

# COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

Volume IX, Number 20

November 2, 1990

## 101st CONGRESS CALLS IT QUILTS: BUDGET DEAL, FLURRY OF BILLS BRING SESSION TO BELATED END

The 101st Congress adjourned *sine die* in the early morning of October 28, making this the longest election-year session in history. Despite a months-long battle over deficit reduction, the session ended with a flurry of activity, including the passage of several major bills, the emergence of some stripped-down versions of contentious legislation, and the death of various other measures.

All 13 appropriations bills eventually passed, although some last minute adjustments were necessary (see following stories). Lawmakers also enacted a collection of budget process reforms, thereby creating a new system of sequestration to bedevil politicians and budget watchers.

The Omnibus Crime bill passed, although it wasn't so omnibus when many of its provisions - including the Racial Justice Act - were removed before approval. A minimal NIH reauthorization bill materialized (see story on page five).

Conferees failed to agree on major education legislation, and a year of work went down the drain as the Paperwork Reduction Act (PRA) died on the vine; at least one Republican senator stalled the bill through the end of the session. Also, the nomination of James Blumstein to head the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, PRA's enforcement agency, failed to win Senate approval.

With the election less than a week away, the make-up of the 102nd Congress will soon be known. Major changes anticipated earlier this year now seem unlikely, and most of the same folks are likely to be back in January.

## YOGI BERRA LIVES: NSF LOSES \$40 MILLION TO DEFENSE DEPARTMENT 'SCOREKEEPING'

When Yogi Berra said "It ain't over 'til it's over" he was talking about baseball, but he might

well have been describing Washington politics. In a late inning rally during the appropriations playoffs, the Defense Department racked up \$40 million against the National Science Foundation (NSF).

As we reported in the last issue of UPDATE, a House-Senate conference committee had agreed to a 13 percent increase for FY 1991 NSF spending, including a 9 percent boost for research. But when the House prepared to approve the conference agreement, Rep. Robert Traxler (D-MI), chairman of the Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, Independent Agencies appropriations subcommittee, threw his colleagues a curve: "Because under the summit agreement OMB is given final say on scorekeeping, we are going to be forced to reduce NSF by \$40 million."

The problem developed when the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) accepted Defense Department arguments that NSF could not charge the logistical support part of its Antarctica program to the defense budget. This "scorekeeping" decision left the VA-HUD-Independent Agencies appropriations subcommittee above its allocation.

### INSIDE UPDATE . . .

- Conferees Settle on Final Labor-HHS-Education Funding
- Chart: Labor-HHS-Education FY 1991 Funding
- Agriculture Bills Offer Mixed Message for Social Science
- What's the Score: Conferees Cut Commerce, Justice Funding
- NIH 'Reauthorization' Bill Passes, But Without Reauthorization Provisions
- Senate Clears Campbell After Second Round of Questions
- Hearing and Conference Focus on Persian Gulf Conflict
- NIH Seminar Highlights Women's Health and Behavior Research
- Sources of Research Support: U.S. Institute of Peace

The \$40 million was taken from the research account leaving the final FY 1991 research appropriation at \$1.694 billion, a 6.4 percent increase from FY 1990. The final appropriation for the foundation as a whole was \$2.316 billion, an 11.2 percent increase from FY 1990.

### CONFEREES SETTLE ON FINAL LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION FUNDING

House and Senate conferees met October 18 to begin reconciling differences between their respective funding bills for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services (HHS), and Education. Issues related to abortion tied the negotiations up somewhat, and consensus wasn't reached until two days later. On October 27, the last full day of the congressional session, the measure was finalized by Congress. Presidential approval is still pending.

For the most part, conferees split the difference between House and Senate funding recommendations. The compromise measure includes a 2.41 percent across-the-board cut. Funds made available by the cut will in part pay for a comprehensive AIDS bill, sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA). The Kennedy bill authorizes emergency assistance to cities hard hit by the epidemic and provides for comprehensive and early intervention care services, as well as service-related research.

A summary of the Labor-HHS-Education bill's funding levels (after the cut) is presented in the chart on page three. Legislative language affecting the social and behavioral sciences is described below.

#### CONSORTIUM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATIONS

- Howard J. Silver ..... Executive Director
- Stacey E. Beckhardt ..... Government Liaison
- Joe Thorndike ..... Staff Associate
- Karen E. Carrion ..... Office Manager
  
- Raymond E. Wolfinger ..... President

The Consortium of Social Science Associations represents more than 185,000 American scientists across the full range of the social and behavioral sciences, functioning as a bridge between the research world and the Washington community. Update is published fortnightly. Individual subscriptions are available from COSSA for \$50; institutional subscriptions, \$90; overseas mail, \$100. ISSN 0749-4394. Address all inquiries to COSSA, 1522 K Street, NW, Suite 836, Washington, DC 20005. Phone: (202) 842-3525; Fax: (202) 842-2788.

