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# GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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DOCUMENTS

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON EVALUATION AND  
PLANNING OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

**S. 3983**

TO PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GEORGE  
WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR THE SOCIAL  
SCIENCES

JULY 22, 1970

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare



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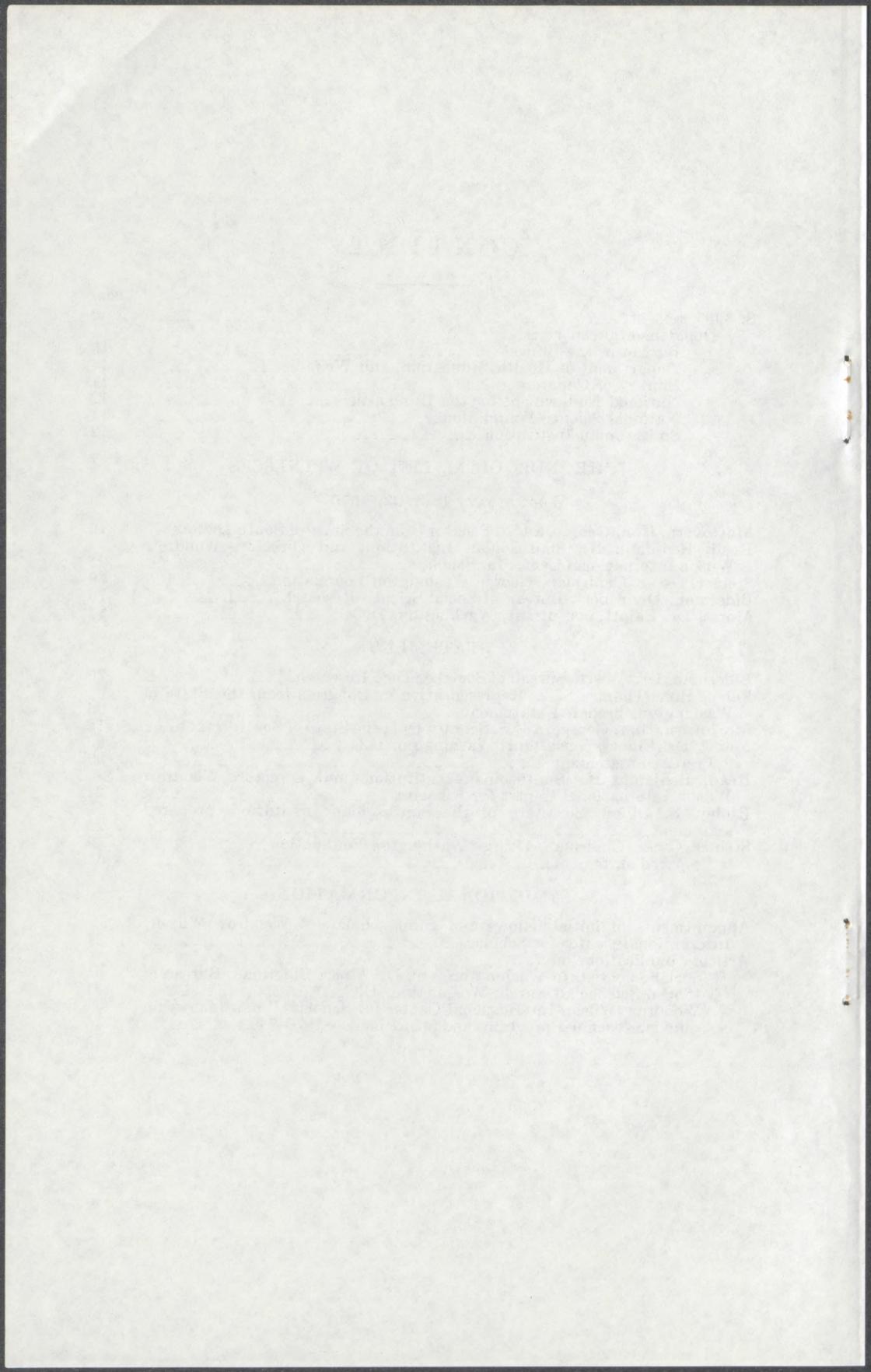
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GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR  
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EVALUATION  
AND PLANNING OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 6202, New Senate Office Building, Senator Walter Mondale (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff member present: Herbert Jasper, counsel.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

This morning we are holding hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Evaluation and Planning of Social Programs, on S. 3983, introduced by Senator McGovern, to provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences. A companion bill has been introduced in the House by Congressman Thomas Foley of Washington.

At this point, I order that the text of S. 3983 and the departmental reports on the bill be printed in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

(1)

91ST CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# S. 3983

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 17, 1970

Mr. MCGOVERN introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

---

## A BILL

To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That this Act may be cited as the "Institute for the Social  
4       Sciences Act".

### DECLARATIONS

5  
6       SEC. 2. The Congress declares that our first President,  
7       George Washington—

8               (1) left a bequest to endow a national university in  
9       his last will and testament;

10              (2) repeatedly urged upon the Congress the im-  
11       portance of establishing a national university; and

1           (3) surveyed a site for such a university with the  
2 cooperation and assistance of the Commissioners of the  
3 District of Columbia.

4                                 STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

5         SEC. 3. It is the purpose of this Act—

6           (1) to establish, as a memorial to George Wash-  
7 ington, a national institute for the social sciences to carry  
8 out the first President's plan to "spread systematic ideas  
9 through all parts" of the United States; and

10          (2) to promote through such institute the social  
11 welfare of the United States by—

12                 (A) encouraging research and scholarship re-  
13 lating to the social sciences;

14                 (B) providing research relating to the social  
15 need of citizens and to policies which will give every  
16 American the long-range opportunity for "the pur-  
17 suit of happiness";

18                 (C) gathering, for study and evaluation, vari-  
19 ous reports, studies, documents, and data prepared  
20 by the Federal Government, and other public and  
21 private organizations, relevant to social conditions  
22 in the United States; and

23                 (D) organizing conferences and seminars with  
24 persons of outstanding achievement and capacity  
25 from the professions, industry, agriculture, labor,

1 commerce, institutions of higher education, and  
2 other appropriate areas.

3 ESTABLISHMENT OF INSTITUTE

4 SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established in Washington,  
5 District of Columbia, an institute to be known as the "George  
6 Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences"  
7 (hereinafter referred to as the "Institute"), to carry out  
8 the purposes of this Act.

9 (b) The Institute shall be housed in such public build-  
10 ings as may be made available for this purpose in Wash-  
11 ington, District of Columbia. In order to carry out the pro-  
12 visions of this subsection the Administrator of General Serv-  
13 ices is authorized to provide such buildings, facilities, and  
14 equipment to the Institute as may be necessary.

15 BOARD OF TRUSTEES

16 SEC. 5. (a) The Institute shall be under the direction  
17 and control of a Board of Trustees (hereinafter referred to  
18 as the "Board") which shall be composed of—

19 (1) the Secretary of Health, Education, and  
20 Welfare;

21 (2) the Librarian of Congress;

22 (3) the Chairman of the National Endowment of  
23 the Humanities;

24 (4) the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution;

1           (5) the Director of the National Science Founda-  
2           tion;

3           (6) the Director of the Institute; and

4           (7) seven members to be appointed by the Presi-  
5           dent, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,  
6           two of whom shall be members of a university or college  
7           faculty and five of whom shall be drawn from State and  
8           local government and the cultural, industrial, agricul-  
9           tural, commercial, and other walks of life.

10          (b) The President shall designate a Chairman and a  
11          Vice Chairman from among the members appointed by him  
12          under subsection (a) (7). A majority of the members of  
13          the Board shall constitute a quorum.

14          (c) The seven members appointed by the President  
15          under subsection (a) (7) shall serve terms of six years,  
16          except that (1) of those members initially taking office, two  
17          shall serve terms of two years, two shall serve terms of four  
18          years, and three shall serve terms of six years, and (2) a  
19          vacancy shall be filled only for the unexpired portion of  
20          any term.

21          (d) Members of the Board shall receive no compensa-  
22          tion, but shall be reimbursed for their travel expenses, in-  
23          cluding a per diem allowance, in accordance with section  
24          5703 (c) of title 5, United States Code, when engaged in  
25          the performance of their duties as such members.







1 "Fellows"), who shall assist the Board in carrying out the  
2 functions of the Institute.

3 (b) The Board shall select Fellows on the basis of out-  
4 standing achievement and capacity in the intellectual require-  
5 ments of their special fields from among the social scientists  
6 of the United States (and, where appropriate, of other Na-  
7 tions) without regard to their current place of employment.  
8 In selecting Fellows, the Board shall maintain, to the extent  
9 practicable, a representative distribution among scholars in  
10 the various disciplines of sociology, political science, psy-  
11 chology, anthropology, economics, social work, urban affairs,  
12 law, and such other disciplines as the Board may consider to  
13 be engaged in social research.

14 (c) (1) Fellows shall be appointed for terms not to ex-  
15 ceed twenty-seven months, except when the Board deems a  
16 longer period appropriate.

17 (2) Fellows shall be compensated at rates established  
18 by the Board sufficient to provide a stipend and expenses  
19 incidental to serving at the Institute, including travel expenses  
20 and a living allowance.

21 SATISFACTION OF BEQUEST

22 SEC. 10. Enactment of this Act shall serve to discharge  
23 any and all obligations on the part of the Federal Government  
24 under the bequest of President George Washington.

## 1 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

2 SEC. 11. In order to carry out the provisions of this  
3 Act there is authorized to be appropriated a sum not to  
4 exceed \$10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30,  
5 1971, and not to exceed \$5,500,000 for each succeeding  
6 fiscal year. Any sum appropriated pursuant to this section  
7 shall remain available until expended.

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS,  
Washington, D.C., June 25, 1970.

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: This is in response to your request for the Library's comments on S. 3983, a bill to provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences.

I am in agreement with the principle of S. 3983, but I do have reservations as to its actual operation.

As every legislator and administrator knows, decisions are usually made on the basis of incomplete information. Systematic acquisition of knowledge and its application to complex public policy questions certainly is to be desired. I am not convinced, however, that an Institute set up along lines described in S. 3983 could be efficacious in this context.

This bill would establish a quasi-independent agency, presumably isolated from partisanship, with an extremely broad mandate for evaluation of public policies and governmental programs.

In operation, the Institute's evaluative functions will require definition of specific national social goals. Who is to decide which values are to be given priority in improving the welfare or other needs of the nation and the happiness of its people? Some people benefit more than others—while some lose more than others—in the determination of goals and application of resources to attain them. Social Science can associate values with programs and can describe the process by which values are distributed. Social scientists can and do utilize in their analysis relatively simple indicators of social conditions, such as illness and suicide rates, education and income levels. But adequate measures of subjective feelings about the conditions of life, of life satisfaction, or the "good" life have yet to be developed. Nor can Social Science "scientifically" determine which among competing values ought to be served.

The basic premise of our democratic society is that the people themselves, acting in part through elected representatives in the Congress, should determine what costs they are willing to assume for specified benefits.

What consequences are likely to flow from the inherently political pronouncement of goals and priorities by a publicly funded agency, speaking through a presidentially appointed board in the name of Social Science? To what extent are its findings likely to reflect the goals and program priorities of a sitting Administration? What would be the impact on our political system should the Institute develop and promote goals and priorities different from those of the President? What role would its findings play in Congressional election campaigns? How will they relate to the Congressional committee process?

Second, experimentation and innovation in the devising of social indicators is certainly to be encouraged. The more sophisticated our measurement tools the more we will be able to anticipate and resolve expeditiously public policy problems. Whether social scientists are far enough along in their work in this area to begin developing social indicators within the context of a publicly funded agency is another question. Indeed, in a recent, extensive study, the National Academy of Sciences and the Social Science Research Council concluded that any social report should be privately produced until such time as social indicators could be refined and reach a sufficient level of reliability to warrant public assumption of the responsibility for their publication. And the N.A.S. and S.S.R.C. expressed the judgment that this could not be accomplished until 1976.

Third, implementation of the objectives of the Institute as set out in the bill would be a task of enormous proportions. One of its functions, that of appraising the various programs and activities of the Federal Government, raises a number of perplexing questions. How would this appraisal be carried out? On a fiscal or budgetary basis, a cost-benefit study, or even more expansively, a general program analysis utilizing a body of knowledge yet to be established? Is the Institute to be concerned with administration of Federal programs? Or is it to be concerned with program results, determining what difference the operation of a program makes—or is perceived to make—in the lives of the people whom it was intended to serve?

Assessment of program results is a costly enterprise; the necessary research capability cannot be bought cheaply. For instance, approximately 250 members of the General Accounting Office's staff participated in reviewing the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Additionally, to assist in the research and preparation of its report, GAO found it necessary to contract for outside assistance and provide for additional travel, at a total out-of-pocket cost of \$1,169,900. This experience suggests that the annual Institute budget, as stated in the bill,

may not be realistic. In my judgment it is unlikely that \$5.5 million annually would cover the cost of an in-depth appraisal of Federal programs, let alone provide funding required for the other duties and responsibilities given the new agency.

There has been an exciting ferment in Congress and elsewhere these past several years centering on ways to develop policy-relevant knowledge, to improve its acquisition and application to public policy problems. Considerable emphasis has been and is being placed on support for the social sciences. Cases in point are the research grant and fellowship programs of the National Science Foundation. Various proposals also have been advanced in the Congress for the creation of a National Social Science Foundation. The Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, established by Congress in 1968, is, as of course you know, in the process of making recommendations for candidates for a fellowship and guest scholarship program. The purpose: To increase man's understanding of significant intellectual, governmental and social problems, and to improve organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. Moreover, a number of Congressional committees are presently considering methods of augmenting the information resources of the Congress. The work of the Sisk Subcommittee of the House Rules Committee, which has recently reported out the Congressional Reorganization Act, is but one example of this activity.

I believe that these and similar programs and proposals warrant more consideration at this time than the creation of a new, quasi-independent agency with the functions described in S. 3983.

Sincerely yours,

L. QUINCY MUMFORD,  
*Librarian of Congress.*

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES,  
*Washington, D.C., July 20, 1970.*

Hon. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
*U.S. Senate,*  
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: I am replying to your request for a report on S. 3983, a bill proposing to establish as a memorial to George Washington a National Institute for the Social Sciences and thereby to discharge whatever obligation may exist to carry out the purpose of his bequest of securities worth approximately \$25,000 to found a national university in Washington. The National Institute for the Social Sciences would study and evaluate reports on studies submitted by the Federal Government and other public and private agencies, engage in continuing studies relating to social needs and social indicators, and convene outstanding persons for this purpose. The Institute would provide post-doctoral fellowships to enable people to work upon its purposes; it would appoint fellows, and it would make an annual report to the President and such other reports, as it deemed necessary, on social indicators and interpretations of other information.

This is not a bill to establish a university, but rather an institute, because what is proposed is not in effect a university. It is a mission-oriented agency and it should be evaluated on that basis. Whether or not its purpose is well served by veiling it as a university is questionable. Moreover, it competes with the recently established Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which may, if it wishes, undertake many of the same purposes.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised us it has no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

WALLACE B. EDGERTON,  
*Acting Chairman.*

---

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
*Washington, D.C., July 21, 1970.*

Hon. RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR YARBOROUGH: Thank you for the opportunity to comment on S. 3983, "To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences."

The bill would establish an institute for research in the social sciences in the District of Columbia under a 13-member Board of Trustees, the majority of

whom would be private members appointed by the President. The Board would include the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Librarian of Congress, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the Chairman of the National Endowment of the Humanities, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and representatives of universities and State and local government.

The Director, staff, and Fellows of the Institute would gather data on social conditions and policies, appraise activities of the Federal Government, report yearly and upon request to the President and the Congress on social conditions and policies, hold seminars and otherwise promote interchange of social information. The Board would appoint prominent scholars in the social sciences for two-year terms as George Washington Memorial Fellows; they would assist in carrying out the functions of the Institute.

The legacy of George Washington to the nation he helped to found is unfulfilled in the very important respect indicated by this bill—his hope that the Capital of the United States would be as great academically as it is politically.

The Committee may be interested to learn that many efforts have been made to realize this aim. Their history is recounted in an important study paper by Robert Calkins, former President of the Brookings Institution, which we would be pleased to supply on request. One strand of that history which may be worth recounting is that a George Washington Memorial Institution was actually chartered in the District of Columbia in 1901, having as its purpose the encouragement of research by visiting scholars and qualified students seeking to use the resources of the Nation's Capital. One of its purposes was to create a central complex of auditoria near the site now occupied by the National Gallery of Art. The Institution failed to raise all the necessary funds, and in 1938 its assets were turned over to the George Washington University.

Again in recent years, spurred by the important Report to the President on Public Higher Education in the District of Columbia in 1963, hope has been voiced that this city might become a major intellectual center. The establishment of the Federal City College and Washington Technical Institute has contributed to one major need, to widen avenues of educational opportunity for area residents. In addition, we have concluded that Washington already has five universities with important graduate or professional degree programs (George Washington, Georgetown, American, Catholic, and Howard) and that efforts might best be employed in strengthening them, rather than in questionable attempts to establish completely new institutions, especially in view of growing difficulties in finding adequate support experienced by all institutions of higher education today.

The resources of the Washington area for scholarship, especially in social studies, are immense, ranging from the Library of Congress to the National Archives. There is a vast array of special information centers within government, such as national libraries, and in private organizations; the provision of S. 3983 (section 3(1)(C)) to bring many of these materials together, is not appropriate in view of the existing network of information centers and the expense of duplicating them.

The burden of our comment on the legislation is directed at that portion of the bill which is intended to encourage research and scholarship to promote social and cultural welfare. There seems to be some duplication between this purpose of S. 3983 and the legislation enacted by the 90th Congress (P.L. 90-637, 82 Stat. 1357, 20 U.S.C. 80e-j) which established the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars to serve as host to highly accomplished scholars seeking access to the resources of the Washington area. One of the findings upon which that Act was based was the strength of the need for support and facilities for such scholars, not to serve the Government's needs for policy advice so much as to take better advantage of opportunities to strengthen science and learning in the Capital and in the Nation. The Woodrow Wilson Center has commenced operation, and we hope it receives the support it merits.

I am pleased to submit for your review a pamphlet, "Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars," which includes on pp. 2-12 a statement about its purposes and basic programs. On behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, I ask the Committee to consider the program of the proposed George Washington Memorial Institute with close regard to the important public purposes to be served by the already established Woodrow Wilson Center and to take note of the efforts of Smithsonian and other Washington area establishments to realize their shared aim of maximum service to the advancement of learning and scholarship in the Nation's Capital.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised that there is no objection to the presentation of this report to the Congress from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

S. DILLON RIPLEY, *Secretary.*

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION,  
Washington, D.C., July 27, 1970.

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your recent requests for comments of the National Science Foundation on S. 3115, "To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences to be located in the District of Columbia, to function primarily as a national center at which individuals of outstanding ability will pursue studies anticipating, identifying, and isolating social problems in the United States," and S. 3983, "To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences."

Many functions of the proposed Institute are currently performed by various Government agencies and private organizations. The National Science Foundation, for example, has budgeted approximately \$17 million for social science research projects and \$13 million for its recently established Office of Interdisciplinary Research Relevant to Problems of Our Society. Many of these projects fulfill in part the objectives of the bills. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, recently established under the Smithsonian Institution (P.L. 90-637), and the Brookings Institution could also be used to fulfill many of the objectives of the bills.

Therefore, NSF recommends that consideration be given to the manner in which the objectives of the proposed legislation are served by the already established organizations and further recommends against enactment of S. 3115 and S. 3983.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised us that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the viewpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

W. D. McELROY, *Director.*

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,  
Washington, D.C., August 5, 1970.

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,*  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This letter is in response to your request of June 18, 1970, for a report on S. 3983, a bill "To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences to be located in the District of Columbia, to function primarily as a national center at which individuals of outstanding ability will pursue studies anticipating, identifying, and isolating social problems in the United States."

