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History & Lessons: Using Science to Guide Legislation

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- ... this paper, this talk...2 of 4 msgs...
- **1**st Sci & the Law Institute: discover, enable sci knowledge/methods to improve LL&PP **2nd** Learn from past attempt of science advising law at the highest level - OTA **3rd** Intro to a rich new systems science, Systems Processes Theory & Sys Pathology Go beyond science to systems science → as a foundation for SE \rightarrow LL&PP

...only time for msg 2, "reviewers;" handouts for # 3 & 4



CURRENT STATUS AND PERSPECTIVE



SYSTEMS SCIENCE OF LAWS INCOSE



• Initially "Science and Public Policy" \rightarrow different meaning

- Science concerned mostly legislation that funded major scientific institutions and enterprises of \$140 B/yr (NIH ~\$30 B, NSF ~\$7 B/yr)
- \checkmark Executive branch had high level expert advice since Truman (PSAC)
- ✓ Balance of Powers issue; how could Congress match Executive expertise to evaluate science proposals; new technologies???

Today's > focus use science to directly influence LL&PP

• 113th Congress (2013-14) has 3 scientists for 535~0.5%

- \checkmark 2 physicists and 1 microbiologist (all in the House)
- \checkmark 6 are engineers; 19 are M.D.'s; are MD's scientists? are engineers scientists? -- technical issues go far beyond medical
- \checkmark But can 5% of Members advise all 535? On all issues, problems, tech

SO Who advises Government about technical issues?

✓ Mostly vested interests, corporations, lobbying groups



SysScience of Laws Incose





OTA AS A CASE STUDY INCOSE



- Dilemma: Good Policy Needs vs Competing Powers Needs
 - Congress acting on many new technologies without knowledge
 - ✓ Absence of deep directed research & evaluation of social problems
 - Congress need to balance Exec support agencies power & info
 - In new issues; ABM, EPA or not, pipelines, supersonic transport, & more (Nixon)
 - Response to newly created agencies: OMB, OST \rightarrow OSTP, CEQ of '69, etc.
 - \checkmark Comm Chairs wanted to retain & regain power: so advice must be "closely aligned with congr needs" "match language & policy context" "authoritative"

Need key info direct to Congress beyond similar from NRC

- ✓ Identify Impacts, +&-, of New Tech's existing & projected
- ✓ "Early warning" function needed (Weisner-Kennedy)
- ✓ U.S. massive innovation engine; anticipate range of consequences
- ✓ Study national level problems (most are complex/hybrid systems based)
- \checkmark But popular politics not informed on these complex systems
- \checkmark Need to go beyond even conventional interdisciplinary science







National Public Debate: Origins go back to 60's

- ✓ 1958 House created Comm on SRD; a 1st; '57 Sputnik shock
- ✓ House'63 named Daddario (D-Conn) Chair, House Subcomm on SRD





- Proposed TAB'66; ID potentials, transfer, ID undesirable results; →3 studies LOC, NAS, NAE; reccs "detached & neutral" "insulated from policy-making" "reflect both public/private interests"
- '69 hearings refined TAB to legislative, not executive branch; included 7 members of public, & Dir support organiz, no action on amendment
- My paper, 1968; Feature Article in Science; ghostwritten for Daddario (D-Conn);
- Wrote all but title; Graduate science student effecting national LL&PP? Stealth SS
- Senate; Bartlett (D-AL) proposed Congress Office of Science and Technology (S&T); like executive, died in committee; important to analyze why never out of committee
- Success came through bicameral bi-partison legislation: Daddario led in House; Kennedy in Senate



OTA AS CASE STUDY: SUCCESSFUL LEGISLATION **A DIFFERENT ERA?**



OTA LEGISLATION



• Public Law 92-484, signed by President Nixon in 1972

✓ Rep Davis (D-GA) Chair, SRD re-intro'd with refinements via debate

- Streamlined; stand alone legislation; eliminated Presidential Appointments; removed outside input (public; other Dir's); limited TA requests to Congressional Committee Chairs; TAB Chair/VC bicameral, alternating House and Senate;
- ✓ Harvey Brooks, chair NAS Study'68 called for; he wrote > bill
- ✓ 1st new legislative branch agency since GAO in '21; unique features

• New OTA: Administration, Resources, Roles

- ✓ Annual budget of \$21.9 M; Daddario 1st Dir; >half staff were Ph.D.'s
- ✓ At peak in 80's, 143 full-time core staff; w temp staff \rightarrow >200 at peak
- ✓ 12-member governing Board; 6 Dem's, 6 Repl's; 3 ea House/Senate
- ✓ TAB job was (appt Dir) (choose proj's) (approve budget) (approv-deliver reports)
- ✓ TAAC job was external sci-citizen advisory; designed as substantive
- Characterizing phrases: "tuned carefully to language & context of Congr" "no recommendation of specific policies" "stakeholder bias minimized"





