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FULL OPPORTUNITY AND NATIONAL GOALS AND PRIORITIES ACT

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. 5, with the understanding that there will be no action on the bill today, other than opening statements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The bill was read by title as follows:

A bill (S. 5) to promote the general welfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

ORDER OF BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, under the order entered last week, on tomorrow after the routine morning business the Senate will proceed to the consideration of S. 1560, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, under a time limitation.

AUTHORIZATION TO TAKE UP S. 1880 OR OTHER MEASURES TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that upon the disposition of S. 1560 tomorrow, it be in order for the leadership to move either to take up S. 1880, a bill to protect hobbyists, or to return to the consideration of S. 5, or to take up any other measure which has been cleared for action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZATION TO TAKE UP S. 1033, TO MAKE IT THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS FOR WEDNESDAY

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that if the bill has not been called up prior thereto, that at the conclusion of business tomorrow the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. 1033, the so-called timber export bill, for the purpose of making it the unfinished business for Wednesday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1973

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,

I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATORS JAVITS, HUDDLESTON, AND SCOTT OF VIRGINIA, FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS AND FOR SENATE TO PROCEED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF S. 1560, TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the two leaders or their designees have been recognized tomorrow under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which the distinguished Senator from the Kentucky (Mr. HUDDLESTON) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, following which the distinguished Senator from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, and that there then be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 15 minutes, with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, at the conclusion of which the Senate proceed, under the order previously entered, to the consideration of S. 1560.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HANSEN

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday, after the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, the distinguished Senator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order previously entered for the recognition of the distinguished junior Senator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN) on Wednesday be vacated and that he be recognized on tomorrow, following the remarks of Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FULL OPPORTUNITY AND NATIONAL GOALS AND PRIORITIES ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (S. 5) to promote the general welfare.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, S. 5, the pending measure, is a bill which has passed the Senate in almost identical form in two previous Congresses. It is the product of extensive hearings, extensive committee and Senate deliberation, and I would hope that it would pass overwhelmingly and that in this Congress we might see action in the House.

This measure seeks to establish a Council of Social Advisers in the office of the Presidency and require that council to prepare an annual social report which would be referred to the Joint Economic Committee and to the respective Labor and Public Welfare Committees of the House and the Senate. The council would have other responsibilities such as the establishment of an effort toward establishing social indicators to measure the social health of this country.

Mr. President, one of our most illuminating witnesses was Mr. Joseph Califano, who, as many know, served as President Johnson's key domestic counselor. Following his period of service in that position, he testified before our committee upon the almost total lack of information upon which we make social policy. Mr. Califano said:

The disturbing truth is that the basis of recommendations by an American Cabinet officer on whether to begin, eliminate, or expand vast social programs more nearly resembles the initiative judgment of a benevolent tribal chief in remote Africa than the elaborate sophisticated data with which the Secretary of Defense supports a major new weapons system.

Support for this institution has come from a broad range of leaders in the field of human development and from persons who have been in government, as well as the academic community. As a matter of fact, they have repeatedly and strongly urged the creation of this Council of Social Advisers.

In the development of this legislation I have been privileged to have the long-term support and the creative contributions of the distinguished senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), who has cosponsored this measure from its beginning and who has been so helpful over the years in trying to develop it, improve it, and strengthen it.

The present measure, in title II, contains a series of sections under the heading "National Goals and Priorities." It seeks to establish in the Congress an office to better prepare the Congress when dealing with the broad objectives of goals and priorities.

This measure was originally introduced in separate bill form by the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS) and is now found as title II in S. 5.

Together these titles are designed to do something about the present anarchy in the field of human programs.

We have a nation in which we spend billions in education, billions in health, billions on poverty, and billions on var-

ious other human programs. Yet, when we ask those involved in these programs whether they are achieving the results intended and whether they are doing so in the most efficient way, and, indeed, whether they are counterproductive, one is often at a complete loss to obtain that essential information upon which any intelligent government should base its decisionmaking, as one of our witnesses said, the American Government seems to be proceeding on the theory of standardization, by which we are doing better and better in little things and worse and worse in big things.

