside government had come to feel that only through a large-scale controlled experiment in the "real world" could proponents and opponents of the negative income tax plan find out what would actually happen.

Work Incentives and Income Guarantees, the second in the Brookings Studies in Social Experimentation series, reviews the design and operation of the negative income tax experiment conducted in four sites in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1968-72, one that became the prototype for subsequent social experimentation in such areas as housing, education, and medical care. By taking a close, hard look from several perspectives at what the project learned—and failed to learn—about the effect of income guarantees and tax rates on the behavior of recipients, the authors contribute to a proper assessment of policy alternatives for welfare reform.

Joseph A. Pechman is director of the Economic Studies program at Brookings; P. Michael Timpane, formerly a senior fellow in that program, is now with the Rand Corporation. May 1975.

ssx / 232 pp. / LC 75-5158 / paper 6975-x \$3.50 / cloth 6976-8 \$9.95

Planned Variation: Should We Give Up or Try Harder?

ALICE M. RIVLIN and P. MICHAEL TIMPANE
Editors

What works in education? In particular, what are the most effective ways of helping young children from low income families succeed in school and improve their chances of breaking out of poverty?

In the late 1960s the federal government tried a new technique for finding answers to these questions—a technique known as "planned variation." The idea was to try out a variety of approaches to early education for disadvantaged children in schools in different parts of the country and to observe how well these approaches worked and how they compared with each other. In two related federal programs—Follow Through and Head Start Planned Variation—more than 150 communities tried out about two dozen "models" developed by educational innovators and researchers. The hope was that several models of early education would emerge as clearly effective and that local school systems could then examine the results of the Planned Variation programs and adopt the model that seemed most likely to work in their setting.

In April 1973 the Brookings Panel on Social Experimentation held a conference to examine the planned variation programs and draw lessons for the future. Some of the papers presented at that conference appear in this volume, the third in the Brookings series of Studies in Social Experimentation.

Alice M. Rivlin was a senior fellow in the Brookings Economic Studies program until February 1975 when she became the first director of the Congressional Budget Office. She is author of *Systematic Thinking for Social Action* (Brookings, 1971), for which she received the W. S. Woytinsky Lectureship Award, and is coauthor of the editions of the annual Brookings publication, *Setting National Priorities*, dealing with the 1972, 1973, and 1974 federal budgets. P. Michael Timpane, formerly a senior fellow in the Economic Studies program at Brookings, is now with the Rand Corporation. June 1975.

ssx / c. 200 pp. / LC 75-5151 / paper 7479-6 \$3.50 / cloth 7480-x \$9.95

Monitoring Revenue Sharing

RICHARD P. NATHAN, ALLEN D. MANVEL,
SUSANNAH E. CALKINS
and Associates

The State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 mandated distribution of \$30.2 billion in federal funds to nearly 38,000 eligible jurisdictions across the nation. The notion of revenue sharing embodied in the act had been many years in gestation, gathering support and being refined into enactable form, and it came finally to represent a promise of all things to all people, from every shade of political and social philosophy.

This book is the first of three projected on the actual working of the revenue-sharing program during the five-year life of the act. The series draws upon data gathered by field observers in representative jurisdictions throughout the country and focuses on three aspects of the program: its *distributional* effects (the consequences of the formula by which the funds are allocated to state and local governments), its *fiscal* effects (the real—not necessarily the publicly announced—impact that these funds have had on the fiscal policy and actions of recipient governments), and its *political* effects (whether the act has changed the structures and decision-making processes of state and local governments).

The study is designed not to advocate the desirability of any outcome of the act but to assess how well or poorly its provisions and their implementation have served the diverse expectations of revenue sharing. The conclusions, tentative in this volume but subject to continuing reevaluation throughout the series, will enable readers to judge both the efficacy of the present program and the changes that may be desirable if revenue sharing is continued past 1976 as a feature of intergovernmental relations in the United States.

Richard P. Nathan, director of the monitoring study and principal author of this volume, is a Brookings senior fellow. He served as the chairman of the Nixon administration's transition task force on intergovernmental relations. Allen D. Manvel, also a Brookings senior fellow, is the former head of the Governments Division of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Susannah E. Calkins is a former staff member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and a Brookings consultant.

394 pp. / LC 74-1435 / paper 5983-5 \$4.95 / cloth 5984-3 \$11.50

Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services

MARTHA DERTHICK

A detailed revelation of the inner workings of bureaucracy, this inquiry into executive control of federal spending focuses on a program in which control was conspicuously lacking for several years—grants-in-aid to the states for social services under the public assistance titles of the Social Security Act. Annual spending for these grants jumped from \$354 million to nearly \$1.7 billion between 1969 and 1972 as state governments took advantage of what the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee called "the worst loophole that has ever been written into the law on the financing of government." Because of defects in the law, the executive branch bore virtually the whole burden of expenditure control.

Why did the executive branch fail to detect the loophole when the law was drafted or to close it promptly when the states discovered it as a source of fiscal relief? The author seeks the answer by analyzing the actions of the President's office and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, relations between the two, and their relations with state governments.

She finds that spending got out of control largely because staff specialists in HEW lost jurisdiction over the program and because policy-level appointive officials, without necessarily meaning to, made choices that turned social services grants into a runaway giveaway. The explosion of social services spending did not occur because a predominantly liberal professional bureaucracy sabotaged the intent of a conservative administration. In suggesting how fiscal responsibility within the executive branch may be improved, she stresses the importance of achieving control at the departmental level rather than through oversight by the President's staff, and she questions the current preoccupation with curbing the power of professional specialists.

Martha Derthick, a senior fellow in the Brookings Governmental Studies program, is the author of several other books, among them, *Between State and Nation: Regional Organizations of the United States* (Brookings, 1974). May 1975.

c. 80 pp. / LC 75-5155 / paper 1813-6 \$2.50

Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn from Europe

JAMES L. SUNDQUIST

The United States is committed by law to the objective of stemming further population concentration in the country's largest and most congested urban regions. Presidential policy declarations, platforms of both major political parties, resolutions by organizations of governors and mayors have all supported that goal. Yet no coherent national policy on population distribution has yet emerged. James L. Sundquist suggests that the experience of other Western industrial nations can guide the United States. He traces the development of population distribution policy in Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden—countries that have acted vigorously to check the growth of overcongested urban areas and develop lagging regions. He reports on and analyzes how the European policies evolved, what they consist of, how they have been justified and defended politically, how they are being carried out, what they have accomplished, and what problems they currently confront. Beginning with local and limited objectives, each country has moved toward the broad goal of planning the optimum geographical distribution of jobs and population. At the same time, program measures of increasing scope and force have been adopted, including generous cash grants to investors and direct controls on the growth of major cities. Yet the European programs remain essentially simple. They are also popular and not unduly costly. Finally, they deserve the attention of U.S. policymakers, because they work.

James L. Sundquist, a senior fellow in the Brookings Governmental Studies program, is the author of *Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States* (Brookings, 1973), *Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Community Level* (Brookings, 1969), and *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Brookings, 1968). April 1975.

290 pp. / LC 75-5156 / paper 8213-6 \$3.95 / cloth 8214-4 \$9.95

Congressional Ethics: The View from the House

EDMUND BEARD and STEPHEN HORN

How do congressmen view their own and their colleagues' behavior and attitudes toward hard ethical questions involving nepotism, campaign financing, relations with lobbyists, and the like? To learn whether they agree on values—on what is and is not ethical—a questionnaire was administered to and interviews conducted with a random stratified sample of fifty members of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress and, for perspective, with lobbyists, members of the press, congressional staff, and executive agency legislative liaison personnel.

The authors find little agreement among House members about what constitutes proper behavior—there is, in fact, great variety in congressional standards and behavior. Many of the ethical problems covered in the questionnaire seem fairly unimportant to congressmen; furthermore, they expect even practices they consider quite unethical to remain common. Nonetheless, most legislators do not think congressional behavior is especially bad, at least no worse than behavior elsewhere in American government and society. Congressmen see their job as difficult and often misunderstood, and they prefer to allow their colleagues to cope with problems in their own way.

The volume sets forth in detail evidence of ethical confusion in the House, and the authors' data demonstrate that such factors as party, seniority, age, committee assignment, geographical region, and political views have little influence on ethical standards or even on perception of actual conduct.

Edmund Beard, formerly a research associate in the Governmental Studies program at Brookings, is now assistant professor of politics at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Stephen Horn, formerly a senior fellow at Brookings, is now president of California State University at Long Beach. July 1975.

c. 60 pp. / LC 74-1434 / paper 0855-6 \$2.50

East Asia and U.S. Security

RALPH N. CLOUGH

By opening relations with Peking and withdrawing its forces from combat in Indochina, the U.S. government began to modify the containment policy adopted in East Asia in the 1950s, which led to American military involvement in Vietnam. But the defense commitments to noncommunist governments in the region made during that period have not been withdrawn; the United States keeps powerful forces stationed in the western Pacific and continues to provide material and political support to the governments of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Future policy toward the region remains uncertain.

To provide a basis for a new definition of U.S. policy toward East Asia, the author reassesses U.S. security interests in light of the important changes during the past twenty-five years, concluding that relations with Japan will be the primary interest in that region during this decade. He recommends loosening alignments in Southeast Asia, since American interests there do not appear to justify future intervention by U.S. forces, and discusses relations with Japan, China, and the USSR, suggesting policies toward these countries that would reduce the danger of armed conflict in the region between big powers and would reinforce the determination of the Japanese to keep their country lightly armed and to forgo nuclear weapons.

Ralph Clough, a senior fellow in the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program, spent thirteen years as a foreign service officer in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. He also served as director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the Department of State and as a member of the department's Policy Planning Council.

"... [a] lucid and constructively critical discussion. . . ." *Foreign Affairs*. "This is an important book. It is one of the most searching reassessments of American interests in East Asia since the U.S. withdrawal from Viet Nam, the 'opening to China,' and the dilution of the U.S. presence in Asia following the Nixon Doctrine. . . . It is a book worth reading." *Bulletin of the Japan-America Society*.

U.S. Tactical Air Power: Missions, Forces, and Costs

WILLIAM D. WHITE

The cost of military weapons, particularly of warplanes, has risen at a startling rate since the Second World War. Although some of the increase can be attributed to inflation, most of it is due to the increasing sophistication of weapons. The steady incorporation of advancing technology in new weapon systems has been in part an outgrowth of the practice of replacing military personnel with military machines.

The author of this paper—the seventh in the Studies in Defense Policy series—contends that innovation has led to aircraft systems so large and complex, often without correspondingly improved performance and mission capability, that their cost threatens to become prohibitive. Moreover, the tactical missions that prevailing U.S. doctrine regards as most important—and that lead to complex and costly aircraft—may not be those that would prove most useful in honoring the nation's military commitments.

Present policy governing tactical air power, as reflected in the federal budget, continues to regard such missions as necessary and feasible and to judge their attendant costs acceptable. The author suggests four alternatives to the present course—a slower pace of modernization, reordered mission priorities, reduced force levels, and increased reliance on air power as a substitute for ground forces—and discusses how force structure, new aircraft, costs, and mission capabilities would vary with each alternative.

William D. White wrote this paper as a research associate in the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program.

U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Issues and Alternatives

JEFFREY RECORD

with the assistance of Thomas I. Anderson

As pressures have grown for greater reliance on a tactical nuclear defense of Europe, the deployment by the United States of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent has come under growing criticism. The present U.S. posture, based on weapons and doctrine developed mostly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, is thought by many to be unsuited for current requirements of either deterrence or defense. Against this background, the author of this study—the eighth in the Studies in Defense Policy series—analyzes the U.S. tactical nuclear deployment and the rationales behind it. He concludes that the present deployment confers few if any military advantages on the Atlantic Alliance, although its political importance to America's European allies is substantial. His assessment of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons and doctrine reveals a force designed for massive and relatively indiscriminate employment, whereas the U.S. posture reflects preparation for selective tactical nuclear war, which the author considers a remote prospect.

The author emphasizes how important it is that changes in the present posture, as well as the manner in which they are carried out, not jeopardize the confidence of Western Europeans in American pledges to defend them. He believes that proposals to reduce the number of tactical nuclear weapons, eliminating particularly vulnerable ones while improving control over and protection of remaining systems and reducing yields, are both desirable and politically feasible.

Jeffrey Record, a research associate on the defense analysis staff of the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program, was formerly with the Agency for International Development and the Research Analysis Corporation. He is the coauthor of a previous Brookings publication, *U.S. Force Structure in NATO: An Alternative* (1974). Major Thomas I. Anderson, now returned to active duty with the U.S. Air Force, was a Federal Executive Fellow at Brookings in 1973–74.

The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities

BARRY M. BLECHMAN

Despite arsenals of sophisticated strategic nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union still confront each other on the high seas in conventionally armed vessels. Other nations still gauge a superpower's political intent by ship maneuvers and regard the relative size and composition of the two navies as a measure of overall military potential. Thus the era of gunboat diplomacy is not yet over, but with the risk of nuclear war in the background the stakes are higher than they were in the dreadnought's day.

There are negotiations on strategic arms control, others on troop reductions in Europe—why then is so little said about the naval aspects of superpower rivalry? In this volume, the ninth in the Brookings series of Studies in Defense Policy, Barry M. Blechman provides an analysis intended to stimulate public debate on the control of naval armaments. He summarizes previous attempts to limit navies through negotiation and describes alternative approaches. His proposals fall into two broad categories: controls on naval inventories and controls on naval deployments.

The outlook is not promising while tension in the Middle East and elsewhere remains high. But it is not hopeless. Blechman proposes two types of agreement to limit naval arms that might be acceptable to the superpowers. If either is pursued in good faith, Blechman is optimistic that other, now intractable issues might become negotiable.

Barry M. Blechman is a senior fellow in the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program. He is the author and coauthor, respectively, of two previous Brookings studies in defense policy: *The Changing Soviet Navy* (1973) and *Strategic Forces: Issues for the Mid-Seventies* (1973). He is also a coauthor of the annual Brookings publication, *Setting National Priorities*, dealing with the 1975 and 1976 federal budgets. May 1975.

Stresses in U.S.-Japanese Security Relations

FRED GREENE

The security accord between Japan and the United States has weathered several changes in administration in both countries as well as a diversity of military, diplomatic, and economic events that have produced a world picture markedly different from the one which prevailed when the first security document was signed in 1950. The tensions of the 1970s are not those of the 1950s, either within each country or in their individual or collective relations with the rest of the world. Altered U.S. relations with China and the Soviet Union, American involvement in Indochina, and strains in international trade are only the most immediately obvious factors contributing to the unsettled climate of U.S.-Japanese relations.

This study, the tenth in the Brookings series of Studies in Defense Policy, examines the new environment in which the mutual security treaty exists and the issues being raised—especially among Japanese defense analysts, politicians, and the citizenry at large—about the future of the bilateral relation and of the U.S. military presence in Japan. The author also analyzes Japan's own defense program and its coordination with U.S. security policies in Asia, and presents specific recommendations to ensure that the treaty will continue to serve the interests of both countries in the years ahead.

Fred Greene carried out this study as a senior fellow in the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program while on leave of absence from Williams College, where he is professor of political science. July 1975.

The Military Pay Muddle

MARTIN BINKIN

Muddle it is. The armed forces pay system, perhaps appropriate for the military establishment of an earlier era, has become an increasingly costly anachronism. Those in the services, prospective volunteers, and lawmakers are often unaware of the full value of military compensation simply because some of its elements are not easily understood. Moreover, the system tends to attract and retain personnel whose costs exceed the value of their skills. As a result, the United States pays more than is necessary to field its present military forces; or, put another way, the nation does not attract the ablest personnel for its military payroll. Unless changed, the system promises to become even less efficient as the funds devoted to the principal fringe benefits—retirement and health care—consume an even greater proportion of military manpower costs.

In this volume, the eleventh in the Brookings Studies in Defense Policy series, Martin Binkin suggests how the present trend can be reversed. He recommends paying salaries to military people, modernizing their retirement system, and revising the dependent health care program. These measures are intended to replace a paternalistic system (justifiable when military pay was inordinately low) with a system responsive to the economic forces at work in American society—that is, a market system. So as to minimize losses to those already in the system, the changes Binkin proposes, though not reducing costs in the short run, would yield savings within a few years that would grow rapidly thereafter.

Martin Binkin, a senior fellow in the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program, is the author of two previous Brookings studies in defense policy: *Support Costs in the Defense Budget: The Submerged One-Third* (1972) and *U.S. Reserve Forces: The Problem of the Weekend Warrior* (1974). He is also coauthor of *All-Volunteer Armed Forces: Progress, Problems, and Prospects*, a study published in 1973 by the Senate Armed Services Committee. July 1975.

Tripartite Reports

This series presents analyses and policy recommendations prepared at meetings of varying groups of private experts from North America, the European Community, and Japan.

Reshaping the International Economic Order

Recommends changes in the international economic system intended to promote greater interdependence and cooperation.

23 pp. / 1972 \$1.00

Reassessing North-South Economic Relations

Explores issues arising from relations between industrial and developing nations that affect negotiations on monetary reform, trade, energy, and the environment.

32 pp. / 1972 / 7363-3 \$1.00

World Trade and Domestic Adjustment

Examines problems of domestic adjustment to import competition as they might affect trade policy, reviewing adjustment experience in the textile, steel, and coal industries as cases in point.

19 pp. / 1973 / 9543-2 \$1.00

Toward the Integration of World Agriculture

Deals with how changes in national agricultural policies could be linked with greater security for world grain reserves, greater stability of world agricultural prices, and improved opportunities for international trade in agricultural markets.