Changes from Legislative Intent to Actual Performance

- ✓ Both TAB members and their staffs became highly involved
- ✓ Function migrated from policy reccommendations (1st rprt Drugs) → including a range of positive and negative alternative policies
- ✓ TAAC became marginalized; external science advice ~lost; no vote
- Early warning function lost also;
- ✓ Much pre-study of scope of each effort due to limited resources

General Elements of each Assessment

- Comprehensive advisory panel tech experts; stakeholders; core OTA team; individual projector directors; contracts for major analytical tasks; in-house specifically assigned research teams;
- ✓ Workshops; extensive external peer review; redo draft; dissemin'tn

• Internal OTA organization \rightarrow job of OTA Director

- ✓ Evolved to 9 Program Areas in 3 Divisions
- ✓ Each headed by an Assistant Director



OTA ACTIVITIES: MEASURES OF PRODUCTIVITY

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• 24 years of studies; 1972 to 1995

- Trend: Annual Reports increased steadily across history
 - ✓ Six-fold from 10/year to 60/yr from 1975 to 1995 (see chart)
 - \checkmark Aver 32 rprts annually; doubled average in 1st two decades
 - ✓ Also uncounted #'s summ, interim, special rprts; background papers
 - ✓ Also >many 2-pg briefs jokingly (internally) called "senator-sized"
- Completed >755 studies/reports; very wide range of topics; significant public issues, then and today
 - Acid rain; energy; health; global climate change; polygraphs; space; defense; info tech; environment; textile industry; nuclear; weapons of mass destruct; biopest control; global telecomm; etc.
 - ✓ Some massive: one 12 vol's; another 3 vol's; another 2 vol's
 - \checkmark Av. Time = 18 months; av. Cost = \$ $\frac{1}{2}$ M; "staying power" of reports
- Compare value added: 20M/yr (OTA) to 3.2B (Congr) $\sim \frac{1}{2}$ %



OTA ACTIVITIES: MEASURES OF INFLUENCE



OTA INFLUENCE



TAB was a big part of the OTA Influence & Effectiveness

- ✓ Predicted: would become "disinterested" "dysfunctional" never did
- ✓ Met every six weeks in session; more often as workload increased
- ✓ Very well-known/senior Congr members part'd vigorously; shared staff
- ✓ Ex's Informing Debate: ICBM; Drug costs; explosive taggants
- \checkmark Sometimes same report, same info used by BOTH opposing sides
- ✓ Otherwise respected but just one of several inputs analytical vs rhetorical

Union of Concerned Scientists Assessment of Impacts

- ✓ Ex1: 1985 OTA warned about huge oil spills, lack of preparedness
- \checkmark Ex2: Missile defense sys opposed by sci's fund'd @ \$9B for corp
- ✓ Ex3: DHS used defective radiation detection sys for 3 yrs (\$B's)
- ✓ Ex4: saved >>\$\$\$ causing distribution of gov't docs via e-publishing
- UCS Conclusion: OTA saved vast amounts of taxpayers money; and contributed to better economic well-being, safety & health of Am's



OTA DISSOLUTION: HISTORY & ISSUES







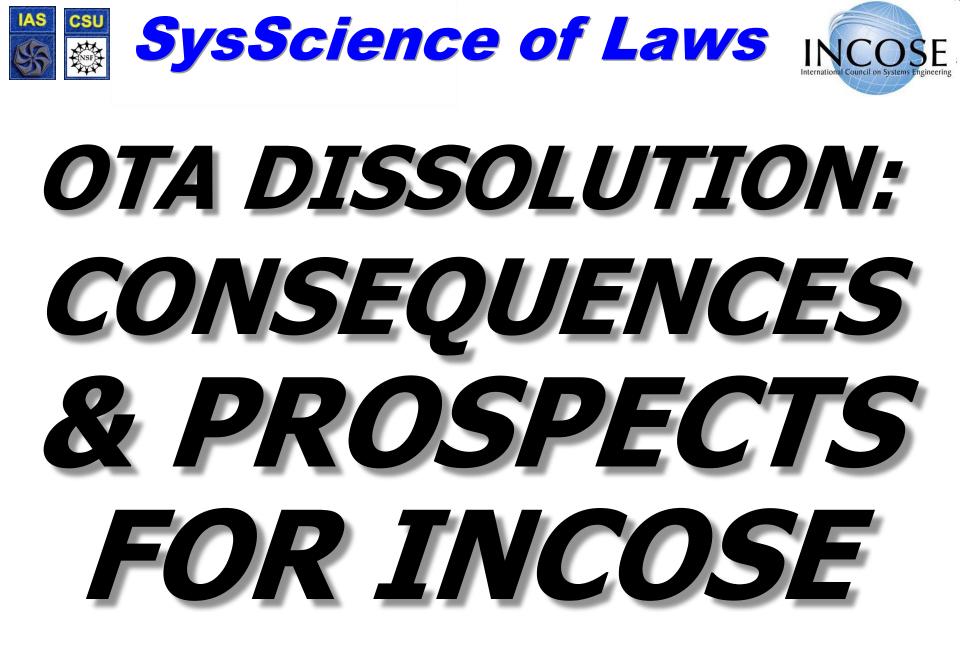
OTA funding stopped in 104th C; not dissolved, defunded

