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The National Forum Foundation

ANNUAL REPORT

“The National Forum Foundation has proven itself to be a farsighted, action-oriented organization of major significance to furthering progress toward our national goals.”

President Ronald Reagan

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The National Forum Foundation is a non-profit public policy research and education institute founded to facilitate the development of a national bipartisan consensus on the need to re-establish a realistic national security perspective, institute comprehensive welfare reform, and preserve the integrity of the family.

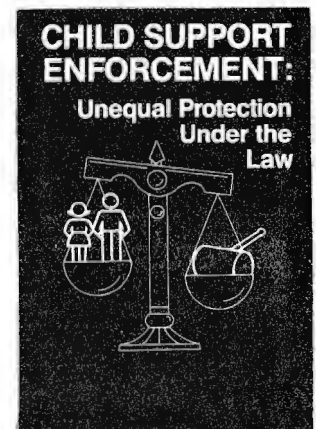
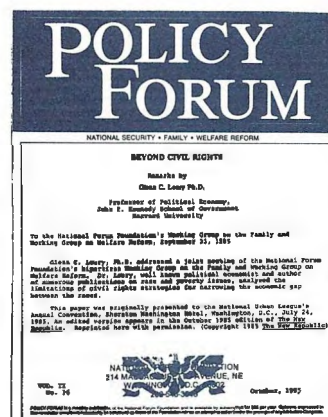
In Washington's atmosphere of partisan politics and polarization, NFF's commitment to bipartisanship and consensus enables it to advance the intellectual and moral basis of the conservative perspective to a broad spectrum of interests. NFF programs cultivate productive relationships between NFF, policy-makers, key congressional staff, and the media, thus enhancing opportunities for informed dialogue and consensus. The Foundation's varied educational activities target both the Washington-based policy community and, through aggressive and unique media programs, the general public.

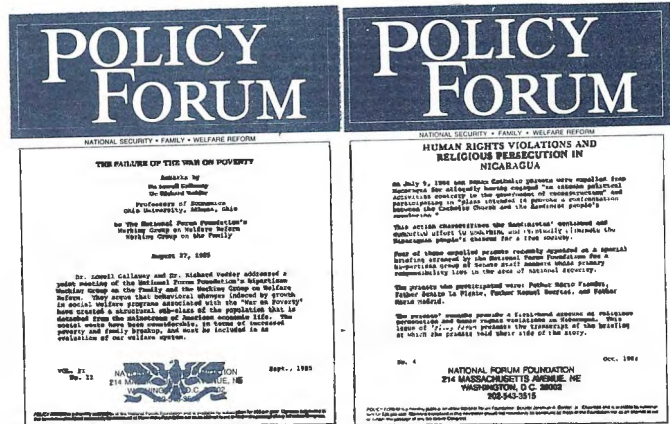
Working Groups: Reaching the Policy Community

NFF links legislators and their staffs with outside policy experts through three Congressional Working Groups, one in each of the NFF issue areas: national security, welfare reform, family stability. Each Working Group has a permanent membership which meets monthly, bringing together key legislative staff from both parties, and representatives from the Executive Branch as well as the academic and policy communities. These meetings offer participants a rare opportunity to discuss national policy issues, unencumbered by Congressional committee structures and party allegiance.

The Working Groups provide a forum for recognized experts whose ideas are valuable not only because of their commitment to shared values, but because of their commitment to developing solutions, which can attract bipartisan support, to problems facing our nation. The off-the-record meeting enables Working Group members to apply the speakers' realistic and practical ideas to government policy formulation.

In the past year, these Working Groups have heard a diverse list of speakers. Drawing from the nation's most prestigious universities and institutions, these men and women have addressed a wide array of issues. National security topics featured have ranged from the merits of SDI (retired General Daniel Graham of High Frontier) to the Geneva Summit (Dr. Richard Pipes, Harvard); in welfare reform, from the failures of the Great Society (Dr. Charles Murray of the Manhattan Institute), to the Grace Commission recommendations (J. P. Bolduc, Executive Director); and, in the area of the family, from pornography (Bruce Taylor, Esq., prosecutor for Citizens for Decency through Law) to the breakdown of the traditional family (Bruce Chapman, Director of White House Policy Planning and Development).





Media Program: Reaching the General Public

It is often said that ideas have consequences. However, the degree to which an idea has consequence is a function of how effectively it is disseminated, or marketed. Recognizing the electronic and print media's vast ability to disseminate ideas to the general public, NFF has developed two enormously effective media programs—Radio Forum and the NFF Editorial Distribution Service. Both programs are designed to provide a media forum for opinion makers who can promote the NFF goals of strong defense, limited government, protection of the family and advancing America's underclass through welfare alternatives.

In its first full year, Radio Forum has sponsored thousands of hours of live interviews on radio talk shows across the nation. NFF has arranged interviews for over a hundred academic, policy and political experts. Radio stations which feature these interviews are among the largest in the nation with a combined audience in the tens of millions. Counted among Radio Forum's 200 subscribers—and frequent users—are WABC and WMCA, New York; WBZ and WRKO, Boston; KABC in Los Angeles; WINZ and WNNF in Miami; KOA and KNUS in Denver; WLS and WFYR in Chicago; KFBK in Sacramento; and KDKA and WTKN in Pittsburgh. The list goes on to include stations in the top 30 major media markets in the United States. Moreover, Radio Forum places guests on several of the largest syndicated programs, heard on a combined total of more than 600 radio stations.

These NFF-sponsored interviews have addressed a wide variety of issues. Special emphasis has been placed on the decline of the traditional American family, alternatives to welfare, and the communist threat.

NFF's Editorial Distribution Service functions as a clearinghouse for opinion pieces to over 500 daily and weekly newspapers. NFF regularly solicits Op-Ed columns from key opinion makers and academicians on important and timely policy issues. Each month NFF distributes these articles which then appear as Op-Eds or guest columns in editorial pages

across the nation.

The topics and authors featured by the Editorial Distribution Service have included: "My Vietnam Lessons" by prominent author and former radical activist, David Horowitz; Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole contributed "The Privatization of Conrail;" Dr. Allan Carlson, Vice President of the Rockford Institute, focused on comparable worth; and the former Secretary of California's Health and Welfare Agency, David Swoap, proposed bipartisan solutions to the perplexing problem of welfare dependency.

Public Affairs Programs: Framing the Debate

In the promotion of policy alternatives, a key element is the operation of an aggressive public affairs program. Seminars, conferences and press events, when professionally conceived and orchestrated, can make dramatic contributions to the development of informed debate and better government policy.

In 1985, NFF sponsored 12 major seminars, conferences and briefings for Members of Congress, their staffs and the press.

National security issues highlighted were U.S. policy in Nicaragua and southern Africa. Through media coverage, the public affairs program has given both the American public and our leaders an opportunity to consider the true nature of the Marxist regime in Nicaragua and of the Freedom Fighters resisting Cuban- and Soviet-inspired totalitarianism. Particular emphasis was given to exposing the human rights record of the Sandinistas.

For example, NFF public affairs events have included a briefing by four Nicaraguan Roman Catholic priests who were expelled by the Sandinistas. Later, at a press conference in March 1985, a standing-room-only crowd of reporters heard eyewitness accounts from a nine-year-old girl, members of Nicaragua's Jewish and Indian population, and former Sandinista officials of torture and persecution by Nicaragua's Sandinista regime.

NFF also brought to Washington a Denver physician, Dr. Othneil Seiden, who had donated several weeks of his time to treating refugees in Honduras. Dr. Seiden reported irrefutable evidence that the Sandinistas were torturing their prisoners. The Sandinistas' human rights record and military build-up also came under fire from editors of Central America's leading newspapers. NFF sponsored the editors' week-long trip to Washington, in which they briefed U.S. press, Congressional and administration groups on the formidable threat the Sandinistas represent to regional security. U.S. Senators Jeremiah Denton, Paula Hawkins and Pete Wilson, upon their return from serving as official U.S. observers of El Salvador's presidential elections, reported the Salvadorans' strong desire for democracy before a large press gathering.

NFF seminars also focused on the human rights situation in South Africa, as well as the United States' dependence on strategic minerals in that region. State Department officials, leading academics, minerals experts, and South African officials and businessmen, as well as anti-apartheid activist, Leon Sullivan, participated in the events.

Family and welfare reform issues were highlighted in two publications, associated press events and a major conference. Besides press briefings at the release of NFF studies (see pages 10, 11), NFF sponsored a major conference, "Pornography: Solutions Through Law." This event, which was held in Dallas, focused on the social costs of pornography and the constitutional aspects of the enforcement of existing anti-pornography laws. The conference boasted a wide range of participants, including three state attorneys general, two U.S. Senators, U.S. Customs and Justice Department officials, and scholars. The proceedings of the conference were published in book form.

Publications: Going on Record

In the Forum's first full year of operation, it has published over 30 titles. Receiving wide media attention, NFF publications have quickly gained respect as a source of responsible contributions to the public debate. While the publication of *Policy Forum*, a biweekly, 15-20 page policy background, has made up the bulk of this work, NFF has published several major reports and monographs. *The Fairness Debate* by staff members Jim Denton and Juanita Duggan, examined the spending and tax policies of the Carter and Reagan (first term) years. Peter Grace, respected businessman, philanthropist and government cost-cutter *par excellence*, remarked that the report "constituted a masterful rebuttal to the assertion, repeated ad nauseam in the media, that Reagan's policies have hurt the poor and aided the wealthy." *Fairness* was followed by a comprehensive report on the shameful status of child support in America, by Wayne Dixon and Duggan. NFF also published a widely-acclaimed reference manual designed for Congressional staff members on U.S. policy options in South Africa.

About two dozen *Policy Forums* have addressed a variety of issues ranging from human rights in Nicaragua to the privatization of public housing.

NFF Public Affairs Summary

Strategic Minerals and U.S. Policy Towards South Africa — A day-long conference featuring academic and policy experts on South Africa.

Pornography: Solutions Through Law — A day-long conference held in Dallas to examine the social and legal aspects of this issue.

The Fairness Debate — Released NFF report and briefed the press on the tax and social spending policies of the Carter and Reagan Administrations (1978-83).

Nicaragua Was Our Home — NFF sponsored the film preview of this documentary at the White House on the plight of Nicaragua's Miskito Indians.

Black and Indian Businessmen from South Africa — NFF sponsored this press and staff briefing on the negative impact of U.S. disinvestment on South African Blacks.

Child Support Enforcement — Released NFF report and briefed the press on the states' lax performance in collecting child support from delinquent fathers.

Human Rights Atrocities in Nicaragua — Members of Nicaragua's Indian, Jewish, business and civilian population gave eyewitness accounts of Sandinista atrocities. Extensive TV and print media coverage.

Central American Editors' Trip — NFF brought five leading journalists and editors to Washington, D.C. to brief key government and press personnel.

Religious Persecution in Nicaragua — Four Roman Catholic priests, expelled from Nicaragua, discussed the Sandinista crackdown on religious freedom.

SDI Debate — A debate between Mr. John Pike, Federation of American Scientists, and Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham (USAF, Ret.), High Frontier, on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), prior to the Geneva Summit. Broadcast nationwide by C-SPAN.

El Salvador Election Briefing — Three U.S. observers, Senators Denton, Hawkins and Wilson, described the 1984 presidential election in El Salvador at this NFF press briefing.

Sandinista Human Rights Abuses — A humanitarian physician and Miskito Indian leaders detailed Sandinista human rights abuses at this NFF press briefing.



In 1985, NFF's national security program reflected, in large measure, the significance of the debate over U.S. foreign policy in Central America and southern Africa. Through a variety of NFF-sponsored events, these two regional issues were top priority.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime has gone to war against its own people. A liberal tradition of the free press has abruptly ended. The Jewish community has been terrorized and chased out. The leadership of the Catholic Church, unions and opposition parties have been isolated and persecuted. Parish priests have been intimidated and expelled. Indians and Black Nicaraguans have been persecuted and forced into government labor camps. The Nicaraguan people are no longer permitted to dissent nor are they granted legal rights. And the election process in Nicaragua is, of course, a sham.

While the Sandinistas conscripted the largest and best-equipped military in Latin America and the Soviet bloc piled up military hardware on Nicaragua's docks, no consensus emerged on the true nature of the Sandinista regime. Many in Congress continued to apologize for, if not defend, the Sandinistas, claiming U.S. posturing was driving the Sandinistas into the Communist bloc.

Much of the foundation's work was to dispel the myths perpetrated by those who tend to ignore the threat Soviet-sponsored regimes and insurgencies represent to global stability: namely, respect for human rights and freedom.