29 pp. / 1973 / 8511-9 \$1.00

Cooperative Approaches to World Energy Problems

Explores possibilities for cooperative international action in dealing with the energy-related problems of individual countries and the world at large.

51 pp. / 1974 / 1555-2 \$1.00

Trade in Primary Commodities: Conflict or Cooperation?

Surveys the prospects for trade in primary commodities through the rest of this century and suggests how national policies can stabilize markets and improve trade relations.

41 pp. / 1974 / 8521-6 \$1.50

Economics: Complete List

The Accessible City

Wilfred Owen with the assistance of Inai Bradfield. "... another splendid analysis. ... [The author] offers a brief report on urban transportation in more than a hundred major cities in five continents which served as a 'global laboratory' for him and provided him some answers for our own problems." *City*. "... an excellent overview of the urban transportation problem. ..." *Science*.

150 pp. / 1972 / paper 6769-2 \$2.95 / cloth 6770-6 \$7.50

Accounting for United States Economic Growth, 1929-1969

Edward F. Denison. "The quality of Edward Denison's previously published works has made him the expert on the methodology and on the development and analysis of the appropriate statistical data for determining the sources of the economic growth of the United States. [This volume] will enhance this perception." *Perspective*.

355 pp. / 1974 / paper 1803-9 \$5.50 / cloth 1804-7 \$12.95

Agenda for the Nation

Kermit Gordon, Editor. See under Government.

Alternative Approaches to Capital Gains Taxation

Martin David. "The first thoroughgoing review of capital-gains taxation in America since 1951. ... It is scholarly and fair; it is well organized; and it is thorough and comprehensive." *Journal of Finance*.

SGF / 280 pp. / 1968 / paper 1741-5 \$3.50 / cloth 1742-3 \$8.50

American Indians and Federal Aid

Alan L. Sorkin. "... definitive." *Annals*. "... a compendium of up-to-date information that is indispensable for the scholar or policy maker." *American Political Science Review*.

SSE / 231 pp. / 1971 / 8044-3 \$8.95

Bread upon the Waters: Federal Aids to the Maritime Industries

Gerald R. Jantscher. See under New Books.

Britain's Economic Prospects

Richard E. Caves & Associates. Contributors: Richard E. Caves, Richard N. Cooper, Edward F. Denison, John H. Kareken, Lawrence B. Krause, Richard A. and Peggy B. Musgrave, Merton J. Peck, William G. Shepherd, David C. Smith, Lloyd Ulman. "The most up to date, comprehensive and penetrating study of our economy, its problems and prospects, to appear between the covers of one volume." *The Times* (London). "A piece of brilliant, scientific, numerate North American research." *The Economist*.

510 pp. / 1968 / 1322-3 \$10.95

Brookings Papers on Economic Activity

Arthur M. Okun & George L. Perry, Editors. A journal published three times a year and designed to provide academic and business economists, government officials, and members of the financial and business community with timely analyses of current economic developments.

Annual subscriptions (three issues): United States and Canada (third class), \$8.00 (students \$4.00); United States and Canada (first class), \$11.00 (students \$7.00); foreign (sea mail), \$8.50; foreign (air mail), \$13.70. Single copies: \$3.00 (students \$1.50).

Budget Concepts for Economic Analysis

Wilfred Lewis, Jr., Editor. The texts of papers presented at a conference sponsored by the President's Commission on Budget Concepts, in cooperation with Brookings, together with comments on them and a summary of the conference discussion. "... useful as supplementary material in a public finance or macroeconomics course." *Choice*.

SGF / 198 pp. / 1968 / paper 5237-7 \$2.95 / cloth 5238-5 \$7.95

Budget Innovation in the States

Allen Schick. See under Government.

The Business Representative in Washington

Paul W. Cherington & Ralph L. Gillen. "... a welcome report ... on the operations of Washington representatives of the estimated 130 major corporations which maintain full-time, resident liaison men in the capital." *Wall Street Journal*.

134 pp. / 1962 / paper 1387-8 \$2.50

A Capital Budget Statement for the U.S. Government

Maynard S. Comiez. The effect of a federal capital budget on official figures is illustrated in this study by reformulating 1955-63 data into seven model budgets. "Until Comiez' book appeared ... debates on the virtue of capital budgeting were largely ideological. ... Now, for the first time, the debate can focus on figures." *Business Week*.

SGF / 143 pp. / 1966 / paper 1527-7 \$2.50 / cloth 1528-5 \$7.95

Capital Needs in the Seventies

Barry Bosworth, James S. Duesenberry, & Andrew S. Carron. See under New Books.

Community Control of Schools

Henry M. Levin, Editor. Contributors: Harold W. Pfautz, Mario D. Fantini, Leonard J. Fein, Robert C. Maynard, Marilyn Gittell, Robert F. Lyke, Rhody A. McCoy, Michael H. Moskow and Kenneth McLennan, Anthony Downs, and H. Thomas James and Henry M. Levin. "The value of the volume (perhaps the best available source on the community and the schools) lies in its organization and comprehensive coverage. ... Its summary by Levin is the best available commentary on a problem of critical magnitude. ... An indispensable acquisition." *Choice*.

SSE / 318 pp. / 1970 / 5224-5 \$8.95

Available in paperback from Simon and Schuster

Competition as a Dynamic Process

John Maurice Clark. "... reflects a long life of wisdom and experience and a very rich knowledge of the realities of the economic system." *Annals*.

501 pp. / 1961 / 1452-1 \$10.95

Consumer Response to Income Increases

George Katona & Eva Mueller. "This book should be on the reading list for every graduate course in macroeconomic theory and in fiscal policy. It puts every student in these areas on the track that must be followed by the professional economist." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

SGF / 244 pp. / 1968 / paper 4835-3 \$2.95 / cloth 4836-1 \$8.95

Control of Long-Term International Capital Movements

A staff paper by Sir Alec Cairncross. A distinguished economist clarifies the issue of the effectiveness of controls by focusing on a concrete question: which controls work and which do not? "... an important study. ..." *Choice*.

104 pp. / 1973 / 1237-5 \$2.50

Corporate Dividend Policy

John A. Brittain. "... shows empirically what many have assumed a priori about the relationship between federal fiscal policy and corporate dividend policy ... recommended." *Annals*.

SGF / 254 pp. / 1966 / paper 1077-1 \$3.50 / cloth 1078-x \$8.95

Defense Purchases and Regional Growth

Roger E. Bolton. "... shows more clearly than ever before how federal decisions on where to spend defense dollars can make or break a region's effort to improve its growth rate. ... Whether they agree with his conclusions, defense specialists are likely to regard Bolton's work as a real breakthrough." *Business Week*.

SGF / 189 pp. / 1966 / paper 1015-1 \$2.95 / cloth 1016-x \$7.95

The Dilemma of Freight Transport Regulation

Ann F. Friedlaender. "... a scholarly study which presents a good overview of transportation regulation. It is an important addition for any library with a transportation collection and for libraries with large economics collections." *Library Journal*.

REA / 216 pp. / 1969 / 2936-7 \$8.95

Distance and Development: Transport and Communications in India

Wilfred Owen. "... not only useful for students of Indian transport; it can also be read profitably by others interested in the role of transport in the development process." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

TRP / 170 pp. / 1968 / 6768-4 \$6.95

The Distribution of Farm Subsidies: Who Gets the Benefits?

Charles L. Schultze. A Brookings staff paper describing federal farm programs and analyzing the impact of the distribution of subsidies.

51 pp. / 1971 / paper 7753-1 \$1.50

The Doctor Shortage: An Economic Diagnosis

Rashi Fein. Contributes to the current debate about American medicine by projecting the future demand for health services and the supply of physicians available to render them. "... thoroughly researched and imaginative." *Challenge*. "... the best statement of the physician manpower problem to date." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*.

SSE / 199 pp. / 1967 / paper 2771-2 \$2.95 / cloth 2772-0 \$7.95

Doctors, Patients, and Health Insurance: The Organization and Financing of Medical Care

Herman M. Somers & Anne R. Somers. "... a magnificent book. It will be a standard source for many years to come." Milton Roemer, M.D., School of Public Health, University of California, Los Angeles. "... destined to become—and remain for some time—the definitive book on this subject." *Hospital Topics*.

576 pp. / 1961 / 8036-2 \$12.50

Economic Aspects of Television Regulation

Roger G. Noll, Merton J. Peck, & John J. McGowan. Recipient of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters' first annual book award, which cited the study as "a singularly important work ... which applies economics as a discipline to a wide range of problems and issues in commercial broadcasting, cable, and public broadcasting ... and which helps us to think in new ways about what we do. ..."

REA / 342 pp. / 1973 / paper 6109-0 \$4.95 / cloth 6108-2 \$9.95

Economic Behavior of the Affluent

Robin Barlow, Harvey E. Brazer, & James N. Morgan. "Worth while, for it delves into the motives of those with incomes over \$10,000 as well as the mechanics of their financial planning and activity." *Kiplinger Tax Letter*.

SGF / 285 pp. / 1966 / paper 0811-4 \$2.95 / cloth 0812-2 \$8.95

Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal

Jerome Rothenberg. "... will be an essential acquisition for serious collections in economics and public affairs." *Library Journal*. "Throughout, Rothenberg demonstrates a high level of detached analytical ability coupled with sensitivity and compassion ... an excellent book." *Annals*.

SGF / 277 pp. / 1967 / paper 7591-1 \$3.50 / cloth 7592-x \$8.95

Economic Regulation of Domestic Air Transport: Theory and Policy

George W. Douglas & James C. Miller III. See under New Books.

Economics and the Policy Maker: Brookings Lectures, 1958-1959

Sidney S. Alexander, Gerhard Colm, Neil H. Jacoby, Louis Shere, Robert V. Roosa, Sumner H. Slichter, Mark S. Massel, Everett E. Hagen. "Anyone who doubts whether policy can ever be essentially more than a blend of business hunch and political calculation will find this an encouraging book." *The Economist*.

209 pp. / 1959 / paper 0315-5 \$2.95

The Economics of Public Finance

Essays by Alan S. Blinder & Robert M. Solow, George F. Break, Peter O. Steiner, Dick Netzer. Subjects treated are analytical foundations of fiscal policy; the incidence and economic effects of taxation; public expenditure budgeting; and state-local finance and intergovernmental fiscal relations.

SGF / 435 pp. / 1974 / paper 0997-8 \$4.95 / cloth 0998-6 \$11.50

Economics of the Property Tax

Dick Netzer. "... likely to be a handbook for would-be local tax reformers for years to come. For it clearly catalogues the seven major problems of property taxation." *Business Week*.

SGF / 326 pp. / 1966 / paper 6039-6 \$4.95 / cloth 6040-x \$9.95

Education and Poverty

Thomas I. Ribich. "It is an important contribution to a policy oriented field in which there has been too little careful analysis." *Political Science Quarterly*.

SSE / 163 pp. / 1968 / 7430-3 \$6.95

Educational Performance Contracting: An Evaluation of an Experiment

Edward M. Gramlich & Patricia P. Koshel. See under New Books.

Energy Regulation by the Federal Power Commission

Stephen G. Breyer & Paul W. MacAvoy. Concluding, on the basis of econometric analysis, that the Federal Power Commission is effective but not efficient, the authors recommend very different institutional alternatives. "A courageous and insightful work." *Wall Street Journal*.

REA / 163 pp. / 1974 / 1076-3 \$7.95

Equality and Efficiency: The Big Tradeoff

Arthur M. Okun. See under New Books.

European Economic Integration and the United States

Lawrence B. Krause. "... a pioneering effort. This book will therefore serve as a model for similar future studies, as a point of departure for others, as a catalyst upon which divergent opinion can be focused ... invaluable in particular to everyone interested in economic integration and in general to everyone involved in the testing of economic theory and/or the formulation or evaluation of economic policy." *American Economic Review*.

265 pp. / 1968 / 5034-x \$8.95

European Monetary Unification and Its Meaning for the United States

Lawrence B. Krause & Walter S. Salant, Editors. "In this collection of essays even the most demanding reader will find something of interest." *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies*. "No other monograph or compendium examines so closely this important and novel range of issues." *Choice*.

322 pp. / 1973 / 5032-3 \$8.95

Federal Budget Policy

David J. Ott & Attiat F. Ott. "An exceedingly clear presentation of the views dominant among professional economists about budget policy." *Journal of Economic Literature*. "It has a place on the shelf of most any college library." *Choice*.

SGF / 182 pp. / rev. ed. 1969 / paper 6707-2 \$2.95 / cloth 6708-0 \$6.95

Federal Budget Projections

Gerhard Colm & Peter Wagner. "... the authors are to be commended for clarifying concepts and then rigorously applying them to see what they actually produce." *American Political Science Review*.

SGF / 194 pp. / 1966 / cloth 1524-2 \$7.95

Federal Estate and Gift Taxes

Carl S. Shoup. The federal estate and gift taxes in the United States have remained substantially unchanged since 1948. To clarify certain controversial issues and to review current law, a conference was held at Brookings in April 1965. This volume includes Professor Shoup's background study and his conference summary.

SGF / 253 pp. / 1966 / paper 7881-3 \$3.50 / cloth 7882-1 \$8.95

Federal Fiscal Policy in the Postwar Recessions

Wilfred Lewis, Jr. "... a masterly analysis. ... His book will be indispensable to students of the postwar economic history of the United States." *Political Science Quarterly*. "... no student of fiscal policy will be able to ignore Lewis' work." *Monthly Labor Review*.

SGF / 311 pp. / 1962 / cloth 5242-3 \$7.50

Federal Lending and Economic Stability

George F. Break. "The book, which is well written and readable, is a basic source for those interested in government credit programs." *American Economic Review*.

185 pp. / 1965 / 1070-4 \$7.95

Federal Tax Policy

Joseph A. Pechman. "... the most even-handed and informed analysis of recent tax reform to date." *Choice*. "... provides valuable insights for expert and nonexpert alike." *Journal of Finance*.

SGF / 344 pp. / rev. ed. 1971 / 6972-5 \$8.95

Available in paperback from W. W. Norton & Co.

Federal Tax Treatment of the Family

Harold M. Groves. "... gives us a fresh look at family taxation, and describes some of the things that are 'wrong' and suggests some corrections." *Banking*.

SGF / 115 pp. / 1963 / cloth 3298-8 \$4.95

Financing State and Local Governments

James A. Maxwell. Comments on first edition: "... excellent book, well written, well organized, well documented and replete with facts as well as principles." *Journal of Finance*. "... thorough analysis of the facts, problems, and policy implications of financing lower levels of government ... an exceedingly valuable contribution. ... " *American Economic Review*.

SGF / 275 pp. / rev. ed. 1969 / paper 5513-9 \$3.50 / cloth 5514-7 \$8.95

Government Against Poverty

Joseph A. Kershaw with the assistance of Paul Courant. "A carefully organized, compact history and criticism." *Library Journal*.

SSE / 174 pp. / 1970 / cloth 4902-3 \$7.95

Available in paperback from Markham Publishing Co.

Government and the Sports Business

Roger G. Noll, Editor. "... a valuable and exhaustive financial examination of North America's top four team sports. ... " *Barron's*. "... [a] provocative book. ... " *Wall Street Journal*. "[An] always fascinating study ... tells it like it is in a way the sports reporters never have." *Newsweek*.

REA / 445 pp. / 1974 / paper 6105-8 \$3.95 / cloth 6106-6 \$9.95

Government Controls on Transport: An African Case

Edwin T. Haeefe & Eleanor B. Steinberg. "Particularly valuable, at a time when costly rail and road projects of critical importance to South Central Africa are under consideration." *Mining Journal* (London).

TRP / 102 pp. / 1965 / paper 3379-8 \$2.50 / cloth 3380-1 \$4.95

The Impact of Collective Bargaining on Management

Sumner H. Slichter, James J. Healy, & E. Robert Livernash. Interviews with some 650 representatives of businesses, trade associations, and unions set the stage for an analysis of significant practices regarding negotiation of contracts, wage structures, and related problems.

982 pp. / 1960 / 7984-4 \$14.95

The Individual Income Tax

Richard Goode. A definitive study of 50 years' experience with the income tax. "... achieves a skillful blending of principle and practice." *American Economic Review*.

SGF / 367 pp. / 1964 / paper 3199-x \$4.50 / cloth 3200-7 \$9.95

In Pursuit of Price Stability: The Wage-Price Freeze of 1971

Arnold R. Weber. "No economist or political scientist with a serious interest in the economics and politics of controls can afford not to read this well-written and informative book." *Journal of Political Economy*. "... an absorbing account of policy-making and implementing in practice." *Economic Journal*. "... a straightforward, clear, and remarkably objective account. ..." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

WPP / 137 pp. / 1973 / paper 9263-8 \$2.95 / cloth 9264-6 \$6.95

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States

George F. Break. The complex problems of intergovernmental finances are analyzed here, and alternative solutions are suggested. "... the most careful discussion yet of the case for revenue sharing." *Business Week*.

SGF / 273 pp. / 1967 / paper 1073-9 \$3.50 / cloth 1074-7 \$8.95

The International Airline Industry

Mahlon R. Straszheim. "It is a landmark in the sense that no future book on air transport economics will be able to ignore the methodological contribution which has been made by Professor Straszheim." *The Aeronautical Journal* [London]. "A valuable contribution to economic analysis." *Journal of Political Economy*.

