

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 113—PART 5

MARCH 7, 1967, TO MARCH 15, 1967 (PAGES 5573 TO 6866)

After Burma became independent in 1948. hordes of Chinese crossed into Burma at will. Says one immigration official: "It was only in the late 1950s that control points were set up and security tightened across the border.'

Since 1948, Chinese communities in many parts of Burma have doubled. In Lashio, close to the border, there were 250 residents before the war. There are more than 5000 now. Mandalay has more than 10,000 Chinese, twice the number a few years ago.

In recent weeks the press has carried several reports of illegal border crossing detected by immigration officials.

The Government-owned Working Peoples' Daily reported Feb. 20 that 300 refugees. fleeing from persecution by Red Guards, entered Burma illegally. They crossed over from Yunnan and entered at Kunlong, the northernmost frontier town.

Included were four Buddhist monks who claimed Red Guards ordered them to disrobe. Also in the group were two former Red Guards who reportedly said they were disgusted with the anti-Buddhist attitude of the Red Guards.

The Rangoon Daily in another report said a special foreigners investigation team at Mogaung, Kachin state, had discovered 250 illegal entries early in January.

The immigration team found that many more illegal immigrants were working at the Namti and Sanaw sugar factories in Kachin state. Some of these Chinese were said to be qualified technicians drawing \$80 monthly.

Immigration officials admit that only a fraction of the illegal immigrants can be detected because of the vastness of the border and the lack of sufficient personnel to police the area. A Rangoon Daily editorial calls for greater efforts to seal off access points.

FULL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTING ACT OF 1967

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, a little more than a month ago I introduced, together with 10 other Senators, S. 843, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967.

The bill grew out of a deep conviction that we need more precise analysis and evaluation of governmental programs aimed at improving the public welfare, and improved statistical methods of measuring progress or retrogression in these fields.

I pointed out at that time that such precise analysis and statistical evaluation by the President's Council of Economic Advisers during the past 20 years has helped to propel the Nation's economy into sustained vigor of unprecedented duration, and that we should have a comparable institution to help the President in his efforts to achieve our national domestic social goals.

The Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act would establish a President's Council of Social Advisers, paralleling the Council of Economic Advisers; it would also require the President to submit an annual Social Report, the social counterpart of the President's Economic Message; and finally it would establish the Joint Congressional Committee on the Social Report to give Congress oversight responsibility in this field.

In the period since the introduction of the bill, the unanimously favorable response from private citizens, social welfare agencies, and Federal officials has been truly amazing. Among the most heartening is the support I have received

้เ∡ ซึ่ง ษณฑ เคย กรุงยาง ฮอก์เนลื

from social scientists working in universities across the Nation.

I have before me letters from five eminent social scientists and scholars: John G. Turnbull, associate dean of the University of Minnesota; Amitai Etzioni, of Columbia University; David Caplovitz, of Columbia University; David Riesman, of Harvard University; and Robert Coles, research psychiatrist, also of Harvard, regarding the proposed legislation. I ask unanimous consent that their letters be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA. COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS. Minneapolis, Minn., March 6, 1967.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Senate.

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Thank you for your Social Accounting Act letter: I could not agree more with your proposal had I written it myself. Let me comment in a bit more detail.

1. We use a pluralistic approach to our social welfare programming. Given our set of cultural values this is by no means all to the bad. But it does result in a lack of "overview" with all sorts of attendant problems. Your proposal, it seems to me, would be most useful in providing that overview. This by no means suggests a monolithic federal "social welfare" system, but it would have the tremendous advantage of bringing all the bits and pieces together.

2. There is a definite need for collated "social welfare" statistics. The HEW Indicators provide a groping start toward this, but it is only a beginning. (I have had long correspondence with them about expansion of the statistics; at present one needs to go to a dozen sources to put together what one wants for, e.g., classroom presentation).

3. There is a definite need for cost-benefit analysis in the social welfare field. While such analysis is in its infancy and needs development, it is capable of providing much more help to us than it currently does.

4. A Council of Social Advisers would, it seems to me, be an excellent instrument through which to accomplish the goals envisaged. While I can see all sorts of jurisdictional problems, they do not appear insurmountable, and these goals are so desirable I believe one should move ahead.

I have no expertise whatsoever on the "details" of such an organizational proposal. But, I believe such an agency would serve a most valuable purpose and I enthusiastically endorse it. Should you develop a series of specific "questions" with respect to your proposal I would be most happy to do some homework and respond thereto.

Cordially,

JOHN G. TURNBULL, Associate Dean.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, New York, N.Y., March 9, 1967.

Hon. Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: This is in reference to your letter of March 3. I would like to congratulate you for initiating the bill, "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act of 1967," S. 843. This is a very important bill which, I am sure, in years to come you will look back in pride for having initiated. I believe that it will have many beneficial consequences as it will help focus our attention on our domestic problems, on progress we make, and will provide a scientific technique to assess the value of conflicting approaches which are being advocated for their treatment.

