

December 16, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM:

KEN COLE

As a part of my discussion with Garment this morning on the National Goals Research Staff, I talked with him briefly about Ray Bauer. I asked him if it was still the deal that Ray Bauer would be here about three weeks and then leave as you mentioned to me this morning. Garment says he thinks that the deal is that Bauer will be here about three months and then will leave. I also must quickly add that although Garment seems to have agreed to this, he is still harboring in the back of his mind the grand plan that Bauer may still be allowed to stay around as a part of the National Goals team.

Garment has agreed to keep Bauer hidden from anybody's view for as long as he is here, and because of this, I believe we can defer a decision on his final departure date until I get a long range plan worked up.

To life the curtain a bit, I plan to propose a way whereby the National Goals Research effort, perhaps under a different name, can be cranked into the Domestic Policy Council as a long range planning group reporting to the Council. It would do the same thing that it does now but without the broad unstructured franchise. I talked with Charles Williams, Garment and Ray Bauer briefly about the merits of this kind of thing this morning, and I think that it can be pulled off as they are hungry for direction and since we've got them around we might as well give it to them.

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December 12, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN BROWN

With regard to the National Goals Research Staff, I would suggest that, at least for the time being, they continue to be accommodated, to the degree possible, by the White House. The President in his statement of July 13 said that he would "establish within the White House a National Goals Research Staff". In view of this public statement, we would be inconsistent if we were to attempt to spin this group out of the White House. Using White House stationery, address, etc. is not a very large price to pay.

The problem here really is how to get them to work more closely with members of the White House staff as opposed to spinning them off on their own where their work will, without doubt, become a National Goals Research Staff product instead of the President's product. If this occurs, it will be to the severe disadvantage of the President.

From Williams' memo to Garment, it is apparent that they have their personnel situation under control and that travel and other resultant costs are also being taken care of by other than White House sources.

If it is possible to get GSA to provide typewriters, telephones and office space, as well as some other minor moving modifications, and that none of this is attributable to the White House budget then I would suggest we authorize Williams to proceed.

If you have any questions, please let me know.

13/
KEN COLE

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1969

FOR: LEONARD GARMENT

FROM: Charles Williams

Issues which we thought were long settled keep arising. Discussion with John Brown raised the following basic questions:

(1) He equates our move to FOB-7 as a basic change in status, i.e. no longer an integral part of the White House Staff. This would mean separate stationery, address and all the rest, including ambiguous lines of authority and reporting. It would be a basic change in concept, the President's public statement, and the basis on which we have negotiated with institutions, individuals and government agencies for their involvement and support. I do not know why this issue arises but would you please confirm our status. This is critical.

(2) A number of administrative decisions are necessary in connection with the FOB-7 location:

- a. What agency will provide the furniture and equipment? It looks like nearly all furniture needs can be met by transferring Violence Commission items plus the things now on hand or coming out of the West Wing. However, typewriters, etc. are also needed. My suggestion is that we request the GSA to equip the offices, including minor modifications like moving partitions.
- b. Who will pay phone bills and other general support costs? I again suggest GSA as an adjunct to their general governmental support responsibilities.
- c. We will negotiate for agency details to cover all salary costs as at present.
- d. Travel and consultant costs will be funded by other than the White House as at present.
- e. Publication costs will have to be worked out when the report manuscript is ready.

MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE FILE

DATE

12/23/69

EXECUTIVE

FG 6-13

WE

ME

PR 16

LETTER, MEMO, ETC.

TO:

John Brown

FROM:

Ken Cole

FG 6-11-1/Ehrlichman,
John

SUBJECT:

Guests for White
House Conference on
National Goals

FG 6-11-1/Brown,
John

PR 5-3

x Joel Broyhill

Special Files
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1969

John:

Attached are Ray Bauer's thoughts
on Califano's testimony before the
Mondale Subcommittee. I concur
with these thoughts.

leng.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

FG6-13

SP/FG6-11-1/Califano

FG999

December 29, 1969

FOR : LEONARD GARMENT

FROM: Raymond Bauer

This is a response to Califano's testimony before Senator Mondale Subcommittee on December 16, 1969. Califano makes three points: (1) we should have social statistics (social indicators) which do a better job of measuring noneconomic phenomena; (2) it was a mistake to cut taxes on a strictly economic basis when there are so many pressing social problems; and (3) there should be a Council of Social Advisors.

I will pass up any comment on proposition two.

There has developed a general consensus over the past several years over the need for better social statistics. Califano's statement of the reason for wanting such social indicators, and of the difficulties of making such measures, are accurate reflections of this consensus and concur with my judgement. The National Goals Research Staff is presently working with the Office of Statistical Policy in the Bureau of the Budget to review the state of noneconomic social statistics. We are planning with them the development of a regular publication based on ongoing statistical series and the steps that will be required to develop new measures to fill existing gaps.* From an action point of view, it would be very useful if the 1971 budget were to reflect the need for better social data. Not only do we need to begin developing new series, but we need to have available to us the data which is already being gathered. There are presently instances of much needed data which has already been gathered but which can not be processed because of the lack of personnel. For example, a national health survey was conducted in 1963. A very large sample, I believe 40,000 people, received physical examinations and the state of their health was determined. Some of these data are now becoming available for the first time. A knowledgeable person on this issue is Lawrence Bloomberg in the Bureau of the Budget.

* This is done in accordance with the explicit direction of the President's statement of July 13, 1969, announcing the formation of NGRS.

The proposal for a Council on Social Advisors raises two issues. The first is whether there should be a Council and the second is where it should be located. I do not feel that I am personally in an objective position on the first question since the NGRS may have built into it many of the functions which such a Council might serve. Certainly there is a need for the executive branch and the public to have available to it better reporting of noneconomic data, and the executive branch would benefit from more systematic access to the judgement of competent behavioral scientists. This means that in principle I would favor the concept of the Council of Social Advisors. It may be that some interim experience with the NGRS might be a way of testing many of the practical aspects of this proposal. It should be pointed out, however, that the circumstances under which the NGRS is staffed does not give us the disciplinary expertise that presumably is available under Mondale's formula. The weight of the NGRS staff is toward bureaucratic generalists rather than toward disciplinary specialists. We will operate via liaison with the specialists.

I sympathize with Califano's desire to minimize the number of entities reporting to the President. However, as of a little over a year ago, it is my information that his idea that this function be folded into the Council of Economic Advisors was rejected by the Council.

The present Council may feel differently. In principle, I favor his idea, especially since it would do away with a false dichotomy between the economic and noneconomic aspects of this society. In practice, I think it would be important to make sure that the neophyte (social advisors) were not overwhelmed by the prestige and status of the economic advisors. On the other hand, it might be preferable to look at the National Goals Research Staff as the first version of a Council of Social Advisors and see how it works out. I am informed privately that Senator Mondale regards the NGRS in such a light and is angry that the Administration has to some extent spiked his guns.

EXECUTIVE

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ND 21
WE 10
7/12/6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/27

February 10, 1970

NOTE TO JON ROSE

Charlie ^xWilliams of the National
Goals Research Staff sent this to me
and against the possibility that it may
be of use to anyone over your way working
on the draft/national service subject, I
pass it along.

If something very serious is
being done on this, Leonard and I would
be interested in learning a bit more
about same.

^xRichard W. Boone
^xNorman H. Furland

^xCitizens' Crusade Against Poverty

Being also sent to
Central Files as of 5/26/70
W.R.

February 12, 1970

TO: JOHN BROWN
FROM: BILL HOPKINS

EXECUTIVE

WH 8

78 6-11-1

78 6-13

WH 2

WH 4-1

Now that all of the National Goals staff is apparently housed in FOB 7, the question arises as to whether the White House messengers are to continue to service them, provide their duplicating, etc. Demands seem to be increasing all the time.

In this connection, the whole problem of the White House staff located in FOB 7 needs to be reviewed from the standpoint of service provided them.

Those presently located in that building that come to mind are:

1. General Schulz
2. Mrs. Knauer
3. The National Goals staff
4. General Hershey will be located there
5. Bud Wilkinson tells me that the Cabinet Committee on Voluntary Action will be moving there

All of these groups either actually or potentially will use our messenger service and also will place added volume on our mail room unless mail for such groups can be delivered by the Post Office directly to FOB 7.

If the White House messenger force is to service all White House units and some of these fringe units in FOB 7, our only solution will be to set up a messenger unit in that building which means need for additional personnel.

Something must be done to see if a central mail room cannot be established in FOB 7 if its White House use continues to grow. I think this is something we should ask GSA to explore with the Post Office.

I shall be glad to talk further with you about both of these problems at your early convenience.

WJH:rah

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FG 6-13
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February 16, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR LEN GARMENT

FROM: PETER FLANIGAN

I enjoyed the first thoughts of the Annual Report of the NGRS. Obviously, there is room for a lot of speculative thinking.

I'm only concerned that you or Mr. Bower might let your antecedents show. "Directed growth" or "controlled growth" can be buzz-words in some Republican circles. Let's remember that we are not trying to direct the growth of the private sector, only the public sector. Paul McCracken's Economic Report showed the very close inter-relationship between the two. However, I think we would be wise to keep in mind the sensitivity that many people feel towards government "control" or "growth".

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 19, 1970

EXECUTIVE

FG 6-13

WH 2-2-2

WH 8

FG 139

(3)

Lyn Johnson

~~Jack Galvander~~

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN COLE

I am sorry to have to report that although GSA can provide the space and the furniture for the National Goals Research Staff, they have informed me that there is no way that they can pay the phone bills or provide typewriters. I could probably push this a little harder on them but wanted to check with you to see if you feel the effort is warranted.

*push
it's either
us or them*

*WH pay
coal
Garment*

JRB

JOHN R. BROWN III

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March 23, 1970

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TOWARD A NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ASPECTS

A Progress Report
of the
National Goals Research Staff

March 23, 1970

Report filed - ~~oversize~~ Attachment

April 25, 1970

EXECUTIVE

WE 3

FGG-13

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM: JOHN R. PRICE

SUBJECT: National Growth Policy

When the President and Dr. Moynihan have talked about this, Pat has repeatedly told the President that the evolution of such a policy will take time. Two things lead me to feel that we should make a first stab at a comprehensive statement before too long. The first is the indications yesterday by the President that we should not be too cautious. The second is that in order for us to make certain decisions for our January "urban" message, we ought to have some overriding sense of where we want to concentrate resources.

After the meeting yesterday, the group of conferees met and designated two draftsmen to prepare a general policy statement by June first. The two are Henry Riecken of the Social Science Research Council, and John Meyer (not to be confused with the French spelling) of the National Bureau for Economic Research.

The important thing is for this work not to proceed in isolation from everything else that is going on: the evaluation of the Economic Development Administration; the paper of the National Goals Research Staff on population distribution; the work of the joint Urban and Rural Affairs Council group on Federal planning and Regional Commissions; and other specific Federal program areas, like Transportation Department policy on the location of highways, rails, and airports for the next decade.

In fact, so far, the coordination has been rather good. Assistant Secretary Podesta of EDA ran a preliminary growth policy conference eight days ago, and the EDA evaluation will be finished at just about the same time (early June) as the due date for the Moynihan group's draft.

Furthermore, the Ash Council's examination of Regional Commissions is due in about that time. The Joint Urban and Rural Affairs Council Subcommittee is now tentatively due to have its statement of facts ready by June first, and proposals ready by mid-July.

Paul Cherrington, now back at Harbard, has been asked by Volpe to develop a national transportation policy statement. I have not yet been in touch with him to learn where he is heading, or what his deadlines are.

The National Goals Staff paper on population distribution is completed as you know.

All of these groups participated in this growth policy conference, as did a representative from the new Council on Environmental Quality.

I think the next step might be to air the Goals Staff paper in a Rural Affairs Council meeting, probably one held outside of Washington, as I suggested to you in my memo about North Dakota. This would be characterized as tentative, but would both help the President politically, and would give serious social scientists and economists a concept to look at and comment on. I don't think the President would find it repetitious of what he heard yesterday, since it goes into considerably more analytic detail.

If the early reactions to this concept of urbanizing the rural areas are good, we then have a professionally sound general principle against which we can measure our changes in EDA, and our policy on airports and highways.

I don't think at this point that we need to have the President issue the Goals Staff paper, as Len Garment and I were thinking about at one point. Pat opposed doing so. I think politically we will have covered ourselves by making it clear that we are at work on fleshing out a growth policy.

As to the instrument for pulling all this together. As you know, several bills in Congress are talking about this, and some suggest yet another Office or Council in the Executive Office of the President, such as

Ashely's Council on Domestic Growth. Both Moynihan and I would resist this. We have the Population Commission, the CEA, the Environmental Quality Council and the National Goals Research Staff.

The Moynihan group will, in concert with Herb Stein, Ray Bauer and a few others, give us the outline of where and how growth should be encouraged. The Urban Rural Affairs Council Subcommittee can clear away a lot of the undergrowth of irrelevant Federal planning programs, and get into the intergovernmental relations questions -- should the Regional Commissions play much of a role in this.

