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the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size."

Let us not destroy such time-honored illusions. They will help make man a better partner in our common effort to build a world of justice, peace, dignity and freedom—a better and happier world.

#### FULL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS

Mr. MONDALE, Mr. President, tomorrow the Government Research Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations will begin hearings on the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967, S. 843, which I and 10 other Senators introduced early this year.

The legislation would declare full opportunity for all Americans a national goal, establish a President's Council of Social Advisers, comparable to the Council of Economic Advisers, provide for an annual Social Report of the President, and establish a joint congressional committee with oversight responsibility.

I believe the hearings, to be held over 5 days during the next 2 weeks, will do much to stimulate discussion and thought about our domestic social programs, how well we are doing in the social field, and what should be done in the future.

In today's Wall Street Journal, the lead story written by staff writer Alan L. Otten, describes the problem of social priorities and evaluation, the intent of the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act, and governmental efforts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop social indicators and prepare a Presidential report on the social state of the Nation.

I believe the article is an appropriate introduction to the subcommittee hearings and request unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**MEASURING PROGRESS—THE GOVERNMENT SEEKS NEW TOOLS TO EVALUATE ITS SOCIAL PROGRAMS—POVERTY, CRIME AND POLLUTION EFFORTS SEEN BENEFITING FROM MORE PRECISE DATA—CRITICS FEAR MORE CONTROLS**  
(By Alan L. Otten)

WASHINGTON—The Federal Government pours billions into education, but it really has little idea what it's getting for its money.

Housing conditions in the worst slums may be getting better or worse; no one knows for sure, or knows exactly how much remains to be done.

Smoke from certain industrial plants can be rinsed clean of the worst impurities, reducing air pollution. But the process adds to local water pollution. How do you make a choice?

Help for clearing up these uncertainties may be on the way. Government officials, impelled by their own needs and the persistent prodding of a small band of academic activists, are beginning to take tentative first steps to develop more meaningful information for decisions on far-ranging social problems: Erasing poverty, improving education, ending racial discrimination, rebuilding cities, raising health standards, purifying the environment, checking crime.

The steps under way include: A systematic search for new and better statistics called "social indicators"; "Social accounting" schemes that seek to add up all the costs and benefits of alternative solutions to problems;

and periodic Presidential reports to Congress and the public on the "social health" of the nation.

#### A NEW COUNCIL PROPOSED

"The continuing controversy over domestic social programs reflects a serious need for more refined and reliable information on which to base our decisions," declares Minnesota's Democratic Sen. Walter Mondale. A Senate Government Operations subcommittee tomorrow starts hearings on his proposed "full opportunity and social accounting act"; it would parallel the President's Council of Economic Advisers with a Council of Social Advisers, his annual economic report with an annual social report and the Senate-House Economic Committee with a Congressional Social Committee.

The bill is not going to get anywhere very soon; the Administration thinks it demands a lot more expertise than now exists, and, as one high-ranking official puts it, "is asking us to run before we're ready to stand, much less walk." But the hearings will surely stir further discussion and spur action.

It seems strange that the demand for more and better facts and figures should come at a time when statistics and surveys and reports are piling ever higher—produced by Federal, state and local governments, private businesses, foundations and regional planning agencies. Yet the fact is that public and private organizations grappling with complex social problems are finding amazingly little help in all those statistical mountains. When Federal officials were called on to shape an antipoverty program in 1963 and 1964 and to assemble answers to more recent Negro demands for help, they were appalled at how little relevant and helpful information was available.

#### GAPS IN STATISTICS

The facts and figures now available emanate from a source of different Federal agencies, frequently issued in fragmentary and uncoordinated fashion. Huge gaps remain. Crime statistics cover only crimes reported to the police, with no regular efforts to discover the presumably huge number of unreported crimes. All too often there are no figures on specific groups that need particular attention—Negroes or Mexican-Americans, the young or the old, the rural poor, the gifted, the female head of family.

Few Federal figures help to measure quality (how good the education or medical care provided, how clean the air). Few try currently to correlate cause and effect (the impact of large family size on educational opportunities for slum kids). Few provide accurate grounds for estimating the results of different answers to a particular problem, and the costs of each answer.