I am also happy to see from your discussion that you are aware of the contribution social scientists, in particular Professor Bertram Gross, have already made in this direction, and will continue to make.

I would like to use this opportunity, on top of my unqualified support and enthusiasm for this bill, to call your attention to the need to both go beyond it in one way and worry about possible implications it could have. (Both points may be elaborated in a testimony if that would be desired.)

One, I feel that an investment will have to be made not just in building indicators but to provide for the appropriate ways and means for analyzing the information these indicators will provide. There is a certain tendency both in this country and in Britain to collect information without fully analyzing it. In order to do that I suggested some time ago that there should be a social science policy research institute, a kind of RAND, for domestic issues. I believe that this would be best attached to Congress because I have found in the past that executive agencies practically blind Congress with information collected and processed by them, and Congress has relatively few facilities to inde-pendently check on that information. Details you will find inclosed.

Second, I would like to point out that while I am quite confident that the social indicators and social accounting will prove to be a major blessing, they both may have some harmful side-effects unless the indicators are broadly and carefully constructed. Otherwise they may support attempts at "rush" jobs, build up quantity instead of quality, sacrifice the long run for the short run, all inclinations which exist in human nature as it is. I know that my colleagues are also concerned with this question, and I hope we all will make a joint effort to cause social accounting to make the full contribution it can make to our great society.

Sincerely,

AMITAI ETZIONI.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, New York, N.Y., March 6, 1967.

Senator Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your speech concerning the social accounting act you have introduced. I have read it with great interest. You are to be commended for sponsoring such far-reaching and important legislation.

For some time now I and many of my colleagues have been convinced the need for a measure of social welfare equivalent to such economic measures as G.N.P. Without such a measure, it is almost impossible to assess the impact of governmental programs. undoubtedly know of the interest and efforts of the Russell Sage Foundation in this problem. Dr. Wilbert Moore of the Russell Sage Foundation is certainly someone you should discuss this matter with if you have not done so already. Also, my colleague, Professor Daniel Bell, has thought a great deal about this matter and has done much work on it-but again, I am sure you have been in touch with him.

It has often occurred to me that it might be a good idea to have established a Council of Social Advisors equivalent to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. No doubt this, too, will inevitably happen.

If I have any further thoughts on this matter, I shall of course pass them on to you. Again many thanks for the copy of your speech.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID CAPLOVITZ, Associate Professor of Sociology.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS, Cambridge, Mass., March 9, 1967. Senator Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: I appreciated ever so much your letter of 6 March and your enclosure from the Congressional Record. I agree entirely-and only hope that social science will be able to live up to the expectations for it, and its responsibilities to help provide adequate social inventories as a basis for understanding and for planning.

With very good wishes and great admiration.

Sincerely,

DAVID RIESMAN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES, Cambridge, Mass., March 6, 1967. Senator Walter F. Mondale, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: Thank you so very much for your most interesting and welcome letter. I read the copy of your remarks made to the Senate with a good deal of enthusiasm and would like you to know how very important I think your proposal to the Senate on "social accounting" is.

I have worked in both the South and the North in a variety of social issues, connected with both desegregation and poverty, and as a child psychiatrist have had more than a fair share of opportunities to observe some of the social problems that exist in this nation. One of the difficulties that a person like me faces is that of communicating in an exact way and to a widespread and relevant audience the exact nature of his findings and their implications for national policy. It is one thing to write articles for both the public and professional audiences; it is quite another to know that one's views and observations and evaluations will be sifted and taken into consideration by a proper agency of the government that is responsible for gathering together and making available to all concerned parties exactly what obtains-let alone what needs to be done.

Furthermore, in my work with ordinary people caught up in a variety of social stresses I am more and more impressed with how little they actually know about some of the problems that they are in fact more interested in than we might suspect. I do not mean this as an attack upon the newspapers or television but I have in mind even the reporters and commentators in the news media who are wandering around at times in the dark, as are the ordinary citizens of this country, and indeed as are many officials in all kinds of organizations, probably including the United States government. Until the facts at the disposal of isolated or scattered scientists, doctors, lawyers, economists, etc. are gathered together and made in some efficient and coherent sense available, then there is small wonder that all too many people simply fall back on hearsay, speculation, rumor and often the easiest available prejudice or distortion.

Consequently, I am very happy to hear of your intention to look into this problem and indeed hold public hearings on it. If in any way I can be of further help, please do not hesitate to write me again.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT COLES, M.D., Research Psychiatrist, Lecturer in General Education.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON LATIN AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the message which President Johnson sent to Congress yesterday on the forthcoming Latin American summit meeting is both hopeful and challenging.

The President has made clear our intentions to strengthen the Alliance for Progress, and to work closely with the nations of this hemisphere in promoting economic, social, and political stability.

I share the President's view that while the problems of Latin America are serious, the promises and plans are realistic.