### NIH

The conference report includes strong language directing the HHS Secretary to develop a four-year spending plan for the National Institutes of Health (NIH). NIH has received enough money, the report states, to eliminate downward negotiation of grants, the procedure by which NIH funds grants below approved levels. Further, the report instructs NIH to apply the 2.4 percent cut uniformly across all funding mechanisms.

The office of the NIH director received some support, with conferees including both a House allotment of \$20 million in discretionary funds and a Senate provision authorizing the director to transfer up to 1 percent of NIH's funds to areas of critical importance. A Senate proposal to make the director's position a term appointment, however, was not approved. Instead, conferees requested that the administration and congressional authorizing committees consider the issue.

Both the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) and the National Institute on Aging (NIA) saw funding split between House and Senate recommendations. The conference report highlighted NICHD's research on sudden infant death syndrome, as well as NIA's epidemiological research.

The Health and Retirement Survey found support among conferees, with additional funds provided to oversample areas with large proportions and numbers of older people. Further, conferees encouraged NIA to study prevalence rates of Alzheimer's disease in special rural populations such as Appalachia.

Like last year, the House and Senate chose not to resolve differences in legislative language concerning the Survey of Health and AIDS Risk Prevalence (SHARP). With strong support from the Senate urging SHARP's approval and only a non-judgmental statement from the House indicating that no funds have been requested or provided for the study, there is reason for some optimism. In FY 1990, the House specifically instructed HHS not to proceed with the project.

### ADAMHA

The conference report skirted a behind-the-scenes controversy related to Senate language admonishing the National Institute of Mental Health for paying insufficient attention to the contributions

Labor, HHS, Education FY 91 Funding

(All figures are in millions. "Percent change" category reflects funding change from FY 1990.)

<u>Agency</u>	<u>FY90</u>	<u>FY91 Request</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Conference</u>	<u>% Change</u>
National Institutes of Health . . . . .	7576.4	7928.0	8317.7	8347.1	8306.6	+9.6
National Institute on Aging . . . . .	239.5	248.9	278.3	377.7	324.8	+35.6
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development . . . . .	442.9	461.5	488.3	480.6	480.9	+8.6
Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration . . . . .	2651.3	2836.2	2837.9	3012.3	2907.1	+9.6
National Institute of Mental Health . . . . .	463.2	475.1	506.2	569.6	535.4	+15.6
National Institute on Drug Abuse . . . . .	375.8	402.1	422.7	413.8	410.6	+9.3
National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism . . . . .	159.6	158.9	171.6	172.0	167.9	+5.2
Agency for Health Care Policy and Research <sup>A</sup> . . . . .	98.8	110.2	89.7	139.4	117.1	+18.5
National Center for Health Statistics . . . . .	47.1	48.1	defer	56.2	52.0	+10.4
Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation <sup>B</sup> . . . . .	5.0	5.0	9.2	8.2	8.9	+78.9
Employment and Training Administration (Research) . . . . .	15.7	13.2	13.2	13.2	12.9	-17.7
Bureau of Labor Statistics . . . . .	192.5	205.1	207.3	206.7	205.2	+6.6
Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education <sup>C</sup> . . . . .	11.7	11.7	15.0	15.0	14.6	+25.1
International Education . . . . .	39.8	39.8	46.0	47.0	45.9	+15.3
Law School Clinical Experience . . . . .	4.9	0.0	5.0	6.0	5.9	+18.6
Legal Training for the Disadvantaged . . . . .	2.5	2.5	3.0	2.6	2.9	+18.6
Harris Graduate Fellowships . . . . .	16.0	17.8	18.0	18.0	17.6	+9.6
Harris Public Service Fellowships . . . . .	3.3	1.2	1.2	3.3	3.2	-2.4
Javits Fellowship . . . . .	7.9	5.4	8.0	8.0	7.8	-1.1
Minority Participation in Graduate Education . . . . .	3.5	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.0	+67.8
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Research) . . . . .	50.6	61.3	61.3	66.3	60.5	+19.7
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Statistics) . . . . .	22.7	41.5	41.5	41.5	40.5	+78.9
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Assessment) . . . . .	17.1	18.9	18.0	18.9	18.4	+7.8
U.S. Institute of Peace . . . . .	7.6	7.3	8.0	9.2	8.4	+11.2

<sup>A</sup>Total includes appropriation, trust funds, and 1 percent evaluation funding. The appropriation portion of the budget jumped from \$49.8 million in FY 90 to \$96.5 million in FY 91, reflecting a significant limitation on the availability of 1 percent evaluation funds.

