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NATIONAL FARM INCOME

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the November 14, 1967 Wall Street Journal contains an article describing the national farm income situation for this year, as outlined by a USDA official during the Department's recent outlook conference.

The Department predicts that net farm income for 1967 will be 11 percent below the 1966 level, and that the situation will not be much better in 1968.

The cost of operating farms and ranches is at an all-time high, having increased 31 percent in the past 7 years. Costs are expected to continue to rise next year.

Total farm debt has increased a whopping 83 percent since 1960; and interest rates on real estate indebtedness have risen 20 percent during this same period.

But these kinds of increases have not appeared on the income side of the rural ledger. Agriculture is the only segment of America's economy that will close out 1967's financial statement with a \$1½ billion cut in pay. To say that things look gloomy down on the farm is an understatement.

The economic experts say that things may get better next year, mainly because farmers will receive higher Federal payments. I say that these payments form a pretty shaky foundation on which to base the welfare of this country's largest single industry—an industry which we obviously cannot do without.

I think it is time to reexamine some of our national programs and policies which directly affect agriculture.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

FARMERS' NET INCOME EXPECTED TO DROP 11 PERCENT THIS YEAR FROM 1966—EARNINGS IN 1968 SEEN CONTINUING AT 1967 LEVELS—RECORD OUTPUT, LOW PRICES, COST RISE BLAMED

WASHINGTON.—Farm net income for 1967 will total about \$14,750,000,000, down more than 11% from 1966, and all signs point to it continuing at the same level next year, Rex F. Daly, chief of the Agriculture Department's Outlook and Situation Board, told a conference on farm prospects here.

The 1967 figure is about in line with earlier projections, but the 1968 estimate should be discouraging to Democratic Congressmen who will have to face more rural discontent at the ballot box next November.

Mr. Daly blamed record output of farm products and related declining farm prices, together with the continued rise in farming costs, for the profit slide. Last year, farm net income was a record \$16.4 billion.

Although the supply of farm products will continue large next year, Mr. Daly said, prices are expected to strengthen somewhat and farmers also will benefit from higher Federal payments. As a result, gross farm income will rise about \$1 billion from this year's estimated figure of more than \$49 billion.

However, Mr. Daly added, "Production expenses will continue to increase and may largely offset the gain."

NEW GOALS FOR SOCIAL INFORMATION AND S. 843

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, at an unusual seminar held by the Senate Sub-

committee on Government Research this past summer, a number of distinguished academicians, journalists, and Government officials discussed in depth the urgent need for better, more comprehensive social planning in America. That unique session was prompted by the knowledge that we are, as a nation, in the throes of immense confusion and bewildering change. We also know that a perilous sickness has infected many of our great cities and that if its course is not soon checked social catastrophe is imminent.

Understanding our social problems and planning in a rational and informed manner to meet and resolve them is the professional concern of social scientists. At the seminar, Prof. Bertram Gross of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs described our present predicament thus:

Today, executive officials and members of Congress alike are misled by inadequate interpretation of bad information based on obsolete concepts and inadequate research and collected by underfed and overlobbied statistical agencies.

That theme, labeled by Professor Gross as the "domestic intelligence gap" is sounded again in an excellent article co-authored by Professor Gross and Mr. Michael Springer, entitled "New Goals for Social Information." Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be reprinted in its entirety at the conclusion of my remarks.

I call this article to the attention of Senators both because it tellingly portrays our present dilemma with respect to social information and because it offers some and endorses other specific suggestions for improving our ability to cope with social change.

In particular, I am greatly pleased to note that the article endorses my proposal, S. 843, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act. This bill would institutionalize a system of social accounting to sharpen our quantitative knowledge of social needs, help us measure more precisely our progress toward our social objectives, help us to evaluate efforts at all levels of government, assist us in determining priorities among competing social programs, and encourage the development and assessment of alternative courses without awaiting the rioting which is a certain if belated signal that some social program has failed.