As the debate in Congress intensified, NFF held a news conference featuring Senator Jeremiah Denton, and two of Nicaragua's Indians, both of whom had taken up arms against the Marxist government. Also appearing was a Denver-based physician, Dr. Othneil Seiden, who treated victims of Sandinista torture in refugee camps in Honduras. As reported by the *New York Times*, the Indian witnesses rebutted earlier claims made by Senator Edward M. Kennedy that the armed resistance was responsible for human rights violations in Nicaragua.

The differences of opinion prompted Denton to challenge Kennedy to participate in a bipartisan fact-finding trip to Central America to ascertain the facts. A delegation was indeed formed and travelled to Nicaragua and Honduras to investigate human rights conditions in the region. (NFF provided most of the trip's funding.) The bipartisan delegation included Denton and Kennedy staff members. The final report, issued in April 1985, condemned the Sandinista

treatment of the Indians as "insensitive and inhumane." This unusually bipartisan Congressional report urged Nicaragua's Sandinista government to "take immediate steps to redress [Miskito] Indian grievances."

Bipartisanship was also the goal of a special closed briefing arranged by NFF for top Senate and House foreign policy aides. In their first appearance in this country, four Nicaraguan priests, who had been expelled by the Sandinista government, discussed the circumstances of their expulsion and the accelerating pace of persecution in Nicaragua.

The persistent reports accusing the anti-Sandinista resistance, the Freedom Fighters, of human rights abuses prompted the NFF to investigate one of these reports, the Brody Report. NFF's investigation revealed that the Brody Report, which alleged that numerous violations of human rights were being committed by the Freedom Fighters, was conceived and orchestrated by the Washington law firm of Reichler and Appelbaum, the Sandinistas' paid lobbyists.

The findings of NFF's investigation were published in an article by Jim Denton, NFF Executive Director, on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* on April 23, 1985. This story was extensively quoted in the *Congressional Record* during the Congressional debates over U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan resistance that same day.

In March, NFF sponsored a press briefing which provided eyewitness accounts of Sandinista atrocities. Alejandro Salazar, a Nicaraguan businessman and former Sandinista, told of the physical and mental torture he underwent in a Sandinista jail. Nine-year-old Martha Murillo told how, after seeing her entire family killed, she was bayoneted, shot and left for dead by the Sandinistas. Members of Nicaragua's small Jewish community described the persecution they faced in Nicaragua, including the firebombing of their Managua temple. News coverage of this event was extensive. The Cable News Network conducted a live interview while the story was also covered in *USA Today*, the *Washington Post*, the *Miami Herald* and scores of other regional newspapers.

Also in the spring of 1985, NFF arranged for five top newspaper and television editors from Central America to visit Washington. During a press conference called on the first day of their visit, the editors complained that there is a disinformation campaign going on which is being aided by many U.S. reporters assigned to the Managua press corps.

The Central American editors' agenda included a meeting with *Washington Post* editor, Stephen Rosenfeld, two briefings for large press gatherings and two briefings at the White House. A bipartisan group of about 200 House and Senate aides attended the White House events. While in Washington, the editors also taught a seminar at Catholic University and visited Congressional offices.

Finally, in June, NFF sponsored a preview of a documentary film on the plight of the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua. About 250 Congressional staff, and members of the press and policy community attended the event at the White House.

Many Americans are unfamiliar with the importance of South Africa to industrial nations. Of particular importance, but rarely discussed, is the degree of dependence the United States and the West has on the critical and strategic minerals found in southern Africa. The consequences of instability in South Africa, which might result in an interruption of trade in these minerals, must be carefully considered.

In February, NFF sponsored a day-long conference, "Strategic Minerals and U.S. Policy in Southern Africa." The event was attended by about 200 Congressional staff, and members of the policy, press, academic and business communities.

The National Forum Foundation sponsored this conference to examine U.S. policy in South Africa in light of the mineral dependence. The positive role American companies can play in ending South Africa's apartheid system was discussed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, the author of the Sullivan Principles. Dr. Daniel Fine of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a world-renowned expert on strategic minerals, praised NFF for making "a major contribution . . . to provide decision makers with both information and the realities of the political debate. . . . The national interest is best served by such undertakings." Senior officials from the Departments of State and Commerce discussed U.S. diplomacy and trade policy, respectively. South Africa's national television network reported the proceedings widely in South Africa.

As a nationwide campaign mounted to force U.S. business interests out of South Africa, a NFF briefing featured Black and Indian businessmen from South Africa. These participants—while calling for an end to apartheid—explained that U.S. business investment was crucial to job security for Blacks and that U.S. companies represent a major vehicle to advance the socio-economic conditions of all citizens there.

These themes were reinforced by *South Africa: Challenges to U.S. Policy*, edited by Edward Lynch and Jim Denton. The 160-page reference manual is an anthology of articles and speeches, representing a broad spectrum of opinion on southern Africa issues.

"The Real Challenges Black South Africans Face," by Prince Buthelezi, the leader of the region's largest tribe, the Zulus, was published as a *Policy Forum* by NFF. Buthelezi, who will certainly be a key leader in any future multi-racial government in South Africa, argues that disinvestment by the United States will hurt Blacks there.

The final major national security event of 1985 was a debate on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or so-called Star Wars. Participating were Mr. John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists, and Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham (USAF, Ret.) of High Frontier. The sometimes-heated presentation was filmed and broadcast nationally by C-SPAN, the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network.





"Pornography: Solutions Through Law is to be commended for drawing together . . . a clear presentation of the nature of the problems caused by pornography . . . I recommend this well-balanced and thorough work as an excellent resource for those dealing with the problem."

His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Connor
Archbishop of New York

Pornography: Solutions Through Law

Edited by Carol A. Clancy, Esq.

with a special foreword by

His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Connor
Archbishop of New York



The traditional family is essential to the health of any nation. The family provides the basic requirements of life, such as food, clothing and shelter. Equally important is the fact that the family unit fosters the development of morality, good citizenship and the basic skills necessary to become productive members of society.

The traditional family is faced with many forces and pressures that threaten its stability. Family formation and successful child rearing are more difficult in today's environment than ever before in our nation's history. This is reflected in increases in the rate of child abuse, adolescent pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, teenage suicide, juvenile delinquency and domestic violence. Moreover, divorce, desertion and illegitimacy rates have soared. After a dramatic upsurge in the early '70's, the number of single-parent families continues to steadily increase. The ready availability of pornography and abortion is distorting the traditional view of marriage and child rearing.

Until recently, government policy toward the family has often been neglectful, and at times hostile. Yet, protection of the American family and promotion of traditional values are extremely important. That is why the National Forum Foundation has designed programs which focus on strengthening the family unit through an examination of those social influences and government policies which can potentially undermine or cultivate strong families."

One such program is NFF's Working Group on the Family. The Working Group has a permanent bipartisan membership which meets monthly to discuss issues and policies affecting the family. The Working Group provides a forum for interested government officials and private individuals to come together to hear acknowledged experts discuss critical aspects of family policy. As one Working Group speaker, Miss Dorcas Hardy, Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services at the Department of Health and Human Services, put it, "The National Forum Foundation's Working Group on the Family is an excellent vehicle through which those of us who are committed to the preservation of the American Family can have an opportunity to express ourselves."

Hardy, in a March 1985 meeting of the Family Working Group, outlined the current role of government in supporting the American family, as well as a broad overview of the Reagan Administration policies and new programs designed to benefit families and promote family stability. Miss Hardy

observed during her presentation that "if we are sincerely desirous of preventing family dissolution, then we as a government and as a nation need to foster a re-kindling of commitment and parental responsibility expressed in child-rearing as well as in marriage."

Working Group members had earlier received a comprehensive grounding in the history of family policy from Dr. Allan Carlson of the Rockford Institute. In April, after Carlson's and Hardy's presentation on past and present programs, Dr. Eugene Stuerle, Deputy Director of Domestic Taxation of the Treasury Department, discussed with Working Group members the issue of "Tax Fairness for Families." Stuerle's presentation reviewed three major areas: 1) the increased tax burdens of households; 2) the major tax reform proposals and their anticipated impact on families; and 3) past, present and future tax policy regarding dependents.

After a June Working Group meeting to discuss the impact of pornography on the family and society, as well as approaches to eliminating pornography, Working Group members heard leading Black scholar, Dr. Glenn C. Loury of the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University. Dr. Loury's presentation, "Beyond Civil Rights," emphasized that the Black community must look inward for solutions to the problems it faces, rather than depend upon government programs and legal remedies. "To win the equal regard of (our fellow citizens), Black Americans cannot substitute judicial and legislative decree for what is to be won through the outstanding achievements of individual Black persons," Loury concluded.

Assistant Chief of the Population Division of the U.S. Census Bureau, Arthur Norton, presented Working Group members with a comprehensive overview of trends in the status of the American family. Norton's presentation graphically depicted the dissolution of the traditional family unit in America, citing disturbing statistics. For example, Norton commented that "the likelihood a woman in her late 20's today [will eventually be] in a position to have to maintain a single-parent family, is about four in ten."

To follow up this overview, Working Group members met in November to hear a presentation by Dr. William Pierce, President of the National Committee for Adoption. Pierce described the great disparity in number between children available for adoption and families who want to adopt.

Child abuse, sexual exploitation of women, and the soaring

adolescent pregnancy, divorce and teenage suicide rates can be linked to many fragmenting forces in our society. One such force, which undermines the fiber of society, is the pervasiveness of pornography.

To highlight the extent of this problem, NFF sponsored a major conference in Dallas, entitled "Pornography: Solutions Through Law." The purpose was to discuss the societal effect of pornography and the legal and constitutional questions surrounding the enforcement of pornography laws.

The conference convened officials from all levels of government, constitutional and sociological scholars, and representatives of citizen groups. State attorneys general from Kansas, Utah and Washington participated, as did Administrator Alfred Regnery of the Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Associate Commissioner of Customs Richard Miller, Prof. Charles Rice of the Notre Dame University Law School, Dr. Harold Voth of the Menninger School of Psychiatry and Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly. Senator Jeremiah Denton gave the luncheon address.

These panelists discussed a wide range of topics, including the involvement of organized crime, child pornography and its victims, the control of pornography on cable television, and various federal, state and local law enforcement efforts to combat pornography. One conference participant, Mr. Bruce Taylor, Vice President of Citizens for Decency through Law, Inc., characterized the event this way: "[NFF's] faculty of speakers was one of the most knowledgeable and impressive groups of authorities ever assembled. Those people who most need to be present were there . . . to meet with one another, to share our thoughts and experiences, and to motivate us all to continue to find solutions to the pornography problem through the law."

The message of the conference—pornography, in all its forms, is harmful and must be eliminated—reached beyond the 250 individuals in the audience. News reports were aired on the Cable News Network, the Christian Broadcasting Network, and a syndicated radio program reaching more than 160 stations, as well as on local Dallas television and radio stations.

The reach of the conference is being extended by the publication of a book bearing the conference's title. The book is a compilation of the papers and speeches presented at the conference. As Cardinal John O'Connor, Archbishop of New York, wrote in a special preface to the book: "The editor and contributors to *Pornography. Solutions Through Law* are to be commended for drawing together a clear presentation of the nature of the problem caused by pornography . . . Through wise analysis they have presented us with viable solutions and procedures for the implementation of these solutions." NFF has distributed *Solutions* to key members of the Washington-based policy community, the national press and Congress. In addition, the Conservative Book Club plans to feature the book in its Spring '86 offering. This wide distribution of the book will enable policy makers and the general public to better understand the severe impact of pornography on the family.

Family issues also remained at the forefront of NFF's media outreach program, Radio Forum (see page 11). The crisis in the Black family, adolescent pregnancy and the infringement of parental rights in education were among several family issues discussed by nationally-recognized experts on NFF-sponsored radio interviews throughout the nation.





"The charts and data in your report, *The Fairness Debate*, constitute a masterful rebuttal to the assertion, repeated ad nauseam in the media, that Reagan's policies have hurt the poor and aided the wealthy."

J. Peter Grace

Since the 1960's, our nation has witnessed a rapid and unprecedented expansion in the number and cost of government-sponsored programs intended to aid America's poor. In and of itself, the spiraling costs of this socialization experiment threaten the nation's future economic stability. Even the casual observer recognizes that unchecked, the exploding funding requirements of existing "entitlement" programs could bankrupt the nation's economy.

More alarming than the financial costs, however, are the tremendous human costs. Research reveals the mounting and irrefutable evidence—confirming what many had feared and predicted—that government's massive welfare programs for the poor have sadly compounded many of the very problems they were originally intended to correct. The 30 years of statistics now being tabulated are leaving scholars, public servants and ordinary citizens alike wondering if the "Great Society" has become a great disaster.