The current search by social scientists in and out of Government for new tools to measure and deal with social problems is stirring considerable concern among some officials, lawmakers and private critics. They worry over new invasions of individual privacy and over increasing Government planning and control of American life. But the effort nevertheless is moving ahead.

#### A PRESIDENTIAL ORDER

Some months ago, President Johnson ordered Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner to take the lead in seeing that the Government developed "the necessary social statistics and indicators" to supplement those compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Council of Economic Advisers. "With these yardsticks," Mr. Johnson said, "we can better measure the distance we have come and plan for the way ahead."

Now a top-level committee of about 40 economists, sociologists and other specialists from Government agencies, universities and foundations is following up. Headed by Assistant HEW Secretary William Gorham and Columbia University sociologist Daniel Bell, the group is surveying what each Federal

agency can do to develop figures that will fill information gaps, break down national or state or city totals by neighborhoods or race or age or other important groups, measure quality as well as quantity, try to tie effect to cause and chart progress toward established goals and then to publish all these in more regular and timely fashion.

Prodded by the Gorham-Bell committee and by their own needs, many Federal agencies are already improving their own data. The Labor Department, for example, has created a new "sub-employment index" to probe more deeply into unemployment in 10 city slum areas. The index counts not only the usual jobless people looking for work but also people wanting full-time work but able to find only part-time jobs, those who have despaired of finding any work and have given up looking, those working full-time but making less than a certain poverty income. And the findings are broken down by race, age, sex, educational background, criminal record and other categories.

The Gorham-Bell group and individual Federal agencies are also studying more intricate "social accounting" approaches, attempting to count both dollar-and-cents benefits of various programs and the less tangible "social values."

With better indicators, the Government might be able to measure the worth of an education program not only by the number of classrooms built or the lowering of the pupil-teacher ratio but by actual tests to see whether pupils read and calculate better, by looking at school dropout rates and checking changes in college entrance scores and perhaps eventually by studying individuals' earning ability in later life.

And if the Government ever set maximum tolerable amounts of carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide and hydrocarbons in the atmosphere, it could measure just how much of these came from generating plants or refuse disposal or other sources in a particular area and calculate the costs of holding the contamination from each source down to the set levels.

#### AN AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKING

By far the most ambitious undertaking of the HEW committee and of the Government generally, however, is the proposed "social report of the President." It would discuss in detail problems, goals and progress in major social areas ranging from health and education to poverty, air and water pollution and equality of opportunity; it would pull together scores of relevant and up-to-date statistical tables on each subject; and it would pinpoint the areas where more knowledge is needed and the possible paths to procuring it.

The group is now reworking a draft made up of chapters submitted by half a dozen subcommittees. Princeton economist Mancur Olson has just joined HEW as a deputy assistant secretary to work full-time with Mr. Gorham and Mr. Bell on this revision. The hope is to have a presentable product for the full committee to review this fall.

Then there'll be another revision, to produce a document to be submitted to some 75 to 100 academicians for criticism at a meeting next spring. A final version, it's hoped, would be ready for the President's use early in 1969.

Mr. Johnson, aides emphasize, hasn't committed himself to anything. "All he really said," says one official, "was to give it the old college try." But certainly the Administration is deeply interested. "A systematic assessment of social change," wrote Mr. Gardner in his invitation to academicians to serve on the Gorham-Bell panel, "would aid us in determining our needs, establishing goals and measuring our performance against these goals."

The advocates of such an assessment maintain that the systematic collection of eco-

nomic data, plus the creation of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the annual economic report, helped develop a national dialogue on economic problems and possible solutions—educating the public and giving private and public decision-makers some common framework for discussion. The same approach, it's argued, would work in the social field.

#### A COMMON LANGUAGE

"Can you doubt," demands Carl Kayesen, head of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J., "that the fact that we now have a handful of numbers like GNP and disposable income, published every month or every quarter, makes economic discussion far more focused? This is language people have in common. What can be the argument against doing the same in critical social areas?" Mr. Kayesen is a member of the Gorham-Bell panel.