TRP / 297 pp. / 1969 / 8190-3 \$9.95

International Diffusion of Technology: The Case of Semiconductors

John E. Tilton. This study investigates the international diffusion of transistor, integrated circuit, and other semiconductor technology in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan.

SSE / 303 pp. / 1967 / cloth 8040-0 \$9.95

An Introduction to Economic Reasoning

Marshall A. Robinson, Herbert C. Morton, & James D. Calderwood. "The authors are on the side of the angels; readers who have absorbed what they say will be fortified against a great deal of economic silliness." *The Economist*.

306 pp. / 4th ed. 1967 / 7524-5 \$6.95

Available in paperback from Doubleday & Co.

Investment Demand and U.S. Economic Growth

Bert G. Hickman. "Hickman has written a splendidly stimulating and informative book. He is a very model of a model builder." *American Economic Review*.

264 pp. / 1965 / 3608-8 \$8.95

The Local Service Airline Experiment

George C. Eads. "[The study] is an excellent economic history of short-haul air service as well as an exemplary economic analysis." *Annals*.

REA / 223 pp. / 1972 / 2022-x \$8.95

Making Monetary and Fiscal Policy

G. L. Bach. "... an informed and cogent analysis ... a unique book in many ways, and only one with Bach's wide and extensive experience could have written on this scale." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

281 pp. / 1971 / paper 0739-8 \$3.50

Managing Local Government under Union Pressure

David T. Stanley with the assistance of Carole L. Cooper. "... an insightful and forcefully written little book. He skillfully weaves in perceptions concerning the exercise of union political power to supplement management-union negotiations." *Journal of Politics*. "... a welcome addition to the literature in the field." *Personnel Administration/Public Personnel Review*.

SUG / 177 pp. / 1972 / 8102-4 \$7.95

Measuring Benefits of Government Investments

Robert Dorfman, Editor. Contributors: Gary Fromm, Herbert E. Klarman, Ruth P. Mack, Herbert Mohring, Sumner Myers, Jerome Rothenberg, Frederic M. Scherer, Burton A. Weisbrod. "... an important book that merits careful reading." *American Economic Review*.

SGF / 429 pp. / 1965 / paper 1901-9 \$4.50 / cloth 1902-7 \$9.95

Medicare and the Hospitals: Issues and Prospects

Herman M. Somers & Anne R. Somers. "... a timely, scholarly, and comprehensive review of the Medicare program that should be required reading for all individuals concerned with the present and future health care of this country." *Hospitals*.

SSE / 303 pp. / 1967 / cloth 8040-0 \$9.95

The Metropolitan Transportation Problem

Wilfred Owen. "... a well-written, timely and important study." *A.I.A. Journal*.

266 pp. / rev. ed. 1966 / 6772-2 \$7.95

Money and Capital in Economic Development

Ronald I. McKinnon. "The book is extremely well written and appears to make a significant contribution to both the theory of economic development and monetary policy." *Choice*. "... in the tradition of other classics ... which have fundamentally affected academic and public thinking." *Canadian Journal of Economics*.

184 pp. / 1973 / paper 5613-5 \$2.95 / cloth 5614-3 \$7.50

Money in a Theory of Finance

John G. Gurley & Edward S. Shaw, with a mathematical appendix by Alain C. Enthoven. A theoretical explanation of how debt, financial assets, institutions, and policies shape and, in turn, are shaped by general levels of prices and outputs.

371 pp. / 1960 / 3322-4 \$7.50

Monitoring Revenue Sharing

Richard P. Nathan, Allen D. Manvel, Susannah E. Calkins, & Associates. See under New Books.

National Health Insurance: Benefits, Costs, and Consequences

Karen Davis. See under New Books.

Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem

Christopher Green. "This book gives an excellent appraisal of the whole negative taxation question." *Monthly Labor Review*.

SGF / 210 pp. / 1967 / paper 3263-5 \$2.95 / cloth 3264-3 \$7.95

The Payroll Tax for Social Security

John A. Brittain. "... an excellent empirical study ..." *The Journal of Finance*. "... a major contribution to the literature. ..." *Harvard Journal of Legislation*. "... the argument is clear and the use of statistics incisive." *Economic Journal*.

SGF / 285 pp. / 1972 / paper 1079-8 \$3.50 / cloth 1080-1 \$8.95

Phase II in Review: The Price Commission Experience

Robert F. Lanzillotti, Mary T. Hamilton, & R. Blaine Roberts. See under New Books.

Planned Variation: Should We Give Up or Try Harder?

Alice M. Rivlin & P. Michael Timpane, Editors. See under New Books.

Selected Brookings Paperbacks 1975

The Accessible City

Wilfred Owen. 6769-2 \$2.95

Accounting for United States Economic Growth, 1929-1969

Edward F. Denison. 1803-9 \$5.50

Administrative Feedback: Monitoring Subordinates' Behavior

Herbert Kaufman. 4837-x \$2.50

Between State and Nation: Regional Organizations of the United States

Martha Derthick. 1811-x \$2.95

Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy

Morton H. Halperin. 3407-7 \$3.95

Capital Needs in the Seventies

Barry Bosworth, James S. Duesenberry, & Andrew S. Carron. 1031-3 \$2.50

The Changing Soviet Navy

Barry M. Blechman. 0995-1 \$1.50

Congress and Urban Problems: A Casebook on the Legislative Process

Frederic N. Cleaveland & Associates. 1473-4 \$3.95

Congressional Ethics: The View from the House

Paul E. Beard & Stephen Horn. 0855-6 \$2.50

Control of Long-Term International Capital Movements

Sir Alec Cairncross. 1237-5 \$2.50

The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities

Barry M. Blechman. 0987-7 \$2.50

The Convention Problem: Issues in Reform of Presidential Nominating Procedures

Judith H. Parris. 6927-x \$2.95

Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn from Europe

James L. Sundquist. 8213-6 \$3.95

The Distribution of Farm Subsidies: Who Gets the Benefits?

Charles L. Schultze. 7753-1 \$1.50

The Doctor Shortage: An Economic Diagnosis

Rashi Fein. 2771-2 \$2.95

Do the Poor Want to Work? A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations

Leonard Goodwin. 3205-8 \$2.95

Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States

James L. Sundquist. 8215-2 \$4.50

East Asia and U.S. Security

Ralph N. Clough. 1479-3 \$3.50

Economic Aspects of Television Regulation

Roger G. Noll, Merton J. Peck, & John J. McGowan. 6109-0 \$4.95

Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal

Jerome Rothenberg. 7591-1 \$3.50

Economics of Public Finance

Alan S. Blinder & Robert M. Solow, George F. Break, Peter O. Steiner, Dick Netzer. 0997-8 \$4.95

Economics of the Property Tax

Dick Netzer. 6039-6 \$4.95

Educational Performance Contracting: An Evaluation of an Experiment

Edward M. Gramlich & Patricia P. Koshel. 3239-2 \$2.50

Equality and Efficiency: The Big Tradeoff

Arthur M. Okun. 6475-8 \$2.95

Financing Presidential Campaigns

Delmer D. Dunn. 1961-2 \$2.95

Financing State and Local Governments

James A. Maxwell. Rev. Ed. 5513-9 \$3.50

Government and the Sports Business

Roger G. Noll, Editor. 6105-8 \$3.95

In Pursuit of Price Stability: The Wage-Price Freeze of 1971

Arnold R. Weber. 9263-8 \$2.95

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States

George F. Break. 1073-9 \$3.50

Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Community Level

James L. Sundquist. 8217-9 \$3.50

Making Monetary and Fiscal Policy

G. L. Bach. 0739-8 \$3.50

Medicare and the Hospitals: Issues and Prospects

Herman M. Somers & Anne R. Somers. 8039-7 \$3.95

The Military Pay Muddle

Martin Binkin. 0961-7 \$2.50

Money and Capital in Economic Development

Ronald I. McKinnon. 5613-5 \$2.95

Monitoring Revenue Sharing

Richard P. Nathan, Allen D. Manvel, Susannah E. Calkins, & Associates. 5983-5 \$4.95

National Health Insurance: Benefits, Costs, and Consequences

Karen Davis. 1759-8 \$2.95

Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem

Christopher Green. 3263-5 \$2.95

New Forces in World Politics

Seyom Brown. 1117-4 \$3.50

A New U.S. Policy toward China

A. Doak Barnett. 0817-3 \$2.95

The Next Phase in Foreign Policy

Henry Owen, Editor. 6765-x \$3.95

The Nutrition Factor: Its Role in National Development

Alan Berg. 0913-7 \$3.95

The Payroll Tax for Social Security

John A. Brittain. 1079-8 \$3.50

Perspectives on Presidential Selection

Donald R. Matthews, Editor. 5507-4 \$2.95

Phase II in Review: The Price Commission Experience

Robert F. Lanzillotti, Mary T. Hamilton, & R. Blaine Roberts. 5143-5 \$3.50

Planned Variation: Should We Give Up or Try Harder?

Alice M. Rivlin & P. Michael Timpane, Editors. 7479-6 \$3.50

The Politics and Economics of Public Spending

Charles L. Schultze. 7751-5 \$2.95

Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years

James L. Sundquist. 8221-7 \$4.95

Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy

Allen V. Kneese & Charles L. Schultze. 4993-7 \$2.95

The Presidential Campaign: The Leadership Selection Process after Watergate

Stephen Hess. 3589-8 \$2.50

Reforming Regulation: An Evaluation of the Ash Council Proposals

Roger G. Noll. 6107-4 \$2.50

Reforming School Finance

Robert D. Reischauer & Robert W. Hartman. 7395-1 \$2.95

Sequel to Bretton Woods: A Proposal to Reform the World Monetary System

Lawrence B. Krause. 5035-8 \$1.00

Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget

Charles L. Schultze with Edward K. Hamilton & Allen Schick. 7749-3 \$2.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget

Charles L. Schultze, Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin & Nancy H. Teeters. 7755-8 \$3.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget

Charles L. Schultze, Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin & Nancy H. Teeters. 7757-4 \$4.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1974 Budget

Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin, Charles L. Schultze & Nancy H. Teeters. 2933-2 \$3.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1975 Budget

Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich & Robert W. Hartman. 0993-5 \$3.50

Setting National Priorities: The 1976 Budget

Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, & Robert W. Hartman. 0991-9 \$3.50

Shelter and Subsidies: Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policies?

Henry J. Aaron. 0017-2 \$3.50

Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament

James W. McKie, Editor. 5607-0 \$4.95

Social Security: Perspectives for Reform

J. A. Pechman, H. J. Aaron & M. K. Taussig. 6973-3 \$4.95

Soldiers without Enemies: Preparing the United Nations for Peacekeeping

Larry L. Fabian. 2725-9 \$3.50

The State of Welfare

Gilbert Y. Steiner. 8121-0 \$3.95

- Strategic Forces: Issues for the Mid-Seventies**
Alton H. Quanbeck & Barry M. Blechman. 7283-1 \$2.50
- Stresses in U.S.-Japanese Security Relations**
Fred Greene. 3271-6 \$2.50
- Support Costs in the Defense Budget: The Submerged One-Third**
Martin Binkin. 0957-9 \$1.50
- Systematic Thinking for Social Action**
Alice M. Rivlin. 7477-x \$2.95
- Tax Incentives and Capital Spending**
Gary Fromm, Editor. 2941-3 \$3.50
- Third Parties in Presidential Elections**
Daniel A. Mazmanian. 5521-x \$2.95
- Toward the Integration of World Agriculture**
A tripartite report. 8511-9 \$1.00
- Uncertain Passage: China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era**
A. Doak Barnett. 0819-x \$3.95
- Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services**
Martha Derthick. 1813-6 \$2.50
- U.S. Force Structure in NATO: An Alternative**
Richard D. Lawrence & Jeffrey Record. 5171-0 \$2.50
- U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Issues and Alternatives**
Jeffrey Record with the assistance of Thomas I. Anderson. 7365-x \$2.50
- U.S. Reserve Forces: The Problem of the Weekend Warrior**
Martin Binkin. 0959-5 \$2.50
- U.S. Tactical Air Power: Missions, Forces, and Costs**
William D. White. 9371-5 \$2.50
- U.S. Troops in Europe: Issues, Costs, and Choices**
John Newhouse with Melvin Croan, Edward R. Fried & Timothy W. Stanley. 6045-0 \$2.95
- Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System**
Wallace S. Sayre & Judith H. Parris. 7719-1 \$2.95
- The Wage-Price Guideposts**
John Sheahan. 7841-4 \$2.95
- Who Bears the Tax Burden?**
Joseph A. Pechman & Benjamin A. Okner. 6967-9 \$2.50
- Why Is Welfare So Hard to Reform?**
Henry J. Aaron. 0019-9 \$1.95
- Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment**
Joseph A. Pechman & P. Michael Timpane, Editors. 6975-x \$3.50
- A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization**
Dankwart A. Rustow. 7641-1 \$3.50

Brookings paperbacks are also available
in the United States from

NACSCORP 528 East Lorraine Street, Oberlin, Ohio 44074



THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Policy Simulations with an Econometric Model

Gary Fromm & Paul Taubman. "This work is a description of the sophisticated econometric model of the United States economy that has been built by the Brookings Institution. Utilizing over 300 equations and 2,000 variables, it evaluates through rigorous analytical methods the efficiency and impact on the economy of policy actions." *Stanford Law Review*.

179 pp. / 1968 / 2944-8 \$7.95

The Political Economy of Prosperity

Arthur M. Okun. "Mr. Okun combines a superlatively lucid and muscular prose style with great technical expertise." *The Times* [London]. "This slim and readable book . . . enables the outsider to share the practical policy insights growing out of the author's experience as an insider." *Wall Street Journal*.

152 pp. / 1970 / 6478-2 \$5.95

Available in paperback from W. W. Norton & Co.

The Politics and Economics of Public Spending

Charles L. Schultze. This study discusses planning, programming, and budgeting—a system that seeks to bring analysis to program decisions by merging program planning and budgetary allocation. "A really important book rarely appears. But the publication . . . of Charles Schultze's 1968 H. Rowan Gaither Lectures is such an event." *The Times* (London).

143 pp. / 1968 / paper 7751-5 \$2.95 / cloth 7752-3 \$6.95

Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy

Allen V. Kneese & Charles L. Schultze. See under New Books.

Poverty and Discrimination

Lester C. Thurow. "A scholarly, sober investigation of the causes of poverty in America." *Annals*. "Required reading for anyone interested in the economics of racial problems." *Choice*.

SSE / 214 pp. / 1969 / 8444-9 \$7.95

Problems in Public Expenditure Analysis

Samuel B. Chase, Jr., Editor. Contributors: James T. Bonnen, Roland N. McKean, James R. Nelson, T. C. Schelling, Burton A. Weisbrod. ". . . a useful book and it will probably find its way onto the reading lists of those who teach cost-benefit analysis, and it should be read by all those who are concerned with the analysis of public expenditures." *American Political Science Review*.

SGF / 269 pp. / 1968 / paper 1381-9 \$4.50 / cloth 1382-7 \$8.95

Promoting Competition in Regulated Markets

Almarin Phillips, Editor. See under New Books.

Public Contracts and Private Wages: Experience under the Walsh-Healey Act

Herbert C. Morton. "... a complete history and valuable summary." *Monthly Labor Review*. "... a pioneering study ... a standard reference in the field." *Choice*.

140 pp. / 1965 / paper 5855-3 \$2.00

Public Employee Unionism: Structure, Growth, Policy

Jack Stieber. This book discusses basic forms of public employee organization, examines their structure and administration, and deals with the behavior of government unions and associations with respect to interorganizational competition and cooperation, bargaining units and representation elections, collective bargaining, strikes, and political action. "... very timely and excellent study..." *Library Journal*.

SUG / 256 pp. / 1973 / 8160-1 \$8.95

Public Policy toward General Aviation

Jeremy J. Warford. "... a fine addition to the literature on airline and aviation problems." *Annals*.

REA / 193 pp. / 1972 / 9226-3 \$7.95

Reforming Regulation:

An Evaluation of the Ash Council Proposals

A staff paper by Roger G. Noll. "A good but brief summary of one view of regulation; its strength is as a very useful and enlightening critique of the Ash Council proposals." *Choice*.

REA / 116 pp. / 1971 / 6107-4 \$2.50

Reforming School Finance

Robert D. Reischauer & Robert W. Hartman with the assistance of Daniel J. Sullivan. "... a concise and discriminating analysis... The authors display the customary literary skills of Brookings researchers. Clarity and parsimony in developing arguments are the hallmarks of the book." *Choice*. "... a very complete analysis..." *Annals*.

SSE / 185 pp. / 1973 / paper 7395-1 \$2.95 / cloth 7396-x \$7.95

The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education

Alice M. Rivlin. "... a highly readable sketch of the origin and growth of federal activities in higher education and a well-organized survey of ... current programs." *Journal of Finance*.

179 pp. / 1961 / paper 7475-3 \$2.95

Sequel to Bretton Woods:

A Proposal to Reform the World Monetary System

A staff paper by Lawrence B. Krause. "... For those who have not found the often arcane jargon of financial writers enlightening, this booklet should be helpful... The facts it contains on gold losses, foreign trade, exchange rates and the rest, are nearly as fresh as the last Sunday supplement, while the intellectual content is a good deal deeper." *New Republic*.

50 pp. / 1971 / 5035-8 \$1.00

Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget

Charles L. Schultze with Edward K. Hamilton and Allen Schick. "A remarkably interesting demonstration of how the apparently pedestrian task of making the budget in fact involves major policy choices..." *Foreign Affairs*.