Analysis of the statistics has revealed that the social costs of welfare, both in terms of failing to break the poverty cycle and of contributing to the disintegration of the American family, are considerable. Indeed, it is now widely accepted—by liberals and conservatives alike—that a re-evaluation of this country's anti-poverty programs is imperative.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect about the inability of current welfare programs to help individuals break the poverty cycle is that the major share of the burden imposed by this system falls on the children of the poor. Consider these facts:

- Nearly one-quarter of the children in the United States today live in poverty as measured by the Census Bureau;
- The poverty rate for children, particularly children under the age of six, is far higher than that for any other age group;
- According to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), one-third of all children now being born in the United States may expect to be on public assistance before reaching age 18.

Resolution of this dilemma will not be easy. Washington, D.C. is a city of turf struggles. Exposing the facts—the results—of past social policies threatens institutions, political and private careers, and, significantly, an enormous bureaucracy. Therefore, even in light of the emerging consensus on the need for reform, it is folly to assume that needed reforms will occur tomorrow. Necessary long-term change in government policy must be preceded by an educational process made legitimate by credible, substantive and non-partisan programs.

In an effort to make those contributions to this educational process, the National Forum Foundation undertook several important projects. One of these is the NFF Working Group on Welfare Reform which provides a forum for leading academic and policy experts to express their ideas on how to best advance America's underclass.

The first meeting of the NFF Working Group on Welfare Reform featured Mrs. Vee Burke of the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service. Burke presented a historical overview of American welfare policy. With that foundation, Working Group members, along with members of the NFF's Working Group on the Family, next met to hear Dr. Charles Murray, Senior Research Fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research and author of the critically-acclaimed *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980*. Dr. Murray, whose book and research was the subject of a cover story in a December 1984 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, explored how social programs have often made matters worse for the poor and minorities—the very people they were intended to benefit.

"Family Allowances" was the subject of a later Working Group meeting. Mr. Joe Piccione of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation explained the history of family allowances—government transfer programs designed to assist families and encourage family formation—and contrasted such programs with present welfare programs.

Robert Woodson, President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, advocated tenant control, or privatization, of public housing as a means to improve the quality of life for housing project residents. Woodson pointed out to Working Group members that "privatization" demonstration projects underway in major cities led to increased motivation, decreased welfare dependency, attainment of higher education levels, decreased abuse of drugs and alcohol, as well as a decrease in illegitimate births and teenage motherhood.

The August meeting of the Welfare Reform Working Group, in conjunction with the Family Working Group, featured two noted economists who addressed the "Failure of the War on Poverty." Dr. Lowell Gallaway and Dr. Richard Vedder, both of Ohio University and formerly with the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, indicated that behavioral changes induced by expanding social welfare programs have "created a structural sub-class of the population that is detached from the mainstream of American life."

WELFARE REFORM

New approaches to breaking the poverty cycle were discussed in both the October and November Welfare Reform Working Group meetings. Mr. Carl Williams, Acting Deputy Director of Government and Community Relations for California's Department of Social Services, and Ms. Audrey Scott of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, both discussed test projects underway to motivate those in poverty to take advantage of opportunities. Mr. Williams outlined California's workfare program, while Ms. Scott discussed HUD's Quality of Life initiatives—both of which have vast implications if adopted at the federal level.

Mr. J. P. Bolduc, former chief operating officer for the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control—the Grace Commission—updated members at December's Working Group meeting on "The Status of the Grace Commission." Bolduc said the country was "headed for economic disaster" unless government spending was brought under control. He pointed out an alarming litany of wasteful management and spending practices in the federal government and urged Working Group members to review the Grace Commission recommendations as a way to reduce the federal deficit. Unless the deficit is reduced, Bolduc argued, "we are going to bury ourselves as a result of economic irresponsibility."

The Forum also published a major report on child support, entitled *Child Support Enforcement: Unequal Protection Under the Law*. This study drew attention to the growing crisis faced by millions of women and children as a result of skyrocketing divorce, desertion and illegitimacy rates. This study found that over 5.5 million of the nation's 8.4 million female-headed households (containing about 16 million dependent individuals) did not receive any support from absent fathers in 1984. Not surprisingly, this has driven millions of women and children into poverty. In fact, these single mothers and their children represent the fastest growing poverty group in the nation—a phenomenon commonly called the "feminization of poverty."

These factors have an immediate impact on the U.S. welfare system and taxpayer. For example, 90% of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients are single mothers who receive little or no financial support from the absent father. AFDC expenditures in 1984 alone totaled \$14 billion.

The long range implications, however, are more ominous. What is to become of a generation of fatherless children whose sole income source is the government? What is their future? What will this mean for America's social welfare system, crime and unemployment rates, and educational standards?

This study was an effort to dramatize the problem of child support and encourage state government officials to use existing laws to force delinquent fathers to meet their financial responsibilities to their children. Press coverage of the study was extensive, with reports carried in the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, the national wire services, the *Washington Post*, many radio and television stations and dozens of regional newspapers, including the *Houston Post* and the *Philadelphia Enquirer*.

Late in the 1984 presidential campaign, NFF released a report, entitled *The Fairness Debate*, which examined the tax and social spending policies of Presidents Reagan and Carter. Press coverage of *Fairness* included reports by ABC Radio, RKO, Cox Broadcasting, and Associated Press, as well as columns by nationally-syndicated columnist M. Stanton Evans and social policy expert, Robert Carleson.



Western Union Mailgram

INTERVIEW OPPORTUNITY THIS WEEK'S TOPIC: POVERTY IN AMERICA

"RADIO FORUM," A SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION (NFF), PROVIDES A VALUABLE RESOURCE TO THE NATION'S MAJOR RADIO TALK SHOWS. RADIO FORUM HELPS YOU SCHEDULE INTERVIEWS WITH ARTICULATE EXPERT GUESTS, WHO CAN PRESENT YOUR LISTENERS WITH AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF CURRENT NATIONAL ISSUES.

PARTICIPATING IN THIS WEEK'S RADIO FORUM ARE EXPERTS ON THE ISSUE OF POVERTY IN AMERICA. CONSIDER THE STAGGERING STATISTICS:

- * ALMOST HALF OF THE NATION'S POOR FAMILIES ARE LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS HEADED BY WOMEN.
- * 21.2 PERCENT OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN—13.8 MILLION—LIVED IN POVERTY IN 1983, THE GREATEST PERCENTAGE SINCE 1962.
- * SEVENTY PERCENT OF THE MINORITY CHILDREN LIVING IN FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS WERE POOR IN 1983.
- * THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENT MORE ON POVERTY PROGRAMS LAST YEAR—\$74 BILLION—THAN EVER BEFORE.

HOW HAS THIS HAPPENED? HAVE THE GREATEST SOCIETY PROGRAMS FAILED? WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS? THE FOLLOWING NATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED EXPERTS ARE AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEWS ON THIS NATIONAL DILEMMA DURING THE WEEKS OF JULY 8-12, 15-19.

GEORGE GILLEN, ECONOMIST, AUTHOR OF *MEASURING AND POVERTY*, EXPERT ON POVERTY ISSUES RELATING TO THE FAMILY AND TRUST.

PROF. GLEN LARRY, POLITICAL ECONOMIST, KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, WIDELY PUBLISHED AUTHOR ON RACE AND POVERTY ISSUES.

MICHAEL HOROWITZ, ATTORNEY, GENERAL COUNSEL FOR THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (OMB).

DR. HALPER WILLIAMS, ECONOMIST, WIDELY PUBLISHED AUTHOR ON POVERTY, BLACKS AND PRIVATE SECTOR SOLUTIONS.

DR. LONNIE GALLAGHER, OHIO UNIVERSITY SOCIAL SCIENTIST, TESTIFIED RECENTLY BEFORE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

CALL RADIO FORUM (CHRIS MARDEN), (202) 547-2084 TO SCHEDULE AN INTERVIEW WITH ONE OF THESE EXPERTS. INTERVIEWS SCHEDULED ON A FIRST COME BASIS.

*****LOOK FOR FUTURE RADIO MESSAGES IN THE MAIL. DETAILS TO FOLLOW UNDER SEPARATE COVER. TOLL FREE 888 SERVICE COMING SOON*****

BROADCAST OPPORTUNITY: THE PLIGHT OF THE BLACK FAMILY

THE NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION (NFF) OFFERS A MEDIA SERVICE PROGRAM FOR THE NATION'S MAJOR RADIO TALK SHOWS. THIS SERVICE OFFERS YOU A VALUABLE RESOURCE IN YOUR EFFORTS TO LOCATE AND SCHEDULE INTERVIEWS WITH ARTICULATE EXPERT GUESTS THAT CAN PRESENT YOUR AUDIENCE WITH AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF CURRENT NATIONAL ISSUES.

THIS WEEK'S INTERVIEW SERIES IS ON THE PLIGHT OF THE BLACK FAMILY IN AMERICA...THE STATISTICS ARE STAGGERING:

- * NEARLY 50% OF BLACK FAMILIES ARE HEADED BY WOMEN.
- * TODAY, 55% OF BLACK CHILDREN ARE BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK.
- * WHILE COMPRISING ONLY 12% OF U.S. POPULATION, BLACKS ACCOUNT FOR ABOUT 50% OF PRISON INMATES.
- * BLACK WOMEN HAVE MORE ABORTIONS THAN THEIR WHITE COUNTERPARTS, BY A FACTOR OF 2 TO 1.
- * 85% OF BLACK STUDENTS WHO TAKE COLLEGE SAT'S SCORE BELOW THE NATIONAL AVERAGE.

THIS IS A NATIONAL TRAGEDY. A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES OF THE PAST TWENTY YEARS IS NEEDED. WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS? THE FOLLOWING NATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED EXPERTS, ALL OF WHOM ARE DISTINGUISHED BLACK AMERICANS, ARE AVAILABLE TO ADDRESS SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS DURING THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 25 ON YOUR TALK SHOW.

ROBERT WOODSON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CENTER FOR NEIGHBORHOOD ENTERPRISE; MEMBER, PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES; RECENTLY LED MAJOR DELEGATION TO DISCUSS BLACK ECONOMIC AGENDA WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN.

ALABAMA MAYOR JOHN SMITH, FOUNDER, FIELD OF ETHNIC SCIENCE; VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK MAYORS.

DR. JAMES HAYS, FOUNDER, ADOP-A-FAMILY ENDOWMENT.

ROY JONES, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE).

STEPHANIE JOHNSON, VICE PRESIDENT LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS, AMERICAN LIFE LOBBY - WORKED TO PROMOTE PASSAGE OF BARRY DOE BILL.

JAY PARKER, PRESIDENT, LINCOLN INSTITUTE; CHAIRMAN, PRES. REAGAN'S TRANSITION TEAM AT EEOC (LIMITED AVAILABILITY).

CALL NFF (KATHY FITCHER): 202-547-2084 TO SCHEDULE AN INTERVIEW WITH ONE OF THESE EXPERTS. INTERVIEWS SCHEDULED ON A FIRST COME BASIS.

Western Union Mailgram

INTERVIEW OPPORTUNITY: ARMS CONTROL AND THE SUMMIT

RADIO FORUM, A SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL FORUM FOUNDATION, HELPS YOU SCHEDULE INTERVIEWS WITH ARTICULATE EXPERT GUESTS.

ARMS CONTROL WILL BE THE CENTRAL ISSUE ON THE AGENDA AT THE REAGAN-GORBACHEV SUMMIT, NOVEMBER 19-21. THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (SDI), ALSO KNOWN AS STAR WARS, HAS EMERGED AS THE MAJOR POINT OF CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. SOME CLAIM SDI WOULD ESCALATE THE ARMS RACE, WHILE THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES THIS DEFENSIVE STRATEGY WOULD DETER A SOVIET NUCLEAR ATTACK BY PROTECTING CITIZENS AND THE U.S. RETALIATORY CAPABILITY.

DESPITE CLAIMS THAT SDI DEPLOYMENT WOULD VIOLATE THE 1979 ABM TREATY, CONGRESS HAS CONTINUED FUNDING SDI RESEARCH. MANY HAVE URGED THE PRESIDENT TO INCLUDE SDI IN THE ARMS CONTROL TALKS, BUT REAGAN HAS REFUSED TO MAKE IT "A BARGAINING CHIP." OTHERS BELIEVE THAT KNOWLEDGE COULD QUESTION CREDIBILITY ON SOVIET TREATY VIOLATIONS.