Critics of the "social measurement" idea answer that the analogy to the economic field is misleading. They insist that social problems and social action don't lend themselves to the precise measurement possible in the economic world (how, for example, do you measure the value of open green space?); that there's still too little agreement on precise social goals or general theory governing social problems; and that results of specific economic decisions can be tested fairly quickly, whereas new social policies may take a generation or more to bear fruit or prove barren.

Many conservatives and a surprising number of liberals see the new effort as another disturbing feature in a growing Federal invasion of privacy. They fear Federal files will bulge with complete dossiers on every individual, available to unscrupulous bureaucrats or snooping lawmakers.

Moreover, some critics see the whole enterprise as just another effort to expand Government planning and control; certainly it is true that the advocates do make frequent use of "planning," "direction" and similar words. But the advocates explain they mean "planning" not in the sense of the Government telling everyone what to do but in the sense of spelling out choices for action.

#### JOB CORPS CAMPS

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, anyone who has visited a Job Corps camp anywhere in the Nation will be interested in the editorial which Jim Craig has written for the July issue of *American Forests* magazine.

I suspect that a good many persons who have not yet visited the Job Corps camp nearest them will be tempted to do so after reading the editorial. It is recommended reading for everyone.

The editor of *American Forests* begins the editorial with this question: "How Much Is a Boy Worth?" Then he answers that question on the basis of a firsthand visit to a camp in North Carolina. It might well have been in Washington, or Montana, or California, or New York. Much of the conservation and reclamation work carried on seems, hearteningly enough, to be as permanent for the individual doing the work as it will be for the forest area improved.

But let Jim Craig report his findings. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### HOW MUCH IS A BOY WORTH?

When they report in these boys are at a major crossroads in their lives. Many of them are uneasy. A few are relieved of switch-

blades and other "equalizers." While the forest rangers seem friendly, and the forest inviting, a few speculate on whether this isn't just another kind of cop in another kind of jungle. Soon they are issued new outfits including fatigues of forest green. The rooms in the barracks to which they are assigned are not unlike school dormitories. Many are labeled with such signs as "The All Stars," "The Leaders" and "The Challengers." One labeled "The Playboys" boasts a second sign designating it as the "Dorm of the Week." A quick inspection inside reveals that it is neat and well-scrubbed with everything tucked out of sight, just like the Army. The pinups are first rate too.

This is a Job Corps Camp as run by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Forest Service at the Arrowwood Job Corps Conservation Camp at Franklin, North Carolina, hard by the Nantahala National Forest. It presently houses 112 boys. Another a few miles away in the Pisgah National Forest is the Schenck Job Corps Conservation Center with a complement of 204 boys. Both camps are in one of the most picturesque regions in the nation. All told, 8,000 Corpsmen are now being trained at 47 Forest Service centers in the United States. The Interior Department runs 39 more with an enrollment of 6,000. Purpose of the camps is to teach boys to function as useful citizens. Maximum training period is two years. While in the Corps they go to school a week and then work a week. They are paid \$30 a month and on separation receive \$50 for each month of service as a readjustment allowance.

When they arrive, these boys are unemployable and many are Army rejects. Others arrive underweight. Dental work costing as much as \$500 per boy is not uncommon for many of these boys have never been to a dentist in their lives. Other medical repairs are often required and former Marine and Army medics in camp sick bays, and contract physicians and dentists in nearby towns, are kept busy. When necessary physical corrections are made, underweight boys start to muscle up. Both their physical and mental tone improves. But that is only part of the rehabilitation story. These boys are behind in their school work too. Twenty-one year olds tell you they went through the 11th or 12th grades but one finds them enrolled in the equivalent of third-grade classes reading books with pictures of Peter Rabbit on the cover. One third of the boys can neither read nor write when they arrive. That's not all, either. Many of these boys lack moral discipline and home training. Some have been in scrapes before they arrive and a few get in scrapes after they arrive. Mostly, these are boys that never had much of a chance and some never had any chance at all.