I would then suggest that we use the Land Use and Development Subcommittee of the Urban Affairs Council, of which Volpe is Chairman, and on which Hickel sits, among others, to look into some of the questions raised yesterday, such as use of the Public Lands, possible new tax methods for coping with the costs of urban development, zoning methods, etc.

Finally, once the basic policy decisions are made, I would suggest that the Under Secretaries group of the Urban Affairs Council would be an excellent place to grind through the necessary subsidiary decisions, such as how to involve GSA acquisitions or disposals in support of the national policy; how to get the various independent fiefs at Transportation working in tandem with EDA and the social service agencies to aid growth.

I would like to continue to be at the eye of the hurricane on this, and have the principal responsibility for fitting the pieces together. By Labor Day, I would hope we could have a series of individual proposals, with their budgetary implications, clearly spelled out, so that we can aim toward an historic message to the Congress next January.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That we air the National Goals Research Staff Paper on Population Distribution at an early meeting of the Rural (or Urban) Affairs Council, preferably one held outside the Capitol, not yet committing ourselves to it as a policy.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree _____ See Me

That we think of using the Land Use and Development Subcommittee of the Urban Affairs Council to look at some of the questions of zoning, taxing, etc., touched on yesterday. If you are inclined to this, I will have prepared a more explicit mandate for the group.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree _____ See Me

That we look to the Under Secretaries Group to provide much of the implementation of the basic policy goals.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree _____ See Me

That I continue to take the principal responsibility for orchestrating these various activities.

_____ Agree _____ Disagree _____ See Me

Copy for: Ken Cole

BB
MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE FILE

DATE

4/30/70

EXECUTIVE

FO

FG 6-13

BE5-6

LETTER, MEMO, ETC.

TO:

Charles S. Dennison

FROM:

Henry Kissinger

SUBJECT:

Pacific Basin Economic
Cooperation Council

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EXECUTIVE

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FG6-13

(2)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN EHRLICHMAN

From: William F. Gavin B.

I forward this rather lengthy -- but eminently readable and informative -- memo from Ken Khachegian. He was with us at 450 Park and is now working with the National Goals Commission.

He is a top-flight young man and if, indeed, there is going to be an effort on the part of the Administration to make contact with college youth, it would be a magnificent gain for the White House if we could get Ken in the thick of such a program. I believe Len Garment knows Ken, as does Marty Anderson.

Ken in no way suggested that he become a member of the staff, but I think it should be given consideration since he is (a) young, (b) highly intelligent, (c) loyal to the President, and (d) a good listener and a fine worker. He is also a lawyer. In short, just the kind of young guy who could help us in any youth move we might want to make.

But his words speak more eloquently than mine in proving my contention.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1970

EXECUTIVE

7/11

P42-3.

7/16-11-1/Campbell, John

7/16-13.

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN COLE

FROM:

JOHN CAMPBELL

Attached are Xeroxed copies of the indexes of three different books which I came across last year when the question of policy and how it might be formulated came up.

You might want to look over the several indexes and see if there are any chapters or books of interest to you.

One of the books is edited by Ray ^XBauer, and if I am not mistaken, this is the same person who heads the National Goals staff. If so, he might have some papers that may be of use.

I still think that Doris ^XKearns might have some materials and books, which if you ever have two or three minutes to talk to her, would be more than happy to forward along.

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JUN 26 1970

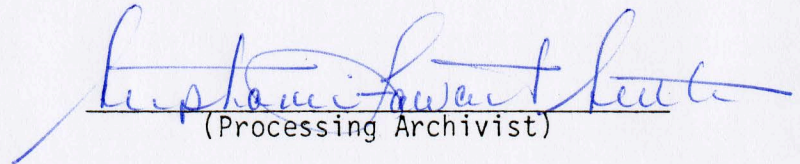
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Washington, DC 20408

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(Processing Archivist)

29 April 1992
(Date Processed)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JOHN R. BROWN, III

FROM: Leonard Garment

SUBJECT: National Goals Staff Report

As you know, the report of the National Goals Research Staff will be made public on July 4, 1970. The report is now in the process of being prepared for the printer.

In the report, there will be an introduction by the President with his signature at the end. We are advised by William Hopkins that you must verify the report so that he can advise GPO of permission to use a facsimile of the President's signature.

Could you please call Mr. Hopkins and clear the signature for this purpose? In turn, Mr. Hopkins will call the GPO and give them permission to commit the signature to print.

↓ Drafted by Ray Price and
cleaned by Jim Keogh

Garment

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ken

FROM: JOHN BROWN

FYI _____

COMMENT If you are
familiar with
the introduction and
approve it we will
give GPO their marching
orders.

Approve ☒ Disapprove _____
After statement is
approved by G.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1970

CAROL,

Will you please set up for me sometime next week a meeting
with Peter Halpern of the National Goals Research Staff.

x

11 A.M. Thursday - August 20.

This has been confirmed for 10 A.M. - Tuesday - August 18.

Peter Halpern - 5106

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

FG6-13

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TB: Sen Garnum - For Information August 12, 1970

FOR : CHARLES WILLIAMS

FROM : Christopher A. Gebelein *CG*

SUBJECT: The Aged and the Republican Party

In the course of gathering information for the NGRS project on the future of aging Americans, I had a discussion with Vernon Lawrence, Special Assistant to the Chairman and Director of the Senior Citizens Group of the Republican National Committee, about the political strength and voting records of the elderly. He expressed great concern that the Administration is publicly ignoring the problems and needs of Americans sixty-five (65) and over. This concern is reinforced by the report of the RNC Listening Program which found "a general feeling (among senior citizens) that Republicans and the Administration are not really interested in the problems of senior citizens."

Besides having high voter turnouts (older voters generally cast twice as many votes in national elections as those aged 21-27), senior citizens are rapidly becoming organized: 28% of the elderly are now members of the four major organizations for older persons. This growing group consciousness is being paralleled by increasing political involvement. Both Mr. Lawrence's personal experience and the findings of the Listening Program indicate that the elderly are extremely receptive to the attention of political organizations.

The concerns of this group have been well documented (see Time, August 3, 1970) and, although the Administration is moving to alleviate some of these, the approach has not reflected a comprehensive policy and the proposals have not been given much public promotion. Unless this is done for the Administration's Social Security bill, for example, the Democrats are likely to claim the credit for eliminating the effect of inflation on Social Security benefits. Mr. Lawrence feels that the outcome of the November election will be very much dependent on the opinion of the Administration held by older voters.

Preliminary results of the NGRS study on aging Americans indicate that the social and political alienation of the older people may increase in the

next decade as a result of more widespread early retirement due to technological displacement of older workers and of a continued decline in their economic position. Coupled with a growing proportion of older voters, this trend portends problems for a political party which does not court the elderly. Lawrence predicts that the Republicans will not win another national election without the support of this group.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN
H. R. HALDEMAN
GEORGE P. SHULTZ

I enclose an editorial from Science on our National Goals Research Staff Report. You will see that they take the matter seriously, and are not at all unfriendly. This is the official organ of our largest scientific society. It has considerable influence, not least because it is tough minded and hard to impress.

There has, of course, been a fair amount of friendly comment in the press, apart from the usual nastiness of the New York Times. (The Los Angeles Times was altogether favorable.)

The point is that we have got something going here. It was not easy. The enterprise, for some reason, alarmed the Victor Lasky contingent hereabouts, and the staff subsequently operated under the most begrudging of conditions.

This was no service to the President who had committed himself to a report. We did not get a superb product, but we did get something.

My view is that we have got this enterprise going and ought to persist. This is a solid Republican idea. The first such effort was launched by Hoover, the second by Eisenhower. In four or five years' time we could have a product which would command the attention of an audience of considerable importance.

Daniel P. Moynihan

Attachment

✓ bcc: Leonard Garment

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The National Goals Research Staff Report

In an increasingly complex society the federal government inevitably expands its jurisdiction over many aspects of human activity. Aside from the usual complaints of red tape, timidity, and bureaucracy, there is a serious danger in this trend. A government run by politicians is preoccupied with the hot crisis of the moment—it is not interested in dealing effectively with important long-range matters. Politicians usually cannot afford to look beyond the next election and are responsive to the public's mood of the moment. The public, in turn, is under the influence of the mass media, particularly television. To maintain interest, the mass media must have a succession of disasters and crises.

The government responds to public clamor with programs specifically designed to apply a soothing poultice to the inflamed portion of the body politic. Possible, far-reaching consequences of legislation are seldom considered, despite the fact that we have repeatedly found that well-intentioned programs often produce undesirable side effects.

In a much needed attempt to improve the national decision-making processes, President Nixon last July established a National Goals Research Staff. The role assigned to the Staff was to analyze social trends and to make projections about the kind of society that could result, if present trends continue, to forecast future developments, and to pose alternatives for the future domestic life of the nation.

The National Goals Research Staff addressed itself to population growth and distribution, the environment, education, basic natural science, technology assessment, and consumerism; its report* has just been released. For such an ambitious undertaking, the full-time staff was small, and the breadth of its expertise or that of its consultants inadequate. Chapters on population growth and distribution, education, and basic natural science are good. Those on technology assessment and consumerism are only fair. The discussion of the environment is poor. No goals are set forth. The report shows signs of being thrown together hurriedly.

A saving feature is an unusually gracefully written introduction by Daniel P. Moynihan. His essay demonstrates a keen grasp of the need for better analysis and long-range planning if government is to function well. Apparently, it was Moynihan who prevailed on President Nixon to establish the National Goals Research Staff and to issue a statement, which appears in the report, outlining the grand objectives of the venture. However, something in Moynihan's experiences of the past year has caused him to turn cautious. He writes, "The difficulty with national goals is that they too quickly become standards by which to judge not the future but the present. In a sense, they institutionalize the creation of discontent. The setting of future goals, no matter how distant, drains legitimacy from present conditions. Once it is established and agreed upon that the future will have to be very different from the present, it becomes absurd to be content with the present. The past is annihilated. The most extraordinary progress counts for little if it has brought society only to a middling point in an uncompleted journey."

It appears that the experimental attempt that began a year ago to bring more planning into government is being abandoned. In a press conference devoted to the report, Moynihan revealed that the Staff is now being dispersed. However, the need for long-range analysis and planning has not been met, nor will it disappear. The President has a responsibility in the matter which, if unfulfilled, is likely to become the province of Congress.—PHILIP H. ABELSON

* "Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality," report of the National Goals Research Staff (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 4 July 1970).

WALTER A. HAHN, JR.

Biographical Sketch

Walter A. Hahn, Jr., received a B.S. degree in physics from New York University, an M.A. degree in public administration from American University, and has completed his studies for his doctorate in management science at Syracuse University.

During World War II he served in the Naval Air Transport Service and in several phases of undersea warfare. Upon release from active duty he was employed in research administration with the Office of Naval Research. In 1949 he was appointed to the staff of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, as technical aide to the Committee on Undersea Warfare and later became its Executive Secretary.

From 1954 to 1962 Hahn was employed by the General Electric Company in Syracuse, New York, where he was a systems planning engineer, then Manager of Operations Research and Synthesis, and for three years he was Manager, Systems Management Research in GE's Defense Systems Department. During this period he also served for a time as consultant to Apparatenindustrie Defense Electronics N.V. in The Hague.

Mr. Hahn was appointed as Director of Management Analysis with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington, D. C., in January 1962. He served as chairman of the National Aviation Weather Systems Study, a joint ad hoc activity of the Federal Aviation Agency and the U. S. Weather Bureau. Hahn was made Director of Policy Planning for the U. S. Weather Bureau in April 1964 and with that Bureau's amalgamation into the Environmental Science Services Administration, was appointed ESSA's Director of Planning and Program Evaluation. In August 1967 he was named Assistant Deputy Administrator for Policy Development in ESSA. In April 1969 Hahn was assigned temporarily as a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology, and was subsequently named as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology Planning. In January 1970 Hahn was selected for his present position as a Senior Research Associate on the White House's National Goals Research Staff.

Mr. Hahn is a member of the Institute of Management Sciences, and has served as chairman of its College on Research and Development. He is also a member of the National Conference on the Administration of Research (board member), the Operations Research Society of America, the Washington Operations Research Council (trustee), the American Society for Public Administration, and is a frequent lecturer and contributor to professional journals.

A TEAM AND AN INSTITUTE

Assumption: The President meant what he said in establishing the NGRS and in creating the DAC. Therefore, there will be established some kind of a long range, future oriented, broad systems analytical effect in the top echelons of the Executive Office. A privately established but "endorsed by" the government "Institute" (many titles are acceptable without the use of the word "Goals") has been a parallel concept to an in-house Executive Office NGRS-like policy analysis unit. (Call this the "Federal Team") It is a generally accepted conclusion that both groups are needed if the breadth and depth of work and national payoffs expected from either effort are to be realized.