SOME OF THE CRITICAL ISSUES TO ADDRESS IN ARMS CONTROL ARE: IS THE SOVIET'S PROPOSAL TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARSENALS BY 50% EQUIVOCAL? SHOULD SDI BE INCLUDED IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS? HOW ADVANCED IS THE SOVIET'S DEVELOPMENT OF A STRATEGIC DEFENSE SYSTEM?

THE FOLLOWING EXPERTS ARE AVAILABLE NOVEMBER 4-15 FOR INTERVIEWS:

—SEN. MALCOLM WILBUR (LIMITED AVAILABILITY), OFFICIAL SENATE OBSERVER TO THE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

—SEN. PETER WILSON (LIMITED AVAILABILITY), MEMBER OF THE SENATE DELEGATION TO GENEVA ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS.

—GEN. DANIEL GRAHAM (RETI.), DIRECTOR OF HIGH FRONTIER WHICH DEVELOPED STRATEGIC DEFENSE CONCEPT, FORMER DEP. DIR. OF CIA.

—KEITH PAYNE, PROF., NAT'L SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM AT GEORGETOWN U., AUTHOR OF *UPDATING ROOM, STRATEGIC DEFENSE: STAR WARS IN PERSPECTIVE*.

—WILLIAM VAN CLEAVE, PROF., STRATEGIC AND DEFENSE STUDIES PROGRAM AT UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

—DAVE SHILLING, AUTHOR, *SOVIET MILITARY SUPERDOLLY*, FORMER CIA AND ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY OFFICIAL.

—RICHARD STICHER, FOREIGN POLICY ANALYST FOR THE ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER, WIDELY PUBLISHED ON SDI AND NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES.

PLEASE CALL RADIO FORUM (KATHY SCHWEITZER OR CHRIS MARDEN) AT 1-800-622-1386 TO SCHEDULE AN INTERVIEW ON A FIRST COME BASIS.

NFF sends PSAs such as the examples above to over 200 radio talk show producers.

Modern electronic communication represents an extraordinary triumph for mankind. We find nothing uncommon about images flashed to our television sets from around the globe. Yet it is ironic—perhaps tragic—that in our world of instantaneous and high-tech communications, so much important information remains obscured from public view.

Without addressing the argument that the news industry is inundated by liberals, it is widely accepted that typical news programming is more entertainment than substance. To a degree, the blame lies in the very nature of the beast. It is difficult to imagine how a story, hastily written and filmed, and then edited into a 35-second news "bite," can be expected to convey the intricacies of arms control or the complexities of reforming a \$500 billion welfare system. Add to this the pressures on the news industry to increase ratings and profits, it is little wonder that responsible analysis is sometimes sacrificed for file footage and slogans.

In the past 12 months, NFF has developed media outreach efforts designed to counter some of these inherent limitations. With the goal of providing the American public comprehensive, credible and expert commentary on public policy issues, NFF conducts two media programs—Radio Forum and the Editorial Distribution Service.

The purpose of Radio Forum is to provide a media forum for those leading opinion makers and academicians who reflect the values and policies mainstream America embraces. And, to the degree that it applies, the program is intended to offset media bias.

By any measure, Radio Forum has been a remarkable success. As a result of solid planning and effective strategies, in 1985 NFF arranged over 2,000 hours of interviews on the nation's largest radio stations and syndicates.

The interviews are typically 30 to 60 minutes long, broadcast live in their entirety, allowing for an in-depth analysis of the issue. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, Mrs. Jo Ann Gasper, characterized Radio Forum this way: "The existence of the Foundation offers . . . an opportunity to express views that often are not given enough depth

or breadth of discussion in the national media, thus providing crucial public education on the important issues of the day." Peter Grace added, "Your work is exemplary . . . with respect to fairness in news media coverage. It is essential that people like you continue to press for balance."

Every other week, NFF sends a Public Service Announcement (PSA) to the individual producers of about 200 talk show programs—all airing in the nation's 30 largest media markets. The PSA highlights a specific policy issue and identifies experts who have agreed to be interviewed on "news and information" talk shows. Producers interested in featuring the issue on their program then contact Radio Forum, which arranges for a NFF guest to be interviewed. In effect, the program plays a key role not only in focusing the producers' attention on an important issue, but also in facilitating credible and thorough analysis on the nation's airwaves.

The past 18 months were marked by increased world attention on the struggle of freedom fighters against Soviet-backed totalitarian regimes. To provide in-depth analysis on this critical issue, Radio Forum scheduled more than 100 interviews for experts on "Anti-Communist Insurgencies." On individual stations and through nationally syndicated programs, more than 400 stations featured NFF-sponsored guests on this topic. Among the experts who participated in this on-going Radio Forum series were Senator Gordon Humphrey, Cochairman of the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan; Dr. John Silber, Boston University President and member of the bipartisan Presidential Commission on Central America; Professor John Norton Moore, professor of International Law at the University of Virginia's Law School, and Congressman Newt Gingrich, founder of the Conservative Opportunity Society which coordinated a nationwide campaign to observe the "Lessons of Grenada." Among the stations which featured these and other NFF-sponsored guests included KABC Los Angeles, WIND Chicago and WGST Atlanta.

With the renewed arms control negotiations and a summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev, high on the agenda in both cases was the U.S. plan to

This service has provided a nationwide forum for credible and articulate experts, including NFF Chairman Senator Jeremiah Denton on "Arms Control and America's Security," and White House Director of Policy and Planning Bruce Chapman on "Bringing Back the Maternity Home." Other columns have focused on tenant control of public housing and the sham elections in Nicaragua. Other Editorial Distribution Service authors included Ambassador Faith Whittlesey, former Assistant to the President for Public Liaison; Mrs. Brenda Hunter, author of *Where Have All the Mothers Gone?*; and Dr. William Van Cleave, Director of the Defense and Strategic Studies Program at the University of Southern California.

NATIONAL FORM FOUNDATION

Fairness Debate

Editor: James S. Denton
Co-Editor: Juanita D. Duggan

Books & Reports

FAMILY--Pornography: Solutions Through Law, edited by Carol A. Clancy; a collection of essays and addresses presented at NFF's nationwide conference which examined the social and legal aspects of the issue. Preface by John Cardinal O'Connor, Archbishop of New York. 150 pgs.

WELFARE REFORM--The Fairness Debate, by James S. Denton and Juanita Duggan; a comparison of the tax and social spending programs of the Reagan and Carter Administrations (1978-83). 28 pgs.

Child Support Enforcement: Unequal Protection Under the Law, by Wayne Dixon and Juanita Duggan; an analysis of the states' performance in collecting child support. Foreword by Sen. Russell Long. 83 pgs.

NATIONAL SECURITY--South Africa: Challenges to U.S. Policy, edited by Edward A. Lynch and James S. Denton; an anthology of articles representing the broad spectrum of opinion on southern and South Africa. 160 pgs.

Terrorism: The Search for a Policy, by Edward A. Lynch; a concise examination of the nature of terrorism, the difficulties in dealing with terrorism and policy recommendations. 60 pgs.

Policy Forum

FAMILY AND WELFARE REFORM--"The History of Family Policy," by Dr. Allan Carlson, 12 pgs.

"Impact on the Family of the Welfare State," by Dr. Charles Murray, 19 pgs.

"Family Allowances: The Implications for the Welfare System," by Mr. Joe Piccione, 12 pgs.

"Beyond Civil Rights," by Dr. Glenn C. Loury, 12 pgs.

"History of American Welfare Policy," by Mrs. Vee Burke, 12 pgs.

"An Overview of Federal Programs Affecting the Family," by Miss Dorcas Hardy, 7 pgs.

"The Failure of the War on Poverty," by Drs. Lowell Gallaway and Richard Vedder, 18 pgs.

"The Psychological and Social Effects of Pornography," by Harold M. Voth, M.D., 19 pgs.

"Tenant Control of Public Housing: An Economic Opportunity," by Mr. Robert Woodson, 10 pgs.

"The Effects of Child Pornography," by Alfred S. Regnery, 18 pgs.

NATIONAL SECURITY--"Human Rights in Nicaragua," by Dr. Othneil J. Seiden, 47 pgs.

"Human Rights Violations and Religious Persecution in Nicaragua," by Frs. Mario Fiandri, Benito La Plante, Manuel Huertas and Mario Madrid, 15 pgs.

"Strategic Minerals and U.S. Policy Towards South Africa," by various academic & policy experts, 10 pgs.

"The Struggle of the Afghan Freedom Fighters," Parts I & II, by Jamiat-E-Islami, 22 pgs.

"State-Sponsored International Terrorism," by Dr. Raymond S. Cline, 16 pgs.

"The Real Challenges Black South Africans Face," by Prince Mangosutho G. Buthelezi, 22 pgs.

"SDI Debate," between Mr. John Pike, Federation of American Scientists, and Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham (USAF-Ret.), High Frontier, 27 pgs.

"Boiling the Sea: Soviet Terror in Afghanistan," by Peter Collier and David Horowitz, 8 pgs.

"Mexico: A Burning Fuse on our Southern Border," by Sol Sanders, 9 pgs.

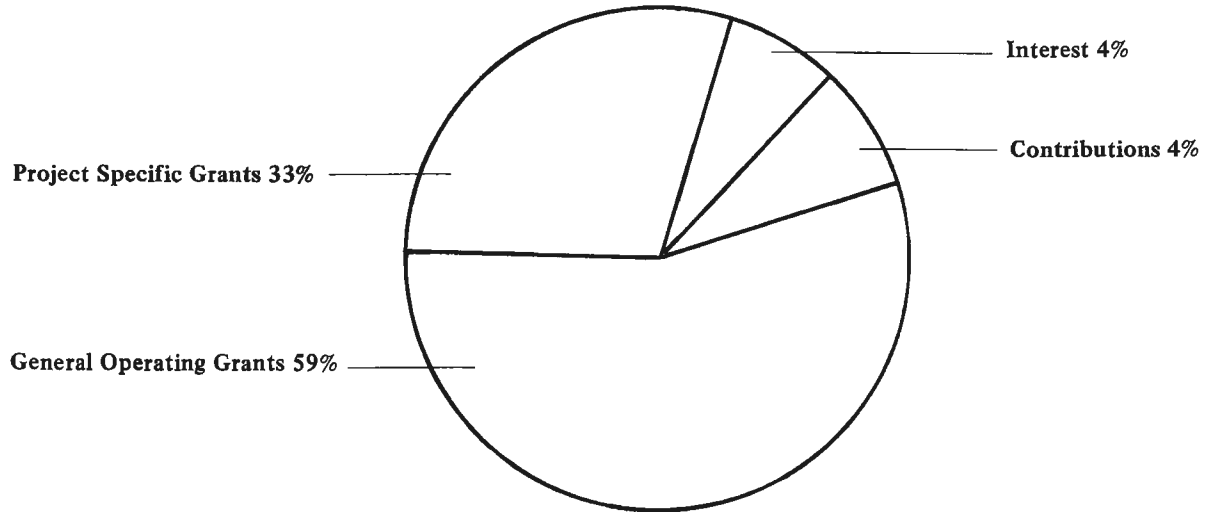
"My Vietnam Lessons," by David Horowitz, 7 pgs.

"A Tribute to President John F. Kennedy," four foreign policy speeches by JFK, 15 pgs.

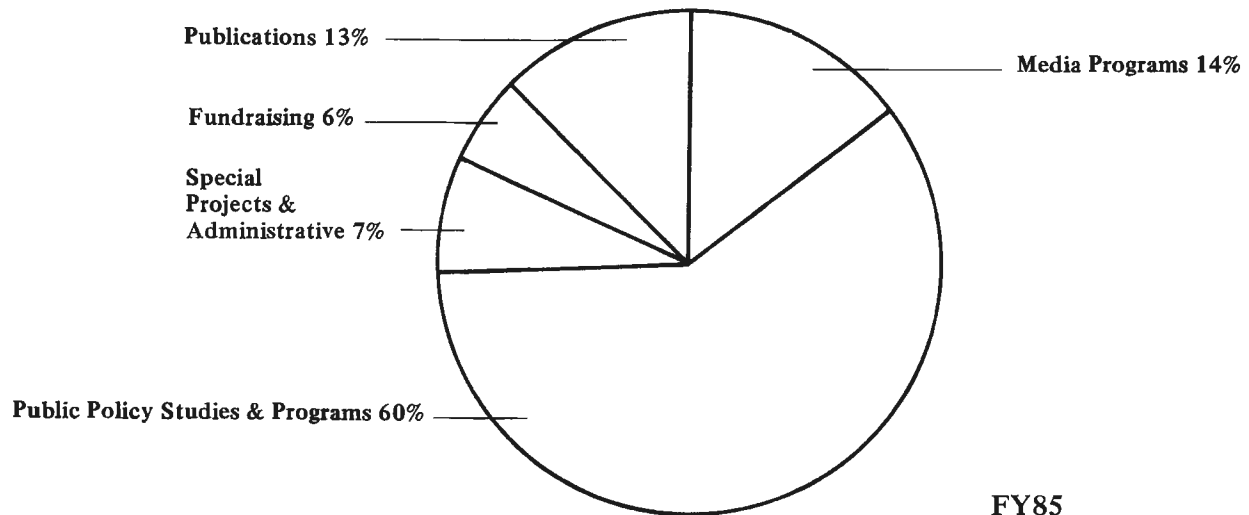
"Banned in Managua: The Sandinistas' Crackdown on Religious Freedom," a copy of the Catholic newspaper, Iglesia, banned in Managua, 10 pgs.