This council is designed to try to better analyze and evaluate and plan social programs so that we might better understand how we seek to educate our children, so that we might know better how well we are doing at this task of education, so that we might know better how to improve and make more efficient the effort at education.

The same is true with our efforts in the field of health, in the field of manpower, in the field of employment, and in the other areas, housing and the rest, which are essential services for a healthy and developing people.

I have been in the Senate now for more than 9 years. I guess that I have served on as many or more human problem committees and subcommittees than any other Senator, or at least as many as any other Senator. I am constantly surprised and sometimes shocked when we are holding hearings on programs—some of which cost several hundreds of millions of dollars a year—when I ask those who are in charge of the programs to tell us what they are accomplishing and what we are getting for our money. Usually they can fill us full of statistics and information that really is not helpful. They can tell us how many bricks there are in a building and how many lunches are served in the hot lunch program. However, if we ask them how many children are being educated, often they do not have the slightest idea. The same thing is true with respect to health and manpower programs. What might be called the hot facts concerning what is being achieved through these programs is often not available.

Yet this very condition of anarchy and uncertainty is becoming a strong force in the hands of those who seek to counsel the Government and the people to give up this effort and to conclude that there is no hope and that we should stop trying to deliver the essential services needed for the social health of our people.

I can think of nothing that would be more tragic to our country than that, for we know that despite our wealth, despite our strength, and despite the magnificence of our great country, there are still millions and millions of Americans who in no meaningful way share in the fullness of American life.

The programs that this council would seek to better understand and guide are the very programs on which social justice in our Nation depend. And this institution could contribute enormously to a more sophisticated, responsible, balanced, efficient, and extraordinary approach to human problems.

Mr. President, I understand that the

distinguished Senator from New York wishes to comment upon this bill.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to state that I support fully both titles in the bill.

First, I wish to affirm my support of the need for the Senator from Minnesota's Council of Social Advisers as representing a recognition of the development of our society beyond the stage where economic advisers can do all that needs to be done.

Mr. President, in many cases the question is whether we are spending money most effectively and in the most wise manner. The Council on Economic Advisers will tell us what they think we are going to spend and perhaps what to spend in particular areas as a matter of economics. However, there is quite a difference between spending money in the desegregation of schools and spending money to enhance quality education. There is a far different thrust and a far different end result in saying that different means need to be used.

Accordingly, there are questions of blending manpower and training into public service jobs and welfare problems arising out of able-bodied people who are unable, for one reason or another, to get the training or to match the training up with a job.

This again goes far beyond the problem of money, it involves the redemption of people from the endemic cycle of poverty which comes ahead of social and economic problems.

I appreciate the fact that one of the most potent anti-poverty measures we have adopted is the providing of legal services for the poor.

All of these things represent areas in which the Council of Social Advisers could be very useful to the direction of recent efforts.

From the point of view of the amounts involved compared to the end results, the fact is that with a Federal budget in the area of \$250 billion a year, we really should not be talking about the cost of an agency or the proliferation of an agency that will accomplish infinitely more in the years to come with respect to efforts in the national policy and the ability to make wiser decisions than we have heretofore in many cases.

I have from the beginning supported the effort of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, and he has in turn done me the honor of supporting me in what is really the corollary activity to the one which he wants to be pursued, that is, the advice to Congress respecting national goals and priorities.

Mr. President, I suppose if one were to characterize my whole career here, it has been to contribute to giving the Congress a personality of its own, and to equipping it, through the efforts of its Members, to

be really a coordinate branch of government, with innovation, decisionmaking, full partnership in national policy and the implementation of that policy, and against simply yielding questions for decision to the President because it was easier to step away from them than to wrestle with them.