I welcomed a recent invitation to visit the North Carolina camps. One of my hosts was Vern Hamre, Director, Division of Job Corps Administration, U.S. Forest Service. A career professional, he doesn't preach or theorize about his current assignment. "These kids need help," he told me. "We intend to help them as well as we know how." He and some of the other rangers and instructors helped me to obtain at least some of the answers readers of *AMERICAN FORESTS* have been asking. These include "How can rangers be expected to do, what the home has failed to do in the first place?" "Will society be the gainer or the loser in this program?" "How many of the boys actually find jobs or go on to school?" and "I'm told it costs in excess of \$5,000 a year to send one of these boys to camp; is it worth it?"

"At the Center, it cost a total of \$6,576 per boy per year in 1966," Hamre said, "but we expect to reduce that to \$5,700 this year." Subsistence and medical-dental expenses are the biggest single items with the exception of staff salaries which average out to \$2,170 per boy. School materials is a hefty item too.

At the end of April, 1967, there were 75,410

young men and women who had left all Job Corps Centers. The Job Corps' best estimate, based on both verified reports and sample surveys, is that 40,269 found jobs, 7,418 returned to school, 5,298 entered the military and 22,415 were either unemployed or not in the labor force through marriage or other causes. The arrest rate in 1966 was 3.18 per 100 youths whereas the FBI Uniform Crime Report for 1967 shows the national average for the same age youth to be 6.5.

I welcomed the complete freedom to talk to camp personnel including the boys. I sought out Joe Medford, an instructor at Schenck Center, from Heywood county, and who has taught in both elementary and high schools. At Schenck, he is teaching a course on "Life and Work." The day I was there the boys were talking about the responsibilities of marriage. What qualities should the right Wife and Mother have, was the question. Some of the answers as recorded on the blackboard included, "She should be clean," "a good sport," "respectable" and "have a nice personality." One boy had noted that she should be "religious."

"Don't think these boys are stupid," Medford told me. "For the most part they have intelligence ratings that are average and even above in a few cases. Sure, there have been some discipline problems but the older boys often settle them for you. Sometimes new boys think they have to sound off and disrupt the class and the older boys shut them up in a hurry. Most of them want to learn."

Almost too good to be true, one thinks to himself. And yet, these boys ring true when you talk to them individually. "Sure, I've been in scrapes" a boy from Alabama told me. "Then I got this girl in trouble. It caused a lot of discussion, you know what I mean. But if I can keep my mind on this (with a motion toward the lathe he was working) I'll be all right." He said he planned to be a long-distance trucker.

One quickly senses that the backgrounds of these boys are different from the youngsters one sees across his own dinner table every night. But if their background is different from your own children their response to good stimuli is not. They watch the rangers. Some ape their walks. They like to fight forest fires, I learned, in eating lunch one day with Venton Honeycup, of Washington; Fred Murphy, of Baltimore; and Clinton Willis, of Mosspoint, Mississippi. All three boys are Negroes and all three are in the fire crew. In a drought year, the rangers admit they did "well." Murphy was more enthusiastic. "The last time, they asked for us, man" he told me. Willis was consigned to "mop-up" the last time and he didn't like it. "Important? I guess so," he said. "But a fireman wants to be where the action is."

The fact that some of the boys have stepped into permanent Forest Service jobs has not been lost on the others. The day I was at Arrowwood the Franklin *Press* front-paged a story: "Nathan Dean Lands Forest Service Job" and gave Nathan a two-column picture on the front page. The story mentioned that when Nathan arrived at Arrowwood from Virginia he was regarded as "fidgety and unstable." But not anymore. Bob Sloan, the editor of the *Press* has taken some flak for his consistent support of the Job Corps. He is one of many unsung heroes in this regard.

I talked to Richard Kruger, white, of Garrison, North Dakota, at Standing Indian Campground where he was laying pipe. He wanted to get into the Army and was rejected. Physically he was O.K. but he couldn't read. He felt bad. "They told me to go into the back room and see a man," he told me. "And here I am." He is still aiming for an Army career and intends to get it.

Harold Hughes, white, of California, has been in North Carolina 19 months. "I intend to stay here," he told me. "I like the country and the people. I aim to be the best plumber in western North Carolina." He was working