The bill would establish a National Institute for the Social Sciences. The Institute would bring together, in a center for study and evaluation, Federally sponsored reports and studies, study the social needs of Americans, and convene outstanding persons from the professions, industry, agriculture, labor, commerce, institutions of higher education, and other appropriate areas.

S. 3983 provides for appointment of a Board of Trustees, composed of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Librarian of Congress, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Director of the Institute, and seven other members to be appointed by the President. Two of these seven would be active members of a university or college faculty, and the rest would represent the cultural, commercial, industrial, and agricultural walks of life. Members would serve staggered six-year terms.

The bill specifies that the Board would: delegate the gathering of information on programs designed to contribute to the social and cultural welfare of the country, appraise Federal programs to determine the extent to which they con-

tribute to the Nation's welfare, develop priorities among Federal programs, recommend to the President and Congress efficient ways to carry out the policy declared in the Act, furnish studies appraising the long-range aspects of social policies, and disseminate the information and studies it gathers and produces to the States and localities.

S. 3983 also would establish George Washington Memorial Fellowships to be awarded for advanced research. Ten million dollars is authorized to be appropriated for the first fiscal year, and appropriations of \$5.5 million would be authorized for each fiscal year thereafter.

Although we are in sympathy with the bill's general aim, "To promote the social and cultural welfare of the Nation by encouraging a research and scholarship into the causes of unrest and discontent; and to promote such conditions as will give every American the long-range opportunity for 'the pursuit of happiness' as provided in the Declaration of Independence . . .," we do not feel that the proposed Institute would effectively contribute to that goal. The Institute's mandate seems too broad to be meaningful; most of its functions are already the responsibility of existing Federal agencies and commissions, as well as private foundations and organizations, such as the Brookings Institution. The Woodrow Wilson Center established in 1968 also appears to have authority to undertake many of the programs envisioned in S. 3983.

We are inclined to think that effective examination of policy and recommendations for change can more readily come from the combination of existing organizations and new institutes linked to an operating department and created for the examination of specific policy issues. The proposed National Institute of Education is a good example of an organization which will have a broad mandate and the perspective to undertake basic innovative research yet remains close enough to operating programs to permit its mission to be relevant and encourage real changes.

For these reasons, we recommend against this legislation. We are advised by the Office of Management and Budget that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

ELLIOT RICHARDSON,  
*Secretary.*

---

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET,  
*Washington, D.C., July 31, 1970.*

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH,  
*Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reply to your request of June 18, 1970, for the views of the Office of Management and Budget on S. 3983, a bill "to provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences." The bill would establish a post-doctoral institute in the District of Columbia to appraise Federal Government programs in the light of research and long-range social policy, to conduct social research, and to make appropriate recommendations to the President, the Congress, and the Judiciary. The Institute would be under the direction and control of a Board of Trustees, which would be authorized to appoint and compensate in the Institute George Washington Memorial Fellows.

While the intent of S. 3983 is laudable, we do not believe that the proposed Institute is an appropriate or realistic means of achieving the bill's objectives.

The statement of purpose and the functions of the Institute are drawn so broadly that no clear distinction can be made between its assigned activities and similar ongoing governmental activities of various agencies, or activities being carried on effectively by private organizations such as the Brookings Institution, the Committee for Economic Development, or university research bureaus. Within the Federal Government, for example, the National Endowment for the Humanities is concerned with aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods, the National Science Foundation provides funding for many types of basic social science research, including economics, sociology, social psychology, political science, and history. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, established by P.L. 90-637, provides fellowships to scholars for the purpose of focusing on contemporary and emerging

social and governmental issues. The proposed George Washington Memorial Institute seems to be constructed along lines similar to these already existing organizations.

It would also appear to overlap in terms of its proposed policy research and recommendation functions, the work of various other Federal departments, the Council of Economic Advisers and the newly-established Domestic Council in the Executive Office of the President.

In addition to duplication, the proposed Institute poses serious organizational problems of status and responsibility. While it would be funded by the taxpayers, its status as a governmental activity established for a governmental purpose is not clear. It would make recommendations to the President, the Congress, and the Judiciary, but it does not appear to be responsible to any one of these branches.

Finally, we believe that the function of gathering information and statistical data concerning social conditions, under section 6 of the bill, could duplicate major elements of the present Federal statistical system. For example, the Office of Management and Budget is currently assembling for a single periodic publication the wealth of social statistics already available. The information will be collated and organized in a form which will not only be immediately most meaningful and useful, but which will tell us what types of additional data are needed and how they can be most effectively used. Essential gaps will then be filled as part of the coordinated Federal statistical program.

For the above reasons, we recommend against enactment of S. 3983.

Sincerely,

WILFRED H. ROMMEL,  
*Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.*

Senator MONDALE. The Institute would be located in Washington, D.C., and would collect, analyze, and disseminate reports and studies on social problems prepared by various segments of the Federal Government and other public and private agencies. It would provide post-doctoral fellowships to a group of resident scholars who would engage in continuing studies relating to social needs. It would also serve as a conference center for meetings of outstanding persons. Finally, it would submit an annual report to the President and Congress relating to social conditions and policies.

This would be a memorial to George Washington in recognition of his unfulfilled bequest to the U.S. Government to establish a national university. We have the sponsor of the bill, Senator McGovern, here this morning as the first witness.

We are delighted to have you here, Senator McGovern.

**STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE MCGOVERN, A U.S. SENATOR  
FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA**

Senator MCGOVERN. I appreciate your holding these hearings on the bill which I have introduced, S. 3983, which is designed to bring the study and discipline of the social sciences to bear on the problems facing this Nation.

We in the Congress are facing a challenging time, a time during which we must make major, basic decisions on social policy. We must now face the problems of welfare reform, a critical housing shortage, inadequate diets for many of our citizens, the tensions and dynamics of school integration, the disruptions and suffering caused by labor disputes, the crisis in health care, the breakdown in urban transportation, and the crisis of domestic violence, to name only a few.

On many of these questions the executive bureaucracy has gathered mountains of data. On some of them there have been a few studies. But on all of them there exist vast gaps in the data, and such studies and data as do exist are largely inaccessible or in unusable form.

In so many cases we are asked to make decisions in the dark without adequate information, or obtain the information only after great expenditures of congressional time and effort.

For example, the President has asked the Congress to pass his so-called Family Assistance Act; yet, we have no clear idea of how it will really function or what the reasonable alternative might be.

Senator MONDALE. This morning on the Today Show, regarding this migratory labor scandal, the first question asked, as always, was: How many migrants are there? Your first answer has to be that you have not the slightest idea.

I have served on the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. When that problem was first exposed, no one had the slightest idea who was hungry or why.

It seems to me that argument is unchallenged.

Senator McGOVERN. I think the point is well taken. Around the Government, there is a great deal of data where answers are available but no agency has been systematically utilizing that data to derive alternative strategies that might be suggested in dealing with various problems before the country.

Even the administration, with all the bureaucratic backup available to it did not have a readily available analysis of the effects which varying degrees of unemployment might have on the operation of the bill.

For all the years that the Government has operated programs for poor people, we really know very little about them. There are mountains of data, but most of it remains idle and useless. Questions that need answering, but to which there are no certain answers, include: What are the real effects of various work incentives? What are the real costs of going to work? How many families are, in fact, broken up because of man-in-house rules? How many jobs are really available to poor people who want to work? What would be the effects of alternative programs such as children's allowances, increased minimum wages, the Federal Government as the employer of last resort, expanded social insurance?

As another example, consider the shortage of housing in this Nation, especially low- and moderate-cost housing. Congress has set a goal of 2.6 million new units per year, a goal that some data indicates is wholly inadequate, but we do not have the needed hard research to tell what the real need is. Once a need is known, we still must find ways to meet that need. Right now housing is more than 1 million houses per year short of the goal, but what would be the effects of various strategies to overcome this weakness—the effects of credit control and rationing, or rent and mortgage subsidies, of Federal Reserve rediscounting of mortgages.

We finance the Pentagon with billions of dollars every year to invent hundreds of alternative strategies to counter every conceivable contingency of nuclear or local warfare; yet, when it comes to programs to insure the welfare of our citizens, we are usually confronted with one, and at best two, alternatives, neither of which is based on the needed hard data and expert analysis. We can deliver 1,700 nuclear warheads with frightening accuracy, but are incapable of delivering food to starving people.

The social science institute, which I have proposed, can play an important part in helping the Executive and the Congress in meeting

the social needs of this Nation. This Institute would be an independent Government agency under the direction of a board of trustees which would be composed of individuals from agencies and departments with a vital interest in the work of the Institute and individuals appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. This board would be responsible for overseeing the work of the Institute and providing guidance as to the areas of research.

The actual work of the Institute would be performed by a director and fellows of the Institute. The fellows would be outstanding scholars in the social sciences who would serve on a rotating basis. They would be engaged in a number of enterprises relevant to the social problems facing the Nation:

(1) Analyzing the masses of data which have already been gathered at great cost, but which have not been utilized, (2) assembling and analyzing other studies that have been performed, (3) engaging in other research which will give a clear picture of the nature and structure of social problems, and (4) proposing alternative practical solutions to these problems along with the expected consequences of each proposal.

The results of these studies will be reported annually to the President and Congress. In addition, the Institute will make other reports requested by the President or Congress.

The analysis of the Institute will represent the best social science in this Nation, but more than that it will be carefully geared to producing practical solutions.

In order to bring practical experience to bear on the problems, the Institute is empowered to hold conferences and seminars at which men from government, business, and other so-called practical disciplines will assist the fellows in their analysis.

The results of the efforts of the Institute will be available, not only to Congress and the President, but also to State and local governments. Officials and leaders at all levels of the government will be provided with a number of carefully researched alternative policies from which they can choose.

The social science institute is not just another addition to the Federal bureaucracy. It is a needed new concept in government. It is an idea whose time has come. The report by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entitled "Toward a Social Report" has pointed out the need quite clearly. The report of the Special Commission on the Social Sciences of the National Science Board of the National Science Foundation has called for institutes of this nature. And the report of the President's Task Force on Science Policy, made in April of this year, has endorsed this concept.

The need for the social sciences in Government policy is great, and this Institute will fill only part of the need. The distinguished chairman of this subcommittee has been a leader in the field of bringing the social sciences into Government and his proposed Council of Social Advisers will provide vital advice on social policy to the President.

Senator MONDALE. I am pleased to say that the bill has been reported out of the full committee, and is now pending action on the Senate floor.

Senator McGovern. I am pleased to hear that. I think it is an important proposal.

The important role that the Council of Economic Advisers has played in policy formation would indicate to us just how important it is that this sort of expertise would be available to the President with respect to social problems and I commend the Senator for his foresight on this matter.

What I have proposed would in no way detract from the Council of Social Advisers. In fact, the Institute will be an important complement to the Council. Quite properly, the Council will be an arm of the President for day-to-day advice; it will not be engaged in primary research over a wide number of topics with a constantly rotating body of experts.

The recently established Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars bears a superficial resemblance to the proposed Institute, but is, in fact, quite different. In practice, the Woodrow Wilson Center will have a decided international bent, as its full name implies, with perhaps a majority of the scholars and topics covered being of an international nature.

In addition, the Wilson Center will include social science studies as only a part of the many different types of research that it conducts. Finally, the Wilson Center is not designed so as to have any direct relation to Government policy. It will not necessarily be engaged in investigating alternative policy approaches to problems. It is not designed so as to provide for the practical application of its research, nor is it intended to make the current mounds of idle Government data vital and useful.

The Senator from Oklahoma, Hon. Fred R. Harris, has introduced a bill to establish a National Social Science Foundation. This is also a potential contribution to the social science-government relation and I have had the privilege of cosponsoring the measure. It will provide for much needed research in the social sciences, but it is not designed to meet the needs of practical policy consideration nor to make use of the vast amounts of unused data within the Government.

Mr. Chairman, this proposed Institute will be making a vital and unique contribution to the use of social sciences in Government. I hope that the members of this committee and of the Congress will realize this need, for we can ill afford to continue making policy by the halflight of educated guesses.

I might add a word in conclusion as to why I have decided to name this Institute in honor of our first President. In his will George Washington left 50 shares of stock in the Potomac Navigation Co. for the establishment of a national university. It was his desire "to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire . . ."

It is the purpose of this Institute to apply such systematic ideas to the social policy needs of this Nation. The shares of stock have since been lost track of, but it seems most appropriate that we should honor our first President's request in this manner.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for that statement.

I am glad that you dealt with the differing kinds of proposals, all relating to the objective of bringing social sciences to bear in a more relevant and useful form on the policymaking judgments which we must make to Congress.

I don't think anybody could serve here very long, and be interested in those problems, without being utterly shocked at the ignorance

in which we must make most decisions. Something like the proposed institute, if adequately funded, could be a focal point for the development of the information we need.

Senator McGOVERN. I think, Mr. Chairman, there is a whole range of problems that are just ahead of the Nation. Some of them are with us now that have to do with the conversion of our economy and our resources from military purposes to nonmilitary uses.

Hopefully, the war in Indochina is at last slowing down and may be grinding to a halt.

Aside from that, the Congress and the administration have both recommended some reductions in military outlays and that raises a whole series of questions about how we move with maximum efficiency in a more peace-oriented economy; how we can best make use of the so-called peace debit that may be released when the war in Indochina ends.

I think that that is one of the useful functions that the Institute could look at as well as these other proposals that have been made, including the Council of Social Advisers with which your name has been identified.

Senator MONDALE. This is a subcommittee which is concerned with human problems—and I guess our full committee deals with more human problems than any other: Education, health, labor, migratory labor, poverty, the whole HEW-OEO-Labor complex and issues which they deal with. I don't know of a single one on which I feel we were provided with adequate and useful materials. Every issue is tragically short of such information.

I recall, in the fight over the Job Corps, the new administration came in and asked that we close down—I forget exactly how many—about 50 camps, and cut \$100 million out of the Job Corps immediately. Their argument was that there were cheaper ways of doing the same thing.

I said, "Do you have data and facts that justify your conclusions?" They, of course, said, "Yes." I said, "Put it in the record."

We asked questions like, "How much does it cost to train a person?" "What kinds of jobs do they get?" "What is the difference in their income after and before?" the sort of things you want to know.

I still remember the figure "2" because that figure was the footnote that said, "We don't know." Practically everything in that table had a little "2" next to it. They absolutely did not know a single thing about it.

Since then, they have produced these mini-centers where they have managed to escalate the cost of training a job corpsman from \$9,000 to \$15,000, or more. This kind of cruelty upon the most disadvantaged in American society by outsiders who don't know what they are doing, I think, is immoral.

Hopefully, such an institute would help us, at least, in knowing what we are doing. I commend you in your leadership.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. The next witness is Benjamin H. Read, director, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

**STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN H. READ, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
AND DIRECTOR, WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER  
FOR SCHOLARS**

Mr. READ. Mr. Ripley was sorry he wasn't able to respond to your invitation. He asked me to come up because of the fact that for the last 15 months I have been trying to bring to life the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars which Congress created 2 years ago and I guess I have had the most recent experience in Presidential memorial institution building.

I would like to submit for the record, if I may, the statement which Mr. Ripley has prepared and then just speak extemporaneously.

Senator MONDALE. We will include his statement in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Mr. S. Dillon Ripley follows:)

Statement on S. 3983  
Before the Subcommittee on Evaluation & Planning of Social Programs  
of the Senate Committee on Labor & Public Welfare  
July 21, 1970

S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution

I am pleased to have this opportunity to present the views of the Smithsonian Institution on S. 3983, "To provide for the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences."

The bill would establish in the District of Columbia an institute for research in the Social Sciences. The Institute would be governed by a thirteen member Board of Trustees, among whom would be the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The Board would appoint scholars from the field of the Social Sciences as George Washington Memorial Fellows, to assist at the Institute in carrying out its functions. The Director, staff and Fellows would gather data and carry out studies on social issues and programs, and report annually and upon request to the President and the Congress.

The Smithsonian Institution is principally concerned with that portion of the bill which is intended to encourage research and scholarship to promote social welfare. There is a striking resemblance between this purpose of S. 3983 and the legislation enacted by the 90th Congress (P. L. 90-637, 82 Stat 1357, 20 U. S. C. 80e-j) which established the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars to serve as host to highly accomplished scholars seeking access to the resources of the Washington area. One of the findings upon which that Act was based was the strength of the need for support and facilities for such scholars, not to serve the government's needs for

policy advice so much as to take better advantage of opportunities to strengthen the cause of learning in the Capital and in the Nation.

The Woodrow Wilson Center commences operations on October 19, 1970, with some twenty-five scholars selected from this country and abroad. When the fellowship program is fully operational up to forty distinguished scholars--approximately half from the United States and half from other countries--will be selected to work and study at the Center for periods ranging from a few weeks to a few years. They will be chosen--again in approximately equal measure--from many traditional academic disciplines and from a variety of non-academic occupations and professions. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives have voted to appropriate \$750,000 for the operation of the Center in fiscal year 1971. The appropriation bill is now in conference.

Permit me to submit for your review a pamphlet, "Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars," which includes on pp. 2-12 a statement about its purposes and basic programs. The statement of policy, adopted by the Center's Board of Trustees, declares:

"Emphasis will be placed on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental, and social problems and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on the public policy aspects of contemporary and emerging issues which confront many peoples and, where applicable, on comparative analysis of different cultural, regional and other approaches to such issues."

I should be grateful to have the Committee consider the possibility that some of the objectives of S. 3983 might most readily be realized through the Woodrow Wilson Center, especially the general aim of encouraging scholarship here in the Nation's Capital. On behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, therefore, I ask the Committee to consider the program of the proposed George Washington Memorial Institute with close regard to the important public purposes to be served by the already established Woodrow Wilson Center and to assist the Smithsonian and other Washington area establishments in realizing their shared aim of maximum service to the advancement of learning and scholarship in the Nation's Capital.

Mr. READ. I share the concern that you have voiced about the importance of the social sciences and the availability of social science information in usable form.

We hope at the Wilson Center, which will become operational this fall, to provide a beginning mechanism for getting at some of the problems involved.

I think we will have a modest but important input in the social sciences areas that are the objectives of the George Washington Institute bill.

Social sciences will not be the exclusive concern of the Center, but we will have, among our initial fellows, approximately a third who are social scientists from this country or abroad.

Let me give you a word of background about our Center. The thrust of the Ripley statement—and the reason I am here today—is to request that in your handling and consideration of the bill before you that you do give cognizance to the congressional enactment of 2 years ago that created the Wilson Center we are attempting to bring to life. I think there is a substantial area of overlap.

Senator MONDALE. You think there is?

Mr. READ. I am certain there is.

A word of background. President Kennedy, just shortly before Mrs. Wilson died in the early 1960's, created a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission to try to determine what would be the most appropriate way to honor Woodrow Wilson. The many schools and programs that have been named after him are all privately or State sponsored.

The Commission determined that the most appropriate way would be to create a living memorial symbolizing his two lives, in public affairs and academia. It recommended an international center for scholars.

The charter which Congress passed was very open-ended and very magnanimous. It stated only that the Center should express the ideas and concerns of Woodrow Wilson and that it should strengthen the ties between the world of learning and the world of public affairs. It structured it in a very similar way in the bill that is pending before you. It placed the Center in the Smithsonian for administrative purposes but under the direction of a Presidential board of trustees in which it lodged very strong central powers and direction.

The board, as set forth in the act and subsequently appointed by Presidents Johnson and Nixon, includes virtually the same ex-officio members as the board in the bill before you.

We have the Secretary of State. We do not have the head of the National Science Foundation. We have all the other officials that are mentioned in the pending bill.

We have a group of eight private members. Mr. Humphrey's our chairman.

Senator MONDALE. What is that name?

Mr. READ. The middle initial is H.

Senator MONDALE. I have heard of him.

Mr. READ. The direction to me was very simple: To talk and correspond as widely as energy permitted and to come back to them with recommendations.

After a fairly massive correspondence effort with people here and abroad and a large number of institutional visits, the board approved last fall two programs, a fellowship program under which we will be attempting to get at some tough current policy issues, and a guest scholar program, which would begin to serve the wider academic community.

The fellowship program is fairly well underway at the moment in terms of our planning.