The national goals and priorities concept which I introduced for the first time in December of 1969 with the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) as my principal cosponsor was exactly along that line. That was early, Mr. President, and national traumas, including Watergate, since then have now convinced us of the absolute necessity for an independence and an autonomy which we have so long yielded by either misfeasance or nonfeasance.

Mr. President, what the National Goals and Priorities Office is intended to do is to equip Congress with its own Office of Management and Budget, just like the President has, so that we might hold our own in these decisions regarding allocations and priorities, all within the context of appropriate national goals.

There is some history in this matter. General Eisenhower, when he was President, proposed a Commission on National Goals. We have had efforts in that direction, with special thrusts like the stockpiling of supplies of raw materials to keep the industrial machine going, the famous "Paley" Commission of some years ago.

But nevertheless, never has Congress been able to hold its own with respect to advisory fact-finding machinery for this purpose.

Mr. President, whereas title I remains pristine, pure, and unpassed, and needs to be dealt with as an original, innovative concept, title II, the one I have authored, has been overtaken by events. It is an idea whose time has come, and it is actually in process of being put into effect right now.

We had a special committee headed by the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN). When we were appalled by the inability to put on and administer a ceiling on the budget ourselves, we appointed a special committee to look into that question. It made an admirable report. I differed with some of it, but on the whole it was an admirable effort to begin to deal with that question.

At that point, a legislative standing committee on which I serve as the second ranking member was called upon, quite properly, to take over the Government Operations Committee. In point of seniority I am the ranking member, but I gave it up to the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) because I am also the ranking member of another committee, Labor and Public Welfare.

This committee is now considering legislation to implement the recommendation of the special committee and it is now before the subcommittee on Budgeting, Management, and Expenditures on which Senator METCALF is the chairman and the ranking member is the Senator from Ohio (Mr. SAXBE). This measure will come before the whole committee, of which I am a member.

I have discussed with the chairman of that committee, and will discuss with

Senator PERCY, who is the ranking member, and the ranking member and chairman of the subcommittee, the advisability and perhaps even the desirability, instead of letting this title 2 proceed on its own, of referring it to the Government Operations Committee, so that it may be appropriately wrapped into the overall machinery for dealing with budget reform, which we will undoubtedly report out to the Senate. I shall be consulting with the Parliamentarian about the technique for doing that, which I am confident can be done.

Mr. President, when that is done, which I hope will be tomorrow, we have one advantage, in respect of S. 5, for the first time, and that is that it will become an instrument for a single purpose, to wit, the Council of Social Advisers; and I think that is only fair to Senator MONDALE, in respect to his very gifted initiative. I shall support it for the reasons I have stated, and I hope to contribute to that concept by allowing the recognition of events which have actually occurred and are occurring to remove from the bill what represents another although related concept.

So, S. 5 would go forward as a single instrument for a single highly desirable purpose.

At this point I should like, first, to pay my respects to the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) for his long struggle and endeavor to bring this idea into law; second, to express my appreciation for his having accommodated my idea up to now as an element of his bill; and, third, to assure him, notwithstanding the divorce of the two for very good reasons, which I have stated as a matter of legislative efficiency, of my continued indefatigable and convicted support of S. 5 as it is now represented by title I.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the distinguished Senator from New York for those most gracious statements.

As I stated earlier, S. 5 has been the product of his efforts as well as my own. It was originally introduced three Congresses ago.

While title II and title I appear to go together, they are both being considered at the same time because they are both responsible forms which are built in for human development and security. They are program areas which the Senator from New York and I have worked on together for as long as we have been together since coming to the Senate, and which the committee reported and is responsible for.

The Council of Presidential Advisors tries to bring together the finest social scientists in America to advise the President, to advise Congress, and to advise the American people through the social report as to their appraisal of the effectiveness and the wisdom of trying to establish a system of social indicators that will permit us better to quantify and better to expand what we are doing, because it is a massive task to try to improve the social health of the people of the country.