"Arms Control: Possibilities or Problems?", by Dr. William Van Cleave, 16 pages.

INCOME



EXPENSES



FY85

Total Income: \$404,000

Total Expenses: \$405,000

FY86

Budgeted Income: \$718,000

Budgeted Expenses: \$696,000



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NFF UPDATE

NATIONAL SECURITY • FAMILY • WELFARE REFORM

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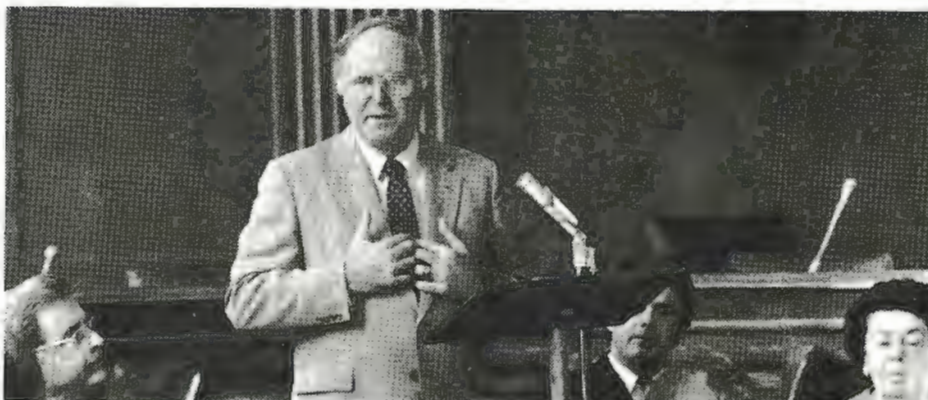
Welfare Reform Conference Looks to Year 2000

Despite current federal and state government spending 20 percent of the GNP on social welfare programs, the percentage of Americans living in poverty is virtually unchanged since 1968. Because the government has spent hundreds of billions of dollars to reduce poverty with little success, NFF sponsored the conference "Reforming the Welfare System: A Look to the Year 2000" on June 16. More than 150 Congressional staff members, Administration officials, private sector reform advocates and press attended the day-long conference in the Dirksen Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C.

The primary purpose of the conference was to develop consensus on integral issues of welfare reform. The importance and desirability of building a work incentive into the welfare system was recognized as a key element of the reform movement. Work, the conferees noted, is important not only in developing self-esteem for the recipient, but also in building confidence in the system from the taxpayer's perspective.

This conference convened for the first time many of the key innovators in welfare policy who examined the facts and issues surrounding welfare reform. In a bipartisan joint "Dear Colleague" letter to each member of the U.S. Congress, NFF Chairman Jeremiah Denton (R-AL) and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) encouraged members to attend. The Senators commented that, "Somehow we must find the common ground to solve these problems in order to win America's longest war, the War on Poverty. The National Forum Foundation — a Washington D.C. based

(Continued on page 2)



Dr. Michael Novak gave the luncheon address to a capacity audience at the Welfare Reform Conference. Senator Denton, left, introduced Dr. Novak.

Terrorism Expert Joins NFF Staff

NFF Expands Terrorism Studies

In view of the continued challenge that state-sponsored international terrorism poses to the United States and its allies, the National Forum Foundation has begun a major effort to educate the American public and Washington policy-makers about the threat of terrorism and effective countermeasures. The Terrorism Research and Public Awareness Project includes conferences, video productions, and an ambitious publishing schedule which will dramatically improve the scope and quality of available

material on terrorism.

Professor Yonah Alexander, world-renowned expert on terrorism and author of over 28 books on the subject, will direct the Terrorism Project. Dr. Alexander will join NFF staff in the fall of 1986 as a Distinguished Scholar after working with the NFF on several projects related to international terrorism. Ed Lynch, National Security Policy Analyst for NFF, will serve as the project Research Director.

(Continued on page 3)



Prof. Yonah Alexander, NFF Distinguished Scholar addresses Conference on Terrorism.

In This Issue

- NFF Terrorism Conference Series
- Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick Reception
- Radio Forum Update
- U.S. Defense and Social Spending Analysis

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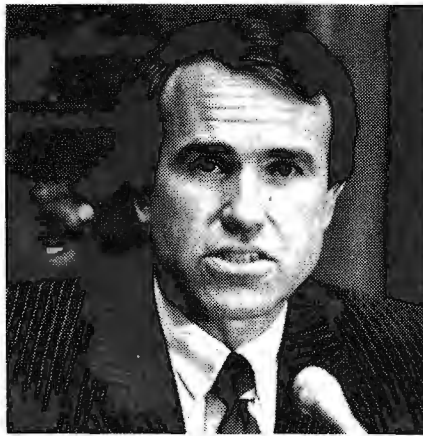
Chairman: The Honorable Jeremiah A. Denton

Editor: Feena MacLavery

Publisher: James S. Denton



Robert Woodson, President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprises.



Rep. Jim Courter (R-NJ).



Dr. Richard Vedder, University of Ohio.

Welfare Reform Conference (Continued from page 1)

public policy think tank — is sponsoring a Capitol Hill conference which is designed to examine these important issues." They added, "We believe this conference will make significant contributions to the welfare reform debate which will soon be upon us."

A highlight of the conference was the address to a capacity luncheon audience by scholar and author Dr. Michael Novak. Senator Denton introduced Dr. Novak as "a nouveau-Renaissance man" who "dares to inquire into the spiritual wealth of nations." In his address, "The Neglected Cultural Frontier in Public Policy," Novak reminds us that welfare reform is not only an economic or political challenge, but a cultural challenge as well.

He noted that a change in family structure is the largest single new cause of poverty. According to the U.S. Census, if we had the same proportion of single parent households in 1984 as we had in 1959, there would be 4.6 million fewer persons in poverty. He contends that the fastest growing kind of poverty arises from personal choices. To reverse this trend, we need to turn our attention to policies which reflect and reinforce

character. "Character," an idea that is enshrined in American heritage, Novak says, "is necessary to release the spiritual energy for self-government. If one cannot govern oneself, how can all of us collectively govern ourselves or the republic?"

Panel I: The Great Society: The Day After

Dr. John Weicher of the American Enterprise Institute, Richard Vedder, Ph.D. of Ohio University, June O'Neill, Ph.D. of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and Dr. William Gribbin of the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee were the panelists who demonstrated the need for better data in developing an accurate picture of poverty. Carl A. Anderson, Special Assistant to the President in the White House Office of Public Liaison, moderated the panel discussion.

In this panel, some myths were dispelled. Dr. O'Neill, for example, described some unexpected differences in families and welfare policies in various regions of the country. She noted, "Despite lower levels of schooling in the South, a characteristic associated with out-of-wedlock births and mari-

tal dissolution, the percentage of black families headed by women was 40 percent in the South, compared to 48 percent outside the South." Her analysis showed that, "It is also noteworthy that the low benefit strategy of the South has not produced more poverty. Quite the contrary, the measured poverty rate in 1984 among female headed families was somewhat lower for both blacks and whites in the South than it was in the high benefit North and West."

Dr. Gribbin reminded us that reforming the Great Society programs is not just a legislative battle. "The judiciary," in his view, "has done at least as much to advance the agenda of the Great Society as did its inventors in the Executive (branch of the federal government) and its abettors in the Legislature." Dr. Gribbin argues that, "It is currently fashionable, across the ideological spectrum, to consider strong family life as the best antidote to poverty and to admit that weak family situations have something to do with the poverty trap. But that modest agreement is only the first step toward reform."

Panel II: "The Role of Government in Eliminating Poverty."

Dr. Leslie Lenkowsky, President of the Institute for Educational Affairs, perhaps best summarized this panel's position: "Government can eliminate poverty through an 'income strategy,' but doing so encourages more of the poor to rely on public assistance, instead of taking steps to become self-supporting. That, in turn, may sow the seeds of a deeper, more lasting poverty, which becomes more difficult to reduce, even with more generous benefits."

Robert Carleson, Director of Government Relations, KMG Main Hurdman and social welfare consultants, Jo Anne Ross and Dr. Blanche Bernstein, also participated in the panel. This panel was moderated by Ann Jackson, an assistant to District of Columbia Councilman H.R. Crawford.

(Continued on page 4)



Congressman Sander Levin (D-MI) presents his welfare reform legislation at the NFF conference.

Terrorism Studies

(Continued from page 1)

Governmental Responses To Terrorism

The Terrorism Project began with a series of four conferences on various aspects of terrorism. The first of these, Governmental Responses to Terrorism, was held on Capitol Hill on February 21, 1986 and featured experts on terrorism from the Administration, Congress and the private sector. The audience included Congressional staff, policy experts and the media. The event was co-sponsored by the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at the State University of New York and the Institute for Social and Behavioral Pathology at the University of Chicago.

One of the panelists, former Federal Emergency Management Agency Director Louis Guiffrida, described the enormous difficulty in thwarting terrorists planning a high casualty terrorist attack. To cause major damage to a city, "a terrorist would need only 3,200,000 grams of mustard gas, or 800,000 grams of nerve gas, or 5,000 grams of material for nuclear fission, or only 8 grams of anthrax spores. And that stuff is able to be had," Guiffrida said.

Professor John Norton Moore, from the University of Virginia Law School, suggested legal mechanisms the international community can and should use to deny terrorists and their sponsors the legitimacy and respect they seek. Professor Moore asked, "Why is it that the Soviet Union is free to support a variety of terrorist groups without being held accountable for it?"

Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen, ranking diplomat among the 52 American hostages seized in Iran, spoke at the luncheon and advised the assembled experts to follow three rules when confronted with a terrorist incident. "First, say nothing. Second, think twice. Third, act" he said. He added that



Fred Barnes, Senior Editor of the New Republic, addresses the NFF sponsored "Terrorism and the Media" Conference at the National Press Club. Seated left to right are: Jim Polk, NBC News; Nicholas Kittrie, American University School of Law; Charles Lewis, Associated Press.

there are no easy answers to terrorism and that efforts to improve physical security at U.S. Embassies are insufficient.

Journalists, Politicians Discuss Terrorism and the Media

The second conference in the NFF series addressed one of the most troubling aspects of terrorism, the proper role of the Western media in covering terrorist incidents.

Journalists from CBS, NBC, The Washington Post, The Washington Times, The New Republic and the Associated Press joined Senator Jeremiah A. Denton and other policy and academic experts to discuss the relationship between terrorism and the free press. The panelists also discussed guidelines for the media in covering terrorist incidents, as well as how the press can use its strengths to advance the fight against terrorism.

Senator Denton, NFF Chairman, delivered the keynote address at the conference

and reflected on the need for secrecy in the war against terrorism and the difficult choices this presents to Western reporters. "Had someone in the media learned in advance that a strike against Libya was in the offing," asked Senator Denton, "would they have suppressed the story, knowing that reporting it could endanger American lives or even force the mission to be aborted?"

Fred Barnes, Senior Editor of The New Republic, suggested specific guidelines for journalists and criticized those news organizations which provided a platform for terrorists to address the American people directly. Barnes said, "There should be no bargaining with terrorist for scoops, and no negotiating by the press acting as surrogate secretaries of state."

Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen also spoke at the conference luncheon, and a former hostage of Shi'ite terrorists in Lebanon, Jerry Levin of Cable News Network, spoke during the morning session. This event was also cosponsored by SUNY and the University of Chicago.