We will begin operations on October 19 with some 25 scholars selected in equal measure from this country and abroad.

When the program is fully operational, up to 40 scholars—approximately half from the United States and half from abroad, will be selected to work and study at the center.

I do have a list of those first appointments, Mr. Chairman, if you would be interested in looking at it or having it submitted for the record.

Senator MONDALE. We will include them at this point in the record.

(The list referred to follows:)

June 1970

Appointments of Initial Fellows and Guest Scholars of  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

A. Fellows

(1) Ocean Studies

R. P. Anand, 37, Professor and Head of Department of International Law, Indian School of International Studies, author of several books and numerous articles on international courts, arbitration and conflict settlement. Wants to write book on legal control of the seabed and ocean floor.

Edward Duncan Brown, 36, senior lecturer in International Law at University College, London; master of law with distinction, University College; Ph.D thesis on institutional models for a legal regime of ocean space due for submission July, 1970; author of a number of articles and papers on ocean issues, particularly deep sea mineral resources, legal regimes and pollution problems. He plans to undertake a comparative study in depth of international models for a legal regime for deep ocean space.

Lucius C. Caflich, 34, Assistant Professor of International Law, Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva, and lecturer in law at University of Geneva. Holds law degrees (Licence en Droit and Docteur en Droit) from the University of Geneva and a Master of Arts Degree from Columbia University. He has published international law articles in English, French and German journals. Caflich wants to undertake research on legal questions relating to the pollution of the high seas, including the transport of oil and maritime accidents.

Moritaka Hayashi, 32, member of study group of ocean exploitation law at Japanese Institution of International Business Law in Tokyo; Lecturer at Hosei University in Tokyo; previous assignments with legislative reference bureau of the Japanese Diet. Has law degrees from both Waseda University in Tokyo and Tulane University in New Orleans, and has done advanced graduate study work at the University of Pennsylvania. Author of several articles and a book on various aspects of the law of the sea, particularly on continental shelf problems. He would like to do systematic research on Soviet attitudes toward ocean space, deep seabed and ocean floor problems, and the prospects for international cooperation with the West in this area.

Vladimir Ibler, 56, Dean of Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Author of a number of publications on international ocean law and foremost Yugoslav scholar in field. Wants to explore new ways to extend international agreement to cover uses of the seabed and the political and economic dynamics of doing so.

Gerard J. Mangone, 52, Professor of Political Science, Temple University; previously principal deputy, Maxwell School, Syracuse; early interest in and writings about development of international law of oceans; considerable administrative experience. Mangone has made a long-term commitment to the Center as senior fellow and coordinator of ocean studies.

P. S. Rao, 27, a graduate of Andhra University, Waltair, India, Rao has just received his doctorate in international law at Yale for an excellent thesis on "Legal Regulation of the Exploitation of the Deep Seabed". He wants to undertake research on the international issues involved in offshore natural resources exploitation and world public order.

George E. Reedy, Jr., 52, writer; previously press secretary to President Johnson 1964-65; special assistant to the Vice President 1961-63; staff director, Senate Majority Policy Committee, 1955-60; member of (Stratton) Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources (1967-69). Based on his experience on the Stratton Commission and extensive subsequent research, Reedy now plans a book on marine policy problems for which he has received an advance from his publisher.

Hideo Takabayashi, 42, Professor of International Law, Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan; author of numerous articles and book on maritime and ocean law problems, particularly fisheries questions. Wants to undertake study of future regime of the use and exploitation of the seabed and ocean floor, with special emphasis on the needs of developing countries.

## (2) Environment Studies

Stephen V. Boyden, 44, Australia, Head of Urban Biology Group at Australian National University. Writer and lecturer on broad biological consequences of advancing technology of advanced societies. Desires to work on book on "The Biology of Civilization" which will be an attempt to describe aspects of the contemporary human situation in biological perspective, and to discuss interaction between natural and cultural processes as they relate to problems of modern man.

Elizabeth Haskell, 28, member of the research staff of the Urban Institute in Washington, D. C.; previously aide to U.S. Senator Jackson; wants to study the design of waste management, evaluate existing and proposed public bodies, metropolitan, state-wide and regional, identify options and criteria for designing optimal management institutions. Currently co-authoring book on thermal pollution, she has in past year compiled two-volume compendium and evaluation of federal programs involved in urban waste management and regulation of quality of urban environment.

Paul G. Kuntz, 55, Professor of Philosophy, Emory University, Atlanta. A Ph. D from Harvard, Kuntz has achieved a large number of academic honors and taught philosophy at Harvard, Smith and Grinnell before going to Emory in 1966. He is the author of several books on philosophy and numerous articles covering a wide range of humanist concerns. He plans to work at the Center on a book on a three-part concept of order in a deteriorating environment--the order of the person, the order of society and the order of nature.

Robert E. Stein, 31, attorney for U.S. Section of International Joint Commission (U.S. & Canada) and Attorney Advisor, Legal Advisor's Office, Department of State; previously attorney, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and American Law Institute; honor graduate, Brandeis University and Columbia Law School. Has well-developed study proposal for "organizing transnationally for environmental control".

### (3) General Studies

R. C. Anderson, 51, Associate Director, Brookhaven National Laboratory; specialist in chemistry and American Literature; wishes to study role of science in modern society by an interview process with officials in the Executive and Legislative Branches.

C. Alton Frye, 33, Administrative Assistant to Senator Edward W. Brooke; political scientist, writer; Ph. D from Yale. Plans to write book on "A Responsible Congress: the Legislative Context of American Foreign Policy", for which he received a grant from the Council on Foreign Relations.

Rajeshwar Dayal, 61, presently senior fellow at Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton; previously Foreign Secretary and Head of Indian Foreign Service; Special Representative of U. N. Secretary General in Congo and head of U. N. Mission; Indian Permanent Representative to U. N.; High Commissioner to Pakistan; Ambassador to France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece; Minister in Moscow. Wants to write book on international peacekeeping, conciliation and mediation, drawing particularly on U. N. Congo experience.

Jackson Giddens, 34, Assistant Professor of Political Science at MIT; Ph. D from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. After five years of related studies, he wants to study in depth the origins and effects of Wilson's approach to communications with other nations, and use of propaganda.

Jules Gueron, 62, Master of Conferences, Science Faculty, Sorbonne; specialist in physical chemistry; former Director, French Atomic Energy Commission; former Director General, European Atomic Energy Community. Wants to study (1) process by which U.S. Government science policy is developed; and (2) relevance of U.S. interstate regulating system for European Community. An internationally known physical chemist and science administrator as well as a philosopher and student of comparative political developments.

Pyong-Choon Hahm, 38, Professor of Law and Director of Graduate Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea. A graduate of Harvard Law School and a past Fulbright research scholar at Yale Law School, Hahm is the author of a book and several articles on law and politics in Korea and comparative judicial and cultural studies. He would like to work at the Center on the comparative analysis of Korean and American cultures, with special reference to the differences between eastern and western attitudes towards man-nature relationships.

Robert E. Lane, 53, Chairman of Political Science Department, Yale University; President-elect of American Political Science Association; author of several books and numerous articles on American government and political life; wants to study how political science research can become more useful and better known to top Executive and Legislative Branch officials.

Yves-Henri Nouailhat, 35, French historian, writer; wishes to study relations between France and U.S. between 1914 and 1917. He has received a full grant from the American Council of Learned Societies for the coming year.

H. J. Rosenbaum, 29, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College, and Latin American expert. Desires to study U.S. Military Assistance Program and its relationship to the political process and indigenous arms manufacture in Latin America.

H. I. Sharlin, 44, Professor of History (of science), Iowa State University. Desires to work on the role of 19th century science and technology in the formation of American attitudes.

Kurt Spillman, 32, Swiss historian at University of Zurich, now on research fellowship at Yale University; author of several publications, including article on Wilson. Wants to study "motives and goals of the peace concepts of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt: a case study of the gap between long-range objectives on foreign policy and the realities of making peace."

David Wise, 40, self-employed journalist and writer, Washington, D. C.; formerly Washington Bureau Chief, New York Herald Tribune, co-author of U-2 Affair (1962), The Invisible Government (1964), The Espionage Establishment (1967), numerous articles in leading newspapers and magazines; currently co-authoring college textbook on American political system. Wants to study processes through which government decision-making and action, especially in field of foreign policy are--or are not--translated into public information and public support.

#### B. Guest Scholars

Lynton K. Caldwell, 57, political scientist; professor of government at Indiana University; author of a number of books and publications on biopolitics, science, ethics and public policy and articles over several years on environmental questions. Now working on book on "Protecting the Biosphere: International Organization for Environmental Control" for publication in 1972 prior to U.N. Environmental Conference. Based on considerable travels books will concentrate on international understanding, cooperation and arrangements necessary for combatting environmental problems on international scale, influence of international business, science and technology and limitations of present international structure. Will spend irregularly spaced periods of week or ten days at Center.

Rene Jules Dubos, 69, micro-biologist and leading environmentalist; professor at Rockefeller University in New York City; first to demonstrate feasibility of obtaining germ-fighting drugs from microbes more than 20 years ago. Noted author of fourteen books, including Pulitzer Price in 1969 for "So Human an Animal". Dubos has been concerned with the effects and environmental forces--physicochemical, biological and social--exerted on human life. His interest in the biological and mental effects of the total environment has involved him in the sociomedical problems of the underprivileged communities as well as the developed areas of the world. Dubos has indicated he will devote "ample time to participate in the activities of the Woodrow Wilson International Center" in defining environmental study objectives and in helping to find and select the scholars who would like to work on these problems at the Center in its opening year.

Edward Wenk, Jr., 50, professor of engineering and public affairs, University of Washington; formerly executive secretary (1966-70), National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; authority on all policy aspects of ocean uses. Will spend regularly one or two days a month at Center.

Mr. READ. Just a word more of exposition of what we are trying to do.

We stated a general theme for the fellowship program which is stated as follows:

The emphasis of the fellowship program will be on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental, and social problems and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on contemporary and emerging issues, and, where applicable, on comparative analysis of different regional, cultural, and other approaches to such issues.

In addition to those words of obvious generality, we stated two themes in which we invited applications in particular and in which we hope to have and will have two groups of scholars when we open in the fall.

As you see from the list in front of you, the first is a group of ocean scholars. The effort relates to the development of international understanding, law, and cooperation in the uses of the oceans. This is obviously a necessity to preserve the marine environment and to prevent future conflicts.

The second area is the much broader area of environmental concern. We designated this as involving studies of late 20th century man and his relations and response to the deteriorating environment.

When you analyze that list of the opening scholars, you will see six from the social sciences, political science primarily; four historians, historians never know whether they should be considered social scientists or not; nine from law; two from the natural sciences; two journalists or writers; a philosopher; and a diplomat.

As you will see from the brief description of what they hope to do, they will be getting at a fairly broad slate of tough current issues. Clearly, it won't be a comprehensive analysis of each and every social program that the Government sponsors, by a long shot, but it will pick up some timely social problems and concentrate on the comparative aspects and international—

Senator MONDALE. What is your budget this year?

Mr. READ. There is \$750,000 in the current bill that is pending before the conference committee. We are also directed to raise funds privately.

Senator MONDALE. How much have you been able to raise?

Mr. READ. It has been tough with the falling market and tax uncertainties, but it is beginning to come to it. We have structured an advisory committee which has some top people—

Senator MONDALE. How much have you raised?

Mr. READ. Excuse me?

Senator MONDALE. How much have you raised?

Mr. READ. I couldn't state the sum exactly at this point.

The Congress appropriated \$100,000 last fiscal year. We received an initial Ford Foundation grant of \$45,000. We have raised above and beyond that from corporate contributions and private donations, an additional perhaps \$50,000 by this time.

Senator MONDALE. You hope to build the \$750,000 through appropriation support this year?

Mr. READ. That was Mr. Humphrey's request and so included in the pending appropriation bill.

Senator MONDALE. I notice, in looking at this, there is an international emphasis, albeit, some domestic specialists as well.

In addition, it seems that most of them may be doing theoretical research at one time or another. Do you think it is possible to draw a line between the Wilson Center and George Washington Institute to prevent overlap?

Mr. READ. I think it all depends on what you want to create, Senator Mondale.

The problems, as I see it, that you would have if you enacted the bill that is pending before you are really twofold or threefold. One, you are simply not going to find many fellows of "outstanding achievement and capacity in the social sciences" who will want to be "selected to assist a Presidential board of trustees" and to file reports on request by Congress or the President. It is hard as the dickens to attract first-rate talent. I would fear for your ability to bring in the type of person you would like to see operating here under the pending proposal.

Second, you would have difficulty in fulfilling the proposed goal of considering alternative social policies, obviously a desirable objective, without including social scientists from other countries. We have much to learn in all of these front burner social problems from what other nations are trying to do, some less successfully and some more successfully than we are.

Finally, I think the exclusion of humanities and natural sciences is an unwise one.

Senator MONDALE. Are you interpreting this proposal as prohibiting the humanities?

Mr. READ. There is a definition, as I recall, later in the bill which lists a set of the traditional social sciences and some additional occupations and professions. I think you would want to include the humanities.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your testimony. I appreciate your coming here today.

Mr. READ. One other thing, Mr. Chairman. May I submit a slightly expanded statement of the Wilson Center's programs as described in this booklet?

Senator MONDALE. We will include that in the record at this point.

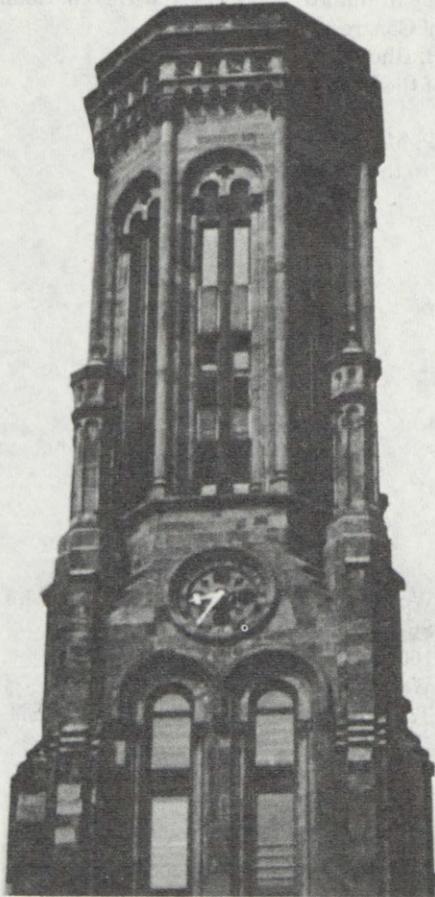
(The document referred to follows:)

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*Woodrow Wilson  
International Center  
for Scholars*

**NEW FELLOWSHIP AND GUEST SCHOLAR PROGRAMS AND FUTURE PLANS  
1970-1971**



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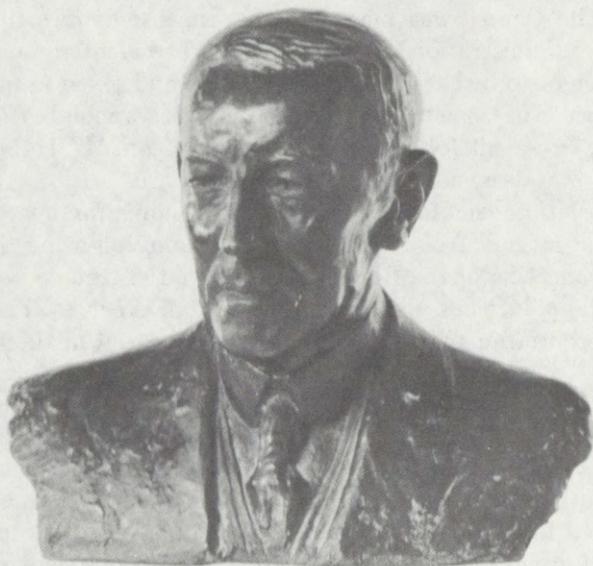
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## *Origins*

In response to a joint resolution of the Congress, President Kennedy appointed the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission in October of 1961 to plan the national memorial to Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States. In its final report the Commission recommended that the Wilson memorial include a Center for Scholars in downtown Washington. Legislation to create the Center was introduced in the 90th Congress.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars was established by Act of Congress approved October 24, 1968, to be “. . . a living institution expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson . . . symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public

affairs." The Center was placed in the Smithsonian Institution under the administration of a fifteen-man, presidential Board of Trustees, eight to be chosen from private life and seven from public positions. The Trustees of the Center were appointed subsequently by President Johnson and President Nixon. Mr. Hubert H. Humphrey was designated Chairman of the Board.

The legislation calls for both private and public funding of the Center, and a grant from the Ford Foundation, following the organization meeting of the Board in March of 1969, made possible early staff appointments and payment of initial expenses. The first public appropriations for the Center were approved in the fall of 1969.

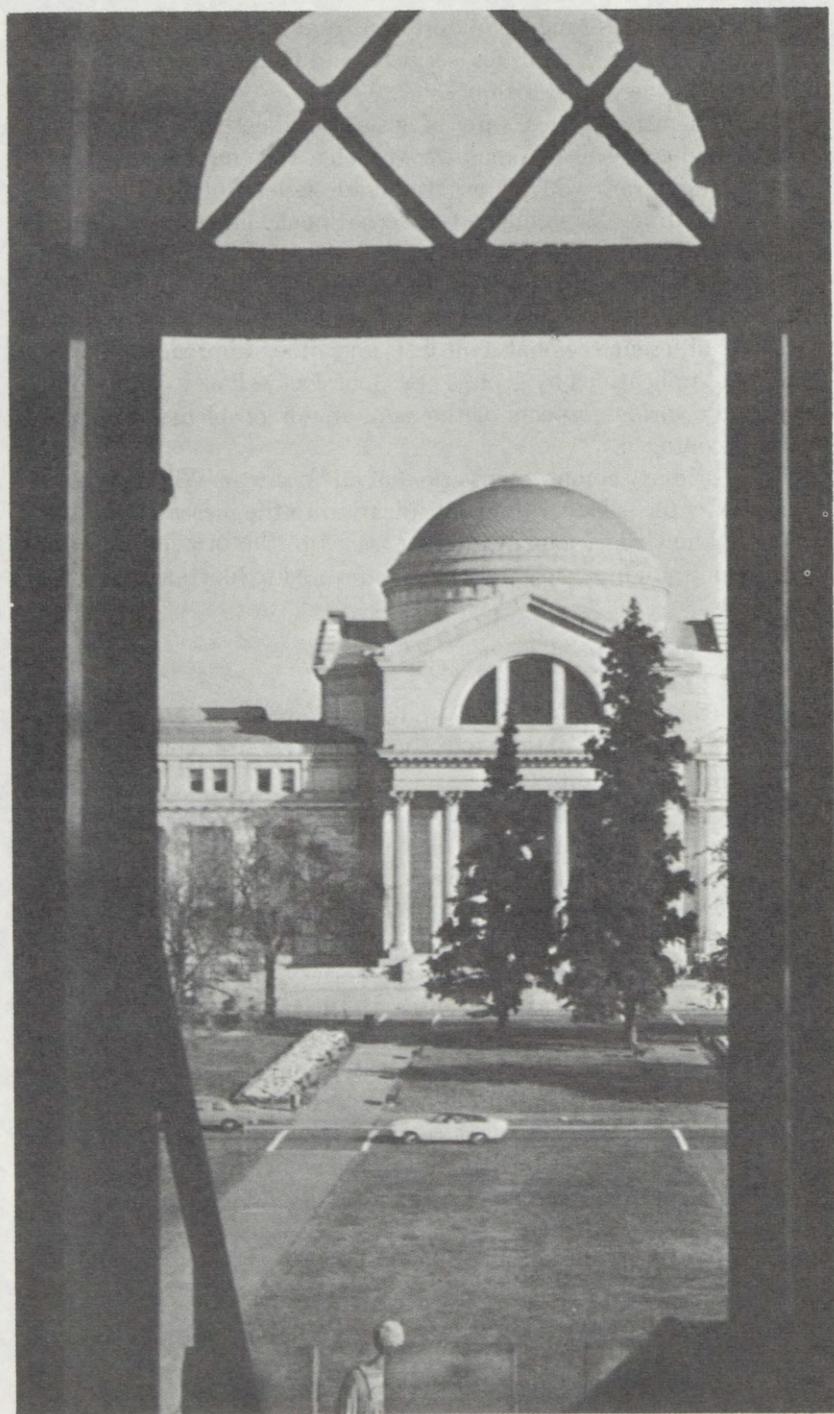
During a seven-month planning period Chairman Humphrey and the Center staff were in correspondence with several hundred persons—educators, public officials, professional people, businessmen, and others—in every state and in many countries to obtain advice about the future substantive roles of the Center. More than a hundred individual interviews and group discussions were held in Washington and elsewhere for the same purpose. To help design programs that would complement the programs of other institutions for advanced scholars, particularly those in the District of Columbia, the staff visited several dozen organizations in the United States and elsewhere and examined the programs of a number of others in correspondence and discussions.