The Federal Team should:

- Participate in the policy making process;
 - as analysts, communicators, and synthesizers of the efforts of the departments, agencies, and private sector institutions (including the private "Institute.")
- Have a minimum of 7 to a maximum of 12 professionals, plus supporting staff and funds.
- Be an integral part of the President's office.
- Be tuned to the pace and issues of the moment;
 - but with one eye on the future and side consequences of present action while acting as sensors for forthcoming problems and opportunities.

The private Institute should concentrate on:

- Description of where we are as a Nation
- Defining the range and mechanisms of feasible national choice
- Developing concepts, and methodologies for expressing,
 - synthesizing and implementing "the will of the people"
 - i.e. how to make and implement national policy
- Serving as a forum, exchange, and repository for substantive and methodological information on futures research, goals formation, policymaking and analysis, and related efforts

The relationships between the Federal Team and the private Institute should be analogous to that between the government and the National Academies (e.g. of Science, Engineering, and Public Administration). They are private corporations but with a formal responsibility (charters) to be responsive to the needs and requests of the government for independent objective assistance and advice. Except for selected and limited classified efforts, all information is freely available to the public. Specific grant and contractual relationships are encouraged but direct appropriations are prohibited. Private endowments provide a core working fund. Thus, each party maintains freedom of expression and action and yet intimate cooperative efforts are possible.

Federal Actions:

- Decide on an initial format for a "Federal Team."
- Pick a leader, staff it, and get to work on real problems/opportunities of the near and longer range future.
(i.e., adopt a strategy of learning by doing)
- Express interest in cooperatively launching a private institute with suitable "government endorsement."
- Name and authorize a key staff aide to carry out the government's part of creating the private institute.

Private Actions:

- Assert positive leadership to launch and follow through on the creation of an Institute
- Raise \$60,000-75,000 to finance a 3-4 month planning study.
We "know" its a feasible idea, therefore:
- Determine a set of new institutional alternatives,
- Propose a range of feasible growth rates,
- Develop staffing, site and logistics requirements
- Determine that the Executive Office will carry out its partnership role
- Select a planning study leader -- as an individual
- Establish a review mechanism for the study results that is prepared to act. (While deciding not to create an Institute is a logical alternative, most efforts should be directed toward the probability that a viable charter, design, staff and funding arrangement can be developed.)
- Commence raising "pledges" for the Institute's core fund and initial working capital.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR LEONARD GARMENT

FROM: Charles Williams *CW*

As requested, here are suggestions for next steps regarding the NGRS. Responsibility for leading the development of social indicators should reside with OMB. The concept of public reporting followed this year should be temporarily set aside and reexamined after several months. All of the other functions originally assigned to the NGRS should continue to be the primary responsibility of a follow-on team to develop longer range policy options (rationale attached). Since there are substantial overlaps between these residual NGRS functions and the purposes of the Domestic Council, it would seem logical that the new team operate under the Domestic Council Staff. However, other arrangements are also feasible.

Specific Tasks

In addition to the follow-up work from the public report, we should complete other internal reports now in process: (1) Selected Issues of the 70's, (2) Educational Issues and Options, (3) Options for Aged Americans to 1980, and (4) A Plan for Developing a National Goals Process. The target for completion of these reports is August 31st.

We should develop by mid-September a seminar for the Domestic Council and/or its staff that deals with alternative forecasts of the future and the issues these forecasts raise for current policy. This is in line with our earlier conversation with John Ehrlichman and Ken Cole where I believe John expressed a desire for such a program. It could be of timely assistance to the Council in developing a common focus. We would bring in eight or ten outside

people to make presentations and lead discussions. The program could be a two-day retreat.

A work plan for the proposed long range policy team should be developed for review and coordination. This plan would call for continuing our present collection, analysis and evaluation of various projections and forecasts already made by a variety of other futures research and planning groups. To this should be added an analysis of ten and twenty year projections of the overall impact of present and proposed activities of the Federal agencies. This continuing development of a "domestic intelligence system" would be the basis for at least two types of products: early warning reports of likely future problems and other developments and quick responses to requests to evaluate the overall and longer range consequences of actions being considered.

In addition, several in-depth goals analyses should be done. Examples of such studies are: (1) the second phase of the population distribution study (specific recommendations were previously made); (2) continued study of the aged; (3) analysis of health and health systems; (4) forecasts of the implication of increasing social anomie (for example, blue collar workers, middle class executives, youth and the various "sub-cultures"); (5) forecast of new focuses of social unrest in the post-Vietnam period; and (6) the probable composition of the industrial sector in 10, 20 and 30 years. The final selection will depend upon the interests of the President, the Domestic Council and the White House Staff.

How to Get Started

Although the first year's work of the NGRS fell far short of our hopes, a great deal has been done that gives a basis for further development. The array of information and personal contacts that have been built, the experience acquired, the strong personal commitment which each individual feels for the mission and the work already in process are assets to be built upon.

Continuation of the present five "core members" of the NGRS would permit uninterrupted development and save substantial time in getting

underway. This would further mitigate the often unsuccessful effort of "retreading" people to shift into a new and very different professional framework.

Organizational Alternatives

1. The "core team" for the development of long-range policy options could become an integral part of the Domestic Council Staff and budget.

2. The group could continue to be an inter-agency team working under the direction of a key member of the Domestic Council Staff but budgeted for and supported by various agencies. This would merely extend the present form.

3. The group could function under the direction of some other senior member of the White House Staff as a general service to all.

Attachment

ATTACHMENT

Why Continuation of an Identifiable Team?

A primary need arises from the increasing inter-relatedness of actions throughout our society. To date, policies have not been developed within the context of social trends, forecasts and visions of "alternative futures" examined in their totality. There has never before been a place with primary responsibility for doing this. The results of dealing with problems independently and often in isolation are now all too clear: (1) the serious contemporary problems; (2) decreasing confidence in our institutions and even in whether or not we can govern effectively; (3) increasing "drop-out", alienation and general "to hell with it" attitudes; and (4) growing awareness that we may be approaching a threshold beyond which governance may become ineffective. It is imperative that we begin to approach the solutions to many problems from a total and long-range viewpoint and in an anticipatory fashion.

But it is also true that if problems are to be solved they must also be reduced to manageable segments and specialized actions. The point is not that this can be eliminated but that it must be supplemented by broader information. These two facets make essential the operational division of the skills and methods for the research leading to formation of policy.

The President is visibly committed to setting longer range goals and the NGRS is seen by a valuable and growing constituency as a creative and positive step forward.

At present, this constituency consists primarily of the thousands of city, state and corporate planners; university and foundation people; several hundreds engaged in futures research both in the U. S. and abroad; scientists, engineers and humanitarians who are more and more aware of the changes before us; some youth groups who are impressed by what they feel to be a demonstration of the Administration's concern for the sociological effects of technological change; the small but growing number of local, state and regional groups for formulating goals (Dallas, Gary, Detroit, Hawaii, Michigan, Georgia, etc.).

Now, there is also interest in using the public report for seminars and courses in secondary schools, colleges and universities. Editorial criticism has been not that the function should be abandoned but that it should be effectively implemented.

The President's unprecedented concern for the future can, if adequately executed, provide an element of vision and hope that may have a fundamental and much needed impact upon social behavior. A clear continuity of the functions originally assigned the NGRS would reinforce this effect. Even modest stimulation and attention to what may be an emerging movement of conscious concern for management of change and for the future can pay substantial dividends.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 3, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR LEONARD GARMENT

FROM : Walter A. Hahn *W/8*
3

SUBJECT : Employment Status and Plans

This is in response to your request for information as to my present status and future plans. I was detailed to the NGRS on January 12, 1970 from the Department of Commerce. So that Commerce could fill my position as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology Planning (an appointed position at GS-18 level), I was reassigned to a newly created career GS-18 excepted position (under PL 3104) designed to expire with the detail, now set for September 30. Thus, action must be taken prior to September 30 if I am to remain in the public service.

Since decisions on the future of NGRS activities are still in the making, my immediate plans are: 1) to keep open your options with respect to the use of the experience and contacts I have gained as a member of this first NGRS effort; and 2) to make adequate personal contacts to assure continuing employment.

My overriding desire is to remain in the public service; preferably in Washington. Appointed or career assignments are both acceptable. As a first choice, I would like to continue in this urgently needed and promising area generally called policy planning and analysis. Wherever the NGRS functions are continued in the Domestic Affairs Council, White House Office, or new Office of Management and Budget, I feel I have much to offer and would like to participate. My role can be that of an individual contributor or as the leader of an analytical or research group. My own evaluation is that I have most to contribute in the "working-manager" role.

As an alternative, I would like to be considered for assignment to the Council on Environmental Quality or with the new Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) if Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1970 "passes." It's

too early to pinpoint specific positions but my broad background permits several options. My experience also equips me to work in, or to interface with, the proposed National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

One other major alternative builds upon my experience and success in organizational and management studies. After conducting both foreign and domestic industrial reorganizations, I participated in the NASA, Weather Bureau, and Environmental Science Service Administration organizational studies and implementation efforts. Participating in "putting together" EPA would be a gratifying next experience to which I could bring much relevant background. Similarly, I might be of assistance in the government's part in establishing the proposed Institute for Alternative Futures. Incidentally, should I leave the government this could be a very attractive area.

Attached are several copies of a one page resume along with one in more detail. Thank you for your efforts on my behalf.

Attachments



STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE
MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA 94025
(415) 326-6200

July 31, 1970

Mr. Charles Williams
Executive Director
National Goals Research Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Charles:

Bill (Harman) has asked me to write down some of my thoughts on why both social tensions and economic problems are likely to increase during the remainder of this year, despite the current lull in collective violence and office pronouncements of economic optimism. A lot of this is based on my own construction of the core difficulties confronting us and the lack of effective actions on many levels to relieve them. I'm sure a determined optimist could ferret out other signs toward progress and suggest that "the worst is over", but I'm equally sure he would be proved wrong by events of the next six months, no matter what policies are used by authorities.

Reasons for this pessimism abound. Objective sources include:

- Continuing and increasing deprivation of blacks relative to whites:

(1) Employment marginality:

Recent RAND studies have shown that black male unemployment rates fluctuate at 140% of the overall unemployment figures (i.e., 40% more than the Bureau of Statistics mean) on a national basis, while white male unemployment fluctuation is at 80% (i.e., 20% less than the national mean). This means that the predicted rises in unemployment rates in the next six months will strike much harder at the blacks (currently 8.7% unemployed) than at the whites (now < 5% unemployed), wiping out recent income gains among blacks, which have been at all too slow a pace anyway. This will create much frustration from shattered hopes, and 34% of black youths unemployed will create a mobile, anomic group ready to engage in violence.

I suggest you read this for information. It is illustrative of many of the ~~think~~ things we have discussed from time to time.

Mr. Charles Williams, Executive Director
National Goals Research Staff
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(2) Returning black veterans:

Recent reports of spreading deep racial bitterness among black G.I's plus many hushed-up racial incidents in Vietnam, presage a large group of angry potential militants, trained in the use of advanced weaponry and demolition, returning to an increasingly divided and repressive United States, with no jobs waiting.

- Inflation plus recession puts double squeeze on Middle Americans creating severe disappointment of expectations of improvements, resentment, atmosphere of anger and extremist hunting for scapegoats.
- Labor troubles on horizon (especially in autos):
Inflationary slash of purchasing power leads to inflationary wage demands, strike confrontations. Frustrations increase strike violence (e.g., recent trucking strike), "every man for himself" attitude toward national interest, resistance to moderating demands. Industry caught in a profit squeeze will also toughen resistance.
- Exacerbating this problem is the recent alarming downturn in productivity per man-day (TIME magazine, 13 July issue, p.67). For other reasons, tied in with social tensions, disorientation and "crisis of confidence", would expect second-quarter rise in productivity (which seems to have occurred by letting marginally productive workers go) not to be sustained, slowing economic recovery.
- Older workers may not be rehired in an upswing, due to increasing rate of skill (obsolescence and hence middle-age "retreads" less attractive than younger workers. May be one response to productivity downturn.
- Widespread unemployment and pay cuts among highly-trained professionals, many for the first time in their careers, bring on financial shock, resentment, and lack of stable productive "rootedness".
- Spreading drug use in industry and on assembly lines among non-college younger workers indicates growing tensions, meaningless of work; hence related to productivity downturn.

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National Goals Research Staff
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- Resulting reaction to rapid growth in welfare and education costs and general taxation:
 - (a) Widespread resentment against poor (generalized to minorities seeking advancement, dignity) as "Freeloaders".
 - (b) Cuts in welfare support.
 - (c) Crisis in school finance - Many bond issues turned down, schools will face critical problems in September.
- Public services crises in urban areas (especially New York, housing important national functions): electrical power, telephone, public employee strikes and militancy.
- Massive worsening of air pollution problems (as currently along the Eastern seaboard) increases irritability and tensions, demands on government.
- Potentially explosive Middle-East situation adds to foreign policy woes: Vietnam end not in sight, Chile may vote itself communistic and rest of South America is a tinderbox of anti-American sentiment.
- Inflation may force devaluation of the dollar; foreign investors are showing signs of pulling out in anticipation of this; dollar is artificially supported now in some areas.
- Growing radicalization of high school youth, spread of hard drugs both into lower age brackets in the schools and into other population groups--non-college "straights", business (see above), etc.
- Matched by growing attitude of repression and political manipulation by trustees and regents of the state college and university systems (California, New York, Wisconsin).