192 pp. / 1970 / paper 7749-3 \$2.95 / cloth 7750-7 \$7.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget

Charles L. Schultze, Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin, & Nancy H. Teeters. "... a superbly lucid and intelligent book, unsentimentally calling the roll of Federal programs and recording the arguments pro and con." *New York Times*.

336 pp. / 1971 / paper 7755-8 \$3.95 / cloth 7756-6 \$9.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget

Charles L. Schultze, Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin, & Nancy H. Teeters. "... brilliant..." *New York Times*, *The Economist*, *Newsweek*. "... a sober, tough-minded, brilliant analysis of where we are, how we got here and the painful dilemmas soon to be faced." *Evening Star* (Washington).

468 pp. / 1972 / paper 7757-4 \$4.95 / cloth 7758-2 \$9.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1974 Budget

Edward R. Fried, Alice M. Rivlin, Charles L. Schultze, & Nancy H. Teeters. "An excellent authoritative work." *Library Journal*. "... indispensable to those who wish to consider national priorities in a meaningful fashion." *Challenge*.

446 pp. / 1973 / paper 2933-2 \$3.95 / cloth 2934-0 \$9.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1975 Budget

Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, & Robert W. Hartman. "Like its predecessors, this year's book is a gold mine of information about the government's policy choices for the future, including inflation, defense, and social programs." *New York Times*.

269 pp. / 1974 / paper 0993-5 \$3.50 / cloth 0994-3 \$7.95

Setting National Priorities: The 1976 Budget

Barry M. Blechman, Edward M. Gramlich, & Robert W. Hartman. See under New Books.

Shelter and Subsidies:

Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policies?

Henry J. Aaron. "... a gem ... an essential guide through the thicket of existing housing programs, their rationales, operational specifics, and occasional abuses. In the finest traditions of Brookings publications, by an exhaustive, literate, and impartial analysis of existing programs, the volume prepares the way for reasoned alternatives." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

SSE / 238 pp. / 1972 / paper 0017-2 \$3.50 / cloth 0018-0 \$8.95

Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament

James W. McKie, Editor. See under New Books.

Social Security: Perspectives for Reform

Joseph A. Pechman, Henry J. Aaron, & Michael K. Taussig. "It represents a unique relating of social security philosophy to tax policy and funding operations, with redistribution of wealth as a conscious aim. Functions and contradictions of the present system are clearly and concisely explained, and a closely reasoned argument supports the authors' agenda for reform." *Choice*. "... a major contribution to the field." *Annals*.

SSE / 352 pp. / 1968 / paper 6973-3 \$4.95 / cloth 6974-1 \$8.95

Soviet Transport Experience: Its Lessons for Other Countries

Holland Hunter. "... an absorbing and illuminating volume, which is a significant addition to the literature on the broad subject of the relationship between transportation and economic development ... a first-rate achievement, well documented, well analyzed, and well written." *Annals*.

TRP / 194 pp. / 1968 / 3826-9 \$7.95

Strategy for Mobility

Wilfred Owen. "... a sound statement of world transport problems and ... 'must' reading for those who seek to remain informed." *Annals*. "In lucid and conversational prose he tackles subjects which have baffled and frustrated other economists." *Christian Science Monitor*.

TRP / 249 pp. / 1964 / 6776-5 \$6.95

Studies in Economic Stabilization

Albert Ando, E. Cary Brown, & Ann F. Friedlaender, Editors. Contributors: Albert Ando, E. Cary Brown, Ann F. Friedlaender, Stephen M. Goldfeld, William H. Oakland, Howard Pack, Stephen A. Resnick, Michael H. Spiro. "The level of technical skill demonstrated by all of the participants is of the highest and all of the papers address themselves to significant problems. The book must certainly be studied by anyone with an interest in fiscal economics and stabilization policy." *Journal of Finance*.

SGF / 299 pp. / 1968 / paper 0415-1 \$3.95

Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance

Otto Eckstein, Editor. Contributors: Henry Aaron, Lora S. Collins, John W. Dorsey, Charles Warden, Jr. Studies of government programs to improve the well-being of low income people. "Into a swelling controversy, Brookings Institution drops cool statistics." *Christian Science Monitor*.

SGF / 254 pp. / 1967 / paper 2085-8 \$2.95

Systematic Thinking for Social Action

Alice M. Rivlin. "In this beautifully and lucidly written volume, Alice Rivlin raises some of the most important questions about social problems and social action facing government decision makers." *Welfare in Review*. "... important reading for both students of social policy and participants in its formation." *Journal of Human Resources*.

150 pp. / 1971 / paper 7477-x \$2.95 / cloth 7478-8 \$6.95

Tax Incentives and Capital Spending

Gary Fromm, Editor. Contributors: Robert E. Hall and Dale W. Jorgenson; Charles W. Bischoff; Robert M. Coen; and Lawrence R. Klein and Paul Taubman; discussion papers by Franklin M. Fisher and Arnold C. Harberger. These four papers, discussed at a Brookings conference in November 1967, use econometric models to examine the effects of the investment tax credit and other tax incentives on investment expenditures.

SGF / 301 pp. / 1971 / paper 2941-3 \$3.50 / cloth 2942-1 \$8.50

The Taxation of Income from Capital

Arnold C. Harberger & Martin J. Bailey, Editors. Contributors: Susan Agria, Martin J. Bailey, Arnold C. Harberger, Marvin Kosters, David Laidler, Robert E. Lucas, Jr., Leonard G. Rosenberg, Luigi Tambini, Colin Wright. An analysis of the economic effects of federal taxation on income from capital and on resource allocation.

SGF / 331 pp. / 1969 / paper 3455-7 \$3.50 / cloth 3456-5 \$7.50

Techniques of Transport Planning

John R. Meyer, Editor

Volume 1: Pricing and Project Evaluation

John R. Meyer and Mahlon R. Straszheim

Volume 2: Systems Analysis and Simulation Models

David T. Kresge and Paul O. Roberts

Volume 1 surveys theories of transport pricing, welfare economics, and cost-benefit analysis to provide a framework for evaluating large investments in transport facilities, particularly in low-income countries. Volume 2 applies systems techniques to specific planning problems in Colombia, using a large-scale simulation model.

Vol. 1: / TRP / 343 pp. / 1971 / 5690-9 \$9.95

Vol. 2: / TRP / 228 pp. / 1971 / 5040-4 \$8.95

Technological Change in Regulated Industries

William M. Capron, Editor. Contributors: Fred M. Westfield, William R. Hughes, Roger G. Noll, William G. Shepherd, Almarin Phillips, Aaron J. Gellman, William M. Capron. An analysis of the interaction between governmental regulation and technological change.

REA / 238 pp. / 1971 / 1282-0 \$8.95

Technology, Economic Growth, and Public Policy

Richard R. Nelson, Merton J. Peck, & Edward D. Kalachek. A joint Brookings Institution-Rand Corporation study. "... the book surveys the literature regarding technological change and economic growth, brings together the many diverse strands of fact and argument ... and relates the results to problems of public policy ... a well-executed, concise, and readable treatment of the subject. ..." *Science*.

238 pp. / 1967 / 6026-4 \$8.95

Transport and the Economic Integration of South America

Robert T. Brown. "The first book in English in the specific area; well organized, coherent and brilliantly written. . . . A timely book. . . . Especially recommended to scholars on Latin America and to students in economics, graduates and undergraduates." *Choice*.

TRP / 288 pp. / 1966 / 1116-6 \$8.95

Transport and National Goals

Edwin T. Haeefe, Editor. Contributors: Edward S. Mason, Robert Jones, Wilfred Owen, William Hughes, Richard Weisskoff. An analysis of the relationship between national goals and transport decisions and between politics and economic planning.

TRP / 201 pp. / 1969 / 3374-7 \$8.95

Trusts and Estate Taxation

Gerald R. Jantscher. "... analyzes a rich collection of data to show the actual dispositions in trust of a group of decedents for whom federal estate tax returns were filed in 1957 and 1959." *The Financial Post* (Toronto).

SSE / 211 pp. / 1967 / paper 4575-3 \$2.95 / cloth 4576-1 \$7.50

The Unions and the Cities

Harry H. Wellington & Ralph K. Winter, Jr. "Professors Wellington and Winter, Jr. in this book boldly and often with much imagination provide innovative, practical proposals for resolving difficult issues, adding substance to their position that experimentation is presently a viable and rational method to find the best system for balancing the interests of the public, the unions, and the cities." *William and Mary Law Review*.

SUG / 226 pp. / 1972 / 9294-8 \$8.95

Wage Policy and Long-Term Contracts

Joseph W. Garbarino. "... a first-rate job . . . Garbarino has provided us with a highly intelligent and informative study of a many-faceted topic of high importance." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*.

145 pp. / 1962 / paper 3035-7 \$2.95

The Wage-Price Guideposts

John Sheahan. The purpose of this monograph is to clarify issues, evaluate U.S. experience, and provide a basis for informed public discussion. "... clearly written, balanced, and objective . . . a very useful contribution." *Library Journal*.

219 pp. / 1967 / paper 7841-4 \$2.95 / cloth 7842-2 \$7.95

Who Bears the Tax Burden?

Joseph A. Pechman & Benjamin A. Okner. "There is no comparable work in terms of completeness and rigor of analysis." *Choice*. "... comprehensive and useful. . . ." *Annals*. "Pechman and Okner have produced a very impressive study." *Monthly Labor Review*.

SSE / 119 pp. / 1974 / paper 6967-9 \$2.50 / cloth 6968-7 \$5.95

Why Growth Rates Differ: Postwar Experience in Nine Western Countries

Edward F. Denison assisted by Jean-Pierre Poullicr. "His monumental new work . . . is scrupulous, of massive scope, and a model of skill in application. . . . It is impossible to commend the work and its authors too highly. . . ." *Times Literary Supplement* (London).

494 pp. / 1967 / paper 1805-5 \$5.50 / cloth 1806-3 \$12.50

Why Is Welfare So Hard to Reform?

A staff paper by Henry J. Aaron. "... a brilliant analysis. . . ." *Social Work*. "... a brief but excellent study. . . ." *Library Journal*. "... tightly-written. . . ." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

SSE / 71 pp. / 0019-9 \$1.95

Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment

Joseph A. Pechman & P. Michael Timpane, Editors. See under New Books.

The World Bank since Bretton Woods

Edward S. Mason & Robert E. Asher. See under Foreign Policy.

Government: Complete List

Administrative Feedback:

Monitoring Subordinates' Behavior

Herbert Kaufman with the collaboration of Michael Couzens. This book reports on a study of administrative feedback from subordinates to leaders in nine federal bureaus. It describes the processes by which information about subordinates flows back to headquarters and assesses that information in an effort to find out whether leaders could, if they wanted to, learn what happens below. "...an important new book. . ." *Washington Monthly*.

83 pp. / 1973 / paper 4837-x \$2.50 / cloth 4838-8 \$5.95

Agenda for the Nation

Kermit Gordon, Editor. Contributors: Charles L. Schultze, James L. Sundquist, James Tobin, Kenneth B. Clark, Anthony Downs, James Q. Wilson, Ralph W. Tyler, Clark Kerr, Herbert Stein, Stephen K. Bailey, Francis M. Bator, Marshall D. Shulman, Edwin O. Reischauer, John C. Campbell, Richard N. Cooper, Max F. Millikan, Carl Kaysen, Henry A. Kissinger. "...a superb one-volume introduction to the problems facing this nation today. . ." *John W. Gardner*. "...a fact-crammed, scholarly, thoughtful and thought-provoking volume." *Wall Street Journal*.

620 pp. / 1968 / 3210-4 \$10.50

Available in paperback from Doubleday & Co.

The Assistant Secretaries:

Problems and Processes of Appointment

Dean E. Mann with Jameson W. Doig. "...an original and positive contribution to our knowledge of government and of administration . . . clear, straightforward prose, is free of jargon, is well organized, is sound in its scholarship, and is balanced in its judgments." *Annals*.

310 pp. / 1965 / 5452-3 \$8.95

Bankruptcy: Problem, Process, Reform

David T. Stanley & Marjorie Girth with Vern Countryman, Gerald R. Jantscher, Warren A. Law, Victor G. Rosenblum, & Melvin G. Shimm. "...an extremely competent and interesting review of the current procedures in bankruptcy in the United States. . . . An important book that should be read by every concerned citizen and hopefully by legislators as well." *Banker's Magazine*.

270 pp. / 1971 / 8098-2 \$8.95

Between State and Nation:

Regional Organizations of the United States

Martha Derthick with the assistance of Gary Bombardier. "...remarkably lucid and analytically sophisticated treatment. . . . There is no similar work with which this effort can be compared." *Perspective*.

242 pp. / 1974 / paper 1811-x \$2.95 / cloth 1812-8 \$7.95

Budget Innovation in the States

Allen Schick. "...an important contribution to the understanding of financial planning in this form of non-business organization." *Journal of Finance*. "It is a definitive, critical, and highly readable examination of what has and has not been done by the states in the wake of the 'performance budgeting' efforts of the 1950s and the Planning-Programming-Budgeting (PPB) concepts of the 1960s." *Annals*.

223 pp. / 1971 / 7730-2 \$8.95

Changing Administrations:

The 1961 and 1964 Transitions in Six Departments

David T. Stanley. How soon, how thoroughly, how smoothly the Kennedy administration began to "operate" at the departmental level are the main questions explored with a brief discussion of the initial transition to the Johnson administration. "An extremely important study." *Challenge*. "...worthwhile, and can be read with interest and profit by all students and practitioners of public administration." *Monthly Labor Review*.

147 pp. / 1965 / 8100-8 \$5.95

Congress and Urban Problems:

A Casebook on the Legislative Process

Frederic N. Cleaveland & Associates. Contributors: Randall B. Ripley, M. Kent Jennings, John E. Moore, Judith H. Parris, Royce Hanson. "This fine collection of case studies edited by Professor Cleaveland represents the first major attempt to analyze the challenge which urbanization as a field of public policy has posed for Congress." *American Political Science Review*.

405 pp. / 1969 / paper 1473-4 \$3.95 / cloth 1474-2 \$9.95

Congressional Control of Administration

Joseph P. Harris. Primarily concerned with statutory control, congressional hold on the pursestrings, and the role of committees. "...an excellent guide in a quest for a new theory of executive-legislative relationships." *Annals*.

306 pp. / 1964 / 3480-8 \$8.95

Congressional Districting:

The Issue of Equal Representation

Andrew Hacker. "It poses sharp issues, faces them directly, and usually gives unequivocal answers . . . a useful compendium on the present state of congressional districting. . . . One of the best aspects . . . is his discussion of the problem of gerrymandering." *Political Science Quarterly*.

144 pp. / rev. ed. 1964 / paper 3369-0 \$1.95

Congressional Ethics: The View from the House

Edmund Beard & Stephen Horn. See under New Books.

The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It

Charles L. Clapp. "... an important book, an expert analysis, a treasure trove of the concrete material that far too much of our previous writings on Congress has lacked." *Saturday Review*. "... a revealing and fascinating report." *New York Times Book Review*.

452 pp. / 1963 / 1442-4 \$9.95

Available in paperback from Doubleday & Co.

Contracting for Atoms

Harold Orlans. Poses a number of public policy issues. Based primarily upon public documents and extensive interviews, the study discusses current AEC contract policies and problems, the dramatis personae, and the Commission's future role. "... surprisingly lively and engrossing reading ... a valuable compilation of viewpoints, often acerbic and often acute." *Science*.

242 pp. / 1967 / 6642-4 \$8.95

Convention Decisions and Voting Records Second Edition

Richard C. Bain & Judith H. Parris. This classic book, whose first edition was published in 1960, presents a lively, authentic record of presidential nominations for each major-party convention from 1832 through 1972 as well as a brief examination of the pre-convention years, 1789-1828.

SPS / 480 pp. / 2d ed. 1973 / 0768-1 \$14.95

The Convention Problem: Issues in Reform of Presidential Nominating Procedures

Judith H. Parris. "Students of American government generally, and of political parties in particular, will find this book a valuable contribution to the literature." *Perspective*.

SPS / 194 pp. / 1972 / paper 6927-x \$2.95 / cloth 6928-8 \$6.95

Dispersing Population: What America Can Learn from Europe

James L. Sundquist. See under New Books.

Do the Poor Want to Work? A Social-Psychological Study of Work Orientations

Leonard Goodwin. "... it is an important ... book ... directed ... to finding out the truth about the relation between work and poverty in America." *Washington Post*.

178 pp. / 1972 / paper 3205-8 \$2.95 / cloth 3206-6 \$6.95

Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States

James L. Sundquist. This is a comprehensive historical analysis of the circumstances, causes, and processes of change in the political party system in the United States. "... important and careful study..." *Library Journal*.

388 pp. / 1973 / paper 8215-2 \$4.50 / cloth 8216-0 \$9.95

Every Second Year: Congressional Behavior and the Two-Year Term

Charles O. Jones. "This well-written book, which is a valuable addition to the Brookings Institution's Governmental Studies program, should be acquired by all public and academic libraries." *Library Journal*. "The book is well-written and will interest the lay reader as well as the scholar..." *Annals*.

118 pp. / 1967 / paper 4711-x \$2.25 / cloth 4712-8 \$6.95

Financing Presidential Campaigns

Delmer D. Dunn. "... one of those refreshing political science books that will have an impact on politics." *Journal of Politics*.