At its fall 1969 meeting the Board of Trustees decided to open Woodrow Wilson International Center fellowship and guest scholar programs on October 15, 1970, in newly renovated space in the original Smithsonian Institution Building on the Mall between the Washington Monument and the Capitol.

## *Fellowship Program*

Under the new fellowship program distinguished scholars from the United States and from other countries will be selected from diverse occupations and fields to come to Washington to live and

*View across Mall from a study room in Woodrow Wilson  
International Center in Smithsonian Institution Building*



study for periods ranging in duration from a few weeks to several years. Office space, facilities, services, and financial support will be provided as described within.

In recognition of the Center's legislative objective to express "the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson," the emphasis of the fellowship program will be on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental, and social problems and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on contemporary and emerging issues, and, where applicable, on comparative analysis of different regional, cultural, and other approaches to such issues. Applications by groups of scholars as well as by individuals to study various aspects of the same major problems are invited and encouraged.

The primary commitment asked of all Woodrow Wilson International Center fellows will be a dedication to the increase and diffusion of knowledge about the great issues of the present time in a community of international scholars devoted to like purposes.

### *The Fellows*

The Center intends to build up to a fellowship program of forty scholars, approximately half to be appointed from countries other than the United States.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act contains no definition of "scholar" but declares that a goal of the Center should be to "strengthen . . . the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." Since no one pursuit has a monopoly on the "world of learning," men and women with expertise and scholarly capabilities in a wide variety of fields and occupations will be welcome at the Center. In the case of academic participants, fellows will be selected from a number of the social and behavioral sciences, and some from the humanities and from the natural sciences. In addition, the program will include in due course lawyers, diplomats, journalists, Executive Branch officials, and Congressional staff personnel (although not in such numbers as to give the group an official character), state and municipal experts,

officials of other governments and of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, businessmen, foundation and labor union officials, and many others.

Academic and nonacademic scholars alike who are invited to join the Center's fellowship program will be persons of distinguished scholarly capabilities and promise. For academic participants the program will be limited normally to established scholars at the postdoctoral level (or the equivalent in other countries). While there will be no precise higher degree requirements for non-academic fellows, postbaccalaureate degrees, academic honors, and writings will be taken into consideration in the selection process.

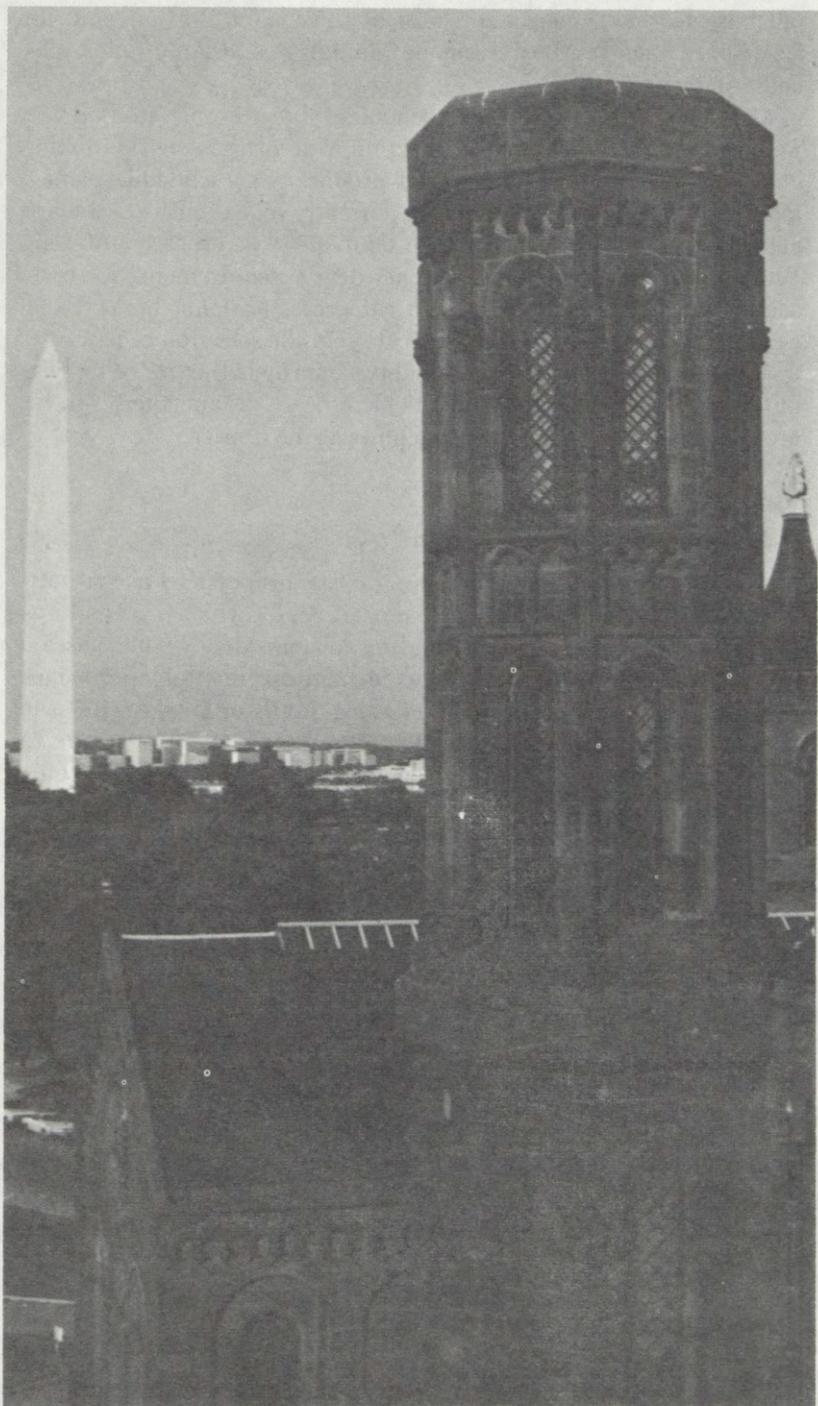
Most scholars chosen will probably be in their thirties or forties, but no arbitrary age requirements have been set, and there will be a wide spread of ages among the fellows at the Center.

### *Scope and Focus of Studies*

The theme of the fellowship program is designed to accentuate those aspects of Wilson's ideals and concerns for which he is perhaps best remembered a half century after his presidency—his passion for peace and the imaginative new governmental approaches which he employed to meet the pressing needs of his day. But the focus is contemporary in nature, and no attempt will be made to concentrate primary attention on the fields which were Wilson's

“We have a continuing commitment, in the words of President Wilson, to the service of humanity. His life, his actions, and his ideals serve as an inspiration today to the achievement of the goals that he articulated so well . . . I hope the Commission will plan a memorial that expresses the faith in democracy, vision of peace and dedication to international understanding that President Wilson himself did so much to advance.”

President Kennedy's statement at signing of bill creating  
Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission  
October 4, 1961



main concerns during his lifetime. Thus the statement of policy adopted by the Board of Trustees declares:

Emphasis will be placed on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental, and social problems and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on the public policy aspects of contemporary and emerging issues which confront many peoples and, where applicable, on comparative analysis of different cultural, regional and other approaches to such issues.

The Board amplified its intent in using these words and phrases. "Emphasis" is used to convey special importance or prominence—not exclusive concern. A first-rank scholar with an important study project that does not fall within the area of intended focus would not be ineligible automatically for a fellowship.

The limitation of emphasis to problems which are "significant" indicates the Board's assumption of responsibility to determine the priority of importance of proposed studies to utilize best the limited public and private resources and efforts of the Center to achieve its legislative purposes. Individually and collectively the Trustees believe that there are many subject areas of great moment to people everywhere that simply are not being addressed adequately by governments or by learned institutions—because of their immensity; because of their newness; because they require crossing the lines of established disciplines and occupations which few institutions may be well geared to do; because of a host of other reasons.

Examples of "significant international . . . problems" are plentiful. As the United Nations enters its second quarter century, major current studies of the world organization are lacking. Scholarship relating to the history, theory, practice, and prospects of the U.N. and other international organizations is needed, looking toward the strengthening of such organizations and the building of new institutional forms of international cooperation and peacemaking. Many arms control and disarmament issues await studies in depth. Analysis is needed of the ever-widening economic and social gaps between developed and developing countries and ways to reverse

*Looking west to Washington Monument from third floor  
of Smithsonian Institution Building*

current trends. The new and emerging potential for good and for conflict in existing international communication systems and in developments relating to the control and modification of weather are relatively untouched subjects. In these and many other areas, sustained studies by outstanding international scholars with varied experience and background could contribute substantially to the great unfulfilled Wilsonian goal of better understanding between peoples and nations.

Perhaps no suggested list of "significant . . . governmental . . . problems" is needed. The Center will be one place which invites the social scientists of other countries to do research on American institutions in the hope of mutual gain from new insights gathered. Plainly there is much to learn from comparative studies of other governmental systems. The strong points and shortcomings of federal, state, and local governmental systems in the United States call for continuing examination.

Current illustrations of "significant . . . social problems" are listed in the National Science Foundation 1969 report by the Special Commission on the Social Sciences of the National Science Board, entitled *Knowledge into Action: Improving the Nation's Use of the Social Sciences* (at page 89): "urban transportation systems; violence; delivery of medical services; welfare and income-maintenance programs; urban government organization; crime, especially the problems of first offenders and juvenile courts; judicial systems and the provision of legal services; addiction; urban housing; prevention of pollution of water and air." To these problems could be added race relations; social ethics; the status of women; conflict resolution; the effects of leisure and affluence; and population studies.

Wilson wrote that "democratic institutions are never done. They are, like the living tissue, always a-making." Most of his domestic New Freedom goals, many of his writings about constitutional and governmental processes, and his memorable but unsuccessful campaign for the League of Nations, all involved concentration on new institutional solutions to the great problems of the day. The fellowship program of the Center dedicated to his memory will give preference to studies intended both to contribute new insights into



*Chairman Humphrey talks with Director Read (left) and Trustee McPherson (right) in scholars' common room of Woodrow Wilson International Center.*

outstanding problems and to improve the organization of society at various levels to meet such problems.

The phrase "contemporary and emerging issues which confront many peoples" is designed to place first priority on unresolved current and anticipated problems which have applicability beyond national boundaries. This would, of course, include historical studies designed to yield new perspectives on such issues.

Finally, the special encouragement for "comparative analysis" is intended to help correct the present lack of systematic compara-

tive studies in a number of areas of public concern so that various cultures, nations, and regions may benefit more fully from the successes and failures of others.

Obviously many proposed studies will be suitable only for individual pursuit. Obviously also many suggested studies of complex modern problems will be done successfully only by persons with expertise in a wide variety of fields and occupations. Applications by groups of scholars as well as by individuals to study various aspects of the same major problems are invited and encouraged.

Several methods will be used to assure that at any given time there will be certain groups of scholars at the Center working in close association with each other on common or related problems, committed to provide for each other the professional atmosphere which best stimulates thought and work: (a) efforts will be made to select individual scholars whose experience and backgrounds are complementary; (b) applications by groups of scholars will be invited and individual applicants will be encouraged to indicate other scholars with whom they would like to work on proposed studies; (c) individuals with requisite scholarly and executive talents may be asked by the Board to invite groups of scholars with the diverse expertise needed to investigate special problem areas; and (d) from time to time the Board may designate one or more subjects in which it would like to see substantial study efforts undertaken and proposals developed at the

“The Congress hereby finds and declares . . . that a living institution expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson would be an appropriate memorial to his accomplishments as the 28th President of the United States, a distinguished scholar, an outstanding university president, and a brilliant advocate of international understanding; . . . that (an International Center for Scholars), symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs, would be a suitable memorial to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson.”

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968

Center in a coming period and in which group and individual applications would be encouraged.

### *Special Study Areas*

For the opening period at the Center two subjects have been designated by the Board of Trustees as areas in which group and individual applications and nominations are specially invited and encouraged.

The first involves studies relating to the development of international law for ocean space in the areas beneath the surface of international waters, including seabeds beyond the continental shelves. In ocean space, which covers 70 percent of the earth, there is an almost total absence of international law today. Except for a few fish conservation treaties, current efforts to ban nuclear weapons placements on the seabeds, and certain national laws claiming exclusive development rights—the legal situation is one of pre-Grotius anarchy. With pollution hazards, exploitation capabilities, and planned new military uses all increasing rapidly, the potential for international conflict in ocean space in the immediate future is obvious. Good occasional papers have been written and some worthwhile conferences held, but those most expert in the field are the first to note the urgent need for intensive additional research in a number of key areas. The seventies have been declared to be the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. The Board feels that the subject is peculiarly “Wilsonian” in nature and timely and appropriate for sustained, advanced studies at the Center.

The other area designated for special encouragement involves studies of late twentieth-century man in perspective, including the implications of social biology and the deteriorating physical and psychological environment with the ever-accelerating human census. Different aspects of these issues are receiving increasing attention in the United States and elsewhere. A United Nations Conference on the Human Environment will be convened in 1972. Many research centers are well equipped to study man as a machine and technical environmental studies are plentiful. But profound related issues call for full and early attention by social scientists, lawyers, public officials, humanists, and others: e.g., the growing

obsolescence of traditional legal, social, political, and ethical views of man with new and projected scientific knowledge and ability to manipulate basic human physical and mental characteristics; the widening conflict between the nature of current urban life and man's evolutionary progress; and the increasingly dangerous environmental consequences of many widely accepted human practices. The Board hopes that the Woodrow Wilson International Center will provide an appropriate base for leading international scholars to undertake useful, timely, and systematic studies of contemporary man's overall relations with his environment and to develop new proposals for international, national, and other responses to the problems involved.

### *Duration of Fellowships*

The average fellowship at the Center will probably extend from several months to a year in duration, but some periods of study of only a few weeks and a limited number of long-term appointments will also be accepted.

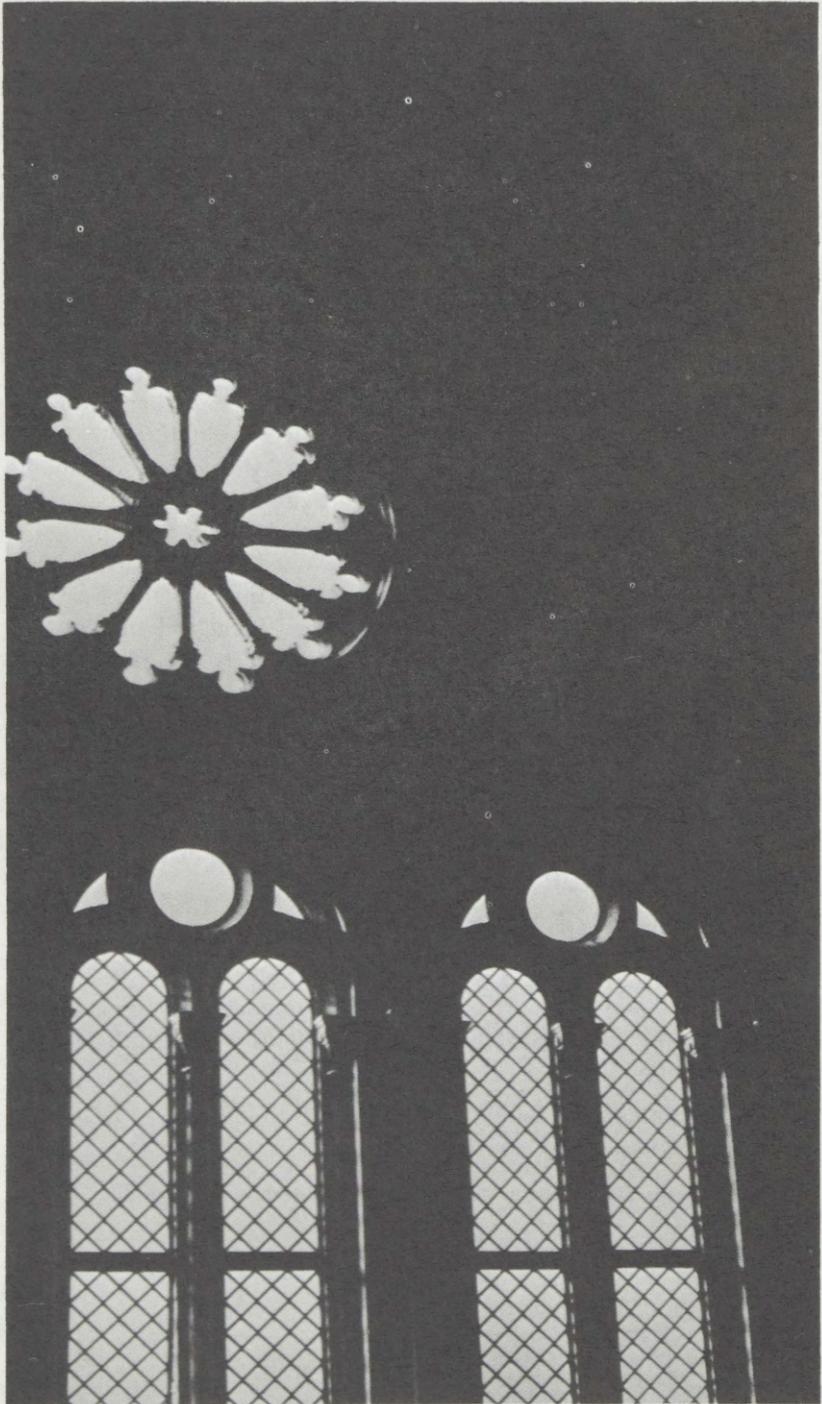
To encourage participation by qualified persons from diverse occupations and professions who may be able to obtain only short leaves of absence, no minimum term of duration of fellowship has been set, although those selected from distant places will normally be accepted only if they plan to stay a reasonable period in consideration of the travel expenses involved.

The Board is also prepared to appoint a small number of scholars who wish to come for longer than a year—perhaps for as long as several years—if their scholarship is of sufficient promise, and they are willing to devote some efforts to assist in building the new institution.

Such flexibility in duration of fellowships should permit nearly full, year-round use of the Center's facilities with a substantial degree of continuity in the Center's intellectual community.

### *Selection Process and Criteria*

The Center is now accepting nominations and applications for fellowships, and forms for this purpose are available.



For those desiring earliest commitments for fellowship appointments to begin during the three opening months of the program (October 15, 1970–January 15, 1971), nominations or applications should be received at the Center by January 15, 1970, and the Board will offer a certain number of appointments by March 15, 1970. All nominations and applications for fellowships starting during the three opening months must be received by May 1, 1970, and additional invitations for such appointments will be issued by July 1, 1970.

Nominations and applications requesting fellowships starting at later dates will be processed upon receipt. The normal selection schedule will call for the issuance of final invitations three times each year—October 15, February 15, and June 15. When the program is in operation requests for fellowships should be received at least nine months in advance of the start of the period for which fellowships are sought in order to permit the Center and the other institutions involved to make future plans, although the minimum advance period for applications may be waived by the Board.

At any time following receipt of nomination and application forms, the Center may contact the persons suggested therein for confidential evaluation of the candidate's scholarly capabilities and promise. Interviews of eligible candidates may be scheduled thereafter and judgments requested from outside advisory committees of scholars and others. The final selection of all prospective fellows will be made by the Fellowship and Guest Scholar Subcommittee of the Board of Trustees.