Mr. President, I commend this article as well as the entire September issue of *The Annals* to Senators and other readers of the RECORD and ask 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:

NEW GOALS FOR SOCIAL INFORMATION

(By Bertram M. Gross, and Michael Springer¹)

(NOTE.—Bertram M. Gross, Syracuse, New York, is Professor of Political Science and Director, National Planning Studies Pro-

gram, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. He has been Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1961-1962); Executive Secretary of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; Member of Arlington County Planning Commission and Northern Virginia Regional Planning Commission; and First Chairman of the National Capital Regional Planning Council of the United States. He is the author of *The State of the Nation; Social Systems Accounting* (1966); *The Managing of Organizations* (1964); and *The Legislative Struggle* (1953). Michael Springer, Syracuse, New York, is Graduate Assistant, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.)

Abstract: In this period of confusing social change, a domestic "intelligence gap" impedes rational consideration of both public and private policy choices. An intelligent strategy for narrowing this gap requires action on many fronts. One of these is to remedy the "concept lag" produced by the

also be made of the ideas, encouragement, and stimulus provided by the following participants in these sessions: Milton Babbitt, Composer, The Electronic Music Center of Columbia and Princeton Universities; Louis H. Bean, Election Analysis, Ltd., Washington, D.C.; Ann Carter, Economics Research Program, Harvard University; Donald Cook, Applied Education Division, Xerox Corporation, New York City; Michel Crozier, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University (on leave from Centre de Sociologie des Organisations, Paris); John Dixon, Basic Systems, Xerox Corporation, Washington, D.C.; Hy Faine, National Executive Secretary, American Guild of Musical Artists, New York City; William C. Fleming, Chairman, Department of Fine Arts, Syracuse University; Fred M. Frohock, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Syracuse University; David Gross, Society of Fellows and Department of Physics, Harvard University; Larry Gross, Lehman Fellow, Department of Sociology, Columbia University; Tom Hayden, Community Union Project, Newark, New Jersey; Howard Houseman, William Morris Agency (New York City); Esther M. Jackson, Professor of Fine Arts, Shaw University; Andrew Kopkind, Associate Editor, *New Republic*; Stanford Lockoff, Professor of Political Science, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Isador Leteiner, Concert Violinist; Kenneth Mabuchi, Vice-President, Central Economic Development Organization, Washington, D.C.; Michael Marien, Graduate Student, Syracuse University; Charles C. Mark, Director, State and Community Operations, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities; Walter McCann, Legislative Assistant to United States Representative John Brademas (Indiana); Francis Mechner, President, Institute of Behavior Research; Donald Meiklejohn, Director, Public Affairs and Citizenship Program, Syracuse University; I. E. Peterson, *New York Times* Washington Bureau; Douglas W. Rae, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Syracuse University; Stuart Rice, Surveys and Research Corporation, Washington, D.C.; Pamela Roby, Graduate Student, New York University; James K. Rocks, Director, Office of Plans and Programs, National Center for Educational Studies, Health, Education, and Welfare Department; Faith Seidenberg, Attorney at Law, Syracuse, New York; Edward Schneider, Associate Professor of Political Science, Princeton University; Jay Schulman, Associate Professor of Sociology, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University; William Shands, Congressional Fellow, Office of Senator Mondale; Howard Taubman, Critic, *New York Times*; Irene Taviss, Research Associate, Program of Technology and Society, Harvard University; Robert Wolfson, Professor of Economics, Syracuse University.

¹ The assistance of the Stern Family Fund is gratefully acknowledged for having helped the special editor in producing this volume (and the preceding volume of May 1967), and particularly for having facilitated a series of exploration-and-review sessions on many of the articles. Acknowledgment must

comparability-relevance conflict and other factors. As indicated by the table "Indicator Suggestions" (and the similar table in the Gross-Springer article in the May 1967 volume of *The Annals*), this is the main task assumed by most of the authors in both volumes. Instead of discussing statistical techniques, they have concentrated on conceptual innovations that make it possible to upgrade obsolescent data and obtain new forms of social information, both quantitative and qualitative.