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National Goals Research Staff
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- Growing resentment against "hippies" as Freeloaders, troublemakers, immoral hedonists.
- Crisis in law enforcement and administration, now on everyone's lips, has led to repressive legislation of questionable constitutionality (the D.C. Crime Bill) being urged upon the entire nation, an extremely serious assault upon the Bill of Rights (the most serious since the "Great Red Scare" of 1919).
- Official anticipations (F.B.I., Dept. of Justice) of escalation of sabotage, terrorist bombings, etc., (e.g. seventy-fold increase in bombings of military establishments in last "fiscal year".)
- Growing attitude of "shoot-to-kill" anyone suspected of terrorism (e.g., Seattle Mayor Uhlman's statement that police killing of a bomber calmed Seattle).
- Dramatically increased theft and stockpiling of arms and explosives by radical groups (e.g., 70 tons of explosives and explosive devices in one theft from Ft. Cronkite).
- Indications of further urban armed conflict (black cops, hippie cops, brown cops, black-brown, etc.) and calling in the regular army to quell disturbances.
- Lowering morale among police who feel lack of citizen support.

Corresponding to these objective conditions are the following subjective problems:

- A deep and forboding crisis of confidence is spreading through the nation as the objective severity of our problems is becoming appreciated and people lose faith in the ability to handle them by "business as usual".
- This massive loss of faith will act to increase the severity of the economic downturn and slow any attempt to recover. Based on this, and on evidence of this loss of faith having penetrated the corporate and financial world, we can expect a still more severe drop

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National Goals Research Staff
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in the stock market, than occurred earlier this year, and generally much more difficulty in affecting economic recovery than economic models would predict.

- The great disappointment which overoptimistic youth newly mobilized for political action will experience in November.
- Black lack of confidence in Administration actions and rhetoric (only 3% expressed such confidence in a recent poll).
- The rapid rise in youth suicides reflects a loss of of faith in the worth of the future.
- Values among high school and college youth continue to shift toward radical change and away from support of the present system. Incoming students this Fall will continue to push for social change, especially black students demanding special conditions on campus, white students demanding change both on and off campus (College Poll, 28 July 1970).
- Support by the "silent majority" is support of the legitimacy of the present system, not support of present policies (study by Citrin at U.C.-Berkeley). Such support would be rapidly eroded by further disappointments in domestic or foreign affairs.
- Displaced workers have historically been highly vulnerable to demagogic appeals, particularly from the Right, making the present situation particularly sensitive.
- An American devaluation would be a tremendous blow to national self-confidence, to foreign confidence in our stability, and to the international monetary system. Yet knowledgeable foreign investors are pulling assets out of this country in anticipation that our current economic policies will fail and that devaluation will become necessary.

We are attempting to assemble statistics to substantiate the seemingly exponential rising of various indicators of social disruption. The information is difficult to obtain, for a number of reasons. However, all the information we can find corroborates the overall picture of a massive loss of Faith, far more pronounced than is generally

Mr. Charles Williams, Executive Director
National Goals Research Staff

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believed. What underlies this loss of faith is the growing suspicion that as a society we don't know how to handle the problems we are generating, that we don't know where we are going, that the whole mad scramble has lost meaning and rationality.

The first step of a turnaround toward a restoration of faith has to be a responsible recognition of the extreme seriousness of our situation, and of the need for more basic changes than have been yet proposed.

I hope these comments will be of some help.

Very sincerely yours,

Norman B. McEachron

Norman B. McEachron

NBMCE:sj

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1970

Len Garment

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN COLE

I am currently in the process of reviewing our space requirements in FOB #7. It would be most helpful if you could give me some idea as to how much longer the National Goals Research Staff will require the space which has been assigned to them. Any guidance you can give me would be most helpful.

Thank you.

JRB
JOHN R. BROWN III

what's the answer?

Ken

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1970

FOR • LEONARD GARMENT

FROM • Charles Williams *cw*

Here are two very thoughtful pieces which the staff thinks are worthy of your careful and reflective reading. You may get some general ideas for use in conversations--particularly, with columnists, etc.

Attachments

~~MEMORANDUM~~

Larry

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1970

FOR : NGRS
FROM : Arnold Nash *a.n.*
SUBJECT : The Issues of the 70's

The essential purpose of these memos, I gather, is that we severally indicate the various issues in our particular field of individual responsibility which have to be faced, as we see them, by our Nation over the next decade. Moreover, the issues are to be seen from the perspective which we worked out at Charles' opening statement yesterday.

Clearly, the issues which I personally am expected to raise are not those which can be "located" in thought with the specificity which is possible in their assignment for Chris on our aging population, or Larry on education, or Jack on the environment. Similarly, for Pete and Gus in their particular fields.

My job, as I see it at this point, is to raise the question about the whole setting -- intellectual and "spiritual"--in which our Nation has to face all these separate issues whether they are raised one at a time or whether they are raised simultaneously.

The terrifying--literally, I mean terrifying--thought is that although the previous paragraph is obvious to the point of being platitudinous, its truth is obvious to us only so long as we phrase the matter consciously. As soon as we begin to look at one particular issue, we forget what we have previously recognized...we dismiss it as "philosophy." By "we", let me add, I do not mean only the NGRS but modern Western culture as a whole. This, I go on repeating, is because the fashion in which all our thinking on the unconscious level has been molded by science and capitalism. So far, i.e., for the last two or three centuries, it has worked in our Nation because, with all our faults in relation to the Negro and the propertyless poor, there has been universal acceptance of the democratic process as basic to our method of government. If by democracy we mean the substitution of "persuasion over force," this is now being challenged on every hand.

One of the shrewdest minds I know among the younger generation political scientists--himself a Republican--argues convincingly that so far that he can now see, no American President in the next decade or so can expect to be elected for more than his first term since events will demand from him a series of political decisions which will alienate--when added up--a majority of the electorate. Whether this particular deduction is valid or no, is not the immediate point. I mention this deduction because it vividly illustrates in its premises a view of the contemporary political situation which is as chilling as it is true.

Equally cogent illustrations can be taken from the other realms of our social and economic life. The first which comes to mind is education where, as Larry reminds us, the chaos and turmoil we are now seeing in higher education is showing its head at the high school level. The "law and order" issue is another illustration. (Vide the comments of President Brewster on the fairness at the present time in the U.S.A. of a trial for Black Panthers. Let me add that I personally found these remarks of Brewster's quite unintelligible until I talked for an hour to one informed higher education executive on the Yale scene who knows well the Connecticut scene.) Commerce and industry provide other illustrations of what I mean. Strikes now are no longer the simple expression of localized antagonisms between workers and factory owners but they are serious threats to our national economy as a whole. And to say that is not to be "anti-labor." It is simply ^{to recognize} that our economic life is too fragile to be left to the forces of the market. To mention a further example: the speed with which dignitaries of the Stock Exchange recently ran to Washington as to a father to get them out of their troubles or, to mention another, the appeal by the officials of the Penn Central for help from the Administration (when, bless my soul, the Department of Defense of all people finally offered to come to the rescue) would have been unthinkable a generation or so ago.

In such a fashion we are quickening up the destruction of the economic democracy of the free enterprise system. And to say that is not to be taken, I hope, as a follower of Senator Goldwater.

But, if there is one lesson from the analyses of the meaning of democracy over the last century from Karl Marx to Dwight Eisenhower, Lord Lindsay and Karl Barth, it is that "democracy" is not a plant without roots.

Democracy is always the expression of something deeper than itself.
My own judgment as, I hope, a serious historical sociologist is that the spiritual basis for the U.S.A. has been the liberal Protestantism which was accepted at the time of our Nation.*

This has been the taproot of American culture and it has now been cut.
And I am speaking not only of our political and economic life but of our culture in all its various manifestations. Maybe what is happening to marriage and the family, to our view of human sexuality, to the relations between the generations would furnish even more poignant illustrations of my theme. Sir Maurice Carr-Saunders, the late head of the London School of Economics, would certainly say that it would.

What we are now seeing, therefore, is a country which is looking for a faith not so much to guide individuals as they face frustration, death, and anxiety but (as Jack pointed out to us yesterday) as the cement of society. Incredible, though it may sound, the nearest parallel that I can find to our present situation is that America now faces the kind of crisis which shook the Roman Empire in the early decades of the Fourth Century. And as numerous thinkers have also pointed out, America is the Rome as Britain has been the Greece of modern Western industrialized culture. And to sound even more incredible-the question for President Nixon is whether he will try, like Diocletian, to restore the faith in the family and national gods that threatened Empire. Diocletian failed in his attempt and, like President Johnson, retired from politics. The alternative for President Nixon is whether, like Constantine, he will raise his eyes from the gods of the past, look up and worship elsewhere.

This, Charles, is the issue that as the Humanist on your team I want us to raise so far as I am concerned. I do so fully recognizing all the difficulties that we thereby precipitate. I do so, recognizing, too, that Constantine was not the immediate successor of Diocletian!

*I am neither praising nor blaming liberal Protestantism in making the statement. By liberal Protestantism I mean the amalgam of science, the free enterprise system, the Enlightenment and classical Protestantism which spiritually dominated the Anglo-Saxon world over the years of our Nation. Not even the War Between the States challenged it.

SUMMARY FOR THE PRESIDENT

The dominant trend of the past two decades toward "megapolis" in some areas of the country and stagnation or decline in many other areas threatens to undermine further the quality of life in both urban and rural America. Preliminary 1970 Census data indicate that this trend continues unabated and point up the need for a national policy for balanced distribution of population and economic opportunity.

The National Governor's Conference and the National League of Cities have adopted resolutions calling for such a national policy.

The prevailing view has been that this tenacious trend for all practical purposes is irreversible. The NGRS study, however, concludes that the trend can be changed if there is an explicit national goal to do so and if this goal is supported by strong leadership in modifying policies and programs, both public and private.

The attached study shows how this conclusion was derived and examines three basic strategies for achieving a more balanced distribution of the population by the year 2000.

- a. A population spread strategy to generate growth in sparsely populated rural areas (rural industrialization). This alternative does not appear to be the most feasible.
- b. A growth center strategy that would spur the development of existing smaller cities in non-metropolitan areas. This alternative is finding increasing support among experts and offers a feasible approach to benefiting large numbers of people both in those cities and in the rural areas surrounding them. It could serve as the keystone of a national policy.
- c. New community development outside large metropolitan regions to accommodate increased population. An experimental approach is advised because of our inexperience and the high risk and cost of developing new free-standing cities. This can be a part of a growth center strategy.

In essence, the solutions to the problems of our large cities must reach beyond the cities; at the same time, the easing of rural America's problems is tied to the further extension of the benefits of urban life in the non-metropolitan areas.

Much progress could be made toward the goal of balanced growth by redirecting resources already planned for economic development. Public works investments in distressed, sparsely-populated areas would have greater effect if redirected to growth centers. An increased share of investments in the development of human resources -- education, health care, manpower training -- would do more for the rural inhabitants in lagging regions, enabling them to find jobs created in nearby growth centers. Similarly, a very large pool of public and private construction dollars could be tapped during the 'seventies for purposes of influencing industrial location decisions.

The first phase of the study sought to determine the feasibility of a national goal for balanced population. Having established the feasibility of such a goal, the study will next seek to develop the optional policies and related implications for programs which need to be started now if a more balanced distribution is to be achieved.

Attachments

TAB A: NGRS progress report of March 23, 1970, "Toward a National Growth Policy: Population Distribution Aspects". This contains our detailed analysis of long-term trends with respect to the distribution of the U. S. population and implications for policy. A covering memorandum updates some of the main trends.

TAB B NGRS public report of July 4, 1970, "Toward Balanced Growth". Chapter 2, pp. 39-62, and Appendix A, pp. 188-193, are addressed to the problems of U. S. population growth and distribution.

TAB C: National Governor's Conference Resolutions on Population Distribution for 1969 and 1970.

June 22, 1970

FOR : JOHN PRICE
VIA : LEONARD GARMENT

FROM : Charles Williams

SUBJECT : Next Steps on the Study of Population Redistribution
as a Feasible National Goal

Following up on our recent discussions regarding next steps, I would appreciate your reaction to some specific tasks, which I think could give the Administration some visible initiatives by January.

Task #1. Develop a model of how one might go about using Federal policies and programs if the President wished to create incentives to redistribute growth from an emerging megalopolis to alternative urban growth centers. We would select a large metropolitan area and one or two alternative small growth centers outside the "urban corridors." Federal, state, and local government programs for each would be analyzed for: 1) the goals they are seeking to fulfill; 2) the effect they are having upon growth; and, 3) the changes or new actions that would be needed if a goal of balanced distribution were adopted.

This type of in-depth work is essential to a sound understanding of what is involved and what specific goals are attainable. The work would be done as an in-government hypothetical study and should not "rankle" local political leaders or citizens. A small interagency team could have a first progress report within about six months.