SPS / 168 pp. / 1972 / paper 1961-2 \$2.95 / cloth 1962-0 \$6.95

Government Contracting and Technological Change

Clarence H. Danhof. "... to be welcomed as the first sustained treatment of the phenomenon of contracting-out for research and development. It comprises an excellent background reference for the student of government on both the substance of R&D programs and the processes of contracting-out." *American Political Science Review*.

472 pp. / 1968 / 1724-5 \$9.95

Government Publications and Their Use

Laurence F. Schmeckebier & Roy B. Eastin. "Nowhere but in Schmeckebier is there such a clear exposition of the quirks involved in the issuing of government documents, and the best ways to work with indexes and keys to this primary research material." *Library Journal*.

502 pp. / rev. ed. 1969 / 7736-1 \$12.50

The Higher Civil Service: An Evaluation of Federal Personnel Practices

David T. Stanley. "The estimated 16,000 employees who help carry out policy and programs for Uncle Sam have been put under an effective literary microscope by David T. Stanley." *Washington Post*. "... it is this encyclopedic, comparative approach which gives the study its great value." *Public Personnel Review*.

145 pp. / 1964 / 8104-0 \$5.95

The Job of the Federal Executive

Marver H. Bernstein. "... a rich record of realism. Professor Bernstein has skillfully shaped a readable and a significant report." *Public Administration Review*.

241 pp. / 1958 / 0918-8 \$6.95

Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Community Level

James L. Sundquist with the collaboration of David W. Davis. "The first definitive book on federal community programs launched in the 1960s . . . should be required reading for local administrators, cabinet members, governors, and others concerned with reducing the dysfunctional effects of these programs and strengthening democratic local government." *Public Management*.

293 pp. / 1969 / paper 8217-9 \$3.50 / cloth 8218-7 \$8.95

Men Who Govern: A Biographical Profile of Federal Political Executives

David T. Stanley, Dean E. Mann, & Jameson W. Doig. "... Thoroughly researched, commendably readable. . . . The authors' findings are significant and interesting. . . . [It] deserves and will surely receive the serious attention of politicians and students of politics alike." *Western Political Quarterly*.

169 pp. / 1967 / 8108-3 \$6.95

Monitoring Revenue Sharing

Richard P. Nathan, Allen D. Manvel, Susannah E. Calkins, & Associates. See under New Books.

The National Election of 1964

Milton C. Cummings, Jr., Editor. Contributors: Herbert E. Alexander, Angus Campbell, Milton C. Cummings, Jr., Stanley Kelley, Jr., Nelson W. Polsby, Charles A. H. Thomson, Paul Tillett. "... a valuable collection of 'interpretive and analytical' essays that are also highly readable and provocative." *Choice*.

295 pp. / 1966 / 1642-7 \$8.95

Party Leaders in the House of Representatives

Randall B. Ripley. "This volume is not only informative but is also suggestive of areas for further study." *Library Journal*. "... a stimulating and suggestive book which should command the attention of both historians and political scientists." *Journal of American History*.

221 pp. / 1967 / cloth 7470-2 \$7.95

Perspectives on Presidential Selection

Donald R. Matthews, Editor. This book comprises an introduction by the editor and seven original articles by younger scholars chosen on the basis of an open competition. "... a carefully done study." *Library Journal*.

SPS / 246 pp. / 1973 / paper 5507-4 \$2.95 / cloth 5508-2 \$7.95

Political Campaigning:

Problems in Creating an Informed Electorate

Stanley Kelley, Jr. "The argument of the book is striking and unusual. . . . Seldom have [these proposals] been conjoined in so vigorous a presentation." *Annals*.

163 pp. / 1960 / 4878-7 \$4.95

Politics and Policy:

The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years

James L. Sundquist. "... indispensable reading for anyone concerned with American national government. . . . For an over-view of the [policy-making] process few books can compare with this one." *American Political Science Review*. "... not merely timely; it is excellent. . . . To the next four years, and for longer, this will be a classic guide." *Times Literary Supplement* (London). "... an impressive, timely, and forthright analysis. . . ." *Annals*.

560 pp. / 1968 / paper 8221-7 \$4.95 / cloth 8222-5 \$9.95

The Presidential Campaign: The Leadership Selection Process after Watergate

An essay by Stephen Hess. Arguing that the political campaign is one way of testing potential Presidents, this essay analyzes the qualities—personal, political, and executive—expected in a President and evaluates the effectiveness of the campaign as a test. "... unconventional wisdom. . . ." *Washington Star-News*. "... timely and useful. . . ." *Perspective*.

121 pp. / 1974 / paper 3589-8 \$2.50

The Presidential Election and Transition 1960–1961: Brookings Lectures and Additional Papers

Paul T. David, Editor. Contributors: Herbert E. Alexander, Paul T. David, Laurin L. Henry, John M. Hightower, Stanley Kelley, Jr., V. O. Key, Jr., Eugene J. McCarthy, Thruston B. Morton, Charles A. H. Thomson, Paul Tillett. Seven political scientists, two United States senators, and one newspaperman review the campaign of 1960.

353 pp. / 1961 / 1746-6 \$9.95

Presidential Transitions

Laurin L. Henry. "Mr. Henry writes straightforward curb-stone prose. Also on the credit side, he has a nose for politics, an ear for a lively anecdote and a keen insight into the workings of government offices and government people . . . it is a book that can be read with satisfaction by anyone interested in American politics and history." *New York Times Book Review*.

755 pp. / 1960 / 3576-6 \$12.50

Science Policy and the University

Harold Orlans, Editor. Contributors: Don K. Price, Harvey Brooks, Christian K. Arnold, Howard E. Page, Hendrik W. Bode, Alvin M. Weinberg, David Z. Robinson, Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, Elmer B. Staats, Herbert Roback, William D. Carey, John F. Morse, Harry Melville, Homer D. Babbidge, Jr. "It is the best available discussion of a subject vital to our society." *Science*.

352 pp. / 1968 / paper 6645-9 \$3.95 / cloth 6646-7 \$9.95

The State of Welfare

Gilbert Y. Steiner. An examination of federal relief programs with close attention to prospects for reform. "A superb book about a desperate problem. It is Steiner's singular capacity to see the subject whole, and to see it steady. It is a book that will have consequences." *Daniel P. Moynihan*.

346 pp. / 1971 / paper 8121-0 \$3.95 / cloth 8122-9 \$9.95

Third Parties in Presidential Elections

Daniel A. Mazmanian. "... a lucid and interesting account with a broad overview of the present perspective and the future outlook of third party impact and influence on selecting the American President." *Choice*.

SPS / 163 pp. / 1974 / paper 5521-x \$2.95 / cloth 5522-8 \$5.95

Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services

Martha Derthick. See under New Books.

United States Merchant Shipping Policies and Politics

Samuel A. Lawrence. "It is carefully written. The research is meticulous. ..." *American Economic Review*. "... the fullest discussion for some years of a generally neglected subject." *Foreign Affairs*.

405 pp. / 1966 / 5172-9 \$9.95

Unused Power: The Work of the Senate Committee on Appropriations

Stephen Horn. A detailed study of the members, staff, and decisions of the committee over a one-year period and the significance of that period in the evolution of the committee historically.

285 pp. / 1970 / 3730-0 \$8.95

Upgrading the American Police: Education and Training for Better Law Enforcement

Charles B. Saunders, Jr. The first effort to summarize and evaluate the state of police education and training and to suggest a national program for its improvement.

182 pp. / 1970 / 7712-4 \$6.95

Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System

Wallace S. Sayre & Judith H. Parris. A comprehensive analysis of the existing electoral system and a comparison of its results with the likely impact of four leading alternatives. "The book is well written and deserves a place in academic libraries." *Library Journal*.

SPS / 169 pp. / 1970 / paper 7719-1 \$2.95 / cloth 7720-5 \$6.95

Foreign Policy: Complete List

Absorptive Capacity:

The Concept and Its Determinants

John H. Adler. This Brookings staff paper inquires into the exact meaning of absorptive capacity and seeks to determine its usefulness for policy purposes, both for the developing countries themselves and for those who control the national and international sources of potential capital available for economic development.

37 pp. / 1965 / paper 0109-8 \$1.25

Agenda for the Nation

Kermit Gordon, Editor. See under Government.

Brazil's Developing Northeast:

A Study of Regional Planning and Foreign Aid

Stefan H. Robock. "... a valuable well documented case study of the region and ... a useful commentary on development processes and planning, as well as the potential and limitations of foreign aid." *World Affairs*.

213 pp. / 1963 / paper 7531-8 \$2.95

Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy

Morton H. Halperin with the assistance of Priscilla Clapp and Arnold Kanter. "No President who wants to control his adviser, and no adviser who wants to influence his President, can fail to read this book." *Washington Post*.

340 pp. / 1974 / paper 3407-7 \$3.95 / cloth 3408-5 \$8.95

The Changing Soviet Navy

A staff paper by **Barry M. Blechman.** "... prose so taut that each one of this staff paper's fifty pages ... must be read two or three times to absorb its import ... This is an important paper which deserves to be carefully read and pondered. ..." *Royal United Services Institute Journal*.

SDP / 51 pp. / 1973 / 0995-1 \$1.50

The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities

Barry M. Blechman. See under New Books.

Cooperative Approaches to World Energy Problems

A tripartite report by fifteen experts from the European Community, Japan, and North America.

51 pp. / 1974 / 1555-2 \$1.00

Crisis in the Congo: A U.N. Force in Action

Ernest W. Lefever. "... the first cool-headed account of what happened after the Belgians abdicated. ... It is a clear forceful piece of writing by a man who knows how to winnow." *New York Times Book Review*. "... required reading for those who care about the United Nations and what it can do to keep the peace." *Washington Post*.

215 pp. / 1965 / paper 5197-4 \$2.95 / cloth 5198-2 \$6.95

Cuba and the United States: Long-Range Perspectives

John Plank, Editor. Contributors: Raymond Aron, Hanson W. Baldwin, Raymond Carr, Alfred Grosser, Leon Lipson, Bayless Manning, Kalman H. Silvert, Robert F. Smith, J. Wilner Sundelson, Tad Szulc, Henry Wriston. "... ten provocative and judicious essays ... informative and timely." *Library Journal*.

265 pp. / 1967 / 7100-2 \$8.95

Development Assistance in the Seventies: Alternatives for the United States

Robert E. Asher. "... a beautifully written, well-organized analysis of the past achievements and difficulties of the U.S. aid program. ... It is the best general assessment of aid—its past and future—available. A must for students of economic development and international economics as well as for undergraduate economics libraries." *Choice*.

248 pp. / 1970 / 0542-5 \$7.95

Development of the Emerging Countries: An Agenda for Research

Robert E. Asher, Everett E. Hagen, Albert O. Hirschman, Gerhard Colm, Theodore Geiger, Arthur T. Mosher, R. S. Eckaus, Mary Jean Bowman, C. Arnold Anderson, Howard Wriggins. "... a guidebook. ... These essays offer some valuable insights into the process of growth, many helpful hints for aid administrators, and even more suggestions for research." *Annals*.

239 pp. / 1962 / paper 0539-5 \$2.95

Development Projects Observed

Albert O. Hirschman. "... filled with provocative insights that should be shared by all who are concerned with the future of economic assistance programs." *Washington Post*. "... another major contribution by an author who has already written two seminal books on development." *Foreign Affairs*.

197 pp. / 1967 / paper 3649-5 \$2.95 / cloth 3650-9 \$8.50

East Asia and U.S. Security

Ralph N. Clough. See under New Books.

Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries

Harry G. Johnson. "... an extremely useful tour d'horizon of the relationships between international economic arrangements and the problems of developing countries. ... Professor Johnson has cut through to fundamental principles and has succeeded in clarifying many issues." *The Economist*. "A lucid and scholarly examination." *Challenge*.

279 pp. / 1967 / 4680-6 \$8.95

Available in paperback from Praeger Publishers

Foreign Aid in a Foreign Policy Framework

Andrew F. Westwood. A Brookings staff paper that seeks to put the American experience in perspective by tracing the broad foreign policy context within which different American aid programs, from the Marshall Plan to the Alliance for Progress, have evolved.

115 pp. / 1966 / paper 9323-5 \$1.95

Grants, Loans, and Local Currencies: Their Role in Foreign Aid

Robert E. Asher. "... by all odds the most enlightening discussion of foreign aid that has come this reviewer's way." *Social Order*.

142 pp. / 1961 / paper 0537-9 \$2.50

Industrialization in a Latin American Common Market

An ECIEL study prepared by Martin Carnoy. "... deserves wide circulation as part of the effort by both Latin and North Americans to come to grips with the need for new policy initiatives. Policy makers and scholars will find persuasive material in this volume to support regional integration in the Americas." *Annals*.

267 pp. / 1972 / 1294-4 \$9.95

Latin American Economic Integration and U.S. Policy

Joseph Grunwald, Miguel S. Wionczek, & Martin Carnoy. "... by far the most concise and clear work that can be obtained on the theme of Latin American economic integration." *Problemas Internacionales*.

216 pp. / 1972 / 3300-3 \$7.50

Latin American Trade Patterns

Donald Baerresen, Martin Carnoy, & Joseph Grunwald. "... another of the Brookings Institution's lucid contributions to economic and policy thinking in and about Latin America." *Law Library Journal*. "A detailed and authoritative analysis." *Challenge*.

329 pp. / 1965 / 0752-5 \$9.95

The Military Pay Muddle

Martin Binkin. See under New Books.

Naval Force Levels and Modernization: An Analysis of Shipbuilding Requirements

A staff paper by Arnold M. Kuzmack. "... concise and lucid work... written as a disinterested professional analysis and sold for a ridiculously low price... out of all proportion to its value." *International Defense Review*.

SDP / 47 pp. / 1971 / paper 5083-8 \$1.50

The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs: American Educational and Cultural Policy Abroad

Charles Frankel. "His book will for years serve as a guide for national policy." *Saturday Review*. "A much-needed examination of what education and culture can do for United States foreign policy." *Challenge*.

156 pp. / 1966 / 2918-9 \$6.95

New Forces in World Politics

Seyom Brown. "A fresh perspective on world order—less issue, problem, scheme oriented; more pragmatic and reflective of the policy establishment. It is logical, carefully structured... an excellent, factually based analysis... *Choice*. "... a challenging and timely account of some of the major issues and forces in world politics. The author ranges across a wide spectrum of problem areas in a readable and lucid style." *The Key Reporter*.

224 pp. / 1974 / paper 1117-4 \$3.50 / cloth 1118-2 \$7.95

A New U.S. Policy toward China

A. Doak Barnett. "The best available spell-out of the choices confronting us in our China policy..." Professor John K. Fairbank, Harvard University. "The prescriptions of this little book, published just after the table-tennis tour, became shortly thereafter the model for U.S. diplomacy in the matter." *Foreign Affairs*.

132 pp. / 1971 / paper 0817-3 \$2.95 / cloth 0818-1 \$6.95

The Next Phase in Foreign Policy

Henry Owen, Editor. "... scholarly, lucid and comprehensive." *Times Literary Supplement*. "... well-balanced and enormously intelligent." *Washington Monthly*. "... represents the best available quick review of where the U.S. may be going and what resources it will use to get there." *Library Journal*.

345 pp. / 1973 / paper 6765-x \$3.95 / cloth 6766-8 \$9.95

Nontariff Distortions of International Trade

Robert E. Baldwin. "The best book yet on nontariff barriers and related practices that interfere with international trade, such as subsidies and taxes. Strong on economic analysis, this study... is also valuable for its descriptive material and suggestions about the kinds of international agreements that would improve matters." *Foreign Affairs*. "... the single most important work in the field." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

320 pp. / 1970 / 0786-x \$8.95

The Nutrition Factor: Its Role in National Development

Alan Berg. "A remarkably rich discussion of a many-faceted problem, with strong policy recommendations." *Foreign Affairs*. "... a major book on an important problem." *Perspective*. "... [a] realistic, highly readable book." *War on Hunger*.

290 pp. / 1973 / paper 0913-7 \$3.95 / cloth 0914-5 \$9.95

Our Troubled Hemisphere: Perspectives on United States-Latin American Relations

Robert N. Burr. "... thought-provoking and occasionally disturbing... highly recommended." *Library Journal*.

256 pp. / 1967 / 1174-3 \$8.95

The Political Role of Labor in Developing Countries

Bruce H. Millen. "... a tough-minded look at labor organization in Asia and Africa." *Christian Science Monitor*. "... a very sound perceptive work..." *Western Political Quarterly*.

148 pp. / 1963 / 5712-3 \$5.95

Prospects for Peacekeeping

Arthur M. Cox. Practical recommendations to improve the management, preparation, and financing of U.N. peacekeeping operations. "Extremely valuable and well written... an essential part of any library collection on U.N. organization." *Choice*.

178 pp. / 1967 / 1586-2 \$6.95

Reassessing North-South Economic Relations

A tripartite report by thirteen experts from the European Community, Japan, and North America.

32 pp. / 1972 / 7363-3 \$1.00

Reshaping the International Economic Order

A tripartite report by twelve economists from North America, the European Community, and Japan. "The report covers much ground in little space..." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

23 pp. / 1972 / \$1.00

Soldiers without Enemies:

Preparing the United Nations for Peacekeeping

Larry L. Fabian. "... break[s] new ground... an admirable... intellectual exercise." *Times Literary Supplement*. "... produces new information and insights." *Annals*. "... a superbly documented work." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*.