GALILEO GALILEI. Measure what is measurable and make measurable what is not measurable.

AMITAI ETZIONI. Any measure of a social science concept that relies on a single indicator should be viewed as dubious.

RAYMOND A. BAUER. An information system does not tell what courses of action are conceivable. Man himself must conceive them.

BERTRAND DE JOUVENEL. Designers of statistics are indeed philosophers, however unwilling to claim the name, and are fully aware that different aspects of reality can be lit up if alternative sets of concepts are used.

At a time when America and the world are

in the throes of confusing revolutionary change, it is increasingly difficult for anyone to know where we have been and where we are, let alone where we may be going.

Our intelligence machinery tends to creak along in bureaucratic conformance with routines set up in a previous era. Our "conservative" defenders of the *status quo* rarely see much of the *state at which* we are. Our "radical" attackers of the present "system," "power structure," or "establishment" are usually blind to the radical changes already taking place as we move from advanced industrialism into the first stages of a new post-industrial society. Executive officials and members of Congress alike are misled by *inadequate interpretation of bad information* based on *obsolete concepts* and *inadequate research* and collected by *underfed and overlobbied statistical agencies*.

THE DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE GAP

When people talk about a "credibility gap," it is assumed that various officials are misleading the public by withholding good information. An "intelligence gap," however, is rooted in *one-sided, missing, distorted, misinterpreted, or unused information*. The

initial impact of the intelligence gap is that national policy-makers *themselves* are misled—or, to put it more mildly, are led into *oversimplified, partial, and outdated views of major policy problems*.

In varying degrees, this is the *status quo* of our domestic intelligence in the critical fields of civil liberties, discrimination, human values, the mass media, crime and delinquency, the natural environment, and urban conditions—as reported by Milton R. Konvitz, Otis Dudley Duncan, Robin M. Williams, Jr., Andre Fontaine, Daniel Glaser, Joseph L. Fisher, Daniel P. Moynihan, and Barry Gottehrer, in Volume I of *Social Goals and Indicators for American Society* (*The Annals*, May 1967). Other glaring intelligence defects exist in the fields of poverty, democratic participation, art and culture, education, health, social breakdown, and science and technology—as reported in this volume by S. M. Miller, Sidney Verba, Alvin Toffler, Wilbur Cohen, Philip Lee, Nathan Goldman and, John McHale. The table "Indicator Suggestions" (a continuation of the similar table in Volume I) sets forth some of the more elementary improvements suggested by these authors.