Task #2. Promote the development of a design, jointly with HUD, for two experimental new cities. Our role would be that of nurturing the development of a "goals package" for the cities and of models that could be applied elsewhere.

One model might be a satellite city in a potential growth corridor and include such innovations as new forms of public/private cooperative ventures, suspension of codes, and use of Federal lands, ala the Research Analysis Corporation's proposal to Gov. Holton of Virginia.

A second model might be a frontier city designed to deflect population from growth corridors and to promote rural development. It could be free standing or be built on the foundations of an existing small city. Its innovations could include an entirely new approach to government/private cooperation, such as combining investment plans of government agencies and private companies in such a way as to enable a new city to be built with an "instant economy" and with little or no additional public expenditures. As you know, I have been interested in developing this idea.

Practically all of the top 500 business corporations have expansion and new investment plans. If we could "aggregate" their decisions, a small fraction of these growth and new location investments could build a city with a balanced economy of its own. Though no one of these groups - including the Federal Government - can by itself create an "instant economy" a coordinated decision among them might do so.

We could work with such groups as the Senior Advisory Council of the Industrial Conference Board, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Chamber of Commerce to elicit business support.

It would take a while to negotiate the project, but I have discussed the idea with selective people. It seems worth a try and I would like to carry the ball further. If it succeeded, it would be a real first for the Administration.

Either of these tasks can be spelled out in more detail if you wish. Perhaps a meeting with yourself and others from HUD, Commerce, HEW, Transportation, Labor, OEO, etc. to explore these ideas would be useful.

Can we discuss further?

CW/lp
cc: Mr. Garment

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Selective Issues of the Seventies

It has now become a caveat to observe that our society is experiencing unprecedented change: unprecedented in its scale or magnitude, unprecedented in the pervasiveness with which changes affect so many areas of life, unprecedented in the range and number of areas of life in which change is occurring simultaneously; and unprecedented in the rate at which these changes are occurring.

We have only recently become "self-conscious" about the phenomenon of change. By the end of the last decade a growing number of scholars were seriously questioning whether or not our society was equipped to manage these processes of change. The answers coming from such queries give reason to doubt that our present processes are adequate for the task. While at the same time, other studies show that for the foreseeable future, unless extremely disruptive reversals are forced, we can only anticipate more and faster change for at least the remainder of this century.

This particular aspect of contemporary life has not emerged overnight. It can be seen to be the result of a variety of complex social trends interacting upon one another in only vaguely perceived ways. Among the most prominent of these trends which

seem to be driving change are the rapid developments in science and technology, the sustained economic growth, and changing social values and attitudes.

Many of the issues of the 70's will emerge from continuation of present trends (for example, the problems of a society striving toward social equality and integration may become more segregated unless present migration patterns are changed). Other issues of the 70's will evolve from continuing present processes, i.e., if biological research is sustained a number of new capabilities for genetic manipulation and birth control are almost sure to be developed. Still other issues will evolve as a consequence of some policy choices. For example, if we choose to rigidly enforce pollution standards a number of people will become at least temporarily unemployed in some sector of the economy; the competitive relationships between the product of various industries will change as true costs are added into production costs; and the relationship between costs of domestically produced and foreign produced goods will change.

Shifting Environmental Issues

We have not made clear commitments to cleaning up the environment as a national goal. Presently a number of steps

are being taken by various governmental bodies. The overall public mood seems now to favor "getting on with the job." With this as the prevalent mood, for the first time a court has ordered a chicken factory closed due to its odors which crossed state lines, and a small town in southern virginia may loose its principal industry because the state control board has decided to enforce the water quality standards. The firm produces a product with a process that "dumps" waste into the river. There is no present "technological fix" (i.e., a means to continue to produce the item even at a higher cost without dumping the waste)."

Cases such as these can well become a trend for the next several years. The truth is we do not now know what the full economic and social consequences will be if we start rigid enforcement of quality standards.

Therefore, it is likely that within two or three years we will begin experiencing an "environmental backlash" from people put out of work or who feel personal inconvenience as a result of applying environmental standards. These people may become even more vocal (and may surely vote their feelings) than today's "saviors of the environment." Political campaigns may be conducted with a different environmental slant. Slogans such as "people are

more important than fish" may become a rallying cry. Politicians now on the "save the environment bandwagon" may be surprised to find the public mood changed. This could be a potential source of political backlash and defeat. But more importantly, it could also set the entire environmental clean up movement (which is essential to long run survival) back by decades.

We are almost certain to see the economic advantages of special interests getting exempt from enforcement of environmental quality standards become a whole new area for lobbying activities, political pay-offs and various forms of corruption and inequitable treatment. Clear ethical standards would be easier to develop now before these developments are well advanced.

In a different view, we will likely feel for at least the next decade that efforts for environmental restoration are failing regardless of what we do. This, too, is fraught with political "backfire." For example, the Administration has proposed \$10 billion dollars for sewage treatment facilities under the banner that this can give us "clean rivers and streams" by 1976. It is doubtful that the public will understand the fact that "clean" in this sense covers only one area of water polluting. We are only now getting pollution monitoring devices underway. Most

"pollutants"---such as agricultural wastes and nutrients from chemical fertilizers--are not yet being measured systematically. The result of this will be that as more pollutants are monitored we may feel that regardless of efforts being made things are still getting worse. A new and potent source for a crisis of confidence may be evolving from our present "environmental rhetoric." If this happens, the political and social costs could be high.

In some areas, what may now appear as "solutions" to environmental problems could become lures into a false sense of security. For example, if technologies for control of auto emissions are as successful as the optimistic forecasts about their efficiency suggest they can be, we will begin to see a clear decline in the absolute amount of wastes being put into the air by internal combustion vehicles. However, projections show that by the mid 1980's, the increase in the number of vehicles will begin to more than offset the reduced pollution of each and the total pollution from autos will again begin to rise. This suggests that at best emission control devices are only a temporary improvement unless they can be fully effective. Because of this awareness, research on alternates to the internal combustion

engine is likely to get continued priority. This increases the probability that we will begin to see other forms of power (perhaps batteries) used extensively toward the end of the decade. The economic impacts of this on petroleum industries and related servicing businesses throughout the nation could be very significant. An orderly transition could save much individual hardship.

It now appears highly probable that within two to five years we may link air pollution as a cause of poor health and death. The evidence for this causal effect relationship will probably be at least as strong as the present evidence linking tobacco and lung cancer. But the issues evolving from such information will likely be quite different. Smoking is an act controlled by each individual. But the quality of air we all breathe is not controlled by individual but rather by "collective" decisions. A possible "panic" with all the unpredictable social turmoil and overreactions common to "panics" is well within the realm of possibility. At best, as our knowledge about the extent and effects of pollution increases, present issues will change and new issues will arise. A prudent environmental strategy is badly needed but not likely to develop from present approaches. Unless such a strategy is developed, carefully explained and used as a guide for present actions the "moratoriums of the 70's" may be already in the wind.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1970

To: Len Garment

From: Daniel P. Moynihan

July Fourth: a patriotic patch for Old Glory

JULY the Fourth, for reasons best known to Americans, is a day of rejoicing, of holiday mood and fireworks hoopla. But today's Independence Day is being inflated here into a mammoth reminder for Americans, as the chief organizer Bob Hope put it, "to assert their love for America."

It is called self-consciously "Honour America Day" and it is non-partisan—former Presidents Truman and Johnson, Mrs. Eisenhower, and such Vietnam doves as Senator Eugene McCarthy are among the sponsors. But essentially this is an attempt at mass therapy to rekindle patriotic pride, and to counter the dis-septers who have sown distrust and disunity.

President Nixon lived up to his commitment to withdraw all American troops from Cambodia by June 30 and he is getting credit for that rather than for what he claims this operation accomplished. The situation in Cambodia remains far too unstable for any firm conclusions.

The South Vietnamese, despite predictions in highest White House quarters, remain in Cambodia and are determined to stay and, whatever tactical airpower of their own they have is now being moved from South Vietnam to Cambodia and replaced in South Vietnam by American units.

The Thais are equally eager to move into Cambodia, but have failed at the meeting of Seato (South East Treaty Organisation) to get an assurance from the US Secretary of State, William Rogers, that they could count on American protection under

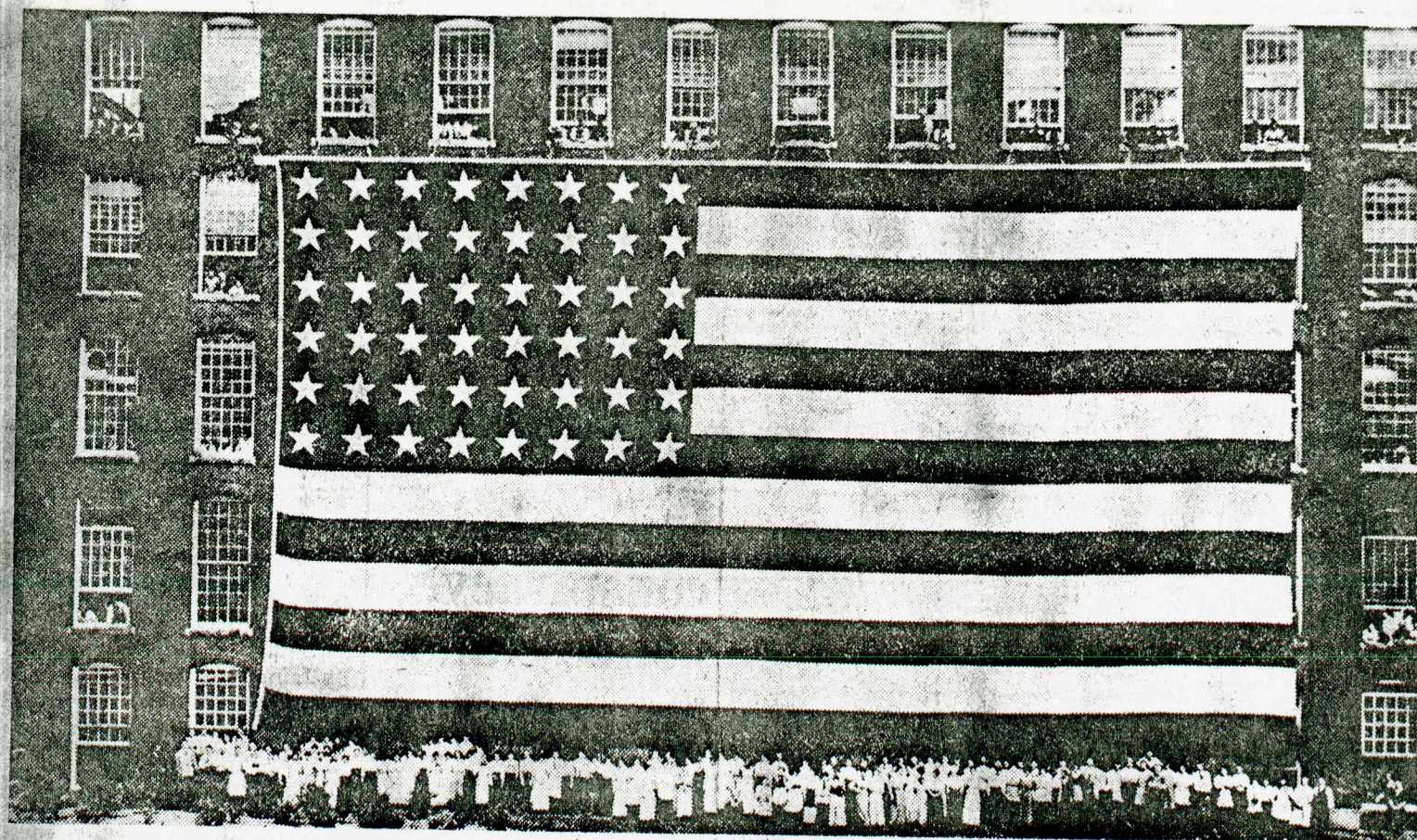


the Seato Treaty if they were to move into Cambodia and their own security became endangered. And behind the American back, Bangkok has been seeking Nationalist Chinese support in Formosa.

American diplomacy is thus caught between encouraging the South East Asians to assist Cambodia in the spirit of the Nixon Doctrine and restraining the historically deep-seated rapacious desire among South Vietnamese and Thais to carve up Cambodia and, in the process, taking actions designed to suck the United States into a deeper South East Asian commitment.

The North Vietnamese meanwhile—Chinese Communist style—seem content with controlling the countryside and leaving the cities, which are difficult to supply and maintain, to their enemy.

The appointment of David Bruce—as outstanding a diplomat as the United States could send into the negotiating jungle in Paris—is meant to convey President Nixon's desire to shift the emphasis to negotiation and to the questions of how to determine the real political strength of the contending forces and how



Old—and huge—Glory: this gigantic flag was made in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1914. An attempt to rekindle such expansive patriotism is being made in the US this weekend during Independence Day celebrations. The picture is taken from the newly-published Volume II of *This Fabulous Century*, a Time-Life book

to base a political solution on that. But it is difficult to see how the President's insistence on making Thieu an essential part of any agreement could lead to a compromise settlement.