Terrorism and U.S. Travelers

The third conference entitled Terrorism and Transportation took place on May 12. NFF cosponsored this event with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in cooperation with SUNY and the University of Chicago. Panelists discussed the possibility of domestic terrorism coming to the United States, as well as the fear many Americans felt about travelling to Europe, in the wake of terrorist attacks on American vacationers there. Experts who were present at the conference included Edward J. O'Sullivan, Security Manager for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which includes the Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark airports, and Harold Olsson, First Vice President of the Airline Pilots Association.

(Continued on page 11)



Ambassador Bruce Laingen, Senior U.S. diplomat held hostage in Iran, delivers luncheon address on terrorism to journalists. Seated left to right: Prof. Yonah Alexander; Jack Smith, V.P., CBS News; and Arnaud de Borchgrave, Editor, The Washington Times.

NFF Welfare Reform Working Group Addresses: Workfare, Social Security, and 1987 Welfare Agenda

The largest working group of the year gathered in May to hear Judith Gueron detail the results of the nationally acclaimed study, "Work Initiatives for Welfare Recipients: Lessons from a Multi-State Experiment" conducted by the Manpower Demonstration and Research Corporation (MDRC). This five-year, eleven-state study of state initiatives to introduce innovative changes to what has been known as "workfare" is a major contribution to the welfare reform debate. Dr. Gueron is Executive Vice President of MDRC and a summa cum laude graduate of Harvard University.

The research addressed four basic questions:

1. Is it feasible to require work as a condition of receiving welfare benefits?
2. What do workfare-type programs look like in practice, and how do welfare recipients themselves judge the fairness of mandatory requirements?
3. Do the state initiatives reduce the welfare rolls and costs?
4. Is the system cost effective?

This historic study dispels some myths about welfare reform and is an important contribution to the debate. On the subject of work incentives, Dr. Gueron told the working group, "It is no longer defensible. . . to argue that welfare employment initiatives (i.e., work requirements) have no value. The first three studies. . . all had positive results: that is, there are increases in employment for women on AFDC. Given the rigors of social experimentation, that is a result that one should not take for granted."

Another familiar conservative concept of welfare reform, local control, was supported by the MDRC study. Gueron attributed the success of the state-run welfare programs to their ability to be more responsive and flexible in adapting to problems unique to specific geographic regions. Dr. Gueron commented, "they are home-grown, with local buy-in, not nationally designed and imposed."

In April, Harry Ballantyne and Roland King, the Chief Actuaries of Social Security and Medicare respectively, briefed Working Group members on the 1986 Trustees'

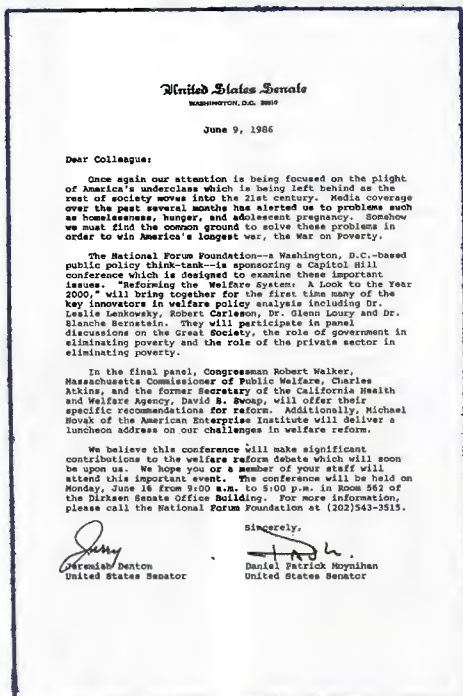


JoAnne Ross, Director of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

Annual Reports which had just been released to Congress. These annual reports were on Social Security, and on Medicare and long-term financial status of the trust funds.

(Continued on page 9)

Welfare Reform Conference (Continued from page 2)



Panel III: Role of the Private Sector in Eliminating Poverty

Robert Woodson, President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprises led the discussion, for Professor Glenn

Loury, Ph.D., of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, Kimi Gray, Chairperson of the Kenilworth Parkside Residential Management Corporation and William Orzechowski, Ph.D., of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce examined how the private sector can respond to the needs of the poor.

Dr. Orzechowski bluntly challenged the contradictory social systems which impede the ability of the underclass to enter the workforce. He said, "It is somewhat of an anomaly that we are willing to spend a great deal on federal welfare, but then turn around and deny opportunities to poor people through restrictive licensure. It is almost as if many middle class citizens are willing to bribe the poor with welfare money so they can keep the poor away from middle class occupations."

Professor Loury told the capacity audience that, "Addressing the poverty problem for this population means, ultimately, addressing the system of values and beliefs and the corresponding individual behaviors and actions which reduce a person's chance to become self-supporting."

Panel IV: A Blueprint of Reform: A Look to the Year 2000

Congressman James Courter (R-NJ) asked the panel to provide specific recom-

mendations while Congressman Robert Walker (R-PA) proposed a \$100 to \$150 billion mega-block grant worth of current federal programs to be turned back to the states. Housing, food, medical, income and educational assistance would be distributed through local family centers.

Walker summarized his proposal as, "a values-based welfare system emphasizing community, personal accountability and local decision-making which encourages values like strong families, work, social responsibility and obligation is but the first step on the long road to economic freedom and independence for millions of people now in poverty."

Recognizing the value of work in assisting people to escape welfare dependency, Congressman Sander Levin (D-Mich) presented his legislation for reform. As Chairman of the Task Force on Job Training for the House Democratic Caucus, Mr. Levin participated in the development of "Work Opportunities and Retraining Component" (WORC). This legislation is based on experience in the Work Incentives Demonstration program, and mandates that state welfare departments establish comprehensive job training and support services for those on welfare.

Privatization of Public Housing, Family Strengths and Adoption

The Kenilworth Parkside public housing project in northeast Washington, D.C. was the site for a very special Family Working Group meeting in May. After a briefing by Robert Woodson, President of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprises, on the history and success of tenant management and ownership of public housing, the group toured the project. Woodson's organization has spearheaded the concept of privatizing public housing.



Kimi Gray, resident Manager of Kenilworth Parkside housing project in D.C.



Dr. Allan Carlson, President of the Rockford Institute.

Fed up with the lack of response from the local housing authority, Kimi Gray, a resident of Kenilworth, organized a Resident Council in 1972 to address the deteriorating conditions of the site. Outside private sector management begun in 1975 only made matters worse, so Gray organized the Kenilworth Parkside Residential Management Corporation (KPRMC) and ultimately proposed to the District of Columbia that the residents manage the project. Under a con-

tract with the District government, the Corporation assumed authority for the project in March 1982.

Since then, the Kenilworth Corporation has become a national model for tenant management and ownership of public housing projects. It now has the lowest operating cost, crime rate, rental delinquency and vandalism of any housing development in the city. The Working Group toured the businesses, health center, employment center and one of the Pre-School Learning Centers which have been established. All management and maintenance staff are residents.

How has this effected life at Kenilworth? Nearly six hundred youngsters have gone on to higher education through the Resident Council's "College Here We Come" program since 1974, compared to just two per year before then. There has been a 50% decrease in the number of residents on welfare; the police and residents work together to keep the streets safe and drugs out; teen pregnancies are down. Self esteem, independence and character have made Kenilworth possible. The next step, private ownership, will be another opportunity to demonstrate that individual responsibility is more powerful than bureaucracy.

Demographic trends in family structure, the characteristics of a strong family, and federal policy toward the American family have been some of the issues NFF's Working Group on the Family has examined recently.

In February, the Working Group heard a distinguished panel of leading experts on the family discuss "Family Strengths: A New Foundation for Federal Policy."

The panelists were Dr. Nick Stinnett, Dean of the Graduate School of Education and Psychology of Pepperdine University and co-author of seven books on family relationships; Dr. Allan Carlson, President of the Rockford Institute and editor of *Persuasion at Work*; Dr. David Olson, Profes-

sor of Family Social Science at the University of Minnesota; and Dr. George Rekers, Professor of Neuro-Psychiatry and Human Behavior of the University of South Carolina Medical School. Jerry Regier, President of the Family Research Council and former Director of the U.S. Office of Families for the Department of Health and Human Services moderated the discussion on family strengths.

These experts argued that policymakers should focus on strengthening families rather than focus on family breakups. "I would suggest one thing that we do is advocate a national campaign to promote a positive national attitude toward families, and to recognize the importance of family life," said Dr. Stinnett.

Dr. Carlson ended the panel's presentation discussing various policy options to assist the American family. He proposed changes in the tax code, such as increasing the personal exemption for dependent children and extending the child care tax credit to all families. Carlson also pointed out a proposal to consolidate various welfare programs — AFDC, food stamps and Medicaid — into "a coherent income transfer program with federal resources being channeled through local government, private charities and agencies and churches."

The "Current Status of the American Family: A Demographic Picture" was the subject of another Working Group meeting which featured Arthur Norton, Assistant Chief of the Population Division of the U.S. Census Bureau. Norton discussed five major trends in the American family: 1) the increasing percentage of adults who are remaining "never married" for longer periods of time; 2) the increasing divorce rate; 3) the changing roles of individuals within families; 4) the increase in female-headed households; and 5) the dramatic increase in children living in one-parent households.

(Continued on page 10)

Teen Pregnancy to be Focus at Upcoming NFF Conference

The National Forum Foundation will join the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to convene a fall conference on adolescent pregnancy. Teen pregnancy is associated with many family and welfare issues including welfare dependency, illiteracy, substance abuse, mental and physical disabilities and other health risks. Over one million adolescents become pregnant each year, 48 percent of which give birth.

There is substantial debate over how pub-

lic policy should respond to this problem. The purpose of the NFF-HHS conference is to sharpen the focus on the issue and encourage consensus building. According to preliminary plans, the conference will be divided into two sessions: Health and Education. Each will provide panels of expert witnesses and discussion. Topics will include data analysis, characteristics, research, healthy families, values, private sector responses and successful models.

Radio Forum Expands: Over 2,200 Hours On Air

Radio Forum provides expert guests for hundreds of radio talk shows in the top markets across the nation. This year, NFF Radio Forum has provided guests for over 2,200 program hours, including syndications, on a variety of public policy issues dealing with national security, welfare reform and family stability. This growing program brings the experts closer to the public. Below we have summarized the issues.

"Radio Forum is a great asset and a great service. It has time and again helped me locate experts on political issues that can offer both insight and relative information. When you really need somebody, Radio Forum is a great place to turn."

Brian Kaufman, KABC Radio, Los Angeles

Anti-Communist Insurgencies

Prior to 1981, rebel movements around the world were typically Communist backed and fighting against U.S. allies. Since then, however, more Marxist regimes have come under attack from internal pro-Western guerrilla movements. With Oct. 25, 1985 marking the second anniversary of the liberation of Grenada, Radio Forum sponsored interviews on anti-Communist insurgencies for more than 400 shows. Among Radio Forum guest experts were Dr. Charles Moser, author of *Combat on Communist Territory*; Col. Sam Dickens (ret.), Latin America expert for the American Security Council; Members of Congress and Heritage Foundation policy analysts.

Welfare Alternatives

Skyrocketing welfare costs with only marginal results have prompted the Reagan Administration and many members of Congress to seek alternatives to present welfare programs. Many see the private sector, as the primary vehicle for breaking the poverty cycle. Experts on NFF sponsored radio interviews included Robert Woodson, President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise and Chairman of the Council for a Black Economic Agenda; and Mayor John Smith of Pritchard, Alabama which established a nationally-acclaimed private sector skills training program.

Espionage and Intelligence Operations

1985 was marked by spy arrests, defections and increased awareness of espionage and counterintelligence, heightening concern over the security of U.S. military secrets. Radio Forum featured Dr. Zdzislaw Rurax, defector and former Polish military intelligence agent; Lawrence Sulc, former CIA Intelligence officer, Pres., Nathan Hale Foundation; and Rep. Robert Dornan, House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Arms Control.

Gramm-Rudman Budget

Dec., 1985, Congress passed historic legislation which radically altered the federal budget-making process. Questions surfaced, however, about this approach to budget cutting, its impact on national security, as well as the exclusion of social programs from the bill's automatic funding reductions. Radio Forum featured Members of the House Armed Services Committee; Michael Thompson, president of the American Defense Lobby; Stephen Moore, budget analyst for the Heritage Foundation; Jim Dornan, budget and economics analyst for the House Republican Study Committee.

International Terrorism

In Jan., 1986, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi publicly declared he will train and equip Arab guerrillas for "terrorist and suicide missions." Admitted state-sponsored support of terrorists is unique, yet there is overwhelming evidence that the Soviet Union, Iran, Cuba, Syria, Nicaragua and Bulgaria, among others, use terrorism to advance national goals. Radio Forum featured Dr. Vladimir Sakharov, visiting prof. of political science at Arizona State Univ. and former Soviet intelligence officer; Joel Lisker, Chief Counsel, Senate SubComm. on Security and Terrorism.