The President has asked Congress to approve a commitment to increase American aid by up to \$1.5 billion, or about \$300 million per year over the next 5 years. I endorse this recommendation as a most necessary step toward meeting the growing economic and social needs of the hemisphere.

By far the largest share of these funds-some \$900 million-would be used over the next 5 years to train teachers and build new classrooms; to increase food production and combat malnutrition.

Without adequate food, medical care, and education, there is the constant threat of political turmoil and social unrest.

I am certain that the President can count upon the support of the 90th Congress as he embarks upon his journey to Punta del Este.

President Johnson has made this commitment. I believe that the American people have made it. And that the 90th Congress will do the same.

THE LIBERTY LOBBY AND THE CONSULAR TREATY

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, like other Senators in this Chamber, I have been no stranger of late to a mountain of mail opposing the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union. It is imperative, I think, that the Senators understand the nature of this mail campaign. Indeed, I suppose we all do. But, for the general public, a good deal of light has been shed by the Washington Evening Star, and by its reporter, Robert Walters, on the activities of the Liberty Lobby in generating opposition to this treaty.

Mr. President, this opposition is born in fear and mistrust. Not just mistrust of other nations, I would add, but mistrust of the Government of the United States. The Star and Mr. Walters have done well in exposing it, and I ask unanimous consent that the article, printed in the Evening Star of March 10, be printed in the RECORD.

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

CONSULAR PACT CAMPAIGN INTENSE-LIBERTY LOBBY'S STRENGTH SURPRISING

(By Robert Walters)

An intense "grassroots lobbying" campaign marks the Senate battle over the consular treaty with Russia.

Senators have been swamped in mail from their constituents-most of it opposing ratification of the treaty.

An example: Sen. Charles Percy, freshman Republican from Illinois, has received about 7,000 letters against the treaty and about 50 supporting it.

The conservative Liberty Lobby has shown an unexpected influence here in leading the drive against the pact.

Many Senate observers have been surprised at the overwhelming amount of constituent mail the Washington-based organization has

been able to generate in the last two months, although most of its efforts have been offset by an equally vigorous administration campaign for support of the treaty.

NEW TECHNIQUE

Much of the Liberty Lobby support has been attributed to a new and unusually suc-

cessful lobbying technique—the use of a political comic strip to attract voter interest.

The organization, "conceived among a group of patriots in California" in 1955, has as its principal purpose "reversing the dangerous trend toward socialization internally and defeat of the insidious effort to weaken our resistance to international communism."

It did not initiate regular operations here until 1961, and its greatest period of growth came during the 1964 presidential campaign when it picked up thousands of new supporters by distributing a tabloid newspaper opposing President Johnson's election.

The group's budget is estimated at \$250,000

a vear.

GROWTH PHENOMENAL

Liberty Lobby is not a membership organization, but its officers usually have quoted subscriptions to its principal publication, the monthly "Liberty Letter," with the number of individual supporters.

The circulation figures, as reported to the Post Office Department annually, show a phenomenal growth rate. In 1961, the "Liberty Letter" had fewer than 10,000 subscribers. By 1964, that figure was up to 26,500.

As a result of the anti-Johnson activity during the last presidential campaign, circulation in 1965 rose to 92,400 and jumped again in 1966 to 174,300.

The circulation figure is higher than that enjoyed by any other publication which is classed as a political one-right or left-except the sometimes unpredictable Reporter magazine, which sold 205,400 copies biweekly last year.

By comparison, the conservative National Review had a circulation of 97,000 last year and Human Events sold an average of 95,500 copies weekly. On the left, the New Republic had a circulation of 124,000 and Ramparts sold 45,300 copies monthly.

STARTED DRIVE IN JANUARY

Using its large mailing list as a base, Liberty Lobby early this year began an intensive campaign to provoke grass-roots opposition to the consular treaty.

On Jan. 25, W. B. Hicks, the organization's executive director, made public a letter to Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, vigorously opposing the treaty.

Hicks said "classified bulletins" of the FBI and Customs Bureau described half-kiloton "Atomic Demolition Munitions"—nuclear weapons which could be concealed "within the diplomatic pouches of Soviet diplomats."

Hicks said the "ADMs" were being manufactured in the Soviet Union in two sizesthe one-suitcase model containing a 70pound weapon with the power of 100 tons of TNT, and the two-suitcase model with the power of more than 500 tons of TNT.

Approval of the consular treaty with its diplomatic immunity for Soviet representatives to this country, he argued, would allow such weapons to be brazenly carried into our largest cities.

On Feb. 10, the organization sent out a "special emergency mailing" to all those on its mailing list, seeking individual contributions from \$5 to \$1,000 "to help finance wide distribution of the cartoon strip, 'The Communists Next Door.'

NEW CARTOON TACTIC

Copies of the 16-panel cartoon strip, described as "a new technique to reach the voters . . . clear, direct, motivational," were enclosed with each letter.

The cartoon presents illustrations of a Soviet consulate next door to a U.S. public school, a Soviet citizen leaping to freedom