<sup>B</sup>Total includes earmarked funds to continue poverty research programs at the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin.

<sup>C</sup>Total includes \$1 million for training of minority teachers to be administered by the Institutional Development Division.

of the social and behavioral sciences. Some groups strongly opposed the language supported by COSSA, the American Psychological Association, and the American Psychological Society, among others, and requested that the conference report instead highlight the Decade of the Brain. Compromising, the conference report remained silent on the issue.

### Department of Education

Most Education Department programs affecting social and behavioral scientists fared well in the conference report. In addition to the funding levels outlined in the chart on page three, several new programs received funding. Follow up activities connected to the September 1989 national education summit received \$4.9 million, while the National Council on Educational Goals netted \$2.0 million in FY 1991 funding. Also, conferees allotted \$976,000 for a school year extension study commission and \$2.9 million for educational reform evaluation.

### Department of Labor

Conferees provided \$3.0 million for the Bureau of Labor Statistics activities associated with the 1994 implementation of the federal employee pay reform system. The money is to be used for locality adjustment surveys necessitated by the reform system.

## AGRICULTURE BILLS OFFER MIXED MESSAGE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE

The massive farm bill approved during the closing days of the 101st Congress includes several provisions that advance the rural social science agenda. By contrast, however, the FY 1991 agriculture appropriations bill sends a less encouraging signal.

The farm bill (S. 2830) authorizes the national competitive research initiative suggested in the National Academy of Sciences' report, *Investing in Research*. The legislation provides that the authorization will increase in annual increments until it reaches \$500 million by FY 1995. The bill includes both "markets, trade, and policy" and "new approaches to rural economic development" in its list of high priority research. (For a full description of the farm bill, see UPDATE, August 10, 1990.)

In reconciling competing House and Senate bills, lawmakers cited the need for research on ways to "increase rural economic and social vitality." The compromise calls for research on ways to

"expand economic opportunities in rural America and enhance the quality of life for farmers, rural citizens, and society as a whole." The measure establishes a competitive program for five national research and training centers, including one on "Domestic and International Trade and Development."

In addition, conferees authorized \$3 million for a research assistance program to determine factors affecting rural economic development. The program would develop methodologies to investigate policy options for rural economic development and evaluate the impact of federal and state economic development programs. The bill includes a provision to "improve the data base for rural development decision making" by requiring the Census Bureau, in consultation with the Economic Research Service, to expand its data collection activities on employment, poverty and income, and the rural labor force.

### But on the Appropriations Front . . .

In contrast to the farm bill, the FY 1991 agriculture appropriations measure did not provide encouraging messages for the rural social science agenda. The compromise bill forged by House and Senate negotiators provides only \$73 million for the competitive grants program, despite the \$150 million authorization included in the farm bill. Research on "markets, trade, and policy" was not included in this allocation.

The Cooperative State Research Service received \$162.3 million for Hatch Act research. The \$62 million allotted for special research grants in the compromise bill is more than either house provided in the separate bills. Included in the package of special grants was \$375,000 for a rural policy research institute at the universities of Missouri, Arkansas, and Nebraska (see UPDATE, October 5, 1990). Conferees appropriated \$54.4 million for the Economic Research Service.

## WHAT'S THE SCORE? CONFEREES CUT COMMERCE, JUSTICE FUNDING

The House-Senate conference committee on appropriations for Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary faced "scorekeeping" problems and was forced to reduce final funding levels below those in either the House or Senate bills. (For earlier numbers, see UPDATE, October 19, 1990.) The reduction affected a number of agencies important to social and behavioral scientists.

Salaries and expenses for the Census Bureau emerged from the conference with \$110.3 million, a 10 percent increase over FY 1990 but approximately \$3 million below both the House and Senate bills. The Bureau of Economic Analysis received \$31.2 million, a 22 percent increase over FY 1990.

At the Justice Department, the National Institute of Justice appropriation for programs was \$23.9 million, a 5 percent increase over FY 1990. The Bureau of Justice Statistics received \$22.1 million for its programs, a 6 percent increase over FY 1990. For the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the conference committee split the difference between House and Senate figures and allocated \$75.3 million (including \$3.2 million for management and administration), a 4 percent increase over FY 1990. The Law-Related Education program received \$3.2 million, and conferees noted their expectation that the same organizations providing these programs will continue to do so.