Crisis in the Family

With divorce, teen pregnancy and adolescent suicide rates soaring, Radio Forum focused on the social forces threatening the stability of the American family. Experts included William Bricker, National Director, chief spokesman for the Boys Club of America and Phyllis Schlafly, Pres., Eagle Forum.

Drug Abuse

Costs in lost productivity due to drug use on the job have been estimated at \$70 billion a year, with \$33 billion lost in theft and pilferage by drug users. Coinciding with the release of a report from the President's Commission on Organized Crime which pointed to drug trafficking as the major source of organized crime's revenue, Radio Forum focused on drugs impact on society. Among the experts participating were Dr. Carlton Turner, Deputy Assistant to the President for Drug Abuse Policy and Rod Smith, Deputy Director of the President's Commission on Organized Crime.

Congress and the Contras

As Congress debates U.S. support to anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua, Radio Forum featured experts on the true nature of the Sandinista regime and on the situation in Nicaragua. Experts included Robert Reilly, former Director of the Central America Outreach Project of the White House Office of Public Liaison and Peter Bertie, Canadian freelance journalist who spent 6 months

with the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Defectors' Quest for Freedom

The difference between life in a democratic and totalitarian regime was a recent Radio Forum topic which featured guests who had defected from the Soviet Union, Poland, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan. The highest ranking communist diplomat ever to defect to the West; former editorial page editor for La Prensa in Nicaragua, the former Director-General of the Ministry of Law and Justice in Ethiopia, a former Int'l Chess Grand Master, and two Afghans who had undergone one year of communist indoctrination before escaping.

Central America in Turmoil

Amid continual debate over Contra aid, Radio Forum focused on civil war in Latin America. and the difficulties faced by other nations south of the U.S. Struggling economies, corruption, plummeting oil prices and low per capita incomes have made all these countries "ripe" for social upheaval. Radio Forum experts included Alajandro Salazar, a former Sandinista supporter who was rewarded with 11 months imprisonment when he questioned policies; Sol Sanders, the former International Outlook editor of BusinessWeek; and Esther Hannon, Heritage Foundation Policy Analyst.

Alternatives to Welfare

Since the Johnson Administration the U.S. government has dramatically increased its commitment to eliminate poverty. Unfortunately, current poverty programs seemed to have failed and, perhaps made matters worse. Radio Forum experts promoted work incentives, privatization and federalism as alternatives to the current approaches. Guests included Robert Woodson, President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise and Bill Orzechowski, Ph.D., Director of Federal Budget Policy for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Mexico: Turmoil on the Border

Political, social and economic instability in Mexico threatens the physical security and economy of the United States. Our border is virtually undefended against illegal aliens, drug runners and, perhaps, future terrorists. Peter Collier, a former editor of the New Left magazine, Ramparts was among the experts who discussed the current problems in Mexico, and its threat to the U.S. border.

South Africa: Sanction or Not?

During the frenzy of activity leading to legislation imposing economic sanctions experts discussed the effects on South Africa. Guests included African Affairs expert, Dr. Constantine Menges, former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Jeffrey Gaynor, the Heritage Foundation.

Live POW's and the Sanctions Issue

The National Forum Foundation's National Security Working Group continued to address current issues of importance to Washington's foreign policy and national defense community. In July 1986, with Congressional debate over U.S. policy toward South Africa in the news again, a bipartisan Working Group meeting heard from a delegation of South African evangelical pastors. The multi-racial delegation argued against sanctions for South Africa, saying they would hurt the very people they are intended to help. Sanctions could also turn power over to the radical, Communist-influenced African National Congress, according to the pastors.

Rev. John Gogotya, National Director of Operation Advance and Upgrade, pointed out that "we are already reaping the fruits of some of the punitive measures that the American people have instituted against South Africa. Homes are breaking up, families are breaking up, children are starving. This is a reality. It is a fact."

He was joined by Mzilikazi Masiya, National Director of Jesus Christ for Peace in South Africa, who demonstrated the rate and level change in South Africa by showing Working Group members his new South African passport, which acknowledges his status as a South African citizen. Rev. Masiya also passed around his now-obsolete passbook, which Blacks in South Africa were required to carry until very recently. For many South African Blacks, the old passbook left the space for citizenship blank. But now, as recently as July 1, 1986, passbooks are no longer required and South African passports acknowledge Blacks as South African citizens.

The pastors were part of a larger anti-apartheid, anti-sanctions delegation of Christian pastors whose congregations include



The South African pastors were left to right: Rev. Eben Combrinck, Director of Missions, Rhema Ministries; Rev. Mzilikazi Masiya, National Director, Jesus Christ for Peace; Rev. John Gogotya, Operation Advance and Upgrade.

some 5 million South Africans of all races. They contrasted this large following with that of Bishop Desmond Tutu, who represents only part of a congregation which itself is only 2% of South Africa's Christian population. Bishop Tutu has received the lion's share of attention from the Western media.

The pastors alerted Working Group members to a planned demonstration and prayer meeting in Johannesburg, South Africa on September 21, 1986. This meeting is expected to draw over 100,000 people and will demonstrate the level of support for non-violent solutions to the problem of apartheid.

In April the Working Group addressed the controversial subject of live American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia. Captain Eugene "Red" McDaniel (USN ret), himself a POW for six years, told Working Group members how he had concluded, reluctantly, that men had been left behind in Vietnam and Laos.

Capt. McDaniel cited evidence from eyewitnesses, refugees and even a controversial videotape to convince the bipartisan audience of Congressional staff members that there is a clear possibility that living Americans are still being held in captivity. While fielding questions from the largely skeptical audience, Capt. McDaniel commented on the importance of appointing an independent commission to investigate the evidence he presented.

McDaniel added that resolution of this controversy is vital if the U.S. is to maintain high levels of morale in its all-volunteer armed forces. "Could I have survived for six years if I had known that my government might leave me behind in Vietnam? That could be very serious. It becomes a morale problem."

In February, with debate over U.S. policy

in Central America heating up again, the Working Group heard from Bruce Cameron, a former lobbyist with Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a liberal lobby group. Mr. Cameron resigned from ADA because he supports military aid for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters.

"This is a very hard thing for me to say, from where I come from. But what I believe today is that there is no place on the continent of the Americas for a Soviet-style, Marxist-Leninist expansionist government," Cameron said. He found fault, however, with some aspects of the Reagan Administration program for providing military aid to the Sandinista's armed opposition.

During the question-and-answer period, Working Group members pressed Cameron to express an opinion on the President's request for \$100 in military and humanitarian aid for the resistance.

After pausing, Cameron said: "I'm for military aid, and that's a hard thing for a liberal to say."

He added that for such aid to be effective, the U.S. must try harder to achieve a negotiated settlement. Moreover, the Contras themselves, according to Cameron, must address the question of unity and strengthen their commitment to democracy in order to recruit enough Nicaraguans to force the ruling Communist government to open negotiations.

Cameron also said that democracy is progressing in El Salvador and Guatemala despite the skeptics' claims that the military in either country would never surrender power through free elections.

Copies of Mr. Cameron's remarks, as well as those of Capt. Red McDaniel and the South African pastors, are available for \$2.00 from the National Forum Foundation.



Captain Eugene "Red" McDaniel, USN (Ret) spoke on live POWs in southeast Asia.

Social Spending Far Surpasses Defense

The stereotypes of "gun vs. butter" spending are shattered by an upcoming report written for NFF by Dr. Kenneth Clarkson, *U.S. Defense and Social Spending: A Comparative Analysis*. While the historical shift in the U.S. budget priorities between defense and social spending began in the latter part of the 19th century, the most dramatic shift has occurred over the last 30 years. Contrary to the perceptions held by many, defense expenditures as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) suffered an annual loss of 1.8% from 1955 to 1985, an overall decline of 42%. On the other hand, social spending over the same period rose 211%. Measured in constant dollars, while defense spending held just about level, expenditures for social programs have increased nearly sevenfold from 1955 to 1985. (See chart)

The consequences of our "no growth" spending policies for defense could be grave, according to Clarkson's research. Throughout the post war period of the 1950's and 1960's, the United States secured a generally acknowledged military superiority over the

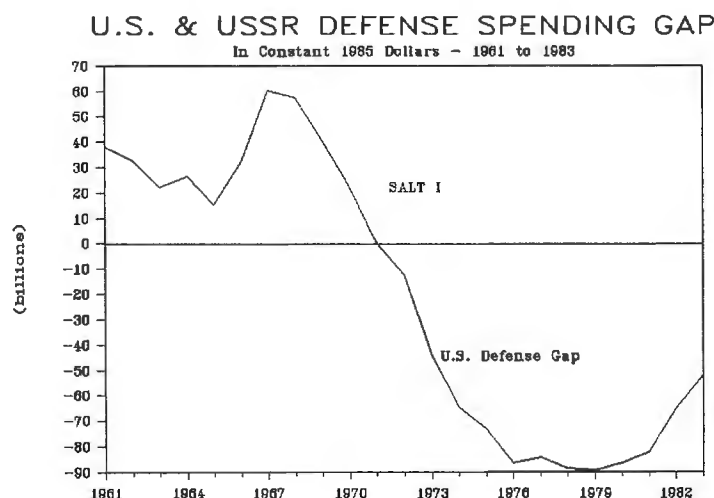
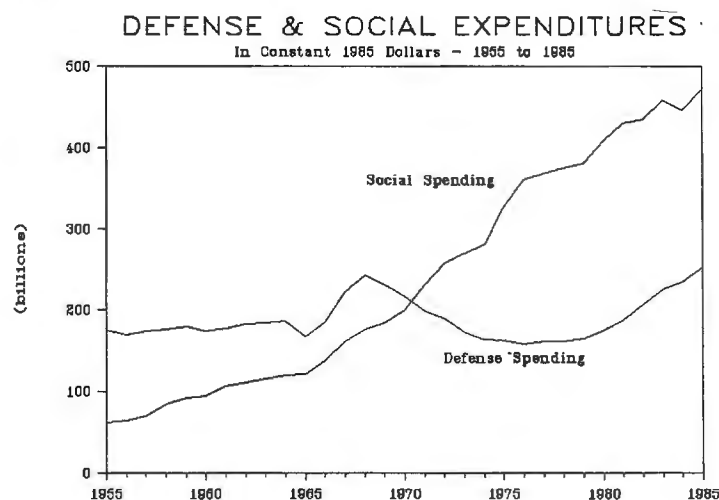
Soviet Union and its satellites. But the spending patterns shifted dramatically in the 1970's after the signing of SALT I. Defense expenditures declined in that decade by all measures; as a percentage of GNP, in real dollars and as a percentage of the federal budget. At the same time, however, the Soviet Union poured increasing amounts of its resources into the military. The result is a spectacular \$819 billion Defense Spending Gap (DSG), the cumulative difference between U.S. and Soviet military spending since 1973. (See chart) If the defense spending trends for the two countries over the past 25 years continue, by 2010, the Soviet Union will spend a total of \$4.6 trillion more than the United States.

Dr. Clarkson has examined U.S. social spending also. While the massive infusions of dollars into social programs over the last 30 years has resulted in some reductions in the number of people in poverty, especially among the elderly, these reductions have been made at a disproportionate cost to the taxpayer. Social programs have doubled

their share of the federal budget since 1955, and now stand at \$471.9 billion or 55.5% of annual spending. Payments to individuals make up the bulk of these programs, costing \$375.8 billion. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, it would take \$48 billion to alleviate poverty in America. Excluding Social Security and federal retirement programs, the U.S. spent, approximately \$200 billion on income transfer programs, or \$4 for each \$1 necessary to raise everyone above the poverty line.

Dr. Clarkson is uniquely qualified to undertake this study. He is currently professor of economics and director of the Law and Economics Center at the University of Miami. He served as associate director for human resources, veterans, and labor at the White House Office of Management and Budget from 1982-83 and has written over 50 publications.

Dr. Clarkson's book is due to be published this fall. It will be must reading for all concerned about how Congress spends our tax dollars.



Lynch Public Affairs Column Now Syndicated

Ed Lynch, National Security Policy Analyst of the National Forum Foundation and Research Director of the NFF Terrorism Project, has recently become a contributor to Public Research Syndicated, a public affairs newspaper syndicate. A recent column by Mr. Lynch on Chile was distributed by the syndicate to its 95 subscriber newspapers across the U.S. Mr. Lynch also writes a weekly column on foreign affairs for Suburban Newspapers outside Philadelphia.