In a real sense, title II, dealing with priorities, tries to do the same thing. It tries to deal with the present problem of Congress probing the archaic question about budgets, so that we might arrange our

sources and apply them in the most efficient, effective way, so as to enable Congress, as the Senator puts it, as a coordinate branch to do a better job than it is doing today.

As the Senator points out, in a real sense the proposal offered by the Senator from New York is a part being incorporated in a broader sense in the proposals coming out of a committee on the budget and more recently the Government Operations Committee.

I, too, have some objections to some of the proposals, but I think the basic idea was first found in what is now known as title II. I hope that many of its provisions may be included in the proposal coming out of the Government Operations Committee.

Mr. JAVITS. I believe they will, I may say to the Senator, but also I think the fact that they will and the fact that legislation is almost ready on that score indicates that that is precisely what he is proposing.

It is one thing to know how much money we are going to have, but we also have to know how to divide it. The question of division is not a financial question strictly; it is a question of high policy in the social field. We are entitled to the best kind of advice on that high policy, which will point very important directions to the country. I think we have good advice in the machinery of the Council of Economic Advisers to deal with housing, technicalities involving tax credits, the effect upon the system of various methods of technicians, organizational problems, and the organization of problems of worker compensation, worker morale, and so forth. But I do not think the sophisticated nature of decisions on social policy are encompassed within that. They try to do it. But it is hardly their business. They are hardly trained for it. So the fact that one part of the bill is getting settled should help highlight the critical importance of the creative contribution of the Senator from Minnesota to the governmental machinery in the Council of Social Advisers. I hope very much that we can get the effect of what he wants.

Mr. MONDALE. I thank the Senator again. I suppose there is no person who has spent more man-years in listening to testimony affecting human problems than has the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), whether it be on manpower, poverty, the whole range of educational programs, health programs, and all the rest.

I am sure he shares with me the frustration one feels in trying to find out what any responsible Government must know about the programs in terms of how well they are doing, what are they actually accomplishing, how efficiently are the resources being applied, or are there better ways to do it. Time and time again we have asked these questions, and many times, tragically, we cannot receive the answers because no one is available to answer them, or they come to us in a way that is not usable, just as in the defense sector, many times we find that it is difficult to obtain the central facts that one needs to evaluate. I am not talking about this administration. I am talking

about the recurring practice by which it is difficult to obtain critical information regarding these programs.

I think this is one of the contributing factors to the growing sense of despair we are hearing today, even from some of the best universities, which seems to suggest that democracy lacks the capacity efficiently or effectively to deliver human services.

For example, we have heard this of late in the educational field, that there is no use, no way of delivering quality education to the poor or the disadvantaged. A book written by Dr. James did not say exactly that, but the thrust of his book was one of despair over the capacity of a free society to educate its own people.

That feeling is enforced by the way our present management of the programs is handled, the present way in which Congress approaches them, and the present way the Executive approaches them, all of which helps to contribute to the feeling that, somehow, they are not being managed properly.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Minnesota.

We desperately need machinery. The Joint Economic Committee has done a very commendable job on looking into questions like the welfare question, but they cannot be expected to go into the whole range of social and budgetary questions, and we need an independent office to do it.

And a busy committee like the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare itself cannot deal with all the priority issues and should not, as they cut across jurisdictional lines. That is a simple illustration of why it is necessary to segregate out these problems and deal with them appropriately.

Mr. MONDALE. I am most grateful to the Senator from New York for his comments. I gather that tomorrow we may be moving to refer title II to the Senate Committee on Government Operations and, hopefully, we can act once again on S. 5, and, again hopefully, this time the House will respond.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I yield the floor, and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows: The Senate will convene at noon.

The following Senators will be recognized, each for not to exceed 15 minutes and in the order stated, following the recognition of the two leaders or their designees under the standing order: Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HUDDLESTON, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, and Mr. HANSEN.

There will then be a period for the transaction of routine morning business,