In extending fellowships at the Center, the following criteria of selection will be used:

- (1) scholarly capabilities and promise in areas of primary interest to the Center;
- (2) likelihood of contributing the complementary experiences and knowledge needed for a lively and productive intellectual community;
- (3) relevance of Washington area intellectual resources or expertise to proposed areas of study; and
- (4) thorough speaking and writing knowledge of English.

The first criterion of academic qualifications in the areas of primary interest to the Center has been discussed above. The application form requests the prospective fellow to describe in some detail the studies he would pursue during a fellowship period in Washington. While this statement of interest would not be binding on the fellow, once accepted, if he found more productive uses of his fellowship, it would provide an important indication of intent that would be given considerable weight in the selection process.

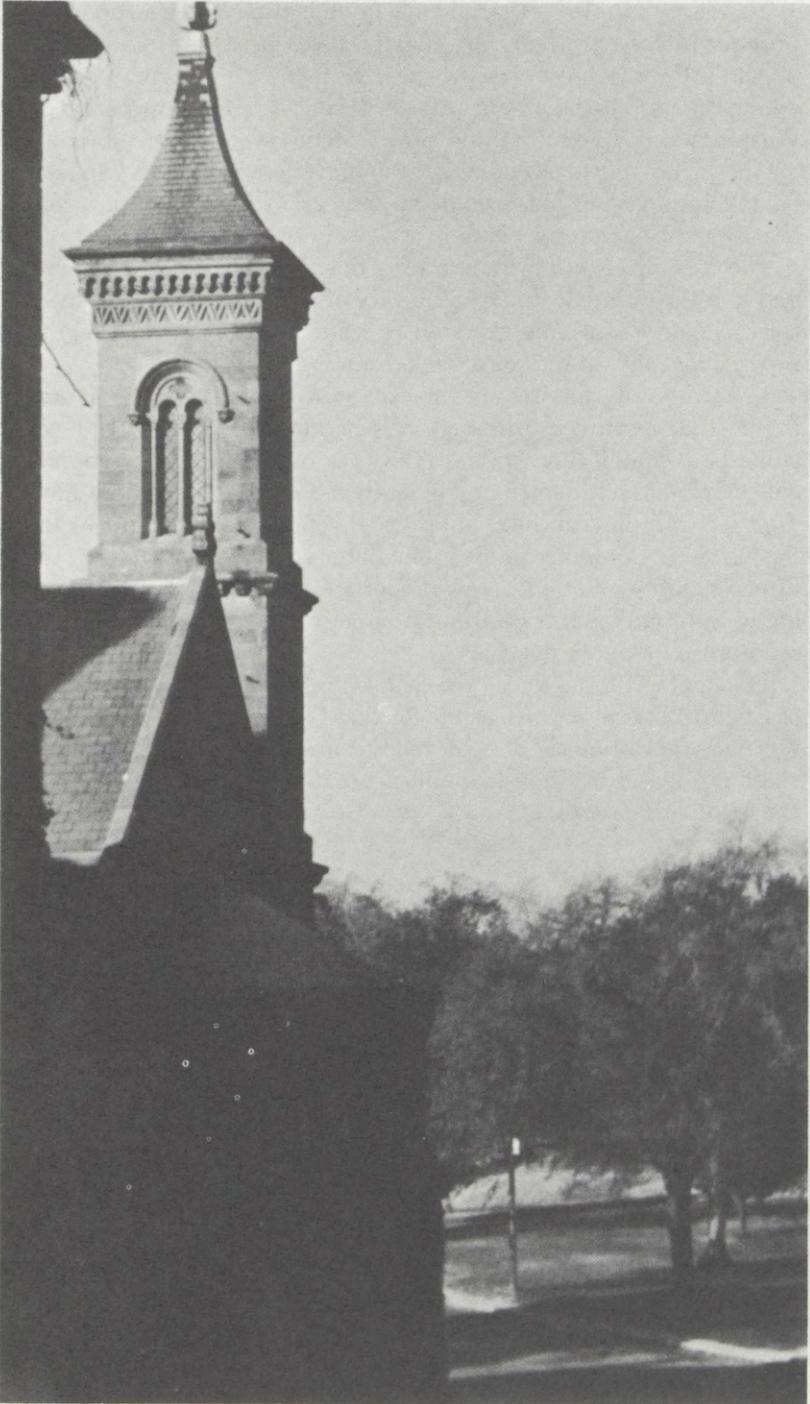
The second criterion underscores the Center's desire to create and sustain an intellectual community of persons with complementary scholarly skills and experiences who will be able and likely to provide mutually reinforcing backgrounds and expertise.

The third criterion involves special need to use Washington area intellectual resources. Although absence of such need would not alone be disqualifying, special relevance of Washington resources will be given consideration. There are now more than three hundred separate institutional library and reference collections in the District of Columbia and immediate environs, including the fifteen-million-volume Library of Congress collection and a growing wealth of available information about American society in the repositories of public agencies.

The final criterion is a thorough speaking and writing knowledge of English. It will not be feasible for the Center to provide interpreters and translation services for fellows studying at the Center, and those not fluent in English would be unable to participate fully in the fellowship program.

“ . . . an International Center for Scholars, to be established as a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson . . . could hardly be a more appropriate memorial to a President who combined a devotion to scholarship with a passion for peace. The District has long sought, and long needed, a center for both men of letters and men of affairs. This should be, as it was first proposed, ‘an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st.’ ”

President Nixon's Message to Congress,  
April 28, 1969



### *Activities*

Each fellow at the Center will be expected to pursue his own or his group's scholarly concerns on a full-time basis in Washington during his fellowship, except for agreed upon vacations, trips, and other absences. This would mean that the fellow's division of his time among research, writing, discussions with colleagues and others, and various scholarly activities would be his own responsibility.

Since one of the basic objectives of the Center is the creation of an intellectual community which can help strengthen relations between "the world of learning and the world of public affairs," however, each fellow accepting appointment would be asked to agree to participate in a weekly evening discussion dinner with his colleagues and invited guests and to take a turn at leading such discussions or in presenting a paper for discussion on such occasions. Two or three times a year each fellow would also be expected to lead or to participate in special discussions, seminars, or other meetings for the public or invited guests on themes to be determined by the fellows and the Center staff. Persons active in public affairs in the United States and elsewhere will be invited on these occasions.

In addition, individual fellows or groups of fellows may form regular study or discussion groups with outside participants, to assist the fellows in the development of scholarly papers or systematic exploration of certain topics, and to permit them to exchange ideas with other experts and persons with wide experience in the fields and subjects involved.

### *Facilities and Support*

Each fellow will be provided with a furnished office of his own in prime space made available for the use of the Center in the newly renovated original Smithsonian Institution Building, whose central Washington location is shown on a map in this brochure.

The facilities will also include rooms for meetings, reference library, periodicals, lounge, and dining room with service area. The Center will be open for the fellows' use on a round-the-clock, seven-days-a-week basis.

*Another view of Mall*

Pool secretarial services will be available during regular daytime business hours. There will also be dictation and duplicating equipment.

The Center will develop a small reference library and subscribe to periodicals in a wide range of fields. The staff will include a full-time librarian, and the Smithsonian Libraries Service will provide daily pickup and deliveries under established inter-library loan procedures with the major libraries of the area. Fellows who wish to work at the Library of Congress will be able to reserve desk and carrel space there.

Center staff will be prepared to provide the fellows with information about the intellectual resources, programs, and expertise of the area and with assistance in obtaining needed access and references.

The Smithsonian Information Systems Division facilities, including its Honeywell 1250 computer, will be accessible for use by the Center, and trained computer experts will be available to advise interested fellows on computer techniques and to assist them in programming.

Each fellow will be asked in the first instance to seek financial support from his own institution, government, private foundation, or other source, and—until the Center's initial funding requirements are fully met—fellowship candidates with some such outside means of support may be in a preferred position. Thereafter, within a stipulated ceiling, stipends will be provided by the Center to help meet the fellow's previous yearly salary rate, with cost-of-living adjustments for scholars from other countries, based on the principle that the fellowship should not involve his financial loss or gain. Certain travel expenses for the fellow and his immediate family to and from Washington by direct routing, jet coach fare, and limited housing allowances for temporary housing costs will also be available. Each fellow will be responsible for finding his own housing in Washington.

The Board is determined that there will be a spirit of complete freedom of inquiry in all scholarly work done at the Center. Government research contracts will not be sought or accepted.

## *Guest Scholar Program*

Several offices will be reserved and other space temporarily vacant will be made available, as well as luncheon privileges, library, information, secretarial, and other center staff services for short-time use by distinguished guest scholars on arrangement with the Director of the Center.

In allocating such space the Director will follow criteria established by the Fellowship and Guest Scholar Subcommittee of the Board of Trustees. The extent of such facilities and their availability will not be known until the summer of 1970, and inquiries about guest scholar openings should be deferred until that time.

## *Future Plans*

The widespread desire and need for a center to serve scholars visiting Washington for study purposes was revealed in hearings prior to the passage of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act and in subsequent correspondence and discussions.

Clearly it will not be possible to meet this demand on a large scale until the Woodrow Wilson International Center has its own building and sufficient space to serve the diverse needs of the many transient scholars who visit and work in the Washington area.

“The dream of a great scholarly center in our Nation’s Capital is as old as the Republic itself. There could be no more fitting monument to the memory of Woodrow Wilson than an institution devoted to the highest ideals of scholarship and international understanding.”

President Johnson’s Message to Congress.  
March 13, 1968

Accordingly, the Board of Trustees of the Center is devoting efforts to the early selection of a permanent building site for the Center and preliminary considerations relating to its design.

In the relatively near future the Trustees hope that the Center will have its own building with facilities where many scholars visiting Washington can meet, dine, discuss, work, reside, and receive assistance in gaining knowledge about and access to the public and private intellectual resources, programs, and expertise of the capital area.

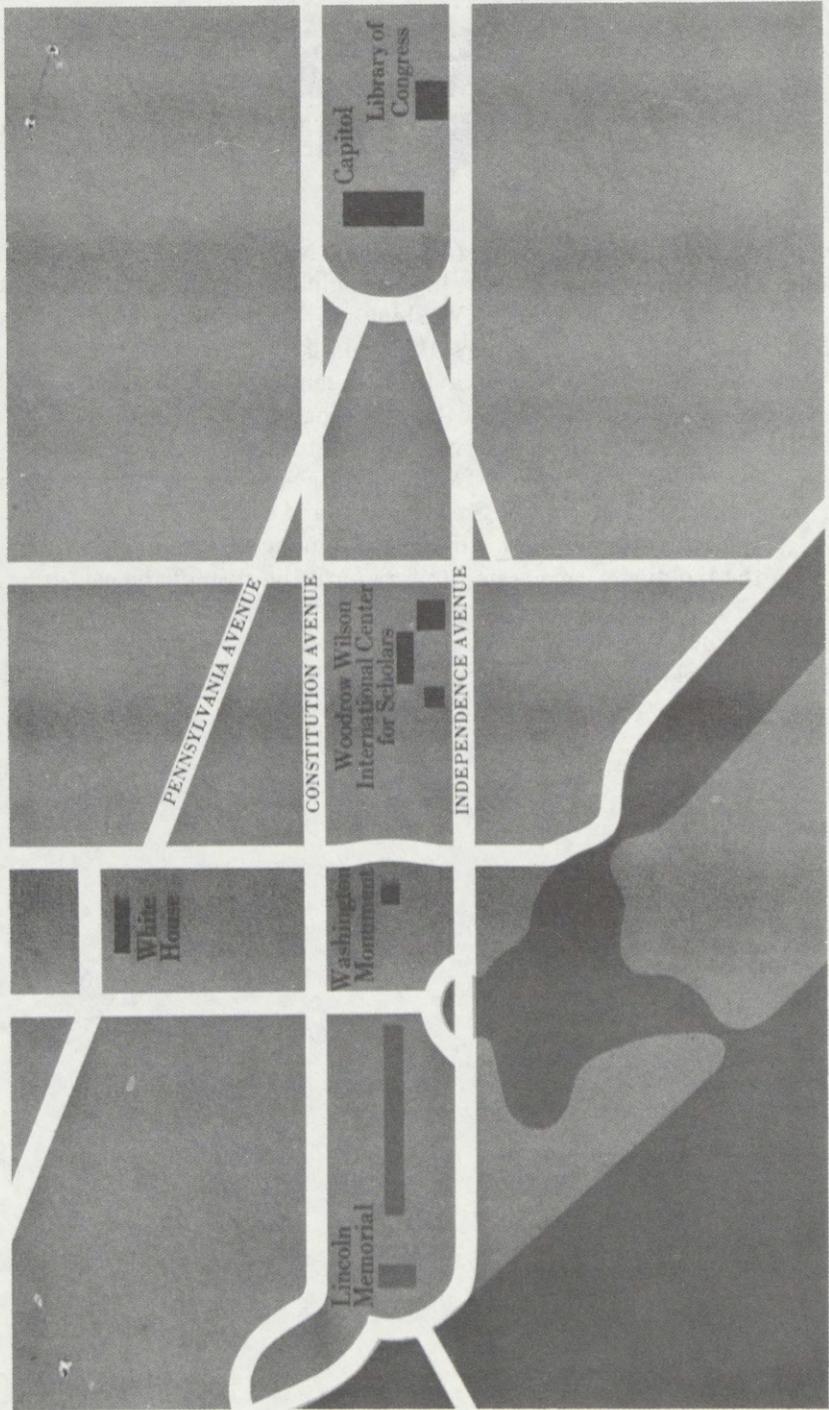
The advice and counsel of the first fellows and guest scholars at the Center will be most welcome in these planning efforts.

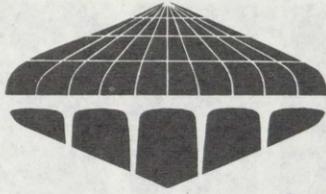
*Note:* The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is not related formally to any one of the several existing institutions or programs named in Wilson's honor, all of which are exclusively privately sponsored.

“Woodrow Wilson was one of the greatest of our Presidents and he brought to that office his deep scholarship, a profound sense of history—and maturity of our democratic purpose. My best wishes to the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on this very important undertaking.”

President Truman's letter to Chairman Humphrey  
May 5, 1969







The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars will be located in its opening years in the original Smithsonian Institution Building on the Mall in Washington, D.C. (North Tower of Building shown on cover) James Renwick, Jr., designed the building in 1846, adopting the style of a twelfth century Norman monastery.

Construction was begun the following year and completed in 1855. The building has served as headquarters for the worldwide activities of the Smithsonian Institution since 1849, and Joseph Henry, the first Secretary of the Smithsonian, and his family had living quarters in the east wing until 1878. Young scientists roomed in the building's garrets and towers until the turn of the century.

Throughout its early history it was also used as the home of the National Academy of Sciences and the meeting place for many scholarly conferences. Starting in 1968, the building has undergone complete renovation.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Mr. Oscar Steiner, chairman of the George Washington Foundation.

**STATEMENT OF OSCAR STEINER, CHAIRMAN,  
GEORGE WASHINGTON FOUNDATION**

Mr. STEINER. Thank you, Senator Mondale. I have just gotten out of the sickbed. I hope you can hear me.

Senator MONDALE. I can hear you and I have gone through your statement. We can put it in the record as though read and you can comment on what you regard as being the key points, if you wish, and do it that way.

Mr. STEINER. Fine.

May I be permitted to give you the briefest biographical outline because I come here as a complete unknown to you.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

Mr. STEINER. My formal training was in the field of engineering. I have been in business for 40 years having two separate organizations. The first one involved that aspect of business which included my doing quite a bit of consulting engineering for concerns that were not operating too successfully.

So, to a great extent I feel that my approach to the problem involved here probably has some background justification.

The decade after I retired from that business, the decade from 1950 to 1960, was devoted to pioneering low-cost housing; slum clearance. I was very much interested because of the trend toward public housing, very much interested in the possibility of private enterprise having a viable and active part in such service. We built throughout the Middle West and learned a few things which led to a broader interest in this whole problem. We recognized the fact that you can't very well deal with one part of the organic body, housing, without taking into consideration its impact on the whole organic unit—all aspects of slum life.

I feel there is one aspect, the mechanism under which this program would function, which is of such great importance that I would like to devote my observations to it exclusively.

This is to provide primarily a factfinding, working agency, and I wish to emphasize that the suggestion of the previous witness that we have much to learn is well taken, I am sure, but I must quote what Senator Mondale had to say—

Senator MONDALE. You couldn't find a better source. In fact, you set it up in italics.

Mr. STEINER. Do you recall it, Senator?

Senator MONDALE. I remember everything I have said, but I am always glad to be reminded.

Mr. STEINER. Let me repeat it on the assumption that you did forget it.

You made the observation in connection with this factfinding information.

We now produce over \$400 million worth of statistics in this government and it is worth about four cents when it is all done because nobody looks at it.

I would urge, under the circumstances, that getting more information to file away to add to something like 11,000 miles of paper that is already floating around Washington—and I get that from a Government statistic—is not the most essential need. Application of what we have in a pragmatic way is what we would have to do.

I quoted from, as you know, another member of your committee and may I repeat for emphasis here. There is a lack of “a clear and up-to-date picture—we urgently need, some sort of a coordinated mechanism which would consider all of the alternatives and options open to us.”

This lack of a clear and up-to-date picture may be due to the fact that there are, according to the report of the General Services Administration, 1969–70, pages 743–805, approximately 6,000 departments. I have changed this from 7,500 in my statement because it is very difficult to find out exactly how many. The Government accumulates a lot of statistics, but something as basic as this, I couldn't find. It was a case of adding up the index listing: Approximately 6,000 departments, services, boards, councils, commissions, programs, committees, and so on.

Now, such a tremendous number of Government units do, indeed, call for what Senator Javits refers to as an overview, some sort of coordinating mechanism.

One cannot help raise the question: Is it reasonable to expect either the Congress or the Executive to efficiently exercise their respective responsibilities over this seething cauldron of agencies, departments, services, boards, councils, commissions, programs, and committees, and so forth?

I went back to the Hoover Commission Report of 1953 and 1954. The Hoover Commission, commenting on the size of the Government, made the observation that 1,700 agencies were a colossal number. I am not sure what their basis for counting was and it would be unfair to compare apples and oranges. I don't believe, in 17 years, that the Government structure has gone from 1,700 to 60,000. It has grown tremendously, however.

The Hoover Commission speaks of the fact that the governmental structure accounted for the greatly weakened position of the individual in relation to his government. I think, to the extent that it has become even more complex, it accounts, to a large extent, for the discontent, the racial problems, the campus problems, and a general, somewhat cynical, attitude that appears to be developing in the country.

Inasmuch as this bill is concerned with the quality of living of the individual, establishing a mechanism relating to the prevailing social discontent should be a first step.

Questions, such as the following, call for answers:

Are campus disorders, racial clashes, and other evidence of violence, passing phenomena, or are they symptoms of deep-seated social malignancy?

Persisting as they have for several years, are they growing worse?

Are we able to devise social indicators enabling us to isolate and identify root causes, as well as measure their depth and seriousness?

Can we devise a social system as effective in its potential as that devised for our economic system?

Dr. Raymond Bauer of Harvard puts it this way: "Our hangup is that we don't have a model for the social system anywhere as precise as what the economists have for the economic system."

It is frequently said: Business is not government and government is not business. I respectfully suggest that I am not here to discuss the merits of that statement. We are dealing with the use of a practical mechanism in government which has been proven in business.

After more than a decade of research, analysis, and consultation with literally scores of experts and specialists, permit me to say categorically in the affirmative; a viable system can be devised.

The following are specific requirements:

1. The latest and most sophisticated data processing equipment must be at the disposal of this working agency.

2. Expert programing is essential.

3. Patterned on a miniature scale after the Congress, the board of trustees shall be chosen as to provide viewpoints representing industry, labor, education, humanities, recreation, and such others as may now, or in the future, have important impact on the lives and well-being of the average citizen.

