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I will ask that the Council set standards for use in benefit/cost computation which would bring project benefit estimates in line with reality. Such revisions would include both more reasonable estimates of primary benefits and the inclusion of secondary benefits.

The authority to do this requires no new policy authorization—only full implementation of existing policy as stated in Senate Document 97:

"A comprehensive public viewpoint shall be applied in the evaluation of project effects. Such a viewpoint includes consideration of all effects, beneficial and adverse, short range and long range, tangible and intangible, that may be expected to accrue to all persons and groups within the zone of influence of the proposed resource use or development."

Present methods of project evaluation are narrow, usually failing to go beyond the narrow commercialized definition of primary benefits.

Flood control projects, for example, presently consider the benefits of property damage to be averted but fail to include the many secondary benefits—often greater—such as the avoidance of loss of business and payrolls during the period of inundation and reconstruction and the hazards to health and human life itself.

We must possess the vision to realistically calculate the long term benefits which accrue as well as the cost. The present approach lacks that vision.

We must remember that these projects are built not only for today, not only for the 70's, but for the year 2000 and beyond.

#### SOCIAL POLICY—A MEASURE OF QUALITY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on February 7, *Time* magazine printed an excellent article entitled "Social Policy—A Measure of Quality."

This article reviewed HEW's "Toward a Social Report." "Toward a Social Report" is a preliminary working model for the annual social report which would be submitted to Congress by the President if the Full Opportunity Act of 1969—S. 5—were enacted.

S. 5 declares full opportunity for every American to be a national goal. This bill which I introduced last month would establish a Council of Social Advisers. This Council would not only advise the President of the United States on the present quality of American life but would, as well, make recommendations to the President designed to improve the quality of our life. This would require a simultaneous research effort to develop a set of "social indicators." These "social indicators" would be used by the Council to help them evaluate the quality of our life.

As the article indicates, HEW's report notes that since we do not have such a set of indicators we are unable to say with any certainty or competence whether or not the money spent by the Government to improve education, for example, is in fact "contributing to better learning." The *Time* article also alludes to some of the difficulties associated with social reporting in general. One such difficulty is the absence of a sophisticated model for the social system comparable to the model for our economic system. This, of course, underscores our need to do more research in the "social indicators" field. Sophisti-

cated "social indicators" will enable us to determine if we are in fact improving, for example, our educational system or any social dimension of our lives.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Social Policy—A Measure of Quality," published in the February 7 issue of *Time* magazine, be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### SOCIAL POLICY—A MEASURE OF QUALITY

The U.S. Government produces \$150 million worth of statistics a year on everything from coal production to babies. Many of these figures form the basis of the President's annual Economic Report, a key aid to businessmen and Government planners in measuring the nation's economic health. Now a task force of experts has shown how this mountain of figures, plus a number of critical new ones, could be used by social scientists to prepare an annual report that would measure the quality of American life—not how much but how good.

This is the basic argument of a farewell gift to President Nixon by the Johnson Administration: a 198-page volume called *Toward a Social Report*, prepared under the direction of Mancur Olson, an economist with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Two years in the making, the study charges that while the U.S. has—in theory, at least—learned how to regulate its economy, it has been ill-prepared to predict riots or determine its social needs and goals. *Toward a Social Report* contends that systematically marshaling "social indicators" would provide the nation with a working tool for the setting of social priorities.

The study, for example, points out that despite statistics showing dramatic progress in medical care over the past decade, the amount of time the average American can expect to spend in a sickbed or an institution has remained static. Illnesses stemming mainly from cigarettes, alcohol and a rich diet have undercut the advance.

#### SECOND MARRIAGES

Although vast sums are spent by the Government on education, the report says, relatively little is known about whether the money is really contributing to better learning. And for all the talk of rising crime rates, there may have been an actual decrease in the harm that crimes do to people. Religious leaders worry about the rising divorce rate. Still, notes the report, the percentage of the population that is married has risen 7.5% since 1940, largely because of the increase in second marriages.

With becoming modesty, the study acknowledges that such measurements are crude and tentative. The social sciences are still new disciplines with expanding boundaries. According to Social Psychologist Raymond Bauer of Harvard, "Our hang-up is that we don't have a model for the social system anywhere as precise as what the economists have for the economic system." Nor do the social scientists have a measurement for social values akin to the dollar, although one possible theoretical unit is called the "utile," used by economists to weigh the price people would pay to avoid the sonic boom of an SST, for example, as against the economic benefits that the plane would give them.

#### SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

The HEW document joins the academic optimists who contend that the long-run benefits of better social calculation can be as immense as those of economic accounting. Already, the report says, tools are being developed for measuring such basic concerns as powerlessness, job satisfaction, freedom of expression, and even the obtuseness of bureaucrats. Eventually, these and other

measures might make possible a hardheaded "systems analysis" of the efficacy of government programs.

Like all scientific knowledge, the statistics in a social report could be misread or manipulated to justify dubious policies. Or they could simply be ignored. But the U.S. Government's use of the social sciences is becoming increasingly sophisticated, and it has some impressive legislative support. Minnesota's Senator Walter Mondale has introduced a bill that would set up a social report and a presidential Council of Social Advisers. "In the social field," he says, "the decent intentions of a decent politician were once good enough, but that is no longer true." A leading supporter of Mondale's bill last year, and a member of the academic group that advised the task force, is Nixon's new urban-affairs adviser, Daniel Moynihan. Statistics can be revolutionary, he points out in a new book, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*; all too often, it is only when a problem can be counted that citizens begin to think it counts.

#### NOTED EDUCATOR DR. PAUL MCKAY

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, the January 25 issue of the *Decatur, Ill., Review* reprints a speech by the highly respected educator Dr. Paul L. McKay, president of Millikin University, which is located in Decatur. Dr. McKay spoke at a meeting of the Decatur Rotary Club on the timely question of student unrest on campus.

Dr. McKay's views on the politics of confrontation are especially interesting. He states that ultimatums can never take the place of rational discourse and debate in our country. As he put it:

I do not find ultimatums productive of rational discourse or debate. The politics of confrontations—which is the term for submission—is not the best method of decision-making. I am still influenced by the fallout of the democratic process. I will talk. I will listen. (But) I will engage in no shouting matching.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have this excellent speech printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the *Decatur (Ill.) Review*, Jan. 25, 1969]

A FRANKENSTEIN OR A CHILD OF PROMISE?  
MILLIKIN PRESIDENT REFLECTS ON REVOLUTION  
(By Dr. Paul L. McKay, president, Millikin University)

(NOTE.—These remarks by Dr. Paul L. McKay, president of Millikin University, are from a talk delivered Monday at a meeting of the Decatur Rotary Club.)

There is an oriental proverb which reads: "My friend, may it be your fate to be born in an interesting age."

No one needs to wish this for us today. As we look into our satellite-streaked sky, as we see man, through science and technology, freeing himself from earth's gravitational plane, we know that we have entered into a new and different age.

Oliver Wendell Holmes observed that "it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time—at peril of being judged not to have lived."

Revolutions were not as noisy in Rip Van Winkle's day as in ours. I suspect that history has not dealt fairly with Dame Van Winkle in placing such a large burden of responsibility upon her for Rip's 20-year nap. At best he was perpetually thirsty and possessed little awareness of his world.