- ✓ During "Contract w Am." period; N. Gingrich; Republicans in power
- ✓ Gain of 8 S seats; 54 H seats; zero sum game mentality;
- ✓ Others on block: CRS (servsall members); CBO (budget); GAO (audit/mgmnt)
- Put forward as "symbol of congressional budget austerity;" close of entire Federal agency (brownie points); >symbolic; amazing close maneuvering

• WHY?? Most Issues of a Political Nature: Reactions

- ✓ Not due to imperfection of research; rather due to political realities
- \checkmark "Lack of mission fully integrated with a well-est'd congr process"
- ✓ Daddario favored liberal legislators; staff had bias; Kennedy dom'd
- ✓ Also decried as a tool for Kennedy & Dems to attack Nixon admin
- G. Brown (D-Ca) "shameful" "defense against dumb" other agencies could not sub
- ✓ Houghton (R-) opposed move "we are cutting off one of the most important arms of Congress when we cut of unbiased knowledge about science and technology." Others said "politics overriding science"

• **Powers of Gommittee Ghairs** helped, then hurt, OTAncale, NOV, 2014





CONSEQUENCES...



• With OTA dissolution.....

- ✓ CRS expected to fill the gap; didn't; SO IN EFFECT...
- ✓ …Congress relied more on experts with stake in outcomes
- ✓ …More centralization of power in House of Representatives
- ✓ …Less influence of expertise from other government agencies
- ✓ …Autonomy of Comm. Chairs lessened; Speaker power increased
- \checkmark ...Policy set by party leaders more than ever before
- ✓ ...Diminished incentives for inclusiveness overall (→ today's stagnation?)
- ...Support agencies < motivated to see perspectives of both parties</p>
- ✓ Still need "to anticipate policy debate several yrs in advance"
- ✓ Still need timely accurate info for legis while analysis in progress
- \checkmark In 2001 Congress asked GAO to experiment with TA; continues
- \checkmark But no TAB to establish priorities and no Topic targeted funding
- ✓ Ironically, OTA was used as "model" for new European TA efforts but never as strong or direct in Europe; parliamentarianism diff't



RE-ESTABLISH OTA? PLAYERS & ODDS OF SUCCESS



WHO ADVISES NOW?



• Roles of Pre-Existing Congressional Support Agencies

- Congressional Budget Office (CBO); Congressional Res Serv (CRS) (in LOC); Gov't Accountability Office (GAO) has TA unit (modest pilot);
- V Overall GAO closest to subbing but only 1 rprt/yr (too few staff; too narrow range of studies; not connected to Congr; no TAB; overwhelmed by auditing focus; short-lived; & different style reports)

External Science Advisors

- ✓ Nat'l Research Council (NRC); research arm of NAS, NAE, Inst Med
 - Doubled to 59/yr from m=22 yr after OTA closed; dropped back in 1yr; >Exec brch
 - Quite diff't from OTA; aim to reach consensus; > independent; >purely technical
- ✓ OTA staffers founded ITA; (too little funding, no direct connect to C, folded)

Re-establishment called for by Some Pols & Think Tanks

- ✓ Hillary Clinton (in Pres campaign stated would restore OTA); Ralph Nader
- ✓ Union of Concerned Sci's (backed by 100 citizen, technical, academic groups)
- ✓ Woodrow Wilson Int'l Ctr report /or/ Science Cheerleader Blog for
- ✓ ECAST network (Expert & Citizen Ass't of Sci&Tech) in favor



OTA + HISTORY ANY LESSONS LEARNED?