Ferretting out the basic causes for the prevailing discontent is not an overnight project any more so that the Internal Revenue Service can identify every violator of its regulations. Each year, however, with fresh data pouring in and properly programed, it is closing in on them.

The information this Institute will supply Congress and the Executive should bring into increasingly clearer focus the workings of our governmental agencies as they relate to our citizens, not as statistics but as individual sincreasingly preoccupied with what is popularly known as the quality of living.

Mr. Chairman, I can't emphasize too strongly that. Just as a businessman or a property owner of a solid concrete building would be out of his mind if he didn't take out fire insurance, by the same token, I question whether we can afford this nominal outlay to set up this Institute. It represents an insurance by bringing into clearer focus what the 6,000 agencies are really doing; to what extent they are overlapping, or are in conflict.

I know of nothing further to add to this.

Permit me, if I may, to add to what Senator McGovern had to say about George Washington and the mystery of the disappearing stock.

My initial interest was aroused when I realized that the first President of the United States had left a bequest which, for some unaccountable and mysterious reason, has never been honored. The stock he gave to this Government disappeared.

Historians and researchers generally agree that the stock certificates were eventually lost or destroyed. Whether this took place during the investment of the Capitol by the British in 1812 or before or after is not known.

The Congress and the Treasurer of the United States were fully aware of the bequest. He had written about this while President and he addressed the Congress several times urging the creation of a national university.

Incidentally, a national university would be inappropriate and unnecessary today because there are so many large universities that feel that they are national, and probably justifiably so, that to create one now would be out of order.

Short of a formal rejection, the Government's responsibility, as custodians, was established. Over the years, eight Presidents have urged the Congress to establish a national university as a living memorial. More than 50 bills have been introduced, none of which ever came out of committee.

Over a century later, in 1905, the Secretary of the Treasury, L. M. Shaw, was for the first time "directed to inform the Senate what was the amount of the bequest made by George Washington to the United States for the foundation of the university and what appropriation was made of it."

The Secretary of the Treasury replied that, "In the will, a bequest is made for the establishment of a university in the District of Columbia. \* \* \*" He referred to a published report by the former Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, Worthington C. Ford, "that the object of the bequest was never carried out." The Treasury Department further acknowledged the value of the bequest at £5,000, or \$25,000—compounded at 5 percent, the debt is now in excess of \$100 million.

He concluded \* \* \* "there is no record in the Treasury Department showing that the shares thus bequeathed or any moneys arising therefrom were ever received by the General Government." This implies that the stock became the responsibility of the estate.

The act, adopted by the Virginia Legislature creating the gift, included a letter from George Washington refusing an earlier gift because "this act, so far as it has for its object emolument \* \* \*" violated Washington's policy followed throughout his life, "to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense."

This is common knowledge. He never accepted a penny in compensation while he was General of the Army and before that in his public service and while he was President.

The Virginia Legislature complied by repealing this earlier act and directed that the gift shall "stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature, in such manner, and under such distributions, as the said George Washington, Esq., by deed during his life, or by his last will and testament, shall direct and appoint."

The gift could not revert back to the estate of Washington. It became and remained the property of the U.S. Government.

The need for a national university no longer exists. A careful reading of Washington's desires as revealed in his correspondence makes clear that establishing this institute as a living memorial would fully discharge this long past due obligation.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your most useful statement and for what I gather has been almost a lifetime of interest in this issue.

I was unaware that someone "stole" George Washington's bonds. Certainly something is owed to his memory and the argument regarding the need to make social sciences available and relevant to current pending human problems in this country is beyond dispute.

I suppose nothing has shocked me more in the 6 years that I have served in the Senate than the absence of such information. This committee on social planning and evaluation was established at my request.

Mr. STEINER. I know that.

Senator MONDALE. I hoped that this effort——

Mr. STEINER. Pardon my interrupting you.

Just as you observed, I can assure you that I think I know most of the things that you have said.

Senator MONDALE. That is good news.

Mr. STEINER. In fact, if I may add, I am reassured, knowing your position, that the objective that we both desire, and I hope many others, is identical.

The fact that there may be a different role in some aspects, particularly in the sociological, the political implications, and so forth, I have no expertise in that area and I deliberately avoided that.

This working mechanism I can't emphasize too strongly. We don't even have to invest in this equipment. It can be rented and justify itself over a period of a year or two.

Senator MONDALE. There is no question about that and your analogy with business is well taken. No modern business would run itself by hunch the way we do.

Mr. STEINER. It couldn't.

The Penn Central——

Senator MONDALE (continuing). Must be the only one doing it.

Mr. STEINER (continuing). Is a shining example of the complexity that was never, never overcome.

Senator MONDALE. I think a few of them did fairly well. There was some planning, but I am not sure it was in the best interest of Pennsylvania Railroad.

Thank you very much for your testimony and for your leadership on this issue.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Steiner follows:)

Committee for  
GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR THE  
SOCIAL SCIENCES

607 Park Building  
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Phone 621-6833  
Area Code 216

Subject: S3983

Mr. Chairman:

By way of explanation, I have been in business for over 40 years in both administrative and engineering capacities. The conclusions arrived at after 10 years of study and consultation with qualified individuals across the country are pragmatic, not theoretical.

They follow an experience pattern being used today by business that is successfully weathering present events. We have seen the bankruptcy of at least one of the nation's larger operations perhaps because of its complexity and resulting inefficiency. Others have been compelled to reorganize, to tighten up to stay alive.

Nations too have flourished and declined. We would be ill-advised to assume our country can and will go on indefinitely regardless of how it functions. Today's riots, strikes, disorders, slum and racial problems, malnutrition amidst abundance, compel us to conclude that a re-evaluation is in order.

This is not to assume the 'country is going to the dogs.' Nor do we have any political and social nostrums.

We believe that the working mechanism calls for a re-appraisal in the light of today's sophisticated tools that are now available.

Mr. Chairman, we believe that you and some other members of the Senate have stated the same objectives.

Sincerely,



Oscar H. Steiner, Chairman

TESTIMONY ON SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE  
 OSCAR H. STEINER - CHAIRMAN  
 CH. GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE  
 FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

I wish to thank you Mr. Chairman and the members of this sub-committee for acc-  
 ording us the opportunity to present our views on one aspect of S3983. It is to be primarily a  
 fact finding working agency. Its purpose is to utilize modern data processing methods, bringing  
 into focus the wealth of data which pours into Washington.

Among the growing testimony as to the urgent need for such a fact finding agency let  
 me cite the following from the Department of H.E.W.:

" . . . Those policy makers and citizens concerned about conditions of American  
 Society often lack the information they need to decide what, if anything, should  
 be done about the state of society. Without the right kind of facts, they are unable  
 to discern emergency problems or to make informed decisions about national pri-  
 orities. Nor are they able to choose confidently among alternative solutions or  
 decide how much money should be allocated to any given program.

"Only small portions of the existing statistics tell us anything about social conditions.  
 And those that do often point in different directions. Sometimes they do not add  
 up to any meaningful conclusions and thus are not very useful to either the policy  
 makers or to the concerned citizen . . . "  
 (Department of H.E.W. titled "Toward a Social Report" - 1969)

Senator Mondale, commenting on the almost desparate attempts by agencies of govern-  
 ment to find answers observed at a previous hearing of this sub-committee: "We now produce  
 over \$400 million worth of statistics in this government and it is worth about four cents when it  
 is all done because nobody looks at it." A statement too easily confirmed to be called into  
 question.

Another distinguished member of this committee Senator Javits summarizes what I  
 suspect is the concern of most members of Congress:

"There is a need for an overview, for some sort of coordinating mechanism which  
 would consider all of the alternatives and options open to us. At present, each  
 item considered by the Congress is viewed almost in isolation from every other.  
 Although changes made in the poverty program are likely to have profound effect  
 on the welfare program, for example, the two are handled by different committees  
 and may be taken up months apart on the floor. Each appropriations bill is con-  
 sidered by a separate sub-committee and is enacted on its own merits with little  
 regard to the implications for other appropriation bills.

"Every time we enact a program or an appropriation, we are in effect making a  
 priority decision, since we are decreasing the resources available for other programs.  
 Yet there are probably few members of Congress who have available to them a clear  
 and up-to-date picture of what has already been enacted or appropriated during  
 that session of Congress, what remains on the agenda or is likely to come up for  
 enactment or appropriation, or what constitutes the total amount of resources  
 available to the nation that year." (Congressional Record S-16805)

This lack of "a clear and up-to-date picture" may be due to the fact that there are, according to the report of the General Services Administration 1969-70 (pages 743-805) "approximately 6,000 departments, services, boards, councils, commissions, programs, committees, etc." Such a tremendous number of governmental units do indeed call for what Senator Javits refers to as "overview" .. some sort of coordinating mechanism.

One cannot help raise the questions: Is it reasonable to expect either the Congress or the Executive to efficiently exercise their respective responsibilities over this seething cauldron of agencies, departments, services, boards, councils, commissions, programs and committees?

The Hoover Commission report of 1953-54 commenting on the size of the government with some 1,700 agencies, departments and so on made the observation that this colossal governmental structure accounted for the "greatly weakened position of the individual in relation to his Government?" With a very much larger governmental structure the question of the individual's position vis-a-vis his government becomes more urgent. Is he becoming a statistic? Is a dehumanizing process taking place which accounts in part for his growing discontent?

Inasmuch as S3983 is concerned with the quality of living of the individual, establishing a mechanism relating to the prevailing social discontent should be a first step.

Questions such as the following call for answers:

Are campus disorders, racial clashes and other evidence of violence, passing phenomena, or are they symptoms of deep seated social malignancy?

Persisting as they have for several years, are they growing worse?

Are we able to devise social indicators enabling us to isolate and identify root causes, as well as measure their depth and seriousness?

Can we devise a social system as effective in its potential as that devised for our economic system?

Dr. Raymond Bauer of Harvard puts it this way: "Our Hang-up is that we don't have a model for the social system any where as precise as what the economists have for the economic system."

After more than a decade of research, analysis and consultation with literally scores of experts and specialists, permit me to state categorically in the affirmative; a viable system can be devised.

The following are specific requirements:

1. The latest and most sophisticated data processing equipment must be at the disposal of this working agency.
2. Expert programming is crucial.
3. Patterned on a miniature scale after the Congress, the Board of Trustees shall be chosen so as to provide view points representing Industry, Labor, Education, Humanities, Recreation and such others as may now or in the future have important impact on the lives and well being of the individual citizen.

Ferretting out the basic causes for the prevailing discontent is not an overnight project any more so than the Internal Revenue Service can identify every violator of its regulations. Each year however with fresh data pouring in and properly programmed it is closing in on them.

The information this Institute will supply Congress and The Executive should bring into increasingly clearer focus the workings of our governmental agencies as they relate to our citizens, not as statistics but as individuals increasingly pre-occupied with what is popularly known as the Quality of Living.

ADDENDUM

Because the projected institute for the Social Sciences is a radical departure, in many respects, from the conventional government agency, perhaps the following additional explanation is in order:

If we wish to produce an explosion, for example, chemists have learned how to combine certain elements in a prescribed combination. T.N.T. for example contains elements, carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen, as do scores of useful objects including food products, apparel etc. Knowing the proper combination of elements is all important.

We must not merely know the elements that create social explosion; ghetto housing, poor educational and recreational facilities, unemployment, racial friction, Vietnam among many others. We must know their priorities and the combinations that ignite into crises.

There are as many theories as there are experts to explain the Watts, Houghs, Asbury Parks and why they occurred when and where they did rather than in other seemingly similar environments. We cannot anticipate where the next social explosion will take place. We can only be reasonably certain there will be more.

The head of the F.B.I. stigmatizes one group in our society as the greatest internal menace we face. A member of the United States Senate is supposed to have announced that there were over 5,000 bombings in the last year and a half. He has reason to believe that there exists an organized plot.

It is of course most important that we have knowledge of any plots that we might effectively deal with them.

It remains most important that we determine the basic causes behind the frustrations and demoralizing discontents of the individual. It is the individual who makes up the group.

Today, unlike a quarter of a century ago, we possess the facilities to isolate, identify and weigh the elements causing social infection.

It is now possible to utilize the hundreds of millions spent on reports. It is possible to provide Congress with an overview, a coordinating mechanism that will bring the individual and his environment into a clearer overall focus.

## ADDENDUM II

## THE MYSTERY OF THE DISAPPEARING STOCK

During his presidency, the State of Virginia, wishing to record its appreciation of the services George Washington had rendered, made him a gift of stock in a public service corporation known as The Potomac Company. He accepted only with the understanding that the money would not be used by him personally but rather for a public purpose to be spelled out in his will. (He never accepted a penny compensation for service to his State or his Country).

The gift to President Washington was turned over to the Congress through his will. It reads "I give and bequeath in perpetuity the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid Acts of the Legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a University to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government...." In congressional messages, including his very last, Washington had repeatedly made his wishes known. A plot of land in the City of Washington had been surveyed and set aside by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, under the President's direction, because of his assurance that such an institution would be built.

The stock disappeared. Historians and researchers generally agree that the stock certificates were eventually lost or destroyed. Whether this took place during the investment of the Capitol by the British in 1812 or before or after is a mystery.

The Congress and the Treasurer of the United States were fully aware of the bequest. Short of a formal rejection their responsibility as custodians was established. Over the years eight presidents have urged the Congress to establish a national university as a living memorial. More than fifty bills have been introduced, none of which ever came out of committee.

Over a century later, in 1905, the Secretary of the Treasury L. M. Shaw, was for the first time "directed to inform the Senate what was the amount of the bequest made by George Washington to the United States for the foundation of the University and what appropriation was made of it." The Secretary of the Treasury replied that "In the will a bequest is made for the establishment of a University in the District of Columbia...." He referred to a published report by the former Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, Worthington C. Ford "that the object of the bequest was never carried out." The Treasury Department further acknowledged the value of the bequest at \$5000 (\$25,000.00). (Compounded at 5 per cent semi-annually the debt is now in excess of \$100 million.) He concluded: "...there is no record in the Treasury Department showing that the shares thus bequeathed or any moneys arising therefrom were ever received by the General Government."

The Act adopted by the Virginia Legislature creating the gift included a letter from George Washington refusing an earlier gift because "this Act, so far as it has for its object emolument... violated Washington's policy followed throughout his life, "to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense."

The Virginia Legislature complied by repealing this earlier Act (October, 1784) and directed that the gift shall "stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature, in such manner, and under such distributions, as the said George Washington, esq., by deed during his life, or by his last will and testament, shall direct and appoint." The gift could not revert back to the estate of Washington. It became and remained the property of the U.S. Government.

The need for a National University no longer exists. A careful reading of Washington's desires as revealed in his correspondence makes clear that establishing this Institute as a living memorial would fully discharge this long past due obligation.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Dr. Albert Biderman. You may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ALBERT BIDERMAN, BUREAU OF  
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH**

Dr. BIDERMAN. It is a double pleasure for me to be here this morning, Senator, first to give testimony to this important committee. This committee, itself, I think is an important move toward the general kinds of objectives to which the bill is addressed; secondly, to lend my support to the objectives of S. 3983.

My pleasure is diminished somewhat because I haven't had an opportunity to prepare myself as well as I had intended for the hearings on this proposed Institute. A bereavement a couple of weeks ago has kept me pretty much out of commission.

Senator MONDALE. I am sorry to hear that.

Dr. BIDERMAN. I did prepare a set of very specific comments on the bill which my secretary will bring over during the course of the morning.

Senator MONDALE. Very well.

Dr. BIDERMAN. We are dealing today with the latest in a series of proposals going back almost 200 years for the establishment of a major, integrating intellectual institution in the Capital of the Nation.

George Washington, along with most other leaders of the new republic, regarded it as inconceivable that one could have a great nation without a great seat of higher learning at its political center.

They were wrong, or right, depending upon whether you think the United States today is in all respects a great nation.

The United States developed with more extreme decentralization of intellectual life than has been the case of any other major nation. The proposals for a national university either were never consummated or resulted in compromises far short of the grand vision of the leaders of the new republic.

There were many reasons for this, not the least of them being that for so much of our history the national capital proved to be a rather idle and dismal place. Apart from delivering the mail, collecting customs and excise and maintaining an army and navy, the Federal establishment had little to do and was appropriately tiny.

Only those who had to be in Washington came here and for a long time few had to be here. I sometimes think that the invention of air-conditioning had as much to do with the growth of the Federal establishment in the Capital as the New Deal, or developments of transportation and communication.

The history of the national university movements, their failures and successes, their proponents and opponents, the many institutions of narrower purpose and vision that arose in their wake, this is a story involving many more details and complexities than can conveniently be related this morning. The slow and confusing growth of knowledge institutions in the Capital and their relations to the life of the Nation as a whole, I believe, can afford much instruction for considering the purposes of the bill before you and the pitfalls that have confronted such endeavors in the past.

In my statement, which has now been brought over, I have presented some data about the presence of social science resources in the Capital.

Senator MONDALE. We will include that at this point.

(The information referred to follows:)

Social Scientists in Washington

Washington is already the nation's largest social science research center. If we use the figures from the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel (1), we find that of all the metropolitan areas in the nation, only New York has more professional-level social scientists than Washington. It has only slightly more--4,887 in New York as compared with 4,356 in Washington. The excess in New York, moreover, is probably due to the large number of psychologists in that area--more psychologists per capita than any other major SMSA save Washington. It is likely that a large proportion of these psychologists are engaged in clinical practice rather than in the production or dissemination of knowledge. On a per capita basis, the number of social scientists in the capital area is a multiple of that in any other major SMSA--more than ten times that of areas such as Detroit and well over three times that of Boston, San Francisco or New York. Washington comes closer to having the representation of scientists and social scientists of a college town than that of a normal metropolis and this is particularly true in the fields of statistics, economics and political science. For comparisons, we have included Ann Arbor and Urbana-Champaign in a table showing scientists and social scientists per 100,000 for selected metropolitan areas (Table 1).

A higher percentage of all scientists in Washington are social scientists than in most cities or in the nation as a whole--26 per cent compared with 17 per cent--but the ratio of social scientists to all scientists for the capital area is no greater than that in New York. It is also about the same as in that university center of social science activity, Ann Arbor (Table 2). Nonetheless, in addition to having absolutely many more resident

economists, statisticians and political scientists than any other metropolitan area in the nation (or the world), it also has more sociologists and anthropologists than any other metropolis except New York.

The distribution of social scientists by field in Washington is strikingly different from that in other areas or in the nation as a whole. Economists and statisticians are lopsidedly over-represented; psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists are relatively sparse. Almost half of the social scientists in Washington are economists or statisticians, as compared with slightly over one-fourth for the nation as a whole. At the risk of being parochial, I will submit that the need for gaining stronger inputs of knowledge at the political center is primarily in these more social- and people-oriented fields, rather than in the more thing-oriented areas of economics or statistics (Table 3).

The distribution of social scientists is paralleled by differences in the opportunity structure as reflected in income differentials. Scientists in Washington average higher earnings than do those in any other major metropolitan area. For all scientists, the median salary in Washington is \$15,800, as contrasted with \$15,000 in areas such as Los Angeles and New York and \$13,000-\$13,600 in university centers and in metropolitan areas such as Detroit and Chicago. In Washington, unlike the case nationally, social scientists' earnings compare favorably with those of other scientists. Only for sociologists, linguists and anthropologists in Washington is the median annual salary less than that for all scientists (Table 4), and Washington sociologists are less disadvantaged in earnings than are sociologists nationally. The most striking aspect of the patterns of salaries by field, however, is the remarkably high earnings of economists and statisticians in Washington--capital area economists had a median annual salary of \$18,000 in 1968 as compared with

\$15,800 for all scientists, \$15,000 for sociologists, and \$12,000 for linguists. These are considerably broader discrepancies than is true nationally or in most other metropolitan areas.