TABLE—INDICATOR SUGGESTIONS

Area	U.S. Government Statistical Series		Other
	New data	Better use of existing data	
Poverty and inequality.....	Regular publication of Gini index for both wealth and income distribution.	Serial data in Statistical Abstract of the United States on the extent of population below minimum standards of income, assets (liquid and fixed), and unpaid-for services (public and private).	Developments of new statistical profiles of wealth and income; for example, top-bottom ratios. Research on the psychological and sociological dimensions of the self-image of the poor.
Employment goals and the "new economics".....	Periodic reports on location of job openings in the 50 largest standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's).	Regular and improved reporting on subemployment in low-income areas. This includes not only regular application of traditional unemployment measures, but also: estimates of those (1) working part time and looking for full-time work; (2) earning substandard wages; (3) labor force dropouts because of lack of openings; and (4) not ordinarily counted.	Research on (1) changes taking place in length of the work week; (2) recruitment into skilled and semi-skilled trades; (3) relationships between education and occupational mobility; (4) relationship between productivity gains and employment rates; and (5) future employment trends.
Democratic participation.....	Data on size of professional and paraprofessional groups and on community organizations by locality. Collection and analysis of electoral participation data for local and State elections.	New section in Statistical Abstract of the United States on role of women and minority groups in political, social, and economic institutions. Better assembly of international comparative data on major forms of participation.	Research on (1) extent of participatory democracy in schools, business firms, government agencies, community groups, and the like; (2) "participation of the poor"; (3) sensitivity of officials to the demands upon them; (4) expectations that are associated with various forms of participation; (5) how many Americans feel a loss of sense of belonging; (6) examination of international rate of participation in terms of resources, constraints, capabilities, and cultural ideals.
Learning and education.....	Collection of educational expenditure data for the "nonestablishment" sectors of education, so that total educational expenditures can be computed. Implementation of new Carnegie plan for assessment of educational performance.	Improved estimates on "learning force" as a whole, particularly those enrolled in "nonestablishment" educational programs.	Research on (1) educational administration at all levels; (2) costs and benefits of alternative training methods for the same job; (3) impact of education (longitudinal studies); and (4) student culture and social system of schools (in situ studies).
Art and culture.....	Annual data on audience size for performing arts, including semiprofessional, by areas. Recurring Census of the Arts to include economic and institutional data covering not only the high arts but also the amateur movement and popular entertainment.	Compilation of Federal, State, and local expenditures on the arts. Art and Culture section in Statistical Abstract of the United States.	Research on (1) the type of musical education provided in primary and secondary schools; (2) the costs of the tools and media used by artists; (3) the administration of artistic enterprises; (4) the recruitment and training of professional artists; (5) the decline in recitals; and (6) the scope of the "amateur movement."
Health and well-being.....	More refined surveys of mortality and life expectancy by income groups and by localities, including major slum areas.	Readjustment of "cause of death" data, with improved interpretation.	More research on the development of positive measures of health and vitality.
Social breakdown.....	Divorce registration area to be representative of entire country with data on divorce, separation, and remarriage (including time interval between divorce and remarriage). Incorporation into official series of suicide data from insurance companies. More systematic methods for estimates of users of illegal drugs including "weekend" user, regular user, and seller.	Relate divorce and separation data to existing information on extended duration of marriages (with increased life expectancy).	Studies on better classification of alcoholics by state agencies. Research on (1) number of those arrested for public intoxication who are chronic alcoholics; (2) various forms of violence; (3) physiological and psychological effects of marijuana use; (4) changes in premarital sex practices; and (5) in situ studies of deviant behavior. All States to require doctors to report cases of "battered children."
Science and technology.....	Substantive content classification of scientific and technological research (in output-program budget terms).	More sustained and comprehensive presentation and analysis of basic series on scientific personnel, organizations, expenditures, publications and the like. Link reports on substantive content of scientific activities with information-retrieval facilities.	Research on (1) timelags between basic science findings and technological implementation by the industrial sector; (2) extent of technological spillover from space and military research and development (R. & D.) programs; (3) role of scientific organizations; (4) evaluation of the quality of scientific output; and (5) how to estimate the social impacts of technological innovations.

Although economic information is generally much better than our data in the fields listed above, it also is seriously defective. In this regard, Geoffrey Moore, research director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, has just stated that "we do not really know, within a reasonable narrow margin, what the recent trend of wages has been." Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the National Bureau, has recently diagnosed serious data gaps in such areas as job vacancies, price and cost

measures, and projections of federal revenues and expenditures.²

INTELLIGENT APPROACHES TO THE INTELLIGENCE GAP

We cannot afford too much stupidity in dealing with the domestic intelligence gap.

² Both Moore and Burns are quoted in "The Intelligence Gap," by M. J. Rossant, *New York Times*, Business Section, June 21, 1967.

To approach this problem intelligently, we must bring the quality of our information a little closer to the changing needs of private and public policymakers. We must make better use of our growing and partially unused capacities for research and for data-processing, -calculation, and -dissemination. We must expand and improve each of these capacities. We must be prepared to examine any relevant information—no matter whether

someone classifies it as economic, political, social, cultural, scientific, or what have you.

In this area, there are no quick, simple, or easy remedies. Indeed, the pace and unevenness of social, technological, and international change are so great that we may—as in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*—have to run in order to remain in the same place.