315 pp. / 1971 / paper 2725-9 \$3.50 / cloth 2726-7 \$9.95

Spear and Scepter:**Army, Police, and Politics in Tropical Africa**

Ernest W. Lefever. "The roles of the armies and police forces in Ethiopia, Ghana and Congo (Kinshasa) are compared in this first-rate study." *Foreign Affairs*. "... a knowledgeable and perceptive study. ... [an] excellent book." *Dean Acheson*.

251 pp. / 1970 / 5200-8 \$8.50

Strategic Forces: Issues for the Mid-Seventies

A staff paper by Alton H. Quanbeck & Barry M. Blechman. "... admirably clear in layout and argument. ..." *Royal United Services Institute Journal*. "The best general guide to the subject that I have seen." *Brigadier Kenneth Hunt, Deputy Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies*.

SDP / 94 pp. / 1973 / 7283-1 \$2.50

Stresses in U.S.-Japanese Security Relations

Fred Greene. See under New Books.

Support Costs in the Defense Budget:**The Submerged One-Third**

A staff paper by Martin Binkin. Analyzes the composition and spending patterns of the defense support establishment and explains how changes in support policies could affect the overall defense budget. "... recommended to anyone seriously interested in the subject." *Perspective*.

SDP / 49 pp. / 1972 / 0957-9 \$1.50

Technology for Developing Nations:**New Directions for U.S. Technical Assistance**

Rutherford M. Poats. "... an excellent study." *Annals*. "... a solid achievement. ..." *International Development Review*. "... a thoughtful and careful book. ..." *American Political Science Review*. "... penetrating. ..." *Ripon Forum*.

255 pp. / 1972 / 7118-5 \$8.95

Toward the Integration of World Agriculture

A tripartite report by fourteen experts from North America, the European Community, and Japan.

29 pp. / 1973 / 8511-9 \$1.00

Trade in Primary Commodities: Conflict or Cooperation?

A tripartite report by fifteen economists from Japan, the European Community, and North America.

41 pp. / 1974 / 8521-6 \$1.50

Traders and Diplomats: An Analysis of the Kennedy Round of Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Ernest H. Preeg. "An excellent history and analysis of the Kennedy Round." *Foreign Affairs*. "An authoritative and workmanlike account of an interesting and important chapter in the history of Western commercial policy." *Annals*. "One of the best single-volume studies available on the subject." *Library Journal*.

320 pp. / 1970 / 7176-2 \$8.95

The Turkish Revolution 1960-1961:**Aspects of Military Politics**

Walter F. Weiker. "By and large, it seems unlikely that a better study of this brief but important period in Turkey's history will soon be forthcoming." *Middle East Journal*.

172 pp. / 1963 / paper 9281-6 \$2.50

Uncertain Passage: China's Transition to the Post-Mao Era

A. Doak Barnett. "As usual, readers will find in Barnett's work some of the soberest, best informed, most dispassionate, thoughtful, and honest reflections on contemporary China available." *Choice*. "There are ... only very few books which, based upon competent scholarship, present the problems and perspectives of China to the educated public in a readable, but substantiated, manner. Doak Barnett's new book is one of them." *China Quarterly*.

387 pp. / 1974 / paper 0819-x \$3.95 / cloth 0820-3 \$9.95

The United Nations and**United States Security Policy**

Ruth B. Russell. "A carefully researched study advancing the thesis that American security interests would be better served by using the United Nations as a means to create an East-West detente rather than to advance cold-war objectives." *Foreign Affairs*.

510 pp. / 1968 / 7634-9 \$12.50

The United States and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in Southeast Asia

Oliver E. Clubb, Jr. A concise history of Communist and American efforts to influence events in Asia during the cold war, and an assessment of rival strategies in the context of the aspirations of the emerging nations.

173 pp. / 1962 / paper 1481-5 \$2.50

U.S. Force Structure in NATO: An Alternative

A staff paper by Richard D. Lawrence and Jeffrey Record. The authors examine the possibility of devising, within the framework of existing force levels both at home and abroad, an alternative U.S. conventional force structure in NATO that would be more effective and less costly than the present one. "Publication of [this] paper ... will bring into the open a debate over the positioning of American forces in Germany that has continued since the nineteen-fifties." *New York Times*.

SDP / 136 pp. / 1974 / 5171-0 \$2.50

U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Issues and Alternatives

Jeffrey Record with the assistance of Thomas I. Anderson. See under New Books.

U.S. Reserve Forces: The Problem of the Weekend Warrior

A staff paper by Martin Binkin. The author calls for substantial changes in the way the reserves are structured and in their relation to the active forces, changes that would reduce reserve manpower by over 300,000 and active manpower by about 60,000. "The study . . . seems certain to stir controversy in Washington." *Washington Post*.

SDP / 63 pp. / 1974 / 0959-5 \$2.50

U.S. Tactical Air Power: Missions, Forces, and Costs

William D. White. See under New Books.

U.S. Troops in Europe: Issues, Costs, and Choices

John Newhouse with Melvin Croan, Edward R. Fried, & Timothy W. Stanley. "This careful and calm inquiry into the issues, costs, and choices involved is required reading. . . ." Chalmers M. Roberts, *Washington Post*. "The book is a typical good Brookings work: cool and rational, with solid argumentation." *Perspective*.

163 pp. / 1971 / paper 6045-0 \$2.95 / cloth 6046-9 \$7.95

Vietnam after the War: Peacekeeping and Rehabilitation

A staff paper by H. Field Haviland, Jr., Latry L. Fabian, Karl Mathiasen III, & Arthur M. Cox. "... a serious, succinct, yet comprehensive plan for multilateral efforts to keep the peace in Viet-Nam and rehabilitate that war torn country following the cessation of organized hostilities." *Choice*.

116 pp. / 1968 / 3507-3 \$1.95

The World Bank since Bretton Woods

Edward S. Mason & Robert E. Asher. "... a valuable history and analysis." *Foreign Affairs*. "... a magnificent job." *Washington Post*. "... a comprehensive, considered and lucid account . . ." *New York Times Book Review*.

916 pp. / 1973 / 5492-2 \$19.95

A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization

Dankwart A. Rustow. "A first-rate comparative analysis of modernization as a political phenomenon. . . . empirically solid and written in good clear English happily devoid of technical jargon." *Foreign Affairs*. "... shows a depth of thought and solid scholarship not often found in works on the developing nations." *Library Journal*.

306 pp. / 1967 / paper 7641-I \$3.50 / cloth 7642-x \$9.95

World Trade and Domestic Adjustment

A tripartite report by fourteen economists from Japan, the European Community, and North America.

19 pp. / 1973 / 9543-2 \$1.00

Other Publications

The Brookings Institution: A Fifty-Year History

Charles B. Saunders, Jr. The first full account of the Brookings Institution and how it came to play a unique and influential role as an independent center of research and education on important economic, political, and social issues.

118 pp. / 1966 / paper 7713-2 \$2.00 / cloth 7714-0 \$4.50

Reprint Series

Articles of importance by Brookings staff members from professional journals and other publications are reprinted in pamphlet form. Reprints are issued in two separately numbered series, the General Series and the Technical Series. They are available individually or by series subscription (see page 64).

Brookings Books in Series

For convenience, books in Brookings series are listed here by title and author. More complete information is given in the subject category listings on pages 27-58.

Regulation of Economic Activity

Books in the Studies in the Regulation of Economic Activity (REA) series are financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation to study government regulatory policies toward the transport, energy, communications, finance, and other industries.

The Dilemma of Freight Transport Regulation

Ann F. Friedlaender

Technological Change in Regulated Industries

William M. Capron, Editor

Reforming Regulation: An Evaluation of the Ash Council Proposals

Roger G. Noll

International Diffusion of Technology:

The Case of Semiconductors

John E. Tilton

Public Policy toward General Aviation

Jeremy J. Warford

The Local Service Airline Experiment

George C. Eads

Economic Aspects of Television Regulation

Roger G. Noll, Merton J. Peck, and John J. McGowan

Government and the Sports Business

Roger G. Noll, Editor

Energy Regulation by the Federal Power Commission

Stephen G. Breyer and Paul W. MacAvoy

Economic Regulation of Domestic Air Transport: Theory and Policy

George W. Douglas and James C. Miller III

Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament

James W. McKie, Editor

Bread upon the Waters: Federal Aids to the Maritime Industries

Gerald R. Jantscher

Promoting Competition in Regulated Markets

Almarin Phillips, Editor

Studies in Defense Policy

Books and staff papers in the Studies in Defense Policy (SDP) series set forth the results of disinterested professional analysis of defense postures, policies, and budgets.

Naval Force Levels and Modernization: An Analysis of Shipbuilding Requirements

Arnold M. Kuzmack

Support Costs in the Defense Budget:**The Submerged One-Third**

Martin Binkin

Strategic Forces: Issues for the Mid-Seventies

Alton H. Quanbeck and Barry M. Blechman

The Changing Soviet Navy

Barry M. Blechman

U.S. Reserve Forces: The Problem of the Weekend Warrior

Martin Binkin

U.S. Force Structure in NATO: An Alternative

Richard D. Lawrence and Jeffrey Record

U.S. Tactical Air Power: Missions, Forces, and Costs

William D. White

U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Issues and Alternatives

Jeffrey Record with the assistance of Thomas I. Anderson

The Control of Naval Armaments: Prospects and Possibilities

Barry M. Blechman

Stresses in U.S.-Japanese Security Relations

Fred Greene

The Military Pay Muddle

Martin Binkin

Studies of Government Finance

The Studies of Government Finance (SGF) series is sponsored by the National Committee on Government Finance, appointed by the Trustees of the Brookings Institution.

Federal Fiscal Policy in the Postwar Recessions

Wilfred Lewis, Jr.

Federal Tax Treatment of State and Local Securities

(out of print)

David J. Ott and Allan H. Meltzer

Federal Tax Treatment of the Family

Harold M. Groves

The Role of Direct and Indirect Taxes in the Federal Revenue System

John F. Due, Editor. A Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Brookings Institution (order from Princeton University Press)

The Individual Income Tax

Richard Goode

Federal Tax Treatment of Foreign Income (out of print)

Lawrence B. Krause and Kenneth W. Dam

Measuring Benefits of Government Investments

Robert Dorfman, Editor

Federal Budget Policy, Revised Edition

David J. Ott and Attiat F. Ott

Financing State and Local Governments, Revised Edition

James A. Maxwell

Essays in Fiscal Federalism (out of print)

Richard A. Musgrave, Editor

Economics of the Property Tax

Dick Netzer

A Capital Budget Statement for the U.S. Government

Maynard S. Comiez

Foreign Tax Policies and Economic Growth

E. Gordon Keith, Editor. A Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Brookings Institution (order from Columbia University Press)

Defense Purchases and Regional Growth

Roger E. Bolton

Federal Budget Projections

Gerhard Colm and Peter Wagner

Corporate Dividend Policy

John A. Brittain

Federal Estate and Gift Taxes

Carl S. Shoup

Federal Tax Policy, Revised Edition

Joseph A. Pechman

Economic Behavior of the Affluent

Robin Barlow, Harvey E. Brazer, and James N. Morgan

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States

George F. Break

Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance

Otto Eckstein, Editor

Trusts and Estate Taxation

Gerald R. Jantscher

Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem

Christopher Green

Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal

Jerome Rothenberg

Problems in Public Expenditure Analysis

Samuel B. Chase, Jr., Editor

Budget Concepts for Economic Analysis

Wilfred Lewis, Jr., Editor

Studies in Economic Stabilization

Albert Ando, E. Cary Brown, and Ann F. Friedlaender, Editors

Consumer Response to Income Increases

George Katona and Eva Mueller

Alternative Approaches to Capital Gains Taxation

Martin David

The Taxation of Income from Capital

Arnold C. Harberger and Martin J. Bailey, Editors

Tax Incentives and Capital Spending

Gary Fromm, Editor

The Payroll Tax for Social Security

John A. Brittain

Who Bears the Tax Burden?

Joseph A. Pechman and Benjamin A. Okner

The Economics of Public Finance

Essays by Alan S. Blinder and Robert M. Solow, George F. Break, Peter O. Steiner, and Dick Netzer

Studies in Presidential Selection

The Studies in Presidential Selection (SPS) series consists of books that deal with political campaign finance, nominating procedures at national party conventions, primary elections, voting patterns, third parties, and similar topics.

Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System

Wallace S. Sayre and Judith H. Parris

Financing Presidential Campaigns

Delmer D. Dunn

The Convention Problem: Issues in Reform of Presidential Nominating Procedures

Judith H. Parris

Perspectives on Presidential Selection

Donald R. Matthews, Editor

Convention Decisions and Voting Records, Second Edition

Richard C. Bain and Judith H. Parris

Third Parties in Presidential Elections

Daniel A. Mazmanian

Studies in Social Economics

Books in the Studies in Social Economics (SSE) series examine problems with public policy implications in the fields of education, health, social security, and welfare.

The Doctor Shortage: An Economic Diagnosis

Rashi Fein

Medicare and the Hospitals: Issues and Prospects

Herman M. Somers and Anne R. Somers

Education and Poverty

Thomas I. Ribich

Social Security: Perspectives for Reform

Joseph A. Pechman, Henry J. Aaron, and Michael K. Taussig

Poverty and Discrimination

Lester C. Thurow

Community Control of Schools

Henry M. Levin, Editor

Government Against Poverty

Joseph A. Kershaw

American Indians and Federal Aid

Alan L. Sorkin

Shelter and Subsidies: Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policies?

Henry J. Aaron

Why Is Welfare So Hard to Reform?

Henry J. Aaron

Reforming School Finance

Robert D. Reischauer and Robert W. Hartman

National Health Insurance: Benefits, Costs, and Consequences

Karen Davis

Studies in Social Experimentation

The Studies in Social Experimentation (SSX) series, which is under the guidance of the Brookings Panel on Social Experimentation and is supported by a grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, assesses the usefulness of experiments as a way of increasing knowledge about the effects

of domestic social policies and programs of the federal government.

Educational Performance Contracting: An Evaluation of an Experiment

Edward M. Gramlich and Patricia P. Koshel

Work Incentives and Income Guarantees: The New Jersey Negative Income Tax Experiment

Joseph A. Pechman and P. Michael Timpane, Editors

Planned Variation: Should We Give Up or Try Harder?

Alice M. Rivlin and P. Michael Timpane, Editors

Studies of Unionism in Government

The Studies of Unionism in Government (SUG) series is financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation to study government-union relations at the state and local levels.

The Unions and the Cities

Harry H. Wellington and Ralph K. Winter, Jr.

Managing Local Government under Union Pressure

David T. Stanley

Public Employee Unionism:

Structure, Growth, Policy

Jack Stieber

Transport Research Program

The Brookings Transport Research Program (TRP) was financed by the Agency for International Development; the series consists of books that investigate the role of transport in fostering economic development.

Strategy for Mobility

Wilfred Owen

Transport Investment and Economic Development

(out of print)

Gary Fromm, Editor

Government Controls on Transport: An African Case

Edwin T. Haeefe and Eleanor B. Steinberg

The Impact of Highway Investment on Development

(out of print)

George W. Wilson, Barbara R. Bergmann, Leon V. Hirsch, and Martin S. Klein

Transport and the Economic Integration of South America

Robert T. Brown

Soviet Transport Experience: Its Lessons for Other Countries

Holland Hunter

Distance and Development:

Transport and Communications in India

Wilfred Owen

Transport and National Goals

Edwin T. Haeefe, Editor

The International Airline Industry

Mahlon R. Straszheim

Techniques of Transport Planning (2 vols.)

John R. Meyer, Editor

Studies in Wage-Price Policy

Books in the Studies in Wage-Price Policy (WPP) series are intended to contribute to public understanding of the purposes, problems, and consequences of governmental intervention in price- and wage-setting.

In Pursuit of Price Stability: The Wage-Price Freeze of 1971

Arnold R. Weber

Phase II in Review: The Price Commission Experience

Robert F. Lanzillotti, Mary T. Hamilton, and R. Blaine Roberts

Sales Information

Discounts. All Brookings books are sold to bookstores at trade discount. A statement of discount and return policies is found in the *ABA Book Buyer's Handbook*.

Annual Subscriptions. For an annual fee (\$100 in 1975) an institution or individual may become an annual subscriber, receiving a copy of each new Brookings book and reprint in the General Series and the Technical Series published during the year. In addition, the annual subscriber receives the Brookings quarterly *Bulletin*, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, and other publications describing the Institution's research and educational activities.

Reprint Series Subscription. For an annual fee of \$5.00 an institution or individual may become a reprint series subscriber, receiving a copy of each General Series reprint published during the year. In addition, subscribers also receive the quarterly *Bulletin*. Subscriptions may be started at any time; they must be renewed each year by the expiration date. Subscribers who so identify themselves when ordering are entitled to a 20 percent discount on all book purchases.

Standing Orders. Brookings has standing order plans specially designed to fit the requirements of bookstores, wholesalers, libraries, and individuals. Complete details about each plan, including discounts, are available on request.

Individual Orders. Brookings books may be ordered from bookstores or directly from Brookings. Reprints are available only from the Institution. One to four reprints of both the General and the Technical Series (the same or assorted titles) are sent without charge if accompanied by a self-addressed mailing label. Enclose 25 cents each for more than four. Payment must accompany orders of \$10.00 or less.

Examination Copies. A ninety-day examination copy of any Brookings book will be sent for consideration as a class text or for collateral reading. Requests should be on school letterhead stationery and specify the course for which the book will be considered. If the book is adopted, simply return the invoice for cancellation. If the book is not adopted, it may be purchased at a 10 percent faculty discount or returned without obligation.