The contradiction inherent in the United States strategy is that the President must keep the American public convinced that he is pulling his troops out of Vietnam and at the same time convince Hanoi that the withdrawal is contingent on their actions.

But the question of whether the Cambodian operation (which I doubt will loom as important historically as the President assumes) was more than a marginal success or whether it has enhanced the security of the American forces, is now less important that it was from the American public point of view.

There is growing evidence that the war is beginning to recede as the central crisis issue—at least as long as the President is seen to be disengaging from Vietnam.

The issue that preoccupies people far more now is the uncertain state of the economy. It is aggravating existing social and political tensions and is hurting above all the so-called "silent majority," the lower middle-classes, the backbone of President Nixon's public support.

Republicans running in the coming Congressional elections are, therefore, much less confident of success than they were three months ago, and the chances of the Republicans winning control of the Senate have sharply declined.

In a few days the President will receive a report prepared by the National Intelligence Council but with

outside expert help on national goals for the next decade. It will cover most of the leading problems—from education to ecology, consumerism to forms of taxation.

But what stands out, and what makes it so different from similar studies for past presidents, is that instead of calling exuberantly for greater societies and bigger goals, it will call for "balanced growth" as the unifying theme for the Seventies. Not everything it tries to stress, is possible. Hard choices must be made with much more careful evaluations than in the past. The next decade, as one of those responsible for the study put it to me, will have to be a "decade of reason."

The great problem, though, that the President is facing is that Americans are not in a

reasonable state of mind, and patriotic July the Fourth rallies are no cure. The lead must come from the President and he must convey a greater sense of non-partisanship to halt what Patrick Moynahan, one of his counsellors this week called, "the eroding confidence."

Mr Nixon struck the right note in a speech last week when he called for "national reconciliation." But, as long as the President pleads for understanding and the avoidance of confrontations, and Vice President Agnew's aggressive and abrasive manner encourages confrontation for partisan political reasons, the sincerity of the President, who is said to be highly pleased with Mr Agnew's performance, will remain in doubt and his appeals for reconciliation will fall on deaf ears.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR LEONARD GARMENT

FROM Charles Williams *cw*

In the public report, only the Chapter on Population Distribution was developed from the long range policy analyses that the goals staff has started. Since this other work of the staff is not reflected in the public report, I plan to try to complete several internal progress reports by August 31st.

The reports on which we are now working are

1. Issues of the 70's. A summary of our judgments about coming developments and the policy issues they will raise during this decade. Some ideas for how to prepare for these issues will be discussed.

2. Possible Goals for Aging Americans. Projected changes in (1) the number and type of retired Americans; (2) medical and other services for enhancing the life of older people, (3) costs of present "commitments" to the elderly; and (4) some political and social issues and alternatives.

3. Projections and alternatives for educational policies and possible outcomes in 1980.

4. A definitive statement of what kind of national goals process is needed and a plan for how it could be developed.

5. A plan for managing the flow of information to enable the President to move beyond the present reactive policy mode toward an anticipatory policy mode.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 3, 1970

Len,

Some of the people in our first meeting on the Nat'l Goals Institute are reportedly "unhappy" that they have heard no further from us.

They seemingly feel that we have used them for our own predetermined purposes, and that if they are asked to form an Institute it will be one which they have had no part in shaping. The word I get is that ~~at~~ a few (not sure who) have said they would decline a request that they organize the institute.

The reason for the feeling is lack of communication. I think that it can all be cleared up by a brief phone call from you, followed by a letter.

You might emphasize that: 1) you had originally hoped something definite could have been worked out by this July 4th and asked that we develop recommendations toward that end; 2) you understand that most of those consulted felt that we should move more cautiously and you are being responsive to this concern; 3) you have been pressed on a variety of urgent matters or you would have personally followed up with them before now; 4) you will be sending them a copy of the task force report and would appreciate their reactions to it; 5) you will be in further touch after you have sounded out a variety of views within the White House, etc.

Unless you do something like this, we will probably create ill will without reason or basis.

Names and phone numbers are attached.

Charles

NATIONAL GOALS INSTITUTE

Steering Committee

(Participants in the March 1970 Meeting)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sen,

Just want you to know
I mentioned job possibilities
to Pat Moynihan. He will
be in touch with you. Is
willing to help but thinks
he should wait to see if
~~the~~ ^{the} unit might still
be accepted.

Thanks.
Chas.

BIOGRAPHY: RAYMOND A. BAUER
1968-1969

Name and appointment:

Raymond A. Bauer, Professor of Business Administration

Address:

16 Highland Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Marital Status:

Married (Katharine G.)

Children:

1 daughter

Education:

1943	Northwestern University	B.S. with highest distinction
1948	Harvard University	M.A.
1950	Harvard University	Ph.D.

Business and/or Teaching Experience:

1957 - Harvard Business School, Professor of Business Administration
1958 - Arthur D. Little, Consultant
1956-1957 Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Associate Professor
1955-1956 Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Science, Fellow
1953-1957 Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Staff
1950-1955 Harvard University, Department of Social Relations, Lecturer
1946-1950 Harvard University, Russian Research Center, Fellow
1935-1944 Worked in business and industry mainly as shipping clerk, foundry laborer, materials testor, and chemical analyst

Activities and Memberships:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING AGENCIES EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
Academic Committee, member

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
Past President

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
Former President, Division of Consumer Psychology
APA Panel on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology, member
Board of Professional Affairs, member

MASSACHUSETTS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
Past President

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Committee on SST-Boom, member
Subcommittee on Human Response, member
National Research Council, member of Committee on Hearing, Bioacoustics, and Biomechanics, Chairman of Committee on Social and Behavioral Urban Research

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
Secretary

Major Field:

Behavioral sciences

Major Publications (books only):

- 1969 Second Order Consequences, M.I.T. Press, in press. *Marketing Science*
1970 Studies in the Negro Market (with Scott Cunningham) Harvard *Institute*
~~Business School, Division of Research~~, in press. *in press*
1968 Advertising in America. The Consumer View (with Stephen A. Greyser)
Division of Research, Harvard Business School.
1968 The Study of Policy Formation, Bauer and Gergen, editors, Free Press.
1966 Social Indicators. A First Approximation, Bauer, editor, M.I.T. Press.
1963 American Business and Public Policy (with Pool and Dexter), Atherton
Press.
1962 Some Views on Soviet Psychology, Bauer (editor), American Psychological
Association.
1961 Contributor to Donald N. Michael: Proposed Studies on the Implications
of Peaceful Space Activities for Human Affairs, Committee on Long-range
Studies of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Brookings
Institution.
1960 American Business and International Trade (with Ithiel de Sola Pool),
Codebook of the M.I.T. Trade Study, The Free Press.
1959 The Soviet Citizen: Day-to-day Life in a Totalitarian Society (with
Alex Inkeles), Harvard University Press.
1956 How the Soviet System Works (with Alex Inkeles and Clyde Kluckhohn),
Harvard University Press.
1955 Nine Soviet Portraits (with assistance of Edward Wasiolek), Wiley
Technology Press.
1952 The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Harvard University Press.

Plus innumerable articles in Harvard Business Review, Public Opinion
Quarterly, American Psychologist, Journal of Marketing, et al.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

WALTER A. HAHN, JR.

Biographical Sketch

Walter A. Hahn, Jr., received a B.S. degree in physics from New York University, an M.A. degree in public administration from American University, and has completed his studies for his doctorate in management science at Syracuse University.

During World War II he served in the Naval Air Transport Service and in several phases of undersea warfare. Upon release from active duty he was employed in research administration with the Office of Naval Research. In 1949 he was appointed to the staff of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, as technical aide to the Committee on Undersea Warfare and later became its Executive Secretary.

From 1954 to 1962 Hahn was employed by the General Electric Company in Syracuse, New York, where he was a systems planning engineer, then Manager of Operations Research and Synthesis, and for three years he was Manager, Systems Management Research in GE's Defense Systems Department. During this period he also served for a time as consultant to Apparatenindustrie Defense Electronics N.V. in The Hague.

Mr. Hahn was appointed as Director of Management Analysis with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington, D. C., in January 1962. He served as chairman of the National Aviation Weather Systems Study, a joint ad hoc activity of the Federal Aviation Agency and the U. S. Weather Bureau. Hahn was made Director of Policy Planning for the U. S. Weather Bureau in April 1964 and with that Bureau's amalgamation into the Environmental Science Services Administration, was appointed ESSA's Director of Planning and Program Evaluation. In August 1967 he was named Assistant Deputy Administrator for Policy Development in ESSA. In April 1969 Hahn was assigned temporarily as a Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology, and was subsequently named as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology Planning. In January 1970 Hahn was selected for his present position as a Senior Research Associate on the White House's National Goals Research Staff.

Mr. Hahn is a member of the Institute of Management Sciences, and has served as chairman of its College on Research and Development. He is also a member of the National Conference on the Administration of Research (board member), the Operations Research Society of America, the Washington Operations Research Council (trustee), the American Society for Public Administration, and is a frequent lecturer and contributor to professional journals.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

CURRICULUM VITAE

I. Name: Arnold Samuel Nash

II. Personal Data:

Date of Birth: September 17, 1906, Chesterfield, England

Marital Status: Married, July 1, 1933

Social Security Number: 240-58-0638

II. Education:

B.S. in Chemistry, magna
cum laude (and Tate Science
Scholar)

University of Liverpool, 1928

M.S. in Chemistry

University of Liverpool, 1930

M.A. in Philosophy

University of Liverpool, 1933

M.Sc.Econ.

London School of Economics, University of
London, 1937

IV. Professional Experience:

1947-currently

Professor of the History and Sociology of
Religion, University of North Carolina at
Chapel-Hill

1945-1947

Associate Professor of Church History,
McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago

1944-1945

Church Divinity School of the Pacific,
Berkeley

1942-44

Chaplain, Hart House, University of Toronto

1939-42

Visiting lecturer in various educational
institutions in the United States

1936-40

Secretary, Church of England Council on
Marriage and the Family

1932-35

Executive Secretary, Student Christian
Movement, University of London

V. Honors and Awards:

D.D., Coe College, 1946

Mead-Swing Lectures, Oberlin College, 1939; Earl Lectures, Pacific School of
Religion, California, 1940; Gates Lectures, Grinnell College, Iowa, 1946;

V. Honors and Awards (continued):

Merrick Lectures, Ohio Wesleyan University, 1948; Thorp Lectures, Cornell University, 1961.

VI. Professional Activities:

Vice-Chairman of the Youth Commission on "Church and State" at the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, 1937; Consultant on "Marriage and the Family," World Christian Youth Conference, The Netherlands, 1939; Summer Session, Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University, 1940; Member of Commission of the World Council of Churches on the Relevance of the Bible, 1946; Consultation to the Ford Foundation Study, Notre Dame University, 1952; Summer Sessions, Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University, 1953; Lectures in universities in India, Burma, the Philippines, and Japan sponsored by the Harvard-Yenching Foundation and the Hazen Foundation, 1953-54; Consultant to the United States Bureau of the Budget Committee on Chronic Kidney Disease, 1966-67; Director, Carolina Population Center project on Comparative Religion, Public Policy, and Population Control, 1966-currently.

VII. Memberships in Professional Organizations:

Royal Economic Society of London (Life Fellow)
American Sociological Association (Fellow)
American Academy of Political and Social Science
Society for the Scientific Study of Religion
Society for Research into Higher Education (England)

PUBLICATIONS

Arnold S. Nash

- Nash, A. S., (ed.). Education for Christian Marriage. London, 1938, and New York, 1940.
- _____, The University and the Modern World. New York, 1943, and London, 1944.
- _____, Dewey, John, and Micklejohn, Alexander, Symposium in The American Scholar (1944) on the future of higher education in North America.
- _____, "The England to Which John Wesley Came," in Methodism, ed. by William Anderson, Nashville, 1948.
- _____, "Ancient Past and Living Present," in Marriage, Family, and Parenthood, ed. by Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, Boston, 1949.
- _____, (ed.). Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century, New York, 1951.
- _____, "Die hebraische Familie" and "Die patriarchale Familie in der Antike," in Mensch, Geschlecht, Gesellschaft, ed. by H. Giese and A. Willy, Paris and Frankfurt, 1954.
- _____, "Some Reflections Upon the Sociological Approach to Theology," Internationales Jahrbuch für Religionssoziologie, 1966.
- _____, "The Humanities and Research in Higher Education," Educational Record (Fall 1967).
- _____, "The Ethical Judgment," in Therapeutic Abortion: A Chapel Hill Symposium, (July 15, 1967), ed. by Jaroslav F. Hulka. Chapel Hill: Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina (Monograph 1).
- _____, (With Lewis W. Bluemle, David K. Detweiler, and Robert D. Dripps), "A Medical Affairs Forum: Moral Issues Relating to the Use of Humans and Animals in Research," Medical Affairs (September 1967).
- _____, (With Marion B. Smith), "The Natural Sciences, Criticism, and the Humanities," Journal of Aesthetic Education (April 1969).
- _____, (ed.). The Choice Before the Humanities. Durham, N. C.: Regional Education Laboratory for the Carolinas and Virginia, 1970 (forthcoming).
- Contributions to journals in Great Britain, Europe, and America, e.g. The Spectator, Christianity and Society, Theology Today, Student World, Christian Century, Guardian, etc.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EXPERIENCE:

1968 - Present	National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development Executive Office of the President	Professional Staff Member
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Function as a long range, policy planning and organizational specialist - developing a spectrum of opportunities for an "active" Cabinet-level coordinating body chaired by the Vice President. Social, political and economic factors, which stimulate public support for Marine Affairs are being reviewed and analyzed with regard to developing a rationale for increased funding in the next 30 years (i.e. an attempt is being made to comprehend and rationalize how and why the functional uses of the ocean enhance the long range national interest). Have also developed a systematic analysis of the organizational aspects of Marine Affairs affecting eleven Federal Departments and Agencies. Collateral responsibilities include the special analysis, speeches, meetings and monitoring of research encumbent upon such an undertaking.