The historic contribution of the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Bill of Senator Walter F. Mondale (Minnesota) is that it offers not simple solutions but rather a grand three-pronged strategy for improving our domestic intelligence within the framework of strengthened Constitutional procedures:

1. the annual transmission to the Congress of a President's Social Report that can bring together, in terms meaningful for the Congress and the public as a whole, the work of countless specialized experts on all major aspects of the "quality of life."

2. the creation of a small social intelligence staff to help prepare this continuing synthesis and improve the quality and relevance of social information. It still remains to be seen whether or not the "Council of Social Advisors," as precisely proposed in Section 4 of S. 843, is the most practical and desirable of all possible instrumentalities.

3. the creation of a Congressional Joint Committee on the Social Report that could become (as the Joint Economic Committee has in economics) the world's largest classroom in social information and social policy.

Both in the Congress and in the executive branch there seems to be an increased awareness of the dangers that might be involved in the misuse or monopolization of sophisticated informational systems. A start is being made to explore the present dangers to personal privacy and the new kinds of dangers against which safeguards might be needed. Attention is being given to the danger—in the words of the Chaplain of the University of Sussex—that more power will flow into "the hands of a few manipulators who, while paying lip-service to the authority of the majority, persuade them to move in the directions convenient to themselves by all kinds of skillfully-applied pressures rather than by appeals to their responsible judgments as rational individuals."³ All such discussions will be illuminated by Amital Etzioni's perceptive warnings against the dangers (or "dysfunctions") in internally valid indicators. Raymond A. Bauer's profound observations on the inevitability of error and the indispensability of human judgment demand a skepticism concerning science's ability to shape the course of public policy.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND CONCEPT-OBSOLESCENCE

Westerners are quick to point out that in the "transitional" societies of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, rapid technological change is usually accompanied by institutional, cultural, and conceptual rigidities. Our social scientists can easily see that people who grew up in agricultural peasant societies have difficulty in understanding—let alone keeping statistical track of—the confusions of the industrialization process.

We are somewhat less eager to see the moles in our own eyes. Although living in societies undergoing changes at least equally—and probably much more—confusing, we have not distinguished ourselves by an awareness of our own rigidities. Many of us cling to old concepts as tightly as some people in other societies may cling to caste lines, taboos, astrology, and witch-doctor cures. Our faithfulness to the past may, indeed, be reinforced by the modern magic overtones provided by an elaborate statistical series and electronic computers. The case to which Professor Etzioni refers in the first

article is no exception. Information on residence provided more or less definitive reports on land congestion a century or so ago, when many more of man's activities took place near his home. Today, although only multidimensional population measures can cope with the greater complexities of people-land relations, many people—even some urban planners—rely on residence information alone. Similarly, some proposals for large-scale "data banks" tend to remind one of the man who tried to build his fortune by collecting the world's biggest stockpile of calendars from previous years. The bank metaphor (used repeatedly by those whose enthusiasm for data-processing machinery exceeds their concern for what is processed) obscures the fact that information, in our era of information explosion, may depreciate as rapidly as money in the wildest of currency inflations.

We hope that, during the coming years, increasing attention will be given to the processes of obsolescence at work on the concepts and the definitions underlying our social information. Obviously, custom and habit are important factors. Basic theory and research in the halls of academe tend to lag behind the mad rush of events. As Albert D. Biderman has graphically illustrated, strong interest and pressure groups usually mobilize to defend existing statistical series and to resist basic conceptual and definitional changes.⁴ Any such changes are apt to have political implications at some time in the future. These implications may be particularly anxiety-producing for people more fearful of "rocking the boat" than of sticking an ostrich-like head in the sand. A single, misleading measure—such as the "absolute income line" discussed in the article "Poverty, Inequality, and Conflict"—may serve the "administrative convenience" of an embattled government agency.