For want of means, I have not secured from the NSF special tabulations I would have liked to have analysed on the characteristics of social scientists in the capital area as compared with other centers. Some clues can be gained, however, from data on all scientists. Although the Washington area is an important higher educational center with very high ratios of both college faculty and students to population as compared with other areas, only a very small proportion of its scientists are employed by education institutions--13.6 per cent as compared with 39.5 per cent nationally. Close to two-thirds of capital area scientists are employed by the federal government. Industry and business, as is to be expected, play a much smaller role as scientific employer in Washington than in the nation as a whole. About a third of the nation's scientists work for business, only 11 per cent do in Washington (Table 5). Washington scientists also have a primary activity other than research or teaching somewhat more prevalently than is the case nationally--well over half are not primarily engaged directly in these knowledge tasks (Table 6).

Nationwide in 1967, the federal government employed about 6,700 persons classed as professional social scientists (of whom 4,500 were economists), 2,000 psychologists and about 3,000 statisticians, according to an NSF survey (2). The definition of scientists was broader and the estimates far closer to the actual totals than is the case for National Register data. The survey on which I must rely did not differentiate between Washington and field employees. Again, however, the lopsidedness of the economics and statistics

categories is evident. The Civil Service managed to do nicely without a special classification "sociologist" until a couple of years ago, and the 1967 survey found only 136 professionals in the "anthropological sciences" category. Of the approximately 2,000 psychologists in federal employ, 44 per cent were engaged in clinical work.

The same heavy representation of economics is found in private centers in the capital engaged in broad, policy-relevant analysis. The Brookings Institution, for example, has one sociologist who is somewhat ambivalent in his status as such. The tiny organization I am with is probably the largest employer of PhD-level research sociologists in the capital area, outside of government and we have about 15.

TABLE 1  
 RATIO OF NATIONAL REGISTER SCIENTISTS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS TO 100,000 POPULATION  
 FOR SELECTED SMSA'S, 1968

SMSA	1968									
	Population Estimate <sup>a</sup>	All Scientists	All Social Scientists	Psychology	Statistics	Economics	Sociology	Political Science	Anthropology	Linguistics
Boston	3,238,600	276	48	20	1	11	7	5	2	2
Chicago	6,815,300	147	26	12	1	5	4	2	1	1
Detroit	4,127,400	76	16	9	*	3	2	2	*	*
Los Angeles	6,859,600	157	32	18	1	5	4	2	1	1
New York	11,550,600	161	42	21	2	9	5	3	1	1
San Francisco	2,999,200	262	44	20	2	9	6	3	2	2
Washington	2,696,600	613	161	39	19	60	13	23	2	5
Ann Arbor	240,500 <sup>b</sup>	1076	287	112	10	45	54	38	9	19
Champaign/Urbana	150,200 <sup>b</sup>	1316	248	82	5	84	32	21	7	17
Entire U.S.	201,100,000	148	26	11	1	6	3	3	1	1

<sup>a</sup>As of July 1, 1968, Bureau of the Census data.

<sup>b</sup>As of July 1, 1966 (the most recent figures available from the Bureau of the Census).

\*Less than .5

TABLE 2  
 RATIO OF NATIONAL REGISTER SOCIAL SCIENTISTS TO ALL SCIENTISTS  
 FOR SELECTED SMSA'S, 1968

SMSA	All Social Scientists N	Political Science Anthropology Linguistics							
		Psychology	Statistics	Economics	Sociology	Science	Anthropology	Linguistics	
Boston	8946	.07	*	.04	.03	.02	*	.01	
Chicago	10,049	.08	.01	.04	.03	.01	*	.01	
Detroit	3117	.12	*	.04	.02	.02	*	.01	
Los Angeles	10,807	.11	.01	.03	.02	.02	*	.01	
New York	18,611	.13	.01	.06	.03	.02	.01	*	
San Francisco	7868	.08	.01	.04	.02	.01	.01	*	
Washington	16,537	.06	.03	.10	.02	.04	*	.01	
Ann Arbor	2201	.10	.01	.04	.05	.04	.01	.02	
Champaign/ Urbana	1976	.06	*	.07	.02	.02	.01	.01	
Entire U.S.	297,942	.08	.01	.04	.02	.02	*	*	

\* Less than .005.

TABLE 3

PER CENT OF NATIONAL REGISTER SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN EACH FIELD  
FOR SELECTED SMSA'S, 1968  
(In percentages)

SMSA	All Social Scientists N	Political						
		Psychology	Statistics	Economics	Sociology	Science	Anthropology	Linguistics
Boston	1560	42	3	22	15	10	4	4
Chicago	1787	47	4	21	15	7	3	3
Detroit	647	57	2	18	10	9	2	2
Los Angeles	2175	57	4	15	11	8	2	3
New York	4887	51	4	22	11	8	2	2
San Francisco	1332	45	5	21	14	7	4	4
Washington, D.C.	4356	24	12	37	8	14	2	3
Ann Arbor	586	39	4	15	19	13	3	7
Champaign/ Urbana	372	33	2	34	13	8	3	7
Entire U.S.	51,800	45	5	22	13	10	2	3

TABLE 4  
 MEDIAN ANNUAL SALARY OF SCIENTISTS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS BY FIELD  
 FOR SELECTED SMSA's  
 (In dollars)

SMSA	All Scientists	Political Science					Anthropology					Linguistics				
		Psychology	Statistics	Economics	Sociology	Political Science	Anthropology	Linguistics	Anthropology	Linguistics	Anthropology	Linguistics	Anthropology	Linguistics		
Boston	14,000	13,000	15,500	15,000	13,000	12,500	13,500	11,800	12,500	12,500	13,500	11,800	12,500	11,800		
Chicago	13,600	13,800	13,900	16,800	13,000	12,000	14,000	12,500	12,000	12,000	14,000	12,500	12,000	12,500		
Detroit	13,100	13,700	--	14,500	11,000	10,800	--	--	10,800	10,800	--	--	--	--		
Los Angeles	15,000	14,500	16,000	15,200	12,000	12,000	12,400	12,500	12,000	12,000	12,400	12,500	12,000	12,500		
New York	15,000	14,000	14,000	17,000	13,000	13,000	12,700	12,000	13,000	13,000	12,700	12,000	12,000	12,000		
San Francisco	14,000	13,800	13,200	16,000	13,000	13,000	13,000	10,500	13,000	13,000	13,000	10,500	13,000	10,500		
Washington, D.C.	15,800	16,200	17,000	18,000	15,000	16,000	15,600	12,000	16,000	16,000	15,600	12,000	16,000	12,000		
Ann Arbor:	13,600	15,000	--	14,000	13,000	14,400	--	--	14,400	14,400	--	--	--	--		
Champaign/Urbana	13,000	14,000	--	15,500	13,500	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
Entire U.S.	13,200	13,200	14,900	15,000	12,000	12,000	12,700	11,500	12,000	12,000	12,700	11,500	12,000	11,500		

TABLE 5  
 NATIONAL REGISTER SCIENTISTS BY TYPE OF EMPLOYER  
 FOR SELECTED SMSA'S, 1968  
 (In percentages)

SMSA	All Scientists N	All Scientists %	Type of Employment								No Report of Employer	
			Educational Institu- tions	Federal Govern- ment	Other Govern- ment	Nonprofit Organi- zation	Industry and Business	Self- Employed	Mili- tary	Other		Not Employed
Boston	8946	100	44	8	1	7	29	2	1	1	4	3
Chicago	10,049	100	38	3	2	6	41	2	*	1	5	2
Detroit	3117	100	35	2	3	5	45	2	1	1	5	1
Los Angeles	10,807	100	35	3	3	8	40	4	1	*	4	2
New York	18,611	100	38	2	3	8	37	4	1	1	4	2
San Francisco	7868	100	40	10	4	7	25	2	4	1	5	2
Washington	16,537	100	14	54	2	6	11	1	7	1	3	1
Ann Arbor	2201	100	72	3	2	1	10	1	1	*	7	3
Champaign/ Urbana	1976	100	81	2	6	*	1	*	2	*	5	3
Entire U.S.	297,942	100	40	10	3	4	32	2	2	1	4	2

\* Less than 0.5.

TABLE 6

PRIMARY WORK ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL REGISTER SCIENTISTS  
 IN WASHINGTON AND ENTIRE U.S., 1968  
 (In percentages)

Primary Work Activity	Washington SMSA	Entire U.S.
Research & Development	37	32
Teaching	7	21
Other	50	39
Not employed	2	4
No report of work activities	4	4
Total	100	100
Total N	16,537	297,942

## REFERENCES

1. American Science Manpower 1968: A Report of the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, National Science Foundation, NSF 69-38. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.
2. Scientific and Technical Personnel in the Federal Government, 1967, National Science Foundation, NSF 69-26 (Surveys of Science Resources Series). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

Dr. BIDERMAN. Unfortunately, I have not been able to do as well in presenting some indication of the degree of incoherence in the organizational situation as I had been able to do in presenting characteristics of resident scholars in the Washington scene.

I think that the most important consideration I would like to introduce is that consideration of this bill should rest upon the best of social science understanding of the current and possible roles of social science knowledge in the political capital.

I will present some specific comments about provisions of the bill that derive from considerations I have developed in studying the organization of social science activities.

One undesirable feature of the bill is the dependence of the proposed Institute on annual appropriations by the Congress. To insure its independent status, the bill makes it a free-floating entity—not part of any other division or agency of government.

Independence is all well and good, but I have anxieties about creating an orphan that must also be a beggar. One hasn't really created an independent institute unless its financial independence has been insured.

George Washington presumably took care of this by leaving shares in the canal company. Some equivalent form of endowment, suited for the modern structure of intellectual activity, is appropriate.

In Norway, scientific activities are financed on a scale fairly handsome for so small a country by allocating to them the proceeds from the national football betting pool. A betting pool on the World Series would do the trick quite handsomely in the United States. Or maybe the proceeds from a tax on computers, communication satellite transmissions, or the proceeds from disposal of scrap military materiel.

Senator MONDALE. We are giving that away. We are not selling it.

Dr. BIDERMAN. An Institute which we would wish to have attuned to our long-range future as a Nation is less likely to be so if it is itself living from hand to mouth.

I would also prefer an Institute which involved a mix both of visiting fellows and of permanent fellows and supporting staff to one made up solely of the first.

The problems of intellectual life in the Capital have not stemmed from a dearth of able social scientists hanging their hat here for a year or so, but rather from the general absence of eminent men with a high degree of experience with and integration into the life of the Capital City.

I would also recommend that, in addition to the President and the Congress, the general public should be explicitly recognized as a client of the Institute and that it be one of the functions of the Institute to report to the public on social conditions, but with objectivity and eschewing advocacy.

The conception of the Institute in the present bill embraces a most important recognition of a defect in the organization and incentive structure of the social sciences. A key contribution of the Institute could be to reorient much of the research, data collection, and analytic activities undertaken or sponsored by the Federal Government away from the service of narrow, bureaucratic problem solving and project intelligence, and toward the kinds of uses to which the social sciences are actually better adapted.

These uses are the illumination of important social processes and trends. What is needed is a shift from the current situation in which most federally sponsored social science is seen as having either of two possible clients. In "basic" research, the clients are other scientists—usually of a particular discipline or subdiscipline. In applied research, the client is a particular agency with a specific problem to solve.

Relatively little Federal support goes to social science research in which the client is everyone in the country who has high concern with some important social phenomenon or problem, whether officials or general public. Of late, the principal source of such research support has been the ad hoc commission. The brief, hasty, discontinuous lives of such commissions make them in many ways less desirable mechanisms for pursuing these goals than an institute with permanence and continuity.

I am particularly pleased to see the features of this bill which suggest an emphasis on what I have elsewhere called the "enlightenment" functions of social research, rather than its "intelligence" or "engineering" functions.

Finally, I would prefer to see a bill which would not in any way freeze the form and function of the George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences, even in the very broad and relatively unrestrictive ways that would be done by S. 3983.

I realize that we have had almost two centuries of talking about the creation of an intellectual center in the Capital, and one can also be somewhat impatient about the creation of the durable memorial to the first President that has preoccupied so many illustrious men for so many years.

But very much has transpired with regard to building intellectual establishments in Washington and particularly so during the last several years. We are confronted now by a vast array of social scientific specialists in the Capital and in the Nation organized—to stretch that term—in a bewildering profusion of institutions and agencies.

Further, we are said to be at the threshold of a society in which institutions of knowledge are the central institution—the "knowledgeable" society Lane talks about or the "active one" of Etzioni's model. Our reliance is more than ever on the proposition Washington stated in his first State of the Union message—or should I say "social report"—"Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness."

My contention is that if we are to accept Washington's injunction to the Congress in this first message—"there is nothing better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science \* \* \*"—then surely we should turn to science for knowledge of how best to proceed toward that end.

We are talking now of establishing an institute to bring to bear on the policies of the Nation the knowledge and wisdom of the social sciences. To take this step without being fully informed by social scientific study of how it most wisely might be undertaken demeans either the value of the undertaking, or, much the same thing, of the ability of the social sciences to instruct our most important public enterprises.

I do not wish at all to derogate as factfinding devices the legislative hearing on the various conferences on this subject which Mr. Steiner's foundation has conducted. But they are not the same as research, scholarship, or the well-designed and conducted policy study.

To add paradox to paradox, it takes only the merest smattering of political science knowledge to recognize that a call for a study is the usual tactic of the obstructionist, rather than a proponent of a public measure. Yet, I wish to count myself as amongst the strongest proponents of the purposes of this bill and at the same time to call for study.

I would, therefore, respectfully recommend that the bill be modified to retain the statement of purpose, but to provide for the establishment of a study commission charged with providing a thorough grounding of fact and principle relevant to the implementation of these purposes.

Alternatively, if delay in the establishment of the Institute is felt unnecessary and imprudent, it should be specified as the first task of the Institute to conduct a thoroughgoing inquiry into how the resources of the social sciences might be organized for their wisest contribution to enlightened public policy.

The objectives of the Institute, as I see them, are to bring some integration, coherence, focus, direction, and summation to the now exceedingly elaborate processes of social knowledge generation at the national level.

It proposes adding a new institution and some additional people to the intellectual establishment of the capital.

Washington is already the Nation's largest social science research center.

As the data I am including with my testimony clearly display, the deficiencies in the social sciences, of which I speak, do not apply to economics, economic statistics, or the institutional, legal and discursive forms of political science. In speaking of the social sciences in the present connection, I really mean sociology, anthropology, social psychology, what not very descriptively is called behavioral political science, and perhaps most important of all, inter-, multi-, cross- and non-disciplinary approaches to the problems of society. What would be a quite useful institute function would be establishing truly integrated work of economists with that of other social sciences. The environmentalist movement and other contemporary problems are bringing home to economists the importance of the externalities of economic activities, as well as the difficulty or impossibility of internalizing all such externalities within market or quasi-market types of decision frameworks. As a consequence there may be greater disposition of economists to entertain the reality of noneconomic forms of value and systems of rational decision other than those grounded in marginal utility. I take it as an objective of the proposed Institute to bring to greater attention those objects of human need and value which are currently neglected in our economic calculus; that is, those which are not, or are not readily, marketable, ownable, appropriatable, divisible, monetarily calculable, controllable, exhaustible, tangible, taxable, addable, or edible.

Of objects of human need and desire, that class which possesses these attributes in most refined degree is general scientific knowledge, and even more particularly, knowledge of our social state and the

general human condition. These are quintessentially public goods. A keen sense for this disposed George Washington to commend the support of the development and diffusion of knowledge as among the highest purposes of the general government. In this recognition of the public character of knowledge, and the need for its support by the central government, he was fully joined by colleagues such as Jefferson who were even more radically disposed than he was to restrict the role of the general government.

Imbalances in the attentions and powers of the social sciences have retarded our development of a precise rational calculus applicable to such public or social values. Pending a redress of these imbalances which may afford more precise bases of calculation, I hope the Congress will apply the accurate albeit intuitive estimations of the Republic's founders in deciding what worth as an object of public expenditure should be accorded the purposes of the proposed George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences.

Senator MONDALE. I gather, then, it is your position that you see merit in this proposed institute; provided it has an independent source of funding, provided, also, that its future directions, as a growing institution, be left open—rather than being mandated and restricted in current legislation; and provided that, thirdly, it began by a study which seeks to structure it in a way—in the most sophisticated way—to bring to bear the best insights of which social science is capable upon the policymaking judgments in Washington.

That is the broad outline of your suggestion?

Dr. BIDERMAN. Yes, sir. I have been attempting to develop information and understanding for a number of years on just what goes on as far as the development and provision of social science; how it feeds into the processes of policy decision; who does what, when, and how, for whom.

The resources I, and others, have been able to bring to the study of this problem, this most central problem of the country today, are far too insufficient to even make available the most elementary facts of what are the personnel resources of the social sciences, what are the possibilities of transfers between institutions, occupations, and roles among them, what is the organizational structure of the social science knowledge business.

Very specifically, we are talking about having an institution to bring greater order to what I find a most bewildering complex of institutions currently in the capital scene.

I think this should be the subject of social science study if we are going to proceed to the establishment of a social science institute.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Doctor, for your statement. The staff will review the research data and other information that we included in the record.

(The biographical data on Dr. Biderman follow:)

#### BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Albert D. Biderman, a sociologist, has been a research associate of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., a Washington non-profit institution, since 1957. He was a research fellow of the Human Ecology Fund (1956-1957), a U.S. Air Force research social psychologist (1952-1956) and an instructor in sociology at the Illinois Institute of Technology (1948-1952). He received his BA (economics) from New York University and his MA and PhD (sociology) from the University of Chicago. His research on the organization and uses of the social sciences is

currently supported by the Russell Sage Foundation. Since his 1963 monograph, "Social Indicators and Goals," he has participated in discussions and planning for social measurement. He was a member of the HEW Panel on Social Indicators, is now serving on an *ad hoc* advisory committee to the Executive Office on this subject, and as a consultant to the Bureau of the Census. He has a special interest in intellectual institutions of the capital, has been for several years a member of the George Washington Memorial Foundation's national committee, and, in 1965, gave, as presidential address to the District of Columbia Sociological Society, "Higher Education in the National Capital—A 175-Year-Old Crisis." He is author and editor of articles and books in the social sciences. He resides at 6247 North Kensington Street, McLean, Virginia and his office is at 1200-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Senator MONDALE. I don't believe Dr. Etzioni is here this morning. Our final witness this morning is Elliott R. Morss.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ELLIOTT R. MORSS, CONSULTANT,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Senator MONDALE. I see where you propose that initial statements be limited to 2 minutes. Does that apply to you also?

Dr. MORSS. I will certainly try, sir.

Senator MONDALE. We will include your statement in the record as though read and you can make opening remarks.

Dr. MORSS. Just let me highlight what my statement says in, hopefully, 2 minutes.

I have been here in Washington for the last year studying its social science information systems.

I won't go through my roadmapping of other research support proposals before Congress relating both to the executive and to the Congress because I spelled them out here in the testimony.

Senator MONDALE. I have read your statement.

Dr. MORSS. Very good.

My only suggestion in terms of specifics that I should mention here concerning the proposed institute would be that Fellows should be drawn from congressional staffs as well as academia and outside so as to make sure that the sorts of things that the institute took up were relevant and would plug into what is going on in Congress.

I just want to mention briefly the other things I suggest Congress can do itself.

One is to give a little more warning when hearings are going to be held.

I know there are occasions when hearings must be held on the spur of the moment, but in most cases, substantial advance warning could be given. As is spelled out in my statement, I would like to see Congress start a new publication which would give advance warning on future hearings. At the very least, both Houses could pass resolutions requiring subcommittees to make public a list of anticipated hearings at the beginning of each session with provision for immediate updates.

Secondly, it should develop a social science research inventory.

Thirdly, the tax treatment of public interest groups needs drastic revision.

For example, I recently appeared on behalf of Taxation With Representation, a new public interest group, in opposition to the administration's DISC proposal to provide tax deferrals for U.S. exporters. It is a complex issue, and my prepared testimony ran to 30 pages. Under current tax law, no tax deduction would be permitted to

a private citizen who made a contribution to cover my duplicating costs (which ran to over \$200). In contrast, contributions to business lobbies are fully deductible as business expenses. This tax treatment discriminates unfairly against the private citizen in favor of business.

Finally, the only other comment I should make at this point is that it is a waste of your valuable time to have to sit here while people read their statements. My suggestion, as I mentioned in my testimony, is to require that hearings testimony be presented 2 days in advance and that a 2-minute limit on readings of the initial statement of witnesses be introduced.