Out-of-print Books. A list of available out-of-print Brookings titles can be obtained by writing Brown Reprints, 2460 Kerper Blvd., Dubuque, Iowa 52001.

Foreign Sales Representatives. See inside back cover.

Index of Titles, Authors, and Editors

Aaron, H. J., 39, 40, 43, 62
Absorptive Capacity, 51
Accessible City, The, 27
Accounting for United States Economic Growth, 27
 Adler, J. H., 51
Administrative Feedback, 44
Agenda for the Nation, 44
 Alexander, S. S., 31
Alternative Approaches to Capital Gains Taxation, 27, 61
American Indians and Federal Aid, 27, 62
 Ando, A., 40, 61
 Asher, R. E., 52, 53, 58
Assistant Secretaries, The, 44

Bach, G. L., 35
 Baerresen, D., 53
 Bailey, M. J., 41, 61
 Bain, R. C., 46, 62
 Baldwin, R. E., 54
Bankruptcy, 44
 Barlow, R., 30, 61
 Barnett, A. D., 54, 57
 Beard, E., 19
 Berg, A., 55
 Bernstein, M. H., 47
Between State and Nation, 44
 Binkin, M., 25, 56, 58, 60
 Blechman, B. M., 3, 23, 39, 51, 56, 60
 Blinder, A. S., 31, 62
 Bolton, R. E., 29, 61
 Bosworth, B., 6
 Brazer, H. E., 30, 61
Brazil's Developing Northeast, 51
Bread upon the Waters, 10, 60
 Break, G. F., 31, 33, 34, 61, 62
 Breyer, S. G., 31, 59
Britain's Economic Prospects, 27
 Brittain, J. A., 29, 36, 61
Brookings Institution, The, 59
Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2, 28
 Brown, E. C., 40, 61
 Brown, R. T., 42, 63
 Brown, S., 54
Budget Concepts for Economic Analysis, 28, 61
Budget Innovation in the States, 45
Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy, 51
 Burr, R. N., 55
Business Representative in Washington, The, 28

Cairncross, A., 29
 Calderwood, J. D., 35
 Calkins, S. E., 16
Capital Budget Statement for the U.S. Government, A, 28, 61
Capital Needs in the Seventies, 6
 Capron, W. M., 41, 59
 Carnoy, M., 53
 Carron, A. S., 6
 Caves, R. E., 27
Changing Administrations, 45
Changing Soviet Navy, The, 51, 60
 Chase, S. B., Jr., 37, 61
 Cherington, P. W., 28
 Clapp, C. L., 46
 Clark, J. M., 29

- Cleaveland, F. N., 45
 Clough, R. N., 20
 Clubb, O. E., Jr., 57
 Colm, G., 31, 32, 61
 Comiez, M. S., 28, 61
 Community Control of Schools, 28, 62
 Competition as a Dynamic Process, 29
 Congress and Urban Problems, 45
 Congressional Control of Administration, 45
 Congressional Districting, 45
 Congressional Ethics, 19
 Congressman, The, 46
 Consumer Response to Income Increases, 29, 61
 Contracting for Atoms, 46
 Control of Long-Term International Capital Movements, 29
 Control of Naval Armaments, The, 23, 60
 Convention Decisions and Voting Records, 46, 62
 Convention Problem, The, 46, 62
 Cooperative Approaches to World Energy Problems, 26, 51
 Corporate Dividend Policy, 29, 61
 Cox, A. M., 55, 58
 Crisis in the Congo, 52
 Cuba and the United States, 52
 Cummings, M. C., Jr., 48
- Danhof, C. H., 47
 David, M., 27, 61
 David, P. T., 49
 Davis, K., 12, 62
 Defense Purchases and Regional Growth, 29, 61
 Denison, E. F., 27, 43
 Derthick, M., 17, 44
 Development Assistance in the Seventies, 52
 Development of the Emerging Countries, 52
 Development Projects Observed, 52
 Dilemma of Freight Transport Regulation, The, 29, 59
 Dispersing Population, 18
 Distance and Development, 29, 63
 Distribution of Farm Subsidies, The, 30
 Doctor Shortage, The, 30, 62
 Doctors, Patients, and Health Insurance, 30
 Doig, J. W., 48
 Dorfman, R., 35, 61
 Do the Poor Want to Work? 46
 Douglas, G. W., 8, 59
 Duesenberry, J. S., 6
 Dunn, D. D., 47, 62
 Dynamics of the Party System, 46
- Eads, G. C., 35, 59
 East Asia and U.S. Security, 20
 Eastin, R. B., 47
 Eckstein, O., 40, 61
 Economic Aspects of Television Regulation, 30, 59
 Economic Behavior of the Affluent, 30, 61
 Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal, 30, 61
 Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries, 53
 Economic Regulation of Domestic Air Transport, 8, 59
 Economics and the Policy Maker, 31
 Economics of Public Finance, The, 31, 62
 Economics of the Property Tax, 31, 61
 Education and Poverty, 31, 62
 Educational Performance Contracting, 13, 63
 Energy Regulation by the Federal Power Commission, 31, 59
 Equality and Efficiency, 5
 European Economic Integration and the United States, 32
 European Monetary Unification and Its Meaning for the United States, 32
 Every Second Year, 47

- Fabian, L. L., 55, 58
 Federal Budget Policy, 32, 61
 Federal Budget Projections, 32, 61
 Federal Estate and Gift Taxes, 32, 61
 Federal Fiscal Policy in the Postwar Recessions, 32, 60
 Federal Lending and Economic Stability, 33
 Federal Tax Policy, 33, 61
 Federal Tax Treatment of the Family, 33, 60
 Fein, R., 30, 62
 Financing Presidential Campaigns, 47, 62
 Financing State and Local Governments, 33, 61
 Foreign Aid in a Foreign Policy Framework, 53
 Frankel, C., 54
 Fried, E. R., 39
 Friedlaender, A. F., 29, 40, 59, 61
 Fromm, G., 37, 41, 61
- Garbarino, J. W., 42
 Gillen, R. L., 28
 Girth, M., 44
 Goode, R., 34, 60
 Goodwin, L., 46
 Gordon, K., 44
 Government Against Poverty, 33, 62
 Government and the Sports Business, 33, 59
 Government Contracting and Technological Change, 47
 Government Controls on Transport, 33, 63
 Government Publications and Their Use, 47
 Gramlich, E. M., 3, 13, 39, 63
 Grants, Loans, and Local Currencies, 53
 Green, C., 36, 62
 Greene, F., 24, 60
 Groves, H. M., 33, 60
 Grunwald, J., 53
 Gurley, J. G., 36
- Hacker, A., 45
 Haefele, E. T., 33, 42, 63
 Hagen, E. E., 31
 Halperin, M. H., 51
 Hamilton, M. T., 7, 63
 Harberger, A. C., 41, 61
 Harris, J. P., 45
 Hartman, R. W., 3, 38, 39, 62
 Haviland, H. F., Jr., 58
 Healy, J. J., 34
 Henry, L. L., 49
 Hess, S., 49
 Hickman, B. G., 35
 Higher Civil Service, The, 47
 Hirschman, A. O., 52
 Horn, S., 19, 50
 Hunter, H., 40, 63
- Impact of Collective Bargaining on Management, The, 34
 Individual Income Tax, The, 34, 60
 Industrialization in a Latin American Common Market, 53
 In Pursuit of Price Stability, 34, 63
 Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States, 34, 61
 International Airline Industry, The, 34, 63
 International Diffusion of Technology, 34, 59
 Introduction to Economic Reasoning, An, 35
 Investment Demand and U.S. Economic Growth, 35
- Jacoby, N. H., 31
 Jantscher, G. R., 10, 42, 60, 61
 Job of the Federal Executive, The, 47
 Johnson, H. G., 53
 Jones, C. O., 47

Kalachek, E. D., 41
 Katona, G., 29, 61
 Kaufman, H., 44
 Kelley, S., Jr., 48
 Kershaw, J. A., 33, 62
 Kneese, A. V., 4
 Koshel, P. P., 13, 63
 Krause, L. B., 32
 Kresge, D. T., 41
 Kuzmack, A. M., 54, 60

Lanzillotti, R. F., 7, 63
Latin American Economic Integration and U.S. Policy, 53
Latin American Trade Patterns, 53
 Lawrence, R. D., 57, 60
 Lawrence, S. A., 50
 Lefever, E. W., 52, 56
 Levin, H. M., 28, 62
 Lewis, W., Jr., 28, 32, 60, 61
 Livernash, E. R., 34
Local Service Airline Experiment, The, 35, 59

MacAvoy, P. W., 31, 59
 McGowan, J. J., 30, 59
 McKie, J. W., 9, 60
 McKinnon, R. I., 36
Making Federalism Work, 48
Making Monetary and Fiscal Policy, 35
Managing Local Government under Union Pressure, 35, 63
 Mann, D. E., 44, 48
 Manvel, A. D., 16
 Mason, E. S., 58
 Massel, M. S., 31
 Mathiasen, K. III, 58
 Matthews, D. R., 48, 62
 Maxwell, J. A., 33, 61
 Mazmanian, D. A., 50, 62
Measuring Benefits of Government Investments, 35, 61
Medicare and the Hospitals, 35, 62
Men Who Govern, 48
Metropolitan Transportation Problem, The, 36
 Meyer, J. R., 41, 63
Military Pay Muddle, The, 25, 60
 Millen, B. H., 55
 Miller, J. C. III, 8, 59
Money and Capital in Economic Development, 36
Money in a Theory of Finance, 36
Monitoring Revenue Sharing, 16
 Morgan, J. N., 30, 61
 Morton, H. C., 35, 38
 Mueller, E., 29, 61

Nathan, R. P., 16
National Election of 1964, The, 48
National Health Insurance, 12, 62
Naval Force Levels and Modernization, 54, 60
Negative Taxes and the Poverty Problem, 36, 61
Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs, The, 54
 Nelson, R. R., 41
 Netzer, D., 31, 61, 62
New Forces in World Politics, 54
 Newhouse, J., 58
New U.S. Policy toward China, A, 54
Next Phase in Foreign Policy, The, 54
 Noll, R. G., 30, 33, 38, 59
Nontariff Distortions of International Trade, 54
Nutrition Factor, The, 55

Okner, B. A., 43, 61
 Okun, A. M., 2, 5, 28, 37

Orlans, H., 46, 49
 Ott, A. F., 32, 61
 Ott, D. J., 32, 61
Our Troubled Hemisphere, 55
 Owen, H., 54
 Owen, W., 27, 29, 36, 40, 63

Parris, J. H., 46, 50, 62
Party Leaders in the House of Representatives, 48
Payroll Tax for Social Security, The, 36, 61
 Pechman, J. A., 14, 33, 40, 43, 61, 63
 Peck, M. J., 30, 41, 59
 Perry, G. L., 2, 28
Perspectives on Presidential Selection, 48, 62
Phase II in Review, 7, 63
 Phillips, A., 11, 60
 Plank, J., 52
Planned Variation, 15, 63
 Poats, R. M., 56
Policy Simulations with an Econometric Model, 37
Political Campaigning, 48
Political Economy of Prosperity, The, 37
Political Role of Labor in Developing Countries, The, 55
Politics and Economics of Public Spending, The, 37
Politics and Policy, 49
Pollution, Prices, and Public Policy, 4
Poverty and Discrimination, 37, 62
 Preeg, E. H., 56
Presidential Campaign, The, 49
Presidential Election and Transition 1960-1961, The, 49
Presidential Transitions, 49
Pricing and Project Evaluation, 41
Problems in Public Expenditure Analysis, 37, 61
Promoting Competition in Regulated Markets, 11, 60
Prospects for Peacekeeping, 55
Public Contracts and Private Wages, 38
Public Employee Unionism, 38, 63
Public Policy toward General Aviation, 38, 59

Quanbeck, A. H., 56, 60

Reassessing North-South Economic Relations, 26, 55
 Record, J., 22, 57, 60
 Reischauer, R. D., 38, 62
Reforming Regulation, 38, 59
Reforming School Finance, 38, 62
Reshaping the International Economic Order, 26, 55
 Ribich, T. I., 31, 62
 Ripley, R. B., 48
 Rivlin, A. M., 15, 38, 39, 40, 63
 Roberts, P. O., 41
 Roberts, R. B., 7, 63
 Robinson, M. A., 35
 Robock, S. H., 51
Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education, The, 38
 Roosa, R. V., 31
 Rothenberg, J., 30, 61
 Russell, R. B., 57
 Rustow, D. A., 58

Salant, W. S., 32
 Saunders, C. B., Jr., 50, 59
 Sayre, W. S., 50, 62
 Schick, A., 45
 Schmeckebier, L. F., 47
 Schultze, C. L., 4, 30, 37, 39
Science Policy and the University, 49
Sequel to Bretton Woods, 38

- Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget, 39
 Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget, 39
 Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget, 39
 Setting National Priorities: The 1974 Budget, 39
 Setting National Priorities: The 1975 Budget, 39
 Setting National Priorities: The 1976 Budget, 3
 Shaw, E. S., 36
 Sheahan, J., 42
 Shelter and Subsidies, 39, 62
 Shere, L., 31
 Shoup, C. S., 32, 61
 Slichter, S. H., 31, 34
 Social Responsibility and the Business Predicament, 9, 60
 Social Security, 40, 62
 Soldiers without Enemies, 55
 Solow, R. M., 31, 62
 Somers, A. R., 30, 35, 62
 Somers, H. M., 30, 35, 62
 Sorkin, A. L., 27, 62
 Soviet Transport Experience, 40, 63
 Spear and Scepter, 56
 Stanley, D. T., 35, 44, 45, 47, 48, 63
 State of Welfare, The, 50
 Steinberg, E. B., 33, 63
 Steiner, G. Y., 50
 Steiner, P. O., 31, 62
 Stieber, J., 38, 63
 Straszheim, M. R., 34, 41, 63
 Strategic Forces, 56, 60
 Strategy for Mobility, 40, 63
 Stresses in U.S.-Japanese Security Relations, 24, 60
 Studies in Economic Stabilization, 40, 61
 Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance, 40, 61
 Sundquist, J. L., 18, 46, 48, 49
 Support Costs in the Defense Budget, 56, 60
 Systematic Thinking for Social Action, 40
 Systems Analysis and Simulation Models, 41
 Taubman, P., 37
 Taussig, M. K., 40, 62
 Taxation of Income from Capital, The, 41, 61
 Tax Incentives and Capital Spending, 41, 61
 Techniques of Transport Planning, 41, 63
 Technological Change in Regulated Industries, 41, 59
 Technology, Economic Growth, and Public Policy, 41
 Technology for Developing Nations, 56
 Teeters, N. H., 39
 Third Parties in Presidential Elections, 50, 62
 Thurow, L. C., 37, 62
 Tilton, J. E., 34, 59
 Timpane, P. M., 14, 15, 63
 Toward the Integration of World Agriculture, 26, 56
 Trade in Primary Commodities, 26, 56
 Traders and Diplomats, 56
 Transport and the Economic Integration of South America, 42, 63
 Transport and National Goals, 42, 63
 Tripartite Reports, 26
 Trusts and Estate Taxation, 42, 61
 Turkish Revolution 1960-1961, The, 57
 Uncertain Passage, 57
 Uncontrollable Spending for Social Services, 17
 Unions and the Cities, The, 42, 63
 United Nations and United States Security Policy, The, 57
 United States and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in Southeast Asia, The, 57
 United States Merchant Shipping Policies and Politics, 50
 Unused Power, 50
 Upgrading the American Police, 50
 U.S. Force Structure in NATO, 57, 60
 U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe, 22, 60

- U.S. Reserve Forces, 58, 60
 U.S. Tactical Air Power, 21, 60
 U.S. Troops in Europe, 58
 Vietnam after the War, 58
 Voting for President, 50, 62
 Wage Policy and Long-Term Contracts, 42
 Wage-Price Guideposts, The, 42
 Wagner, P., 32, 61
 Warford, J. J., 38, 59
 Weber, A. R., 34, 63
 Weiker, W. F., 57
 Wellington, H. H., 42, 63
 Westwood, A. F., 53
 White, W. D., 21, 60
 Who Bears the Tax Burden? 43, 61
 Why Growth Rates Differ, 43
 Why Is Welfare So Hard to Reform? 43, 62
 Winter, R. K., Jr., 42, 63
 Wionczek, M. S., 53
 Work Incentives and Income Guarantees, 14, 63
 World Bank since Bretton Woods, The, 58
 World of Nations, A, 58
 World Trade and Domestic Adjustment, 26, 58

If payment accompanies order, Brookings will pay postage (U.S. orders only).

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
1775 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

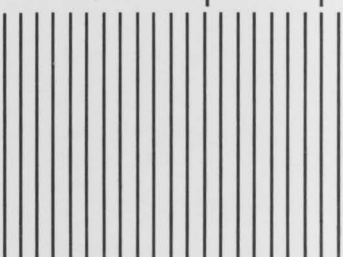
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

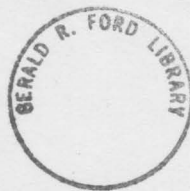
NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

postage will be paid by The Brookings Institution

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 4133
Washington, D.C.





-4-

AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE, THE ROYAL AMENDMENT
RAISES THE BUDGET LEVELS FOR 13 PROGRAMS ABOVE THOSE
RECOMMENDED BY THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE,
INCLUDING:

- \$150 million^{more} for educational assistance to disadvantaged
children, and

- \$11 million more for bilingual education, providing
specific increases for the training of bilingual teachers and
classroom demonstration projects.