The U.S. Information Agency netted \$163.2 million for educational and cultural exchange programs, 5.7 percent above the FY 1990 figure.

## **NIH 'REAUTHORIZATION' BILL PASSES, BUT WITHOUT REAUTHORIZATION PROVISIONS**

Reaching a compromise on reauthorizing the National Institutes of Health (NIH) proved quite a challenge for federal lawmakers. The House and Senate versions varied greatly in detail and scope, and both bills involved contentious issues, including fetal tissue use and contraception and infertility research. In the end, Congress passed a gutted version with only two provisions; even sections related to expiring authorities were deleted.

The approved bill includes a proposal by Rep. Doug Walgren (D-PA) to establish a National Center for Medical Rehabilitation Research within the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. In addition, the bill sets up a National Foundation for Biomedical Research to recruit and provide support for senior scientists at NIH and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration, a plan promoted by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA).

The House had yet to take floor action on its own bill when, on October 26, it agreed by voice

vote to the two provisions. The Senate passed the measure the following day.

The Senate had passed its own bill on October 19 (see UPDATE, August 10, 1990). Before it was brought to the Senate floor for action, the bill as approved by Kennedy's Labor and Human Resources Committee was stripped of politically controversial sections related to the establishment of contraception and infertility research centers. Further, language requiring study samples adequate to assess gender and minority differences was narrowed to refer only to those instances where there are "scientific reasons to expect" such differences. Prior to passage, floor amendments added language related to childhood vaccine development and the inclusion of women in aging research.

Reintroduction of the failed provisions is likely to be a high priority for the authorizing committees when they return to Washington next year.

## **SENATE CLEARS CAMPBELL AFTER SECOND ROUND OF QUESTIONS**

The Senate approved the nomination of W. Glenn Campbell to the National Science Board on October 27, the last day of the 101st Congress. The approval follows a second round of Senate questions concerning Campbell's views on social and behavioral science research at the National Science Foundation.

Campbell's reported comments to California newspapers prompted the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee to probe Campbell on his view of NSF support for social science research. Dissatisfied with his somewhat evasive answers to the first set of questions (see UPDATE, October 19, 1990), the committee asked the former Hoover Institution director to answer a series of follow-up queries.

Asked in the second round about the cutbacks for social science research at NSF in the early 1980s, Campbell maintained that he "did not support said cutbacks." He also absolved social scientists of guilt for governmental inefficiency. "I do not believe that social science research was responsible for ineffective government programs," he told the Senate panel.

Asked if NSF support for social and behavioral science was as important as support for biology, Campbell offered a terse "Yes." He also stated that

social science research currently receives adequate funding.

Campbell concluded with general assurances concerning his role on the board. "It is my hope that my responses is {sic} evidence of my desire to support all decisions made by the National Science Board and the Director of the Foundation in respect to *all* fields of science." [his emphasis]. Campbell's term expires in 1994.

## HEARING AND CONFERENCE FOCUS ON PERSIAN GULF CONFLICT

The Persian Gulf crisis continues to occupy a prominent place on the Washington political agenda. Even as Congress began its sprint toward adjournment, the House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East found time for a hearing on the Middle East situation. In addition, the United States Institute of Peace sponsored an October 3-5 conference that focused largely on the gulf crisis.

Speaking at the October 17 subcommittee hearing, chaired by Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Ohio State political scientist Rick Herman described Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait as part of a 10-15 year plan for gulf and Arab hegemony. Herman contended, however, that economic sanctions against Iraq are working and predicted that Hussein will eventually retreat.

By contrast, Georgetown University's Sohrab Sobhani struck a less hopeful note. A specialist in national security studies, Sobhani voiced doubt that sanctions can successfully force Hussein's hand. Sobhani noted Iraq's willingness to battle Iran for eight years and suggested that Hussein is prepared to live with sanctions longer than the United States is willing to keep its troops in Saudi Arabia.

Questioned by subcommittee members about post-crisis collective security arrangements, Herman argued for a smaller U.S. presence and a larger multi-national, United Nations-sponsored force. He also called for strict arms control measures.

Comparing the gulf's current political situation to pre-1979 Iran, Sobhani told panel members that gulf sheikdoms need doses of democracy. Failure to democratize these governments, he warned, will leave the kingdoms vulnerable to the kind of uprising that toppled the Shah of Iran.