We urge special attention to the *technical imperative of data-comparability*. The time series is the hard core of our national information system. The essence of a good time series—on unemployment, burglary, students, scientists, or anything else—is that the figures on 1967 be based on *exactly the same definitions as were used in 1957*. Otherwise, the figures on change will reflect changes in both situations and definitions. Accordingly, all data-collection establishments are very wary about definitional changes. Knowing that they cannot change the conceptual rules every year, they tend to postpone all suggested improvements until consensus may be reached on the most significant ones. This calculated "hardening of the categories" may last a decade or more. When changes are made, it is sometimes possible to recalculate the old series in accordance with the revised definition or at least to develop some useful estimates. This is a costly and time-consuming enterprise. In other cases, there is no choice but to start afresh, signaling the use of new definitions and calling attention to the lack of comparability with the past.

This comparability-relevance conflict may be technically by-passed whenever the conceptual innovation leads not to the revision of an old statistical definition but to the addition of new statistical dimensions. Yet these new dimensions—apart from their policy implications—can easily disturb the neat orderliness of old-fashioned data. It is always safer to be precisely irrelevant or wrong rather than vaguely relevant or right.

SOME STEPS TOWARD CONCEPTUAL INNOVATION

In looking through the various articles in this volume the reader will quickly note that there is little discussion of statistical techniques or methods of numerical analysis. Indeed, where authors address themselves

most directly to various statistical series—as with Miller, Cohen, and Goldman, for example—their purpose is to suggest the new *concepts* and new *definitions* that precede the tasks of collection, computation, or re-computation. In the broadest sense, each author is attempting to create new definitions of the situations with which he deals. From his own perspective (a combination of both personal background and institutional role), each presents certain normative and analytical frames of reference which could restructure major public policies.

Let us now briefly summarize the various styles of conceptual innovation illustrated by these chapters:

1. *Redefining and broadening the approach to a major area that has been narrowly delimited.*

In "Poverty, Inequality, and Conflict," S. M. Miller sharply attacks the present "income line" definition of poverty. First, he shows the need for using "comparative income" as well as absolute income and for dealing with income security as well as income level. Secondly, he demonstrates the desirability of a three-dimensional economic approach that includes assets and basic services along with income. Thirdly, he sets forth the social dimensions of poverty—in terms of deficiencies in self-respect, status, and opportunities for participation in decision-making. He thereby develops—with the help of his collaborators—a sophisticated conceptual formulation capable of dealing with, rather than dodging, emerging issues of justice and injustice in American society.

Miller's formulation is written from an unusual perspective. Trained first as an economist and then as a sociologist who has made major contributions in the area of social mobility, he does not bother about artificial distinctions between economic and social factors. It is thus not surprising that he brings mobility-analysis into the framework of poverty policy. Further, Miller keeps his feet in several political camps. An advisor to a number of community and militant action groups, he also serves as an official of the Ford Foundation and as a consultant to several government agencies. In this light, one could interpret his piece as an attempt to approach "the Establishment" with the social critique of the civil rights movement and elements in "New Left" thought, thereby demonstrating to the militants the terms of discourse and the type of analysis with which to approach policymakers.

2. *In an area of "sacred lore," broadening our conceptual approach by identifying a series of major paradoxes that confront enumerators and policy-makers.*

Sidney Verba's "Democratic Participation" gives us a definition of democracy that goes far beyond the ballot box and relates all forms of political participation to the resources, motivations, and institutions that make it possible. He raises vital questions concerning the successfulness of participation and the decision-makers' willingness to accede to greater participation. He raises a series of major paradoxes that demand attention both in improving and in interpreting all data in this field.

While Verba is well known in academic circles, he is one of the West Coast intellectuals geographically removed from the Boston-New York-Washington consultation network. As a political outsider with strong convictions, he opts for broader official interest in democratic participation. A first-rate scholar, Verba presents a careful and reasoned critique that could greatly expand traditional perspectives toward democracy.

3. *Changing some of the traditional parameters in a rapidly moving situation and raising issues of great, but as yet unexplored, potentialities for future change.*

In "Learning and Education," Wilbur Cohen first delineates the major structural changes taking place in American education.

⁴ "Social Indicators and Goals," in Raymond A. Bauer (ed.), *Social Indicators* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 68-153.

³ Daniel Jenkins, *The Educated Society* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966), p. 36.