IN ADDITION, the bill adds:

- \$10 million for education of the handicapped; ~~and~~

- \$6 million for follow through programs

- \$10 million for school libraries

- \$4 million for adult education

- \$6 million for vocational education personnel development

- \$110 million^{more} supplemental educational grants for post secondary students

~~and~~
- \$96 million for impact aid

~~and~~
- \$75 million for emergency school aid

OTHER MORE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE 1976
EDUCATION APPROPRIATION BILL HAVE TAKEN PLACE
SINCE MY DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON TEN DAYS
AGO AND I'M SURE OTHERS HAVE COVERED THEM
WELL IN ~~PREVIOUS~~^{OTHER} PRESENTATIONS ^{you} ~~OR~~ ^{FOR} ~~OR~~ ^{FOR} TODAY.

CARLA VALENTA, COORDINATOR
WOMEN'S CAUCUS SPEAKERS SERIES
BROOKINGS INSTITUTION



I AM PLEASED AND HONORED TO JOIN YOU THIS AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS
THE PROBLEMS OF SPANISH SPEAKING AMERICANS AND THE FORD
ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE TO THOSE PROBLEMS.

LET ME BEGIN BRIEFLY BY GIVING YOU AN OVERVIEW OF THE SPANISH
SPEAKING POPULATION IN THIS COUNTRY.

ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS BUREAU, ABOUT 23,000 PERSONS OF
HISPANIC ORIGIN WERE LIVING IN WHAT IS NOW THE SOUTHWESTERN
PART OF OUR NATION WHEN THE PILGRIMS LANDED AT PLYMOUTH ROCK.
BY 1910, THERE WERE ABOUT 382,000 PERSONS LARGELY OF MEXICAN
ANCESTRY LIVING IN THE STATE OF TEXAS ALONE.

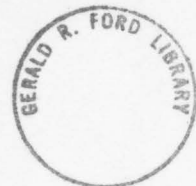
AS OF MARCH 1974, THE CENSUS BUREAU REPORTS THERE WERE ABOUT
10.8 MILLION PERSONS OF SPANISH ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES.
THIS TOTAL INCLUDED ABOUT 6.5 MILLION PERSONS OF MEXICAN
ORIGIN, 1.5 MILLION OF PUERTO RICAN ORIGIN, 700,000 OF CUBAN
ORIGIN AND 2.1 MILLION OF CENTRAL OR SOUTH AMERICAN OR OTHER
SPANISH ORIGIN.

*Undercut the
5.5
1.5 million*

ABOUT 6.3 MILLION OF THESE PEOPLE LIVED IN THE FIVE SOUTHWEST
STATES OF ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS.
ABOUT 1.5 MILLION RESIDED IN NEW YORK STATE.]

OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, ABOUT 1 OF EVERY 6 PERSONS RESIDING
IN THE AFOREMENTIONED SOUTHWESTERN STATES IN MARCH 1974 WAS OF
HISPANIC ORIGIN. AND 1 OF EVERY 12 PERSONS IN THE STATE OF
NEW YORK WAS OF SPANISH ORIGIN.

This Administration is aware of the many needs and concerns of our Nation's largest cultural minority and intends to expand on the dialogue initiated with Hispanic Americans, with the appropriate realism necessary, during ^{the remainder of and 1976.} 1975. We will continue efforts to provide a greater role for Hispanic Americans in federal agencies, and advisory bodies to these agencies, and seek to respond to a needed increase of these Americans in our federal work force. While emphasizing greater sensitivity and constructive initiatives by all federal agencies toward the diverse Hispanic groups, this Administration is acutely aware of the need for a greater assumption of responsibilities at state and local levels in meeting our Nation's obligations toward the "barrios". ~~I there~~ ^{will} ~~fore~~ ^{The President has} encouraged the governors of our states, and the mayors of our cities with large or growing Hispanic communities, to establish appropriate instruments through which these communities can more effectively voice legitimate needs and concerns, and also be included in planning and policy-making. It is at these state and local levels that Hispanic American interests, such as: child day care; care for the aged; and education - need more effective representation. Likewise, this



Administration will continue to encourage, and expand where necessary, a greater role for Hispanic Americans on state, county, and municipal levels, in comprehensive manpower activities. In accord with the Supreme Court decision of Lau vs. Nichols supporting the position of the Department of Justice, this Administration will emphasize needed educational initiatives at the local and state education agency levels on behalf of all language minority groups, including particularly the largest of these groups - the Hispanic American.

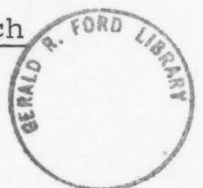
The Administration is also aware of the necessity of sound population data and statistics on the Hispanic American citizenry in view of the increased reliance we place on statistics for planning and policy-making, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of our nation's services and policies. It is our intent to insure that the Bureau of the Census, as well as other federal statistical agencies devote increased resources to the necessary statistical investigations work, and that the 1980 Census planning activities provide for constructive solutions to outstanding concerns of the Hispanic Americans.



As it is important that Hispanic Americans continue to increase their citizen role on all levels of government and therefore be included in those activities that affect their future, it is also important that Hispanic Americans become active participants in this Nation's Bicentennial in order that all of America come to better understand and know of the many contributions to the Western Hemisphere and to the United States of America.

It is appropriate to note here, that ^{the Ford} ~~my~~ Administration is very much concerned with the plight of the large numbers of ^{undocumented aliens of Hispanic descent} ~~illegal Hispanic American Citizens~~ whose needs and conditions are often even more grave. This, and our current economy, will not permit us to be indulgent. It is for these reasons that ^{the President has created a} ~~no bracero-type~~ Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens chaired by the attorney general. ~~program can be instituted~~

The other concern addresses itself to the status of so-called Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People, an agency of the federal government which Congress allowed to lapse at the end of 1974. That there is a need for such an agency has been repeatedly noted by many Hispanic Americans, and by members of both parties. This Administration has expressed its support for such



an agency and will work with Congress toward establishing
an institution capable of assisting in the advancement
of the interests of our Hispanic American citizens.



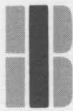
~~Original - see file~~

Improving the health of Americans, including the Spanish Speaking American, lies not so much in discovering new cures as it does in making available and accessible to everyone an adequate level of health services based on existing knowledge. In the past five years, a variety of social programs have been established to introduce new ways of distributing health services more equitably, effectively, and efficiently. However, these social programs, especially comprehensive health services, are still not reaching the Spanish Speaking American to the full extent of the actual need that exists for such services. The need for improved health services is reflected in higher rates of infant mortality and chronic health problems, in part compounded by a fear of hospitalization and removal from the family setting. ~~We want to work in partnership with the administrators of health programs to improve program effectiveness in serving the members of this client group while at the same time helping to elimi-~~



¹Throughout the text the words "Spanish Speaking Americans" will be used to denote both Spanish Speaking and Spanish Surnamed Americans, a larger client group than either the former or latter segment alone.

The Brookings Institution



1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINST / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

11 June 1975

Mr. Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President
for Hispanic Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

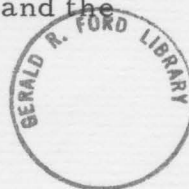
Dear Mr. De Baca:

This is to let you know that we at Brookings are looking forward to your appearance here on Monday, June 23rd. As you will see from the enclosed program, the title given your presentation is "The Problems of Spanish-speaking Americans and the Ford Administration's Response," which I pieced together from your acceptance letter. I hope the title is satisfactory to you. If not, in my introductory remarks I can modify the scope or change the emphasis according to your preferences.

Since I shall be introducing you, I shall need a copy of your vita. If you would, please send it along when you can, together with any other material you think would help me and the steering committee of the women's caucus to prepare for your presentation.

To accommodate more people, we are now beginning at 12:15 rather than at 12:00 noon, as I had stated in my invitation to you. You may take 30-40 minutes or more to develop your thoughts; a question-and-answer period will follow your talk. Of course we will be providing lunch for you and for any staff members accompanying you. Please advise on the number.

As for a briefing on our audience and its expectations: Although many professionals (educators, attorneys, psychiatrists, etc.) outside Brookings attend our series, the core is still the Brookings staff composed of economists and political scientists interested in the public policy aspects of their fields. They appreciate a brief but complete overview of a problem and then a detailed analysis of the more important aspects of a question. For example, in your case, much of your presentation will of necessity be informational in nature, simply because to my knowledge Spanish-speaking Americans have not been the subject of a major study here at Brookings. But a public policy aspect you might pursue in depth is the importance of the Voting Rights Act and the



6/18 Note: Sent out FDB
biographical sketch

received 6/13

implications for SSAs of its extension or its cutoff.

Being scientifically oriented, our audience requires well-founded statements and a definition of terms. In other words, ours is not an advocacy or ideological audience receptive to rhetoric but a sophisticated, inquiring audience looking for further clarification of general information it already possesses. You have a large subject to treat and a rather special audience to address, so I am ready to respond further if this briefing does not go far enough. I think you will enjoy yourself with us, especially during the question-and-answer period.

Many thanks again for agreeing to participate in our series. And I look forward to meeting you with great expectations.

Best regards,

Carla Valenta

(Ms.) Carla Valenta, Coordinator
Women's Caucus Speakers Series
797-6252



SPEAKERS SERIES OF THE BROOKINGS WOMEN'S CAUCUS

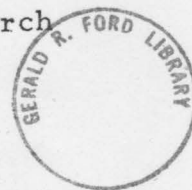
Focusing on public policy issues of special interest
to women and members of minority groups

FALL 1974

- 9 Oct. ESTELLE RAMEY
Professor of physiology and biophysics,
Georgetown University School of Medicine
Topic: "Sex Hormones and Leadership"
Introductory remarks: Alice Rivlin, senior fellow, Brookings
- 11 Nov. ARVONNE FRASER
National president, Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)
Topic: "Sexism in the Media"
Introductory remarks: Nina Cornell, research associate, Brookings
- 9 Dec. FILM: "The Emerging Woman"
A documentary history of American women since the early 19th
century, made by four Washington women filmmakers.
- 8 Jan. BERNICE SANDLER
Director, Project on the Status and Education of Women,
Association of American Colleges
Topic: "Goals and Quotas, or, Is Affirmative Action a Dirty Word?"
Introductory remarks: Judith Parris, research associate, Brookings
- 14 Jan. MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
Director, Children's Defense Fund (Cambridge, Mass.)
Topic: "The Rights of Children"
Introductory remarks: Gilbert Steiner, director, Governmental
Studies program, Brookings

SPRING 1975

- 20 March FRANCES ("SISSY") FARENTHOLD
Chairwoman, National Women's Political Caucus
Topic: "The Equal Rights Amendment: A Redundant Question?"
Introductory and concluding remarks: John Deardourff, of Bailey,
Deardourff & Eyre, political consultants
- 21 April BARBARA BERGMANN
Professor of economics, University of Maryland
Topic: "Women and Minority Groups in the Labor Force"
Introductory remarks and a brief outline of the problems
of female heads of households: Isabel Sawhill, senior research
associate, The Urban Institute



SPEAKERS SERIES, SPRING 1975 (continued)

- 27 May BROOKSLEY LANDAU
Partner, Arnold & Porter
Topic: "The Legal Status of Women"
- 6 June RONALD V. DELLUMS
Democratic Congressman from California
Topic: "Coalition Politics"
Introductory remarks: Marguerite Barnett,
guest scholar, Brookings
- 23 June FERNANDO DE BACA
Special Assistant to the President on Hispanic Affairs
Topic: "The Problems of Spanish-speaking Americans
and the Ford Administration's Response"

Brookings Institution, 1775 Mass. Ave., N.W.
First-floor auditorium. Brown bag lunch. Speaker begins at 12:15.
Free; no reservations necessary.
Parking across the street at 1776 Mass. Ave., N.W.

For further information about the program,
call Carla Valenta, coordinator of the series,
at 797-6252.

The Brookings Institution



MAR 11 1975

1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINST / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

8 March 1975

Mr. Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President
for Hispanic Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. De Baca:

In October 1974 the women's caucus of the Brookings Institution launched a speakers series open to all staff members and friends of Brookings. Since Brookings is a research organization devoted to the study of public policy issues, we thought it appropriate that the stated theme of our series be public policy issues of special interest to women and members of minority groups.

The series generated such enthusiasm and such large audiences that we are organizing a spring series. (Attached is the program of both the Fall 1974 and Spring 1975 series.) And here we come to our invitation. We would be honored to have you address our audience on the problems of Spanish-speaking Americans and what the Ford administration is doing about those problems.

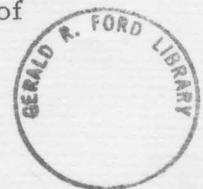
Knowing how full your schedule must be, we want to offer you a number of alternative dates:

April 14 (Mon.)

May 5 (Mon.), 9 (Fri.), 26 (Mon.), 27 (Tues.)

June 17 (Tues.), 18 (Wed.), 19 (Thurs.), 20 (Fri.), 23 (Mon.).

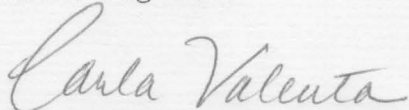
Our general format involves assembling at noon in the auditorium for a 25- to 30-minute talk, followed by questions and discussion lasting until about 1:15. The audience brings brown bag lunches, and of course a lunch for you and any members of your staff accompanying you will be provided. Special invitations are issued to the president and the program directors at Brookings as well as to many outside groups, particularly those having special interest in the speaker's topic. The question-and-answer periods so far have been especially interesting, since both our audiences and our speakers have been exceptionally well-informed and representative of many different disciplines.



We sincerely hope you can join us, especially since so few Spanish-speaking Americans have been employed at Brookings or have been invited to speak at roundtable luncheons or participate in conferences. The Brookings women's caucus presumes to represent the interests of women and members of minority groups on the staff; the purpose of the caucus' speakers series is to provide the forum for professional women and members of minority groups that they rarely have had at Brookings.

I shall call your office some time during the week of March 10 for your reaction. Or, if you should wish to contact me first, my office telephone is 797-6252. Many thanks.

Best regards,



Carla Valenta, Coordinator
Women's Caucus Speakers Series

enc.



SPEAKERS SERIES OF THE BROOKINGS WOMEN'S CAUCUS

FALL 1974

- 9 Oct. DR. ESTELLE RAMEY
Professor of Physiology and Biophysics,
Georgetown University School of Medicine
Topic: "Sex Hormones and Leadership"
- 11 Nov. ARVONNE FRASER
National President, Women's Equity Action League
Topic: "Sexism in the Media"
- 9 Dec. FILM: "The Emerging Woman"
A documentary history of American women since the early 19th
century made by four Washington women filmmakers.
- 8 Jan. BERNICE SANDLER
Director, Project on the Status and Education of Women,
Association of American Colleges
Topic: "Goals and Quotas, or, Is Affirmative Action a Dirty Word?"
- 14 Jan. MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
Director, Children's Defense Fund (Cambridge, Mass.)
Topic: "The Rights of Children"

SPRING 1975

- 20 March FRANCES ("SISSY") FARENTHOLD
Chairwoman, National Women's Political Caucus
Topic: "The E.R.A.: A Redundant Question?"
- 21 April BARBARA BERGMANN
Professor of Economics, University of Maryland
Topic: "Women and Minority Groups in the Labor Force"
- 6 June BROOKSLEY LANDAU
Attorney, Arnold & Porter
Topic: "Women and the Law"

Other invited speakers:

Patricia Roberts Harris, attorney and former ambassador, on quotas
in political parties.
Rep. Ronald Dellums, Democratic Congressman from California, on
political coalitions.



MAR 25 1975

The Brookings Institution



1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINST / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

21 March 1975

Mr. Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President
for Hispanic Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. De Baca:

Many thanks for your kind letter accepting our invitation to participate in our women's caucus speakers series. This is to confirm your appearance at the Brookings Institution on Monday, 23 June 1975, beginning at 12:00 noon, to speak on the problems of Spanish-speaking Americans and President Ford's plans and programs for dealing with those problems.

I shall be in touch with you as the date approaches. On behalf of the women's caucus steering committee--who made the final selection of speakers from a list of candidates that I put before them--I can say we are delighted that you can join us in our series to help us make the point that professional women and members of minority groups deserve to be taken seriously, here at Brookings as well as elsewhere.

Best regards,

Carla Valenta

Carla Valenta, Coordinator
Women's Caucus Speakers Series
Tel. 797-6252



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1975

Ms. Carla Valenta, Coordinator
Women's Caucus Speakers Series
The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ms. Valenta:

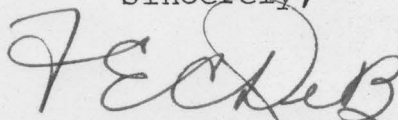
Thank you for your recent letter on your Women's Caucus Speakers Series and for your generous invitation to address your group on the problems of Spanish Speaking Americans.

First, let me commend you for your enthusiastic approach through your speaker series in bringing to the attention of the American public the problems faced by women and members of minority groups in securing equal justice under the law and equal treatment under our system of government. Secondly, let me thank you for your thoughtfulness in including a discussion of the problems of Spanish Speaking Americans in your series and for allowing me the opportunity to share with your group President Ford's positive plans and programs for dealing with the problems of Hispanic Americans.

I would be pleased to accept your invitation on either June 17, 18 or 19, 1975. Please advise my office which of these dates would be most convenient for your group.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely,



Fernando E. C. De Baca
Special Assistant to the President
for Hispanic Affairs