1966 - 1968	United Nations Secretariat	Industrial Affairs Officer
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Represent the Industrial Institutions Section in the new United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). Prime responsibility for generating ideas relevant to the organization and administration of industrial institutions in public and private sectors of the world community. Administering all phases of work relative to the Inter-regional Conference on the Organization and Administration of Industrial Services in Africa. Function as consultant to academic, financial,

and government bodies, for example, represented UNIDO at the National Association of Manufacturers meeting on new patent policy, also served on the recent panel of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. Author of research monographs in the field of Industrial Development.

1966 - 1967	Graduate School of Public Administration, City University (C. U. N. Y.)	Lecturer in Public Administration
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1965 - 1966	Temporary Commission on City Finances*	Consultant
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Member of the Task Force on Personnel, with responsibility for improving labor productivity in City government. The final contribution was a proposal for measuring productivity on a regular basis. Collateral research and consultation resulted in a supporting monograph.

1963 - 1964	New York University*	Research Faculty Doctoral Candidate
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Administrator of scientific and applied enterprises in the public sector. From May 1963 to September 1964, helped to plan and implement the Communication Science Program for the Medical Center. Concurrent with this task, served as a staff member of the Data Processing & Computational Laboratory of the Engineering School. During this time, also served as an instructor for the Honor's Program at the Medical Center.

1961 - 1963	Ted Peck, Inc.*	Account Executive
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Assisted in the organization of this new advertising agency, consultant on financial and technical matters, agency representative for industrial and scientifically based client firms.

*All positions were located in New York City, except where noted.

1957 - 1961

Hazeltine Corporation

Promoted to
Assistant to Vice
President

Principal responsibility was to promote the effective supervision and control of the Electronics Division's operation and to improve the competitive standing of the Company.

PERSONAL STATISTICS:

Born: Philadelphia, Pa.

Height: 6' 4"

Weight: 195 lbs.

Age: 38

Married: 2 children

Service: U.S.N. Pilot

Health: Excellent

EDUCATION:

1963 - 1967

New York University

Ph. D.

1950 - 1957

Johns Hopkins University

Bachelor of Engineering
Science

UNIVERSITY HONORS:

University Scholarship, Research completed with Honors,
NDEA fellowship, Predoctoral fellowship

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES:

American Society for Public Administration
American Political Science Association
American Association for the Advancement of Science
American Association of University Professors

Selective Issues of the Seventies

It has now become a caveat to observe that our society is experiencing unprecedented change: unprecedented in its scale or magnitude; unprecedented in the pervasiveness with which changes affect so many areas of life; unprecedented in the range and number of areas of life in which change is occurring simultaneously; and unprecedented in the rate at which these changes are occurring.

We have only recently become "self-conscious" about the phenomenon of change. By the end of the last decade a growing number of scholars were seriously questioning whether or not our society was equipped to manage these processes of change. The answers coming from such queries give reason to doubt that our present processes are adequate for the task. While at the same time, other studies show that for the foreseeable future, unless extremely disruptive reversals are forced, we can only anticipate more and faster change for at least the remainder of this century.

This particular aspect of contemporary life has not emerged overnight. It can be seen to be the result of a variety of complex social trends interacting upon one another in only vaguely perceived ways. Among the most prominent of these trends which

seem to be driving change are: the rapid developments in science and technology, the sustained economic growth, and changing social values and attitudes.

Many of the issues of the 70's will emerge from continuation of present trends (for example, the problems of a society striving toward social equality and integration may become more segregated unless present migration patterns are changed). Other issues of the 70's will evolve from continuing present processes, i.e., if biological research is sustained a number of new capabilities for genetic manipulation and birth control are almost sure to be developed. Still other issues will evolve as a consequence of some policy choices. For example, if we choose to rigidly enforce pollution standards a number of people will become at least temporarily unemployed in some sector of the economy; the competitive relationships between the product of various industries will change as true costs are added into production costs; and the relationship between costs of domestically produced and foreign produced goods will change.

Shifting Environmental Issues

We have ^{not} made clear commitments to cleaning up the environment as a national goal. Presently a number of steps

are being taken by various governmental bodies. The overall public mood seems now to favor "getting on with the job." With this as the prevalent mood, for the first time a court has ordered ~~a chicken factory~~ ^{poultry processing plant} closed due to its odors which crossed state lines, and a small town in southern virginia may lose its principal industry because the state control board has decided to enforce the water quality standards. The firm produces a product with a process that "dumps" waste into the river. There is no present "technological fix" (i.e., a means to continue to produce the item even at a higher cost without dumping the waste)."

Cases such as these can well become a trend for the next several years. The truth is we do not now know what the full economic and social consequences will be if we start rigid enforcement of quality standards.

Therefore, it is likely that within two or three years we will begin experiencing an "environmental backlash" from people put out of work or who feel personal inconvenience as a result of applying environmental standards. These people may become even more vocal (and may surely vote their feelings) than today's "saviors of the environment." Political campaigns may be conducted with a different environmental slant. Slogans such as "people are

more important than fish" may become a rallying cry. Politicians now on the "save the environment bandwagon" may be surprised to find the public mood changed. This could be a potential source of political backlash and defeat. But more importantly, it could also set the entire environmental clean up movement (which is essential to long run survival) back by decades.

We are almost certain to see the economic advantages of special interests getting exempt from enforcement of environmental quality standards become a whole new area for lobbying activities, political pay-offs and various forms of corruption and inequitable treatment. Clear ethical standards would be easier to develop now before these developments are well advanced.

In a different view, we will likely feel for at least the next decade that efforts for environmental restoration are failing regardless of what we do. This, too, is fraught with political "backfire." For example, the Administration has proposed \$10 billion dollars for sewage treatment facilities under the banner that this can give us "clean rivers and streams" by 1976. It is doubtful that the public will understand the fact that "clean" in this sense covers only one area of water polluting. We are only now getting pollution monitoring devices underway. Most

"pollutants"--such as agricultural wastes and nutrients from chemical fertilizers--are not yet being measured systematically. The result of this will be that as more pollutants are monitored we may feel that regardless of efforts being made things are still getting worse. A new and potent source for a crisis of confidence may be evolving from our present "environmental rhetoric." If this happens, the political and social costs could be high.

In some areas, what may now appear as "solutions" to environmental problems could become lures into a false sense of security. For example, if technologies for control of auto emissions are as successful as the optimistic forecasts about their efficiency suggest they can be, we will begin to see a ~~clear~~ decline in the absolute amount of wastes being put into the air by internal combustion vehicles. However, projections show that by the mid 1980's, the increase in the number of vehicles will begin to more than offset the reduced pollution of each and the total pollution from autos will again begin to rise. This suggests that at best emission control devices are only a temporary improvement unless they can be fully effective. Because of this awareness, research on alternates to the internal combustion

engine is likely to get continued priority. This increases the probability that we will begin to see other forms of power (perhaps batteries) used extensively toward the end of the decade. The economic impacts of this on petroleum industries and related *and on electric power utilities* servicing businesses throughout the nation could be very significant.
 1
 An orderly transition could save much individual hardship.

It now appears highly probable that within two to five years we may link air pollution as a cause of poor health and death. The evidence for this causal effect relationship will probably be at least as strong as the present evidence linking tobacco and lung cancer. But the issues evolving from such information will likely be quite different. Smoking is an act controlled by each individual. But the quality of air we all breathe is not controlled by individual but rather by "collective" decisions. A possible "panic" with all the unpredictable social turmoil and overreactions common to "panics" is ~~well~~ within the realm of possibility. At best, as our knowledge about the extent and effects of pollution increases, present issues will change and new issues will arise. A prudent environmental strategy is badly needed but not likely to develop from present approaches. Unless such a strategy is developed, carefully explained and used as a guide for present actions the "moratoriums of the 70's" may be already in the wind.

Education Issues for the Seventies

- Early childhood development. ~~Affects~~ the disadvantaged as part of remedial education and welfare programs by working on the child at his most sensitive stage of development. *Earlier development of* skills and social awareness would have a profound impact on formal schooling for all socio-economic classes. The traditional isolation of adolescents in the schools might be eliminated for direct participation in the adult world. This would alter traditional age patterns of employment and public service.

- Accountability. ~~If~~ Accurate measures of performance can be developed, and school administrators and teachers made responsible for the performance of their students, there would be an incentive for higher quality education. At the present time only the basic skills are amenable to reliable measurement. Research on the measurement tools needed to encompass more than the basic skills is to be one of the prime concerns of the President's proposed National Institute of Education.

Performance contracting is now being funded by OEO to determine the effectiveness of the concept. Results from the existing Texarkana project are encouraging.

- Voucher system. Under this system education money would be given to the parents of school age children to be spent at the school of the parents' choice. The competitive between schools, private and public, would hopefully lead to higher quality education.

Two severe problems may exist with this concept: establishment of standards for inclusion of non-public schools in the program, and provision of information enabling the parents to make a reasoned selection of a school for their child.

- Equality of opportunity in higher education. Open admission policies have been proposed as a solution to the problem of enabling disadvantaged youth to obtain a college education. Many fear this will lower standards of the colleges and universities, and urge that high schools and junior colleges assume the responsibility for remedial programs needed by the disadvantaged.

The results of existing open admission policies must be carefully evaluated.

Changing attitudes toward drug addiction and legalization of marijuana.

The widespread and growing use of narcotics and dangerous drugs in the society has demonstrated the relative ineffectiveness of punitive approaches to curtailing drug addiction. In spite of this, the use of legal sanctions is still the primary tool used by public policymakers to deal with the problem. Among many doctors and a few public officials, however, drug addiction is being viewed as a medical problem—not a legal one. The apparent success of experimental methadone maintenance programs which eliminate the desire for heroin, and the lack of success of correctional rehabilitation centers, give credence to this view.

In addition to pressure from health officials, the criminal justice system itself is indirectly generating pressure for a revised legal position on narcotics and drug addiction. Most law enforcement officials feel that a significant portion of property-crime and robberies in cities can be attributed to supporting drug habits. (Estimates in New York City range as high as 75% of such crimes.) Statistical evidence is now virtually non-existent, but new, comprehensive crime data reporting systems to be implemented in the next few years will probably resolve the question.

The combination of medical research and data on drug-related crimes could generate significant pressure for removing drug addiction from the province of criminal law. In fact, the official endorsement of methadone programs (in which another addictive drug is essentially substituted for heroin) in several states, provides a type of precedent for future acceptance of legalized narcotics.

Of course, there is the possibility that the research results will generate pressure in the opposite direction. Evidence of permanent physical damage caused by marijuana use, for example, coupled with rising usage levels could result in a widespread demand for an extreme crackdown.

The first test of the legalization of a drug now classified as a narcotic will undoubtedly be marijuana, primarily because research on the effects of this drug are farthest advanced. In addition, its apparent non-addictive characteristics tend to make it less controversial than hard narcotics. The legalization issue will probably be largely resolved in the next 3 to 4 years, depending on the results of current research.

While it is extremely difficult to assess the extent of the impact of legalization of marijuana, if research results lead to that decision, there are indications that parts of the business sector feel the impact will be quite widespread. For example, it has been rumored that some tobacco companies are buying marijuana-producing fields and stockpiling supplies of it in foreign countries in anticipation of its legalization.

Delivery of medical services.

Continually rising costs of medical care and the growing belief that adequate health care is a basic right have given rise to a spate of proposals for a national health insurance plan. It is likely that such a plan will be established within the next five years.

Combining the shortage of medical personnel forecast on the basis of increasing population and the increased demand for services that might be anticipated under a national insurance plan, it becomes apparent that the present mechanism for supplying medical personnel and the system for delivering medical services will be incapable of satisfying the demand. Some evidence for the expected increase in demand is provided by the use of medical services by the aged before and after the establishment of the Medicare program. Depending on the form of the insurance plan, this will cause greatly increased costs of medical care and will frustrate the expectations and purposes of the plan.

