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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Don R) We looked this

over & I doubt if we should
have a statutory set-up now.

Perhaps in future.

Sometime ago I asked
V. P. to look into this along
with Science Council suggestions.

Suggest you talk with
him on both & then both
of you with me.

THE PRESENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM : JERRY JONES

Attached is a rough draft of a memo on the Council of Social Advisors which you asked for sometime ago. Please review it for content and let me know how you would like it shaped if it is still a relevant policy question. I will then rewrite it.

Attachment

March 28, 1975

Irving Kristol has suggested that consideration be given to establishing a Council of Social Advisors similar to the Council of Economic Advisors.

The major elements of the Kristol plan are that the Council:

- Should be modeled after C.E.A.
- Have three members, one as Chairman
- That the members should be academic or quasi-academic experts in social policy from:
 - universities
 - journalism
 - public life
 - foundations
- He suggested members like:
 - James Q. Wilson, Harvard, as Chairman
 - Aaron Wildavsky, Berkeley
 - Martha Derthick, Brookings
 - Dick Nathan, Brookings
 - Martin Feldstein, Harvard
 - Thomas Sowell, UCLA
 - Edward Banfield, University of Pennsylvania
- Council should be at exact same level as C.E.A. for status and prerequisites.
- Budget at least as large for C.E.A. - probably larger because of need for original research.

- Mission, which would be advisory to both the President and the Domestic Council, would be to:
- outline options that are posed by any problem in social policy
 - come up with new ideas in the area of social policy
 - make public discussion of social policy more coherent, more intelligent, and more thoughtful.

BACKGROUND

This idea, in one form or another, has been discussed since the mid '60's. On February 6, 1967, Walter Mondale, the principle Congressional supporter of this legislation, and 10 other Senators introduced a bill in the first session of the 90th Congress to create such a Council. The other sponsors were Clark, Harris, Hart, Inouye, Kennedy, McCarthy, McGee, Muskie, Nelson and Proxmire. A similar bill was introduced that year in the House by Representative Richard Ottinger of New York. The legislation has been introduced in succeeding years. In 1969, Senator Javits added his name to the list of sponsors.

The legislation has been opposed in various forms since it was first introduced. The Johnson Administration said that the bill's objectives were worthy but they weren't sure that the methods for achieving the objectives were timely.

In the early years of the Nixon Administration, the legislation was opposed on the grounds that adequate mechanisms like the Urban Affairs Council already existed to perform the functions planned for the Council of Social Advisors and that to create still another agency within the Executive Office would be redundant. In later years, after the Domestic Council was formed, this became the major reason for not favoring enactment of the legislation. As of today, no similar legislation has been introduced in this session.

The original bill was titled the "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act." A summary of the key provisions of that Act are at Tab A.

CURRENT SITUATION

Just as earlier legislative proposals for a CSA were superseded by the creation of the Domestic Council, so has Kristol's initial concept of a CSA been overtaken by the President's decisions regarding the function of the Domestic Council and the Vice President's role in its structure.

Kristol's two main purposes of a CSA have both been subsequently assigned to the Domestic Council by the President:

1. To outline options posed by any problem in social policy; and
2. To come up with new ideas in the area of social policy.

However, the third and "informal" role that Kristol described for a CSA could fit in well with the Domestic Council as presently constituted. This function would be that of making public discussion of social policy more coherent, thoughtful, and intelligent and also of advising the Administration in the development of that policy.

The Council members could serve as links between the Administration and the academic community, as well as the general public, in promoting in-depth discussion of social issues. Through lectures, occasional reports, and interviews the members could be a highly visible component of the Administration's domestic policy structure.

Rather than a separate body similar to CEA, the CSA would be a blue-ribbon advisory body to the Domestic Council. The members would probably not serve full-time; and their staff support would come from the Council staff.

OPTIONS

1. Do nothing - Continue to use existing organizations like the Domestic Council, OMB, and C.E.A.

Pro

- Would not open up the President to change of increasing the size of the White House staff and its control over domestic agencies.
- Would not result in increased budget or new spending program.

Con

- would not provide additional visible spokesmen out commenting on and discussing key domestic issues.
- Would not provide mechanism for increasing the size of the staff working on domestic issues.

2. Propose legislation to create a Council of Social Advisors

Pro

- Once established, would provide forum for additional spokesmen to join the Vice President, the Cabinet and the various Assistants to the President in speaking out on the key issues.
- Would provide additional expertise for addressing critical domestic issues.

Con

- This would involve rethinking and restructuring the roles of OMB, CEA and the existing Domestic Council.
- If patterned after CEA would require additional Federal spending. (CEA's FY 76 budget is estimated to be \$1.6 million with 51 positions).

3. Establish a Council of Social Advisors as a component of the existing Domestic Council. The social advisors would promote public discussion of social issues and serve the Domestic Council and the President in an advisory role.

Pro

- Could demonstrate the Administration's willingness to consider all views, including those of academia. Could be an important means of promoting discussion of social issues and Administration policies.
- Could provide the additional expertise without duplicating existing Domestic Council functions.

Con

- Could be difficult to assure substantive role for such an advisory group.
- The President could be criticized as not receptive to new ideas if he didn't follow the social advisors' recommendations.

SUMMARY OF THE "FULL OPPORTUNITY
AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTING ACT"

The "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act" declared that it was the policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to promote conditions which

"...will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity..." and "... to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the mentally ill and retarded, the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal...."

The bill would have required the President to transmit to the Congress an annual "social report" to set forth:

1. The overall progress and effectiveness of Federal efforts designed to carry out the above policy;
2. A review of state, local and private efforts aimed at at the same objectives;
3. Current needs and development of plans to meet the above policy, along with recommendations for legislation.

To help formulate the report, the bill would have established a Council of Social Advisors in the Executive Office of the President, with three members to be appointed by the President. The Council would be authorized a staff to appraise programs, develop priorities, gather information and otherwise assist the President in formulation of the "social" report.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/25/75

TO: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: JERRY H. 

For your information.