Participants in the Peace Institute conference on "Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World" struggled with a question posed by institute president Samuel Lewis: "How we can achieve a satisfactory outcome in the gulf crisis without going to war?"

Former Assistant Secretary of State and current Brookings Institution scholar Harold Saunders outlined a traditional diplomatic strategy integrating toughened sanctions and third party negotiations.

Jay Rothman, professor at the Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, focused on the "conflict between civilizations." Given the cultural differences between Western and Middle Eastern nations, he contended, any peaceful solution would require third-party facilitators conducting secret negotiations. Such an approach could produce face-saving options for both Hussein and President Bush, he said.

Martin Indyk, director of the Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy and adjunct professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, argued for a *realpolitik* approach. The irony of the Gulf crisis, he noted, is that just as the world began moving away from *realpolitik*, Hussein dragged us back. Calling the Kuwait invasion a "classic act of the jungle," Indyk predicted difficulty in achieving a peaceful solution, given what he views as the U.S. goal of total capitulation by Hussein.

Jerrold Post, professor of psychiatry, political psychology, and international affairs at George Washington University and a specialist on the psychological analysis of foreign leaders, was a bit more hopeful. He called Hussein a "highly predictable, rational, dangerous, judicious political character" who blames the Arab world's problems on non-Arab nations. Post went on, however, to describe past situations where Hussein has been willing to reverse his course of action if he believes the situation has become counterproductive. The problem for the United States, Post warned, is that when Hussein has backed off before, he has come back in a much stronger position.

## NIH SEMINAR HIGHLIGHTS WOMEN'S HEALTH AND BEHAVIOR RESEARCH

A newly launched seminar series sponsored by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) focuses attention on women's health and behavior. After planning for more than two years - long before

recent congressional pressure to enhance women's health research - NIH held the first of four meetings on October 24.

Funded by the NIH director's office, the series is coordinated by NIH's Working Group on Health and Behavior and the Advisory Committee on Women's Health Issues. Joan Rittenhouse of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration chairs the steering committee.

At the first seminar, *Women's Health and Behavior Issues for the 21st Century*, Constance Horner, under secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, called for expanding the view of women's health beyond research on childbearing. She stressed that "all recognize the relationship between behavior and positive health outcomes." She urged participants to use the series as a forum for setting a future research agenda.

Economist Gail Wilensky, administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, gave the

keynote address. She suggested further research was needed to understand gender differences in health care utilization.

Phyllis Moen, professor of sociology at Cornell University, highlighted the influence historical and cultural conditions - as well as women's multiple roles in society - have on women's health. Elena Bastida, associate professor of sociology at the University of Texas Pan American, argued that researchers must pay increased attention to the impact of demographic shifts and the growing ethnic minority population on health care status.

Discussant Genell Knatterud of the Maryland Medical Research Institute, a biostatistician, summed up the meeting well, noting that all the data presented "point to more questions than answers."

Subsequent meetings are scheduled for December 12, *Women's Childbearing Years and Beyond*; February 6, *Major Diseases and Health Behaviors in Women*; and April 3, *Women's Quality of Life: The Costs and Benefits of Living Longer*.

## SOURCES OF RESEARCH SUPPORT: UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

COSSA provides this information as a service and encourages readers to contact the agency for further information or application materials. Additional application guidelines and restrictions may apply.

### Solicited Grants Competition

The United States Institute of Peace has announced its 1991 annual solicited grant competition. This year's topics are: (A) Curriculum Development and Teacher Training in International Peace and Conflict Management, and (B) Peace, Conflict, and Governance in Latin America.

For Solicitation A, the institute invites proposals for the development of educational materials and teacher training programs. Proposals for curriculum development projects should contain a strong training component for secondary school teachers and promise to extend out of a college or university core to reach junior and community colleges, high schools, and the adult out-of-school public. For Solicitation B, the institute is interested in projects on Latin America that investigate patterns of conflict resolution. Also sought are projects on societal movement from violence to negotiations, to demobilization of military forces, and to a combination of effective democratic government and social and economic development. Issues of special interest include: civil-military relations, administration of justice and the rule of law, international/regional organizations and conflict management, and demobilization and peacekeeping.

**Budget:** For Solicitation A, the institute will award grants of approximately \$50,000 to \$100,000. For Solicitation B, the institute will award grants of approximately \$30,000 to \$40,000.

**Deadlines:** January 1, 1991 for grant applications in the current review cycle.

**Contact:** Solicited Grant Projects, U.S. Institute of Peace  
1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20005-1708  
(202) 457-1700