Another trend which will still further increase the demand for medical services is the growing emphasis on preventive medicine. The Kaiser facilities are examples of this approach. By 1978, some experts believe that at least one-third of non-hospital patient visits will be for this type service.

In order to close the gap between medical manpower needs and availability, there are two possibilities. The personnel roles and structure of the medical profession can be changed to reduce the number of functions that highly trained doctors must perform. By turning functions such as simple diagnoses, prescriptions, and prophylaxis of disease over to more quickly trained paramedical personnel; for example, the supply of doctors would in effect be increased. Given present trends in the medical profession, however, experts estimate that this restructuring is not likely until the late Eighties. Hence, concerted public policies will be required if the changes are to take place more rapidly.

The other basic approach is to use technology to increase the effective supply of medical personnel. Possible applications include the use of computers to diagnose and monitor the conditions of patients and the combined use of communication and computer technology to provide medical personnel outside the large urban centers with access to specialized facilities and knowledge.

The political resistance to this approach would probably be much less than the former, but current forecasts indicate that there is only a 50% probability of achieving widespread use of these techniques before 1980. Again, public commitment to developing this capability could increase this probability.

Economic support for the aged.

In spite of rapidly increasing Federal outlays for the support of the elderly, their economic position with respect to the rest of the population is worsening. Even with rather liberal assumptions about increases in Social Security benefits, projections indicate that the aged will make little or no improvement in that position by 1980. In fact, at the lower end of the income scale, the proportion of households with heads 65 and over whose annual income is less than \$3000 will increase from 49% in 1967 to 70% in 1976. The continuing trend toward early retirement and the reduced availability of employment for the aged in a technically-sophisticated economy will also tend to reduce the adequacy of elderly incomes.

Since the elderly of the next decade are generally beyond the help of increases in private pension coverage, which is a major policy tool for assisting the aged in the late 1980's and 1990's, the bulk of the responsibility for their economic support will continue to fall upon the public sector. Therefore, a series of reforms in the Social Security system may be needed during the Seventies.

At the same time, however, programs for shifting some of the responsibility for the more distant future to the private sector (through "portable" pension plans, for example) should also be developed in that time period. There is already a substantial growth trend in this area upon which to build—the number of persons covered by private pension plans increased almost 50% from 1960 to 1968.

1. The Prospect of Further Racial Separation

A potentially explosive problem we face in our cities is the fact that the increase of nonwhites in central cities is accompanied by just as big a movement of whites from the center city to the suburbs. This could result in an unyielding pattern of segregation in metropolitan America in the 1970's.

In the metropolitan central cities, the white population shows a substantial decline since 1964, while the black population there has been increasing. The rate of growth of the blacks in central cities, however, appears to have been only half as high since 1964 as in earlier years of the decade, owing to less immigration and a somewhat reduced birth rate. Nevertheless, by 1968, fully half the total black population (53%) lived in central cities, whereas only a fourth of the whites did. And the overwhelming majority of the future nonwhite population growth will probably also be concentrated in central cities unless major changes in public policies come about. Projections based on recent experience show that between 1960 and 1985, central cities could lose 2.4 million or 5 percent of their whites, but gain 10 million nonwhites, a 94 percent increase. This means that nonwhites would move up from 18 to at least 31 percent of the population of the Nation's central cities. * Thus, during the next decade, negro isolation could become even more serious than it is today and the problems of central city administration multiplied.

* Patricia Leavey Hodge and Philip M. Hauser, *The challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook—1960 to 1985*, National Commission on Urban Problems, 1968.

2. Problems Arising from Business Relocations. A related trend that spells more difficulties in the future for central city and its inhabitants is the continuing flow of industrial jobs to the suburbs, thereby putting out of convenient and inexpensive reach the types of employment for which many central city residents qualify. In a recent year, 63 percent of all construction permits for industrial buildings were issued for locations outside central cities. On the other hand, 73 percent of office building construction permits were issued inside central cities. Central cities thus increasingly are becoming white-collar employment centers while the suburbs are becoming the job employment areas for new blue-collar workers. This is ironical in view of the fact that low-paid, blue-collar workers, especially if they are Negroes, live in the central cities while the white-collar workers are increasingly living in the suburbs. Traveling to work becomes increasingly difficult for both.

It is entirely possible that a greater concentration of Negroes in the central cities under such unfavorable economic conditions would be accompanied by an increase in tension and violence. If this violence is met by repressive measures, there could be a further polarization of blacks and whites, and the flight of more businesses and more jobs from the city.

3. Implications for Youth. The accelerating segregation of low-income, disadvantaged Negroes within the ghettos of the largest American cities will take a particularly heavy toll on the healthful development of the young Negro population in the Seventies. It is estimated that the Negro age group from 15 to 24 years will grow much faster than either the Negro population as a whole or the white population in the same age group. It is this very age group that has the highest unemployment rate in the Nation, commits a relatively high proportion of all crimes and plays the most significant role in civil disorders (Kerner Commission Report). At the same time, this group is a great reservoir of underused human resources that are vital to the Nation's continued full development.

It is inescapable that juvenile delinquency is directly related to conditions bred by poverty. Although official statistics may tend to exaggerate the role played by social and economic conditions, there is still no reason to doubt that delinquency, and especially the most serious delinquency, is committed disproportionately by slum and lower-class youth.

4. Implications for Education. If the trend toward residential polarization of socio-economic classes continues, the problem of low educational achievement of inner-city schools would be further exacerbated. Remedial programs would become an even more important element in any attempt to brake the continued social deterioration of the inner-city. In this regard, much needs to be learned about early childhood development and the consequences of introducing competitive educational systems under plans such as the voucher system. To this end, the President has emphasized the need for a sustained research program as part of his proposed National Institute of Education.

The continuation of the polarization trend makes more intractable the problem of de facto segregation. Improvement of the inner schools cannot be expected to be accomplished without effective management. Accountability of school administrative and instructional staff would be a critical element in improved management. Unfortunately, we do not have available reliable measurement tools through which the educators can be held responsible for their performance. There is, however, a beginning to the development of these tools in experiments now being funded by OEO, such as the Texarkana project. These programs, though, are restricted to the teaching of basic skills and more research is needed to extend our capability to measure performance of students in other important areas of their educational development.

The disparity between the financial resources and needs of the inner city schools needs to be resolved—although the trend is toward widening of this disparity. Proposals for the solution of this problem range from direct Federal subsidy of the schools to the implementation of metropolitan region school authorities encompassing both suburban and inner-city school districts. Success has been achieved with regional authorities, notably in Nashville and Toronto.

Resume of KENNETH LARRY KHACHIGIAN

PERMANENT ADDRESS: 8024 Carey Branch Place
Oxon Hill, Maryland 20022
Phone: A.C. 301 - 248-4856 - Residence
A.C. 202 - 395-5122 - Business

AGE: 25 Years

DATE OF BIRTH: September 14, 1944

MILITARY STATUS: I-A

HEALTH: Excellent

MARITAL STATUS: Married, 1 Child

EDUCATION: Bachelor of Arts degree and Juris Doctor degree

LAW SCHOOL: Columbia University School of Law;
Juris Doctor degree, June 1969

Grades - 9.87 (n.b. Not reflected in this average is the work of the Spring semester of 1968. Letter grades were not handed down at that time due to student disruptions.)

Honors - Recipient for three years of the Wien National Scholarship which is awarded to only one student selected from each of the judicial circuits.

Extra-curricular activities - Served as Treasurer (1967-68) and Marshal (1968-69) of the Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity.

UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOL: University of California at Santa Barbara:
Bachelor of Arts degree, June 1966,
cum laude, political science major.

Grades - 3.3 overall with 3.5 in my major

Honors -

- * Upon graduation I received the University's highest award given to the outstanding graduating senior for excellence in scholarship, leadership and service.
- * Dean's list for outstanding scholarship in 1964, 1965 and 1966.
- * In June of 1966 I was asked by the Chancellor of the University to deliver the annual Commencement Address.

- * Upon graduation I received one of 15 Honor Keys given to outstanding graduating seniors.
- * Scholarships awarded: Throughout college I was awarded a number of scholarships and grants, including the Standard Oil of California Scholarship, the Haynes Foundation Scholarship, and the Associated Students Scholarship.
- * In 1962 I was selected by the state-wide California 4-H Clubs to represent California at an intensive, two-week leadership training program in Michigan. The conference was sponsored by the Danforth Foundation, and a Danforth Foundation Grant was awarded me for this purpose.
- * As a freshman in 1963, I was selected by my colleagues as the Outstanding Novice Debater of the University's intercollegiate debate team.

Extra-curricular activities -

- * In 1965-66 I had the privilege of serving as the Student Body President of UCSB, having been elected in a field of five candidates with a majority of 67% of the vote -- the largest in the college's modern history.
- * As Student Body President, I met regularly with, and advised, former President Clark Kerr of the University of California and Chancellor Vernon I. Cheadle of UCSB.
- * In 1965 and 1966, I served in the California Club, an advisory group to President Kerr.
- * I held memberships in the national political science honorary, Pi Sigma Alpha and the national men's honorary, Blue Key.
- * In 1964-65, I chaired a joint student-faculty-administration committee which worked to develop closer ties and more fruitful relationships between faculty and students. My work culminated in regularly scheduled gatherings which assisted in fostering more meaningful association among students, faculty and administration.

- * In 1966 I served as an adviser and representative to the college's Academic Senate.
- * In 1965, following the University's student disruptions of 1964, I was asked by President Kerr to join a panel of students for a presentation to the All-University of California Faculty Conference. This marked the first occasion on which students were asked to participate in the Conference.
- * In 1963-64, I served as the Vice-President of the Residence Halls Association, a year after being selected as the Outstanding Residence Halls Association Council Member.
- * As a member of the Intercollegiate Debate Team, I won, with my colleague, first place in the Spring Tournament of Southern California, a tournament in which 56 teams were competing.
- * Throughout my college career I was the chairman or member of approximately 15 other university committees or boards and community organizations.

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT: Since 1962, I have financed virtually the whole of my college education by working variously for the National Park Service, the California State Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, as a stock clerk in the UCSB campus bookstore and as a staff member of the Columbia University Project for Affective Justice.

EMPLOYMENT:

(1) From February 1968 to June 1968, I served as a volunteer assistant in President Nixon's campaign effort. From June 1968 to November 1968, it was my honor to have served as a full-time salaried research and writing assistant to Mr. Nixon during the Presidential campaign. From November 1968 to January 1969, I served as an assistant and consultant during the Presidential transition period.

As a member of Mr. Nixon's staff, I served in some of the following capacities:

- * I researched and prepared President Nixon's position papers on urban housing and migratory labor both of which were subsequently released to the press.

- * I served as the coordinator of agricultural policy-making and organized, and coordinated the efforts of, the Nixon-Agnew Agricultural Advisory Committee. Senator Karl Mundt and Congressman Page Belcher were the Co-chairmen of the Advisory Committee, and I served as their staff assistant.
- * While coordinating the preparation of agricultural position, I prepared briefings for Mr. Nixon on agriculture and related issues.
- * Other areas of responsibility for the drafting of position papers and briefings included federal highways, air transportation, rapid transit and farm labor relations.
- * Throughout the campaign, I assisted in the preparation of material for speechwriters and myself prepared one address for Mr. Nixon as well as one for Governor Raymond Shafer of Pennsylvania for delivery on behalf of Mr. Nixon.
- * I assisted Director of Communications, Herbert G. Klein in the preparation and coordination of statements and responses to the requests of the communications media.
- * My staff work included also a variety of tasks such as the regular preparation of briefings and research memoranda and responding on Mr. Nixon's behalf to a large volume of correspondence.

(2) From October 1969 to January 1970, I served as Administrative Assistant to the Majority Floor Leader of the California State Senate, Senator George Deukmejian. I served as his chief speechwriter and advised on matters of the criminal justice system in California.

(3) From January 1970 to the present, I have served on the White House Staff attached to the National Goals Research Staff.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP:

* On January 15, 1970, I was admitted to the Bar of the State of California. I have been admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the State of California and the Federal Courts of the State of California and for the Ninth Federal Judicial Circuit.

SPECIAL SKILLS: I have a working acquaintance with the following specialized legal disciplines:

- * Labor law
- * Antitrust law
- * Regulated Industries
- * National Housing laws and urban affairs
- * Constitutional law

In addition, the Columbia University School of Law is a center of legislative research and drafting. The Directors of the Columbia University Legislative Research and Drafting Fund, Professors Frank Grad and John Kernochan, give a seminar on legislation process and a practical source of experience in the drafting of statutes and their interpretation. In this seminar I drafted a state statute and prepared a supporting memorandum and gained the qualifications to do general work in this area.

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Professor Raymond A. Bauer Prof of Business
Senior Consultant to Staff Administration Harvard Bus.
School
Books

Second Order Consequences.

Social Indicators. Editor

The Study of Policy Formation

etc.

- Charles Williams
National Science Foundation

- Irwin Halpern
NASA Director, Policy Staff

- Walter Hahn
Deputy Asst Secy of Commerce for
Science & Technology Planning