1. Opposite Purposes: Politicians (Pols) vs. Scientists

 \checkmark Pols seek results that agree with their positions and needs, not facts

• 2. Where Power Resides

✓ Advisors think power lies in facts; Pols know they have the power

3. <u>Personal</u> contact <u>more influential</u> than <u>written</u> reports

✓ OTA showed face-to-face interchange was the most effective

4. <u>Subjectivity over Objectivity; Winning beats Neutrality</u>

✓ Experts use neutral study to discover fact; Pols gather "facts" to win

• 6. <u>Consensus elusive</u> even counterproductive

- ✓ Pols & Public misunderstand self-correcting role of sci method
- 7. <u>Key political problems < solvable by scientific method</u>
- 8. Critical Importance: ability to <u>establish priority</u> listings

• 9. Pre-Issue Ideology causes Anti-science behaviors (?)

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• 10. Must emphasize <u>Alternatives over Conclusions</u>

- ✓ Congress wants a range of options, not fact constraints on options
- 11. <u>Science controls variables; Pols consider all variables</u>
 ✓ Congress must raise economic, opinion, special interests issues
- 12. Congress Members keep power to themselves
 ✓ They want experts "on tap, not on top" note balance of powers

• 13. Be <u>sensitive to both Branches</u> needing science advice

- 14. Do not forget <u>other key</u> assess <u>factors</u> than sci & tech
 ✓ Just as imp! Trade-off; budget priority; value judge; public opinion
- 15. <u>Critical</u> importance function of <u>"early warning"</u>
 - ✓ Gov't should be much more proactive, not always just reactive

16. Must find <u>antidote</u> to today's <u>anti-science</u> attitude

✓ Consider current inflexibilities on climate change, evol, repro bio…



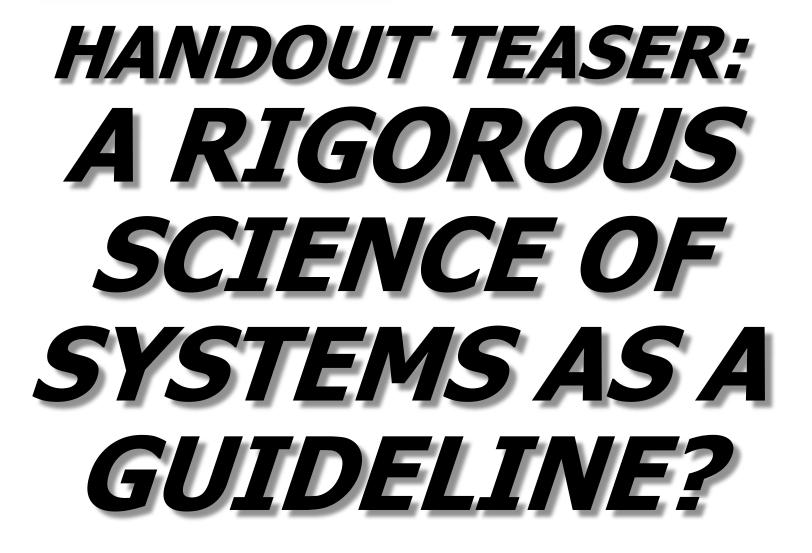
- 17. Need for tight coupling with Congress (> just TAB)
- 18. Eliminate long time delays in arrival of Tech Assess
- 19. Keep and expand proven *sine qua non* features:
 - ✓ Do studies only relevant & adapted to needs, concerns of Congress
 - ✓ Prove authoritative, independent, neutral in experts & methods both
 - ✓ Communicate in direct, simple, clear language & personal relations

• 20. Key need today is to go beyond conventional science

- ✓ Often complex, hybrid systems beyond reach of conv science
- ✓ Especially important to us sugg'g use of SysSci & SysEngineering
- ✓ Some humility & awareness of limits needed here
- 21. Need to bridge chasm tween nat sci & social science
- 22. Bridge linear and non-linear causation in systems
- 23. Advise State as well as Federal Gov't (recent AG scandal)



SysScience of Laws





- What SE & SS could provide BEYOND science so BEYOND OTA/others ...assumes a consensus SysSci exists or evidence-based SE
- Note LL&PP <u>IS</u> design/building of SYSTEMS; more than any other branch, congress specifies new key social sys
 - ✓ ...BUT classical LL&PP guided by past law precedents, tradition
 - ✓ …Lawyers never have studied how to build sustainable sys
 - ...Desperate need: more than "seat of pants" haphazard design

• Science, esp. SS & SE, can help design key new social sys

- ...apply universal principles of how sys work & don't work to LL&PP
 ...apply same to crisis societal problems (montage)
- Where find these "universal principles"?
 - ✓ Systems Processes Theory (SPT) (INCOSE-SSWG) descriptive to prescriptive
 - ✓ 104 universal, isomorphic systems processes (how systems work)
 - ✓ Many Linkage Propositions capture how systems dynamicswork
 - ✓ Taxonomy of Systems Pathologies (how systems don't work)