He shows where our concepts have been outdated and demonstrates that we must not limit or take the narrow view that education is something that takes place during a person's youth and only within the traditional educational institutions. The new concept of "the learning force" indicates that education can be a life-long process and need not be limited to the traditional educational establishment.

Cohen's outline of a wide-ranging research program is a sharp departure from the traditional "educationalist" approach. Coming from an "action intellectual" who is a principal architect of Great Society measures (as well as Health, Education, and Welfare Under Secretary), his views provide "White Paper" intimations of the future direction of national policy.

4. *Making a strong plea for new definitional processes in an area that has been largely ignored.*

In "The Art of Measuring the Arts," Alvin Toffler attempts to initiate both quantitative and qualitative definitions of a situation just beginning to become a concern of national policy-makers. In addition to calling for the systematic collection of information in all the arts, he suggests a series of quite specific criteria for the qualitative evaluation of artistic activities.

As a professional journalist, Mr. Toffler is free from that intellectual timidity which is endemic to academia. He has been sufficiently uninhibited to give us a wide-ranging framework which could serve as a baseline for debates over future government perspectives toward the arts. Broad and provocative statements are very much in Toffler's style. His book *The Culture Consumers* opened up recent debates over the extent and characteristics of what is referred to as the "culture explosion."⁵

5. *In a highly defined situation, raising conceptual issues with great, but as yet unexplored, potentialities for restructuring action.*

In "Health and Well-Being," Phillip R. Lee presents a definition of health that encompasses far more than the typical clinician's view based on the incidence of disease. Lee views mortality, morbidity, and disability in the context not only of physiological but also of social and economic factors. Looking beyond our present definitions of health, Lee points to the day when research presently underway may lead to positive measures of well-being.

Dr. Lee is a practicing physician now serving as Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for Health and Scientific Affairs. Without the pretensions that often characterize academic and government officials, he presents a broad vision of what constitutes the parameters of health. Like Cohen's paper, Lee's has the character of a non-official "White Paper" in the area of health and well-being.

6. *Examining basic concepts in an emotion-charged area and suggesting various paths toward reconstruction.*

In "Social Breakdown," while not directly outlining new concepts, Nathan Goldman begins to lay bare some widely held notions about social disorganization—or in more popular terms, "a breakdown in morality." In examining available data on family breakdown, addiction, personal breakdown, and sexual deviation, he casts serious doubts on the reliability of the conventional evidence of social breakdown. More significantly, he suggests that such things as divorce and even addiction may not be signs of social breakdown, but may, in fact, be factors in social organization and stability.

The nature of Goldman's piece can, in good part, be understood by two factors. First, while Goldman has had considerable clinical

experience in the problems he discusses, he has been somewhat distant from national policymaking processes and thus does not have to pay homage to the conventional wisdom. Secondly, like many University-of-Chicago-trained sociologists, he questions the meaning of "accepted morality," which, if taken at face value, will stand in the way of creative social analysis.

7. *Making a strong plea for new definitional processes in an area that, despite recognized importance, has been treated superficially.*

"Science and Technology" is a wide-ranging piece in which John McHale explores the inadequacy of present indicators on the substantive content and organizational setting of scientific activities. In calling for new conceptual frameworks, McHale underscores the superficiality of the use of purely quantitative surrogates and calls for direct consideration of the quality of scientific efforts.

One would expect such broad and bold proposals from a colleague and collaborator of Buckminster Fuller, that remarkably creative engineer-architect-inventor. Quite on his own, McHale addresses himself to his subject from a rich and varied background that includes previous careers as both an artist and a medical technician.

8. *Urging application to an area of immense political importance of improved definitions that have long been advocated and officially ignored.*

In "Employment and the 'New Economics,'" Leon H. Keyserling criticizes present unemployment statistics as seriously understating the extent to which manpower resources are wasted. Pointing out how the present concept of unemployment contributes to inadequate policy-formulation, he urges the modernization of the unemployment definitions used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and of the employment goals set forth by the Council of Economic Advisers.