Mr. Lynch has also contributed to two prestigious public policy journals. His article on "International Terrorism: The Search for a Policy," appeared in the Summer issue of *Terrorism: An International Journal*, and "All About Africa," a comparative book review, will be published in the Fall issue of *This World*.

Ed Lynch joined NFF's staff in January 1985 after leaving his post at the White House Office of Public Liaison. He completed his Masters Degree at the University of Virginia in 1983, writing his Master's thesis on the role of "Liberation Theology" in the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

Welfare Reform Working Group (Continued from page 4)



Dr. Stuart Butler of the Heritage Foundation.

According to the Trustees' Report on Social Security, otherwise known as Old-Age Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI), the program is in excellent financial condition for the next 10 to 15 years under the intermediate assumptions. About 37 million people now receive OASDI benefits each month, supported by 124 million workers paying into the system. In 1986, \$208 billion will be collected through payroll taxes and only \$197 billion will be paid out. Although Social Security faced bankruptcy just a few years ago, it should reach a very healthy \$186 billion balance by the end of 1990. Assuming the federal government does not attempt to borrow from the fund, in order to finance the General Fund deficit, surpluses should continue to build through the first quarter of the 21st century.

In an article written for NFF, however, former Social Security Chief Actuary Robert J. Myers, cautioned that huge surpluses in the program may become a prob-

lem for the economy. According to Myers, Social Security's balance will peak by 2015 at \$7 trillion. Myers warned that "... if all that money becomes available to the General Fund of the Treasury, (through borrowing) Congress might be tempted to make larger general expenditures than it would have otherwise." Social Security would essentially "buy-up" the general Treasury deficit. Of course, it would eventually have to be repaid when the Trust Fund investments are redeemed, which would result in higher taxes just as the baby boomers begin to retire.

The financial status of the Medicare program was also discussed at the meeting. Roland King explained that Medicare is made up of two parts, the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund (HI) and the Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund (SMI). The HI program pays hospitalization costs for approximately 27 million elderly and disabled and is financed primarily through payroll taxes. This year the HI program will be \$51 billion.

The SMI program, however, was originally to be financed equally between general revenues and beneficiary premiums, but 73% of the SMI budget is now provided by the General Treasury. King noted that the SMI program, which pays for physician services and other ambulatory care, has been growing at an annual rate of 17% - 18%. This is one of the fastest growing expenses in the federal budget, costing about \$24 billion this year.

Medicare apparently has much more immediate problems than Social Security, due in part to the cost of medical care which continues to rise at twice the overall CPI rate. The HI Trustees concluded that, "Even over the next 25 year projection period, in order to preserve actuarial balance, either income (through taxes) must be increased by 28%, outlays must be reduced by 22% or some combination thereof." Under the intermediate (most likely) economic and demographic assumptions, the HI Trust Fund will

be exhausted by the end of 1996. Because SMI is financed by the General Treasury, it cannot "run out" of money.

The NFF staff subsequently analyzed the Trustees Report to quantify the Medicare deficit. Using the actuary's intermediate assumptions, the total short-term deficit, from 1997 to 2010, will exceed \$1 trillion. The 1997 deficit alone will be \$29.9 billion, or about \$16,000 for each of the 1,868,000 Americans who will turn 65 that year.

In March, the Working Group heard from two of the Administration's top welfare officials, Jo Anne Ross and John Bode, who head the Aid Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Food Stamp programs respectively. Ross and Bode presented the President's FY 1987 welfare reform legislative. In introducing the Administration plan, Ross commented, "... the program gets at what President Reagan talked about in the State of the Union message — that we want to measure the success of welfare programs by the number of people who become independent of them, because of them." In that interest the plan includes strengthening work provisions, im-

(Continued on page 12)



S. Anna Kondratas of the Heritage Foundation.

NFF Needs Your Support

NFF relies entirely on private donations for its activities. Sending a tax-deductible contribution of even \$20 would help us continue these activities. Please give as generously as possible.

To demonstrate my support for NFF's activities, I have enclosed a contribution in the amount of:

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**Sen. Jeremiah Denton,
Chairman
National Forum Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Suite 220
Washington, D.C. 20002**

Working Group on the Family (Continued from page 5)

"There has been a marked drop in the average size of the American household and family, demonstrating that households and families are becoming increasingly physically isolated and fragmented," said Norton.

Norton also cautioned Working Group members against overlooking the needs of the baby boom generation.

"If there is anything you can predict fairly certainly, it is the movement of a population group through time. So, we don't have an excuse for our failure to meet their (baby boomers') needs as they became young adults. And we won't have any excuse if we fail to meet their needs as they become older," Norton concluded.

In November, NFF Family Working Group members heard Dr. William Pierce discuss the status of "Adoption in America." Dr. Pierce is the president of the National Committee For Adoption.

Pierce drew from his organization's re-

cently released publication, *Adoption Factbook*, to discuss the great disparity between the number of children and infants available for adoption and the couples who want to adopt. He said about 25,500 infants and children were adopted in 1982, compared to "the numbers of couples and singles who have an interest in adopting, who number between two and three million."

Pierce also discussed other issues examined in the *Adoption Factbook*, including regulations, foster care and adoption resources. He said that until now "there was not a single source to consult for a frank discussion of the key issues concerning adoption, including costs, transracial/interracial adoptions, foreign adoptions, and the pros and cons of agency versus private adoptions."

For transcripts of these meetings or copies of the books or papers, please contact the National Forum Foundation.



Adoption Fact Book

United States Data,
Issues, Regulations
and Resources



Kirkpatrick Applauds Muravchik Book on Carter Policy: *Uncertain Crusade*

On May 13, 1986 the National Forum Foundation sponsored a reception in honor of Dr. Joshua Muravchik, and his recently released book, *The Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy*. The guest of honor, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Representative to the United Nations, paid tribute to Dr. Muravchik and the achievement his book represents.

Uncertain Crusade is a critique of the Carter human rights policy and its legacy. It has been highly acclaimed by reviewers at the Wall Street Journal, The Washington Times, and the American Spectator.

Tim Ferguson, Editorial and Features Editor of the Wall Street Journal, was suffi-

ciently impressed by the book to say, "Joshua Muravchik may be the most cogent and careful of the neoconservative writers on foreign policy."

The reception was held in the U.S. Capitol Building, and was attended by Senator Jeremiah Denton, Representative Jim Courter and representatives from numerous Washington based public policy groups and publishing houses. Ambassador Kirkpatrick said of Dr. Muravchik's book "Josh Muravchik brings learning, balance and sophistication to the examination of the Carter Administration's record, and to the analysis of the broader problems." Ambassador Kirkpatrick wrote the forward for *Uncertain Crusade*.



Senator Jeremiah Denton and author Dr. Josh Muravchik.



Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and NFF Executive Director, Jim Denton.

1985 NFF Annual Report Available

"The National Forum Foundation has proven itself to be a farsighted, action oriented organization of major significance to furthering progress toward our national goals."

President Ronald Reagan

The President's words opened the 1985 Annual Report of the National Forum Foundation, which was released at NFF's annual board meeting on March 7, 1986.

The Annual Report's introduction continues, "In Washington's atmosphere of partisan politics and polarization, NFF's commitment to bipartisanship and consensus enables it to advance the intellectual and moral basis of the conservative perspective to a broad spectrum of interests. NFF programs cultivate productive relationships between NFF, policy makers, key congressional staff and the media, thus enhancing opportunities for informed dialogue and consensus. The Foundation's varied educational activities target both the Washington-based policy community and, through aggressive and unique media programs, the general public."

Please write to NFF for a copy of the 1985 Annual Report (copies are limited).



1)

Photo 1 (from left to right): Edward O'Sullivan, Security Affairs Director, Port Authority NY and NJ; Dr. Allan Giersen, Justice Department; Joel Lisker, Chief Counsel, Sub-Committee on Combatting Terrorism; Dr. Yonah Alexander, CSIS; Capt. David McMunn, Vice President's Task Force on Combatting Terrorism; J. Robert McBrien, Treasury Department; Arnold Campbell, Foreign Service Institute; Max Singer, Potomac Organization. **Photo 2** Hubert Williams, President, Police Foundation. **Photo 3** Ambassador Bruce Laingen addresses the luncheon audience on Government Responses to Terrorism. **Photo 4** Government Responses to Terrorism (from left to right): Jerry Levin, CNN; Dr. Robert Friedlander, Off. of Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT); Peter Goss, Control Risks (London); David Epstein, Counter Terrorism Office, DOS; Prof. Lawrence Freedman, Univ. of Chicago; James S. Denton, Exec. Director, NFF. **Photo 5** Prof. John Norton Moore, Univ. VA Law School and seated is Martin Silverstein, CSIS spoke at the Terrorism and Transportation conference.



2)



3)



4)

(Continued from page 3)

NFF Conference on U.S. Business Responses Planned

Continuing to provide research and information on terrorism, the NFF series will hold an all-day conference in Houston, Texas on November 17. Experts will address the vulnerabilities of many American businesses and recommend how they can best respond to anti-American terrorism.

NFF Executive Director Jim Denton said the conference "will be tailored to address concrete recommendations. We want business executives to know what they need to do, starting right now, to make their employees and investments safe from terrorist attack. We are inviting experts from the security, communications, insurance and banking industries, as well as experts on the nature of terrorism."

Terrorism Project to Expand; Book Series, Terrorism Yearbook Planned

Under the direction of Professor Yonah Alexander, NFF will continue its research and public affairs work on terrorism. The conference series will address numerous aspects of the terrorism problem, including the possibilities of chemical and biological terrorism, the effect of terrorism on human rights, terrorism and religious fanaticism and the challenge that state sponsored terrorism presents to Western democracies.

NFF will also publish a ten volume series on terrorism, called the Terrorism Library. These books, including original works by Dr. Alexander, as well as the proceedings of NFF conferences, will be marketed as a 5)

package to college and university libraries across the U.S.

Dr. Alexander and his staff will also compile and edit an annual Terrorism Yearbook, which will detail all the major terrorist incidents of the year, provide a profile of the year's leading terrorists, insight into the membership and sources of support for terrorist groups, and analysis of important trends in international terrorism and risk assessment. The Yearbook will make a major contribution to exposing the terror network, the principal actors and how they interrelate.

NFF has published the remarks of Ambassador Laingen and Professor Moore to the Governmental Responses to Terrorism Conference as a Policy Forum. The full proceedings will be published later this year. To order any of these publications, phone or write the National Forum Foundation.



5)

Welfare Reform Working Group *(Continued from page 9)*

proving program administration, targeting assistance, and emphasizing the value and role of work as a means to economic independence for the individual.

"New Directions for Welfare Reform: A Review of Budget and Poverty Data" was the theme for the January Welfare Working Group. Dr. Stuart Butler and S. Anna Kondratas of The Heritage Foundation briefed members on the concepts of their upcoming book on welfare reform.

They have attempted to generate new ideas which could rally a new consensus. "Many Americans believe that liberals truly believe in welfare," Butler explained. So perhaps the principal role of conservatives might be to sow the seeds to bring about change, knowing that only liberals will be given the political opportunity to implement our ideas. Our purpose is to explore the possibilities of a new consensus." Their proposal includes three block grants, incorporating 70 programs for income assistance, human capital and public health.

J.P. Bolduc, Senior Vice President of W.R. Grace & Co. and former Chief Executive Officer of the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, provided the group with a status report on the Grace Commission Report in December 1985. The Report proposed 2,478 cost-cutting measures which would save \$424 billion in the first three

years after implementation. Over 70% of the recommendations would require Congressional authority.

Bolduc described three major problems which inhibit the effectiveness of social programs: 1) lack of shared information between administering agencies; 2) extensive overlap in program coverage due to a lack of targeting; and 3) eligibility determination on cash income alone, excluding in-kind benefits.

For transcripts of each of these Welfare Reform Working Group meetings, please send \$2 with your request.

Welfare Conference *(Cont. from pg. 4)*

"ET", the Massachusetts Employment and Training Program, was the focus of Charles Atkins' presentation. Atkins, the Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Welfare, described the different components of the ET program and its success. Heeding the call to find "common ground," it is significant that these panelists, with quite different perspectives, agreed that "work" is a key element in welfare reform and that work helps to enforce character and responsibility.

The Reagan Administration currently has three special task forces preparing recommendations on welfare reform, family and federalism policies, each of which could

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have dramatic effect on reforming a failed welfare system. Proceedings of "Reforming the Welfare System: A Look to the Year 2000" will be published as a book this fall and submitted to the President's special task forces. Copies of individual presentations are available now by contacting NFF.

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