Senator MONDALE. The advance submission requirement is embodied in the rules of virtually every committee. The Congress has proved incompetent in enforcing that policy and very rarely are we able to get testimony in advance so our staffs can read it and review it; and flag the key policy questions involved.

I think it would make the hearing process far more fruitful. Executive witnesses traditionally don't want you to have a chance to go over their testimony because you might come up with some tough questions. Often they come with an addendum which they read which isn't included in the statement. They don't want you to prepare questions while they are reading their prepared statement.

I think this shows how the Government information is "baloney" and not hard social science information which one expects in the classroom or in a freshman term paper.

When you say no one listens, you are absolutely correct, unless he happens to have a special interest, and then he will listen quite a bit. The Executive right now is very anxious to pursue a strategy in desegregation which is the key issue in American education. They are anxious to please the South and the North. That is quite a job. They are spending full time on what I think is an unachievable objective. They are at that, full time, getting the answers they want.

Other matters like hunger, health, the miserable plight of the migrant, and all the rest, are unattended. What some of us try to do through the hearing process is to make these issues visible and to gain national attention so that progress might be made through the exercise of political will.

What politicians feel politically they have to spend time on, that is really the only—

Dr. MORSS. Could I break in on that point?

I fully agree with your characterization of the fact that you are not going to get the most objective and clear social science testimony from administration witnesses. After all, the President wants his programs enacted, and he should have a chance to sell you on them. What happened to the family assistance program before the Senate Finance Committee was a small tragedy, and I think in this particular case my sympathy lies with the administration.

The fact of the matter is that both Congress and the Executive have axes to grind, and consequently, if you want objective testimony, word has to get out. Word has to get out to the universities around the country that Congress is now going to listen and that there is going to be a hearing and if you have something to say, this is your chance to say it and have a tremendous impact on policy.

Senator MONDALE. I think the idea of a data bank which catalogs the experts, the material, is a very valuable suggestion.

Dr. MORSS. I was talking with someone the other night, who will be unknown, who is on a congressional committee. She told me one of the most common practices used to line up witnesses is to visit the neighborhood book store and see who has come out with a book on the particular subject of the hearings. This isn't all that bad a selection technique, but you will miss some very good people by using it.

I was at the University of Michigan and at Harvard for 4 of the last 7 years and I was always snapping my fingers and saying, "Congress held a hearing on that yesterday."

In addition to the data bank idea, I would stress the need to give some sort of advance warning to these social scientists around the country.

One other point that I think is tremendously important. What you said earlier about getting information of a quantitative nature to you. You can't expect a research institute to do this. This is a very tough thing to do and, from my experience working at the OEO, you have got to get the appropriate executive agencies and departments to do it. To think that you are going to bring in visiting scholars to count, for example, hungry migratory workers, is unrealistic. This isn't the sort of thing that social scientists do. You have to get a tough administrator with real political clout and a clear idea as to what data he wants, to go around to the agencies and departments.

Senator MONDALE. What you would recommend is something like a social science General Accounting Office?

Dr. MORSS. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. I agree with you.

If they give Senators a runaround, which they always do, what are they going to do to some poor visiting professor when he calls and wants to know something about an agency. I am appalled to think what that poor man will go through.

That is one of the reasons that, in thrashing around with this problem, we proposed S. 5, the Full Opportunity Act. I think there is hope that we can enact it this year. I think it is through the tension between the Joint Economic Committee and the Council of Economic Advisers that we have achieved a useful annual economic report and various sophisticated learning processes. These have not only helped the Government, but I think have fed back into the discipline of economics and made it far more contemporary and relevant.

Dr. MORSS. There is a point here about the analogy that you draw between the social report and the economic report that I think needs to be stressed.

In economics we were in great good fortune back in the late 30's that John Maynard Keynes happened to be building his now well-known economic model at the same time the Census Bureau in Washington started collecting data that by chance fitted it.

The situation that we have now is very different as regards a social model. The Federal Government has gathered a tremendous amount of social data in a rather haphazard fashion—haphazard because we lack a social model. As you say, it is not that the people aren't collecting data, it just gets piled up and not used. This is largely because there hasn't been a model. We are going to have to spend a little time figuring out what sort of a model we want to build.

You have some specific ideas about data that you would like to know about and I am sure that a list of such items could be assembled, but it would be very important to make sure that they were the types that were going to be of a recurrent need, otherwise it is much cheaper to make a survey.

If you want to know about hunger on a one-shot basis, just go out and do a survey. The only things you want collected continually are things you are going to use on a recurrent basis.

Senator MONDALE. The only way that I know of to try to come closer is the institution of a Council of Social Advisers and a Joint Social Committee out of which a tension would develop between the Executive and the Congress for what kind of data and in what form data should be developed.

We will "thrash around," as did the Council of Economic Advisers, maybe for some years in trying to push the social science community in developing indices, and general lines of attack. It is true that economics, some parts of it, are far more subject to quantification. How many people are hungry, how many people are in rotten housing, how many people are on welfare, and who they are. It took nearly two years to find that out because no one had bothered to gather that data.

It is significant that in the environment field, we now have a Council on Environmental Quality. What I am afraid of is that this thing is going to get so compartmentalized that the President is going to have to meet these councils in the Kennedy Memorial Stadium every Friday afternoon.

S-5 is now before the Senate. The administration is opposed to it. The previous administration didn't like it either. It is this kind of institution that is going to enforce candor which every Executive Branch has resented. It is significant that those who opposed it in the previous administration are testifying favorably now that, "We can tell you," and, "It would be very helpful to have this."

Dr. MORSS. I notice that in the bill that was reported out there was no inclusion of a joint committee.

Senator MONDALE. I pointed out that we hope that will be included in conference. I think, without it, we will lose a lot of what is needed. (The prepared statement of Mr. Morss follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ELLIOTT R. MORSS, CONSULTANT,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: Since I am quite sure that none of you have heard of me, let me start by briefly sketching out my background and the reasons for my interest in Senator McGovern's bill. Since receiving a doctorate in political economy from the Johns Hopkins University seven years ago, I have spent most of my time in academia, first at the University of Michigan and later, after a two-year stint with the International Monetary Fund, at Harvard. Last spring, I gave up the academic profession for the time being because "no one was listening." Here, I am not referring primarily to students (although they did have things other than course work on their minds) but to the fact that much of the good social science research being done was not getting through to policy-makers.

During the last year, I have been trying to find out why policy-makers are not listening. Specifically, I have been making a rather intensive study of social science information systems, with particular emphasis on the problems of getting social science findings through to Washington policy-makers. For six months, I did this as information Services Director of the Center for Political Research. Since

January, I have carried this on in my current capacity as a private consultant where one of my jobs has been to study the information network of the Office of Economic Opportunity and in my role as a public interest witness for Taxation with Representation.

Today, I want to share with you my findings on social science research with particular emphasis on how they bear on Senator McGovern's bill.

#### INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

That the country is beset with serious social problems is self-evident. But, given certain basic truths about societies, given the U.S. institutional setting, and given the manner in which our political process operates, it does not necessarily follow that the establishment of a new institute to "speed systematic ideas through all parts," to promote social science research, to collect and synthesize social science research and to organize seminars and conferences, will make a meaningful contribution to the solution of our major social problems. indeed, I am very skeptical. However, while such an institute might turn out to be a boonboggle, there is a serious need to bring more social science research to bear on policy questions. And, I do feel that with some hard preliminary work and a little luck, a useful role could be played by a research institute of the type mentioned in Senator McGovern's bill if it were made "an autonomous arm" of Congress.

Before taking up each point separately, let me come at them from a slightly different direction. The nation is getting a very small return on its social science research. This is because:

- (a) There is a rather naive, overly optimistic view of what social science research can do.
- (b) Little of the research relates directly to policy questions.
- (c) Of that which does, little gets through to policy-makers.
- (d) Policy-makers are usually unwilling or unable to act on research findings because of political or institutional barriers.

There is a large number of social scientists and other interested groups competing for the attention of the Washington policy-makers, and if pending legislation in a number of areas is approved, there will be even more.

This raises the question of whether one should attempt to raise the return on social science research through existing institutions or through the establishment of a new one. On balance, and with a number of reservations, I lean towards the establishment of a new one, but only if it is made an independent arm of Congress.

#### THE LIMITS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

In every society there is, to a greater or lesser degree, continual warfare going on between the "haves" and the "have-nots." For a number of well-known reasons that I will not go into, this conflict has intensified recently in the United States. This warfare, which manifests itself in struggles for power, influence, and wealth, lies at the heart of most of our social problems and is really not amendable to solution by social science research.

Indeed, social science research is distrusted by both the haves and the have-nots. Many of the haves view it as little more than a means of developing a rationalization for taking away what they have. The have-nots, on the other hand, view it as a delay mechanism.

These facts, which are basic, put severe limits on what social science research can do to alleviate our social problems under the most favorable institutional and political conditions. I stress this obvious point only because recent rhetoric equates more social science research with the almost automatic solution of our social problems. I turn now to the barriers to the usefulness of social science research resulting from our institutional and political setting.

#### THE INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL SETTING IN WASHINGTON

Much of what I say under this heading stems from my yearlong study of social science information systems in Washington. The first point goes back to one made earlier: getting policymakers to listen. In going from one government office to another, I became increasingly depressed by finding excellent research reports piled high, reports upon which no action had been taken.

The reasons for this inaction are not hard to find. There are obvious political considerations involved. But perhaps more important is the continual deluge of good and bad information fed to policy-makers, which means, because he is

not particularly good at separating wheat from chaff, he has little time to concentrate on the good research. Quite often, the writers of the good studies lack the energy and knowledge on how to follow through on their written studies to the point of policy implementation.

The problems then feed on themselves. The good researchers, realizing their reports are not being read by policy-makers, change the focus of their work from important policy questions to studies that will move them ahead most rapidly in their profession. This often means orienting their efforts towards publishing in their professional journals, a pursuit which all too frequently has little bearing on policy questions.

A quick review of the institutional setting in Washington is quite useful in illuminating the problem of getting policymakers to listen. Taking the Executive side first, virtually every agency involved in social programs has one and usually more divisions devoted entirely to social science research. This is certainly true in the Departments of Defense, Health, Education, Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Labor and Commerce, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the National Science Foundation. All but three of these have large in-house staffs to do social research, and each contracts out millions of dollars of research annually. But even these "in-house" groups are having considerable difficulty in getting their research findings manifested in their own Department's policy recommendations because Department Secretaries appear to be relying for guidance increasingly on their immediate staffs, most of whom are political appointees with little or no appreciation for what constitutes good research. The result is that the research divisions atrophy; the good people either leave or become cynical and frustrated bureaucrats or content themselves by writing articles to enhance their prestige in their particular profession.

But assuming something does get Department support, the next problem is getting White House backing. There is considerable dissatisfaction exhibited in most Departments currently over the caliber of some of the President's immediate advisors on social policy. Good proposals are being put aside without any reasons being given. It is possible that the quality of Executive decisions will improve as a result of the establishment of the President's Domestic Council. The Council is supposed to employ 50 professionals on its in-house staff, and these people will presumably do much of their own research. So it is doubtful that this move will increase the accessibility of good non-executive research groups to social policy-makers in the White House.

The problem of gaining accessibility to Executive policy-makers is seen in the experience of the Urban Institute, which was set up a few years back to do independent research in the urban field. Perhaps it is unfair to make a judgment on the Institute's usefulness so soon, but it is clear that the Institute is still struggling to find policy-makers willing to listen.

Legislation pending before the Senate to set up a Council of Social Advisors (S. 5) makes the future accessibility of independent research groups to Executive policy-makers even less clear. And on top of this, a new set of research groups dealing with environment issues are about to come into being which will further increase the competition for the ears of the Executive policy-makers.

At this point, a word should be said about the Executive's efforts to collect social science research and data in computer-retrievable form. Considerable amounts of time and money have been spent to collect such information in recent years. For example, the Office of Education has two computerized data banks—one on the results of completed education-related research (ERIC) and the other on on-going research under government contract. Also contemplated but stymied at this point by lack of funds is a clearinghouse on urban research on HUD.

As regards data, there are a number of executive organizations that have social and economic data broken down by communities and Congressional districts in computerized data banks. Such banks exist in OEO, EDA, the Office of Emergency Planning and a new one is being built at NIMH.

The experience with the data banks to this point has been very bad. Development of the needed information retrieval software was extraordinarily costly with each group starting from scratch. Because of poor documentation and other factors, the software frequently could not be made operative. The data put into the banks are outdated, unreliable, and quite frequently, irrelevant. The irrelevancy stems from an inadequate effort given to determining the information needs of the potential users. The message here for any new research organization is clear: move slowly and cautiously when it comes to developing computerized data banks.

Before leaving the Executive, mention should be made of the large number of private profit and non-profit organizations doing social science research with an eye to influencing social policy. The Ford Foundation, the National Planning Association, the Brookings Institution, and Robert Nathan Associates are four examples of such organizations.

So much for the brief survey of social science research as it relates to the Executive. Perhaps the setting could best be described as a poorly administered competitive jungle with very little room for newcomers.

The situation in Congress is quite different. For a number of largely political reasons, Congress has not until recently made much of an effort to obtain a high-quality research input of its own. But some sort of a rush appears now to be on, spurred largely by the awareness that Congress has lost the initiative in legislative matters to the Executive.

First, there are the efforts to beef up the General Accounting Office. Secondly, there is Title III of the yet-to-be passed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 which would turn the Legislative Reference Service into the Congressional Research Service. Under this proposal, the staff and research capabilities of Legislative Reference would be increased substantially, with particular emphasis being given to assisting Congressional committee staffs with their work.

Title II of the Full Opportunity Act (S. 5) would establish an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis responsible to Congress. Among other things, this office would be required to provide Congress with an annual report on national priorities and the Federal Budget similar in scope I would guess to the excellent book done recently by Charles L. Schultze of the Brookings Institution (*Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget*). S. 5 also originally included provision for a Joint Social Committee similar in organization to the Joint Economic Committee, but this was deleted in Committee.

Recent Congressional concern about the lack of computer support is another example of a growing realization in the Legislative branch of the need for more research support. Highlights here include work by Congressman Sisk's House Rules Subcommittee, Congressman Brooks' House Government Operations Subcommittee, and Congressman Waggonner's House Administration Subcommittee. Of particular interest is the forthcoming survey of Congressional information needs by a working group formed by Congressman Waggonner's Subcommittee.

In this context, mention should also be made of S. 508 introduced by Senator Harris and others to establish a National Foundation for the Social Sciences. The Foundation would be a funding operation for social science research and would presumably take over the responsibilities in this field from the National Science Foundation.

In sum, the situation in Congress is a growing awareness of the need for a social science research input but little certainty at this point about precisely what is needed and what form it should take.

#### THE GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

Following this very brief trip through the Federal Government, I want now to focus on the subject of this hearing: the proposal to establish an independent social science research institute. My first conclusion is that it would be a serious mistake to establish a totally independent organization. While perhaps it would provide social scientists with an opportunity to spend a pleasant year in Washington doing research on policy-related problems, nobody would listen very hard to what they said. And soon, their interests would become somewhat less policy-oriented and somewhat more related to what happened to be the publication criteria for their professional journals.

Consequently, I would suggest that such an institute should be answerable "at arms length" to a government policy organ. My survey above suggests that Congress needs a social science research input while the Executive is suffering from a surfeit of such inputs. Consequently, I would urge that the Institute should be made responsive to the long-run needs of Congress.

It may be argued that the establishment of such an institute would be redundant if the research role of the Legislative Reference Service is expanded as is suggested in the Legislative Reorganization Act. Perhaps this would be the case. However, I feel the history of Legislative Reference as a servant of Congress argues against asking it to exercise the sort of independence in formulating and carrying through on the sort of research program I feel is needed at this time.

As to the specifics of how the Institute might remain independent while at the same time responsive to Congressional needs, I would suggest the following. At the beginning of each Congress, the Board of Trustees of the Institute (which would be made up of members of the Legislative Branch and perhaps a few public representatives) would make a list of the major issues likely to face Congress over the following two years. The Institute's executive director would then work out a research program to meet some of the information needs of Congress related to these issues.

To insure close Congressional links, the Institute's fellows should include staff members from Congressional Committees as well as representatives from academia. Attempts should be made to develop research teams having both an academic and a staff man.

At this point, I want to mention a potential redundancy in S. 3983. Section 6(3) requires the Institute to "prepare and submit to the President and the Congress in February of each year a report relating to social conditions and policies." S. 5, Section 102 of Title I gives the Council of Social Advisors the same responsibility.

#### RELATED STEPS CONGRESS SHOULD TAKE TO INCREASE THE FLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Whether or not the Institute comes into being, there are a number of other steps Congress should take if it is sincere in its desire to bring more social science research to bear on policy. The first relates to hearings. In my public interest work, I have found that there are a large number of social scientists who could provide useful testimony but don't because they do not have sufficient time to prepare testimony. I know there are cases when hearings have to be scheduled within the week without advance warning, but these cases should be the exception and not the rule. I would like to see Congress publish at the beginning of each session a list of probable hearings to be held during the session with rough estimates of dates. This document might be updated weekly.

Congress might also ask Legislative Reference to develop a data bank on social scientists retrievable by their area of expertise. This could be used to select witnesses to testify at hearings. Any steps along these lines would be an improvement over the quite arbitrary methods used today.

And finally, steps should be taken to reduce the amount of valuable time you waste by sitting in hearings listening to witnesses read their testimony. Why not require each witness to submit his testimony two days in advance with a short summary and then limit his initial statement to two minutes? With the two days lead time, you staffs could prepare a list of questions that really need to be discussed.

#### CONCLUSION

There are considerable problems involved in plugging the nation's social science research into policy considerations. And yet despite these problems, I am convinced that substantial potential benefits exist. The key is to insure that policy-makers will listen. Since there is a chance that Congress will listen, I would recommend the establishment of the George Washington Memorial Institute provided it is made an autonomous arm of Congress. If it is felt that the Institute should not be tied to Congress, I would recommend that something else be done with George Washington's bequest.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for your most useful statement.

I order the staff to supply for the record to be printed at this point, the statements of those who could not attend and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be able to supplement the other testimony in behalf of S. 3983 establishing a George Washington Memorial Institute for the Social Sciences. I should like to note here that I have introduced an identical bill (H.R. 18551) and I earnestly hope both Houses will act promptly on these measures.

Senator McGovern and Mr. Steiner have already presented compelling testimony on the over-all need for the role the Institute on the Social Sciences could play in helping the other two Branches. Here, I should like briefly to underscore the importance of independent sources of advice for the Congress and to suggest that the Institute could increase the timeliness and relevance of such advice.

The Chairman's bill (the Full Opportunity Act—S. 5) establishes an Office of Goals and Priorities Analysis to serve the Congress "in its examination of budget proposals, program costs and effectiveness, appropriations, and the national priorities revealed in this spending . . ."

I am pleased that the Senate has already approved S. 5 and I hope for prompt House approval. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 provides for a strengthened Congressional Research Service and specialized training for the professional staffs of the standing committees. Numerous informal efforts, moreover, are underway to raise the policy perceptions of Members of both Houses and to elicit fresh insights in multi-jurisdictional areas. Recently, for example, Ben Rosenthal and I headed a bi-partisan group of House Members in a two-day televised hearing on the development of a national nutrition policy.

We should note that the proposed Institute—

- (1) Has a problem-solving orientation
- (2) Can bring in, from a *national* base, younger scholars and analysts from the social sciences, and
- (3) Will be able to organize seminars in the crucial policy areas (which seminars, hopefully, would include members and professional staff of the Congress).

These capabilities would give the Institute, in my judgment, an unparalleled opportunity to improve the policy-making function of the Congress in the last third of the twentieth century through its support of both the new formal means of Congressional evaluation and the developing informal channels.

Mr. Chairman, I hope your Subcommittee sees fit to give favorable consideration to S. 3983 during this Congress.

Senator MONDALE. We will now adjourn this hearing. Thank you again for your interest in this particular bill and your taking the time and trouble to appear.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