As a member (and finally Chairman) of the Council of Economic Advisers throughout the Truman administration, Keyserling was one of the leaders in establishing sustained economic growth as a major objective of public policy. Since then his role has been that of a "Prophet in the Wings," relentlessly criticizing deviations from this goal and continuously proposing policies for using economic resources to meet basic social needs.

In conclusion, we feel that we can speak for all the authors in this and the previous volume in predicting that the development of new concepts and information to meet the critical needs of our changing society will be a slow and painful process. These volumes have amply demonstrated the inadequacy of many of our present concepts. They have also demonstrated the tremendous potential for improved social information, indicating some of the roads that must be traversed in order to achieve this potential.

Substantial energies are going to be exerted to develop social information that is as extensive and as "hard" as presently available economic information. It would be a sad affair, however, if in overcoming the "economic philistinism" of the past we create a "social philistinism" of the future. There is something more to the "quality of life" than can ever be fully expressed in quantitative measures. The moral and aesthetic goals which many of us seek can be only partly comprehended by the hard indicators which we use to bring them to fruition.

This matter has been vigorously raised by Corinne Gilb:

"Human needs for myths, festivals, dignity, love, belongingness, and self-realization cannot be adequately assessed solely by social science methods. . . . As you know, the economic, scientific, military, and governmental systems in the United States are increasingly interdependent. They in turn influence—directly or indirectly—every other aspect of American life. We need deeper knowledge of what these interconnections

are. Questions and research methods are needed which cut through and transcend the methods of approaches now being used by particular segments of the total system or by particular disciplines such as economics or sociology."⁶

Elsewhere, the same author has suggested that "for scholars the ultimate goal should be not the kind of artificial scientific reductionism whose logical endpoint is the Brave New World, but rather a multi-dimensional set of values, theories, concepts, and methods which converge at that high point where science and art are—in a sense—the same."⁷

Professor Gilb has thus defined the paradox underlying our goals for social information. To cope with the intelligence gap intelligently, we must develop conceptual innovations that help us not only to obtain and use improved quantitative data, but also to appreciate the importance—in Galileo's words—of "what is not yet measurable," and may, indeed, never be.

LET US EXAMINE THE FACTS ON IMPORT QUOTAS

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, since the completion of the Kennedy round trade negotiations last June 30, much has been said about our Nation's balance of trade.

Those of us who have become concerned with the possible harmful effects of these negotiations and who have sponsored legislation establishing import quotas have been scolded and taken to task by the administration, a large segment of the Nation's press and representatives of foreign countries.

Today, I would like to discuss for a few moments some points that should be made in regard to the debate now in progress over the U.S. balance of trade.

I have in my possession a table by Vladimir N. Pregelj, an analyst in international trade and finance for the Economic Division of the Library of Congress. The table correlates the relationship between U.S. aid-financed exports, total exports, and balance of trade from 1960 to 1966.

The results of this kind of analysis are enlightening and most distressing, as well. At this time, I ask unanimous consent that this material be placed in the RECORD.

From 1960 until 1966, the U.S. favorable balance of trade has fallen from \$4,757,000,000 to \$3,658,000,000, a drop of 23.1 percent. Even more dramatic is the decline from 1964 to the present day—a drop of over 45 percent.

The most frightening aspect of these figures is the relatively large percentage of the favorable balance which is made up of U.S. aid-financed exports. In 1960, aid-financed exports accounted for 39.9 percent of the favorable balance. But by 1966, aid-financed exports were responsible for making up 82.3 percent of the favorable balance of trade—\$3,012,000,000 compared with \$3,658,000,000.

U.S. aid-financed exports have grown in an absolute sense by 58.6 percent since

⁶ Testimony before Senate Subcommittee on Research, Senate Committee on Government Operations, on S. 843, July 20, 1967.

⁷ Corinne Lathrop Gilb, "Time and Change in Twentieth-Century Thought," *Journal of World History*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (1966), pp. 867-880.

⁵ Alvin Toffler, *The Culture Consumers* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964).