

COSSA WASHINGTON UPDATE

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NSF HEARINGS MARKED BY HEARTY HAILS AND FOND FAREWELLS

In the past two weeks, the National Science Foundation (NSF) has been the focus of three separate hearings in the House of Representatives. All three sessions saw grand hosannas directed at NSF Director Erich Bloch, who is expected to leave his post when his term expires in August. Bloch was cited for his strong leadership of NSF and his outspokenness on behalf of American science and technology.

In a related development, Fred Bernthal was confirmed as NSF's deputy director on March 1. Bernthal's installation should increase speculation that Bloch's departure is imminent.

Also garnering praise was Rep. Doug Walgren (D-PA), who was lauded at a March 6 hearing for his leadership of the House Science, Research, and Technology Subcommittee. Walgren is preparing to step down as panel chairman to take over as head of the Commerce, Consumer Protection, and Competitiveness Subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Appropriations

The Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee conducted its annual scrutiny of NSF's proposed budget on February 27. Subcommittee Chairman Robert Traxler (D-MI) promised to make the hearing "as painless as possible," and with a few exceptions, Bloch and his numerous support staff had an easy time of it.

The key to success for NSF's requested 14 percent budget increase, Traxler said, is the 302B allocation process, through which the appropriations committee divides the budget among its 13 subcommittees. The good news is that if the budget resolution (assuming there is one) provides the

dollars the president has requested for programs under the VA, HUD, Independent Agencies subcommittee, NSF could get its increase. The bad news is that other subcommittees will be after some of those funds to support programs in their jurisdictions.

As usual, appropriators focused on NSF support for science and engineering education. Although praising the requested 23 percent increase, members suggested even more money may be necessary. Panel members also expressed concern about recent criticism of the foundation's treatment of individual investigators. (Critics charge that individual investigators have been sacrificed on the altar of centers.) Bloch responded that individual investigators conduct research at centers and that if the full NSF budget requests had been granted during the past few years, supporters of individual investigator research would have few complaints.

Rep. Chester Atkins (D-MA) questioned proposed expenditures for large pieces of equipment that would serve only a small number of scientists.

The social and behavioral sciences received scant attention from the subcommittee. Scheduled for a day and a half, the hearings were completed in one day.

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Science Education

With political scientist Rep. David Price (D-NC) in the chair February 28, the House Science, Research, and Technology Subcommittee (SRT) brought together Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos and NSF Director Bloch at the same table, a feat deserving of a Nobel Peace Prize, according to Ranking Republican Rep. Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY). The subcommittee's goal was to foster greater cooperation between NSF and the Department of Education (ED) on science education issues. Although the secretary and the director had nice things to say about each other, it was clear this marriage has a long way to go before consummation.

Boehlert cited a "stunning lack of cooperation" between the two agencies over the years, with "students as losers." Both leaders contended the dysfunction was a thing of the past and argued that it was confined largely to subordinate levels. Cavazos also pointed out the recent appointment of Office of Education and Research Improvement Assistant Secretary Christopher Cross to be ED's liaison with the foundation.

Seeking to explain the independent operations of the two agencies, Bloch pointed out that while NSF concentrates on science education, ED must address all facets of education. He also remarked on the foundation's freedom to develop and operate programs through competitively funded solicitations. Cavazos, in turn, noted ED's tightly prescribed programs and NSF's relative flexibility.

Although ED's National Diffusion Network is designed to disseminate model programs - including those developed by NSF - lawmakers were skeptical of the network's effectiveness, especially in light of its proposed flat budget. ED officials, however, claim it is too early to condemn the department's efforts, since the Eisenhower Science and Math Education Program is only now undergoing its first major evaluation; results are expected sometime this fall.

Rep. Paul Henry (R-MI) inquired whether the president and governors were realistic in vowing to make the United States number one in science and math by the year 2000. Cavazos asserted that achieving this goal would require significant changes in the way teachers, parents, and businesses interact with school systems.

Both Bloch and Cavazos placed great emphasis on the role the Federal Coordinating Committee on Science, Engineering and Technology (FCCSET) is expected to play in meshing the efforts of NSF, ED, and other players in science education, such as the Departments of Defense and Energy. Office of Science and Technology Policy Director D. Allan Bromley has announced his intention to establish a FCCSET Human Resources and Education Committee.

General Oversight

The SRT subcommittee held a general NSF oversight hearing on March 6 that explored many of the same issues raised in the previous two hearings. Mary Good, chairman of the National Science Board, asserted that modern day scientific research is "large-scale, interdisciplinary, and collaborative." Bloch cited the global change initiative as an example of how collaboration among agencies can work to establish a federal research agenda and touted FCCSET as the key to science education cooperative efforts. He also complained about NSF's lack of success in the congressional budget process during the past few years.

In addition, the hearing gave Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA) an opportunity to express his concern with the seeming American inability to match the Japanese in converting basic research into product development.

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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, \$90. ISSN 0749-4394. Address inquiries to COSSA, 1522 K Street, NW, Suite 836, Washington, DC 20005.

In his remarks, Bloch told the subcommittee that NSF's merit review system will undergo several changes. NSF will now provide grant applicants with an explicit opportunity to name persons who should not be asked to review their proposal. The foundation will also provide unsuccessful applicants with much more information about how their proposal was reviewed and the specific reasons why it was declined. The formal reconsideration process is also being revised to make clear that principal investigators can request a re-examination of the substance as well as the process of the proposal decision.

In addition, Bloch took note of recent controversy over conflicts-of-interest in science, stating: "NSF looks forward to playing a leading role in government efforts to design a system which balances the need to maintain the integrity of science with the national interest in improving the flow of knowledge and technology from those who perform basic research to those who ultimately develop products for the marketplace."«

BROMLEY RESTATES SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

The social and behavioral sciences must play a central role in national science policymaking, according to D. Allan Bromley, director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP). In February 7 remarks before the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee, chaired by Rep. Robert A. Roe (D-NJ), Bromley reiterated his past support for integrating social and behavioral science research into the national research agenda.

In response to questions from Rep. David Price (D-NC), Bromley renewed his commitment to name an OSTP assistant director for the social sciences. Since his appointment last August, Bromley has several times restated his intention to create an OSTP social science slot. So far no action has been taken.

At a meeting with the COSSA Executive Committee on the same day Bromley testified, OSTP Associate Director for Policy and International Affairs, Thomas Ratchford, seemed to back away from the assistant director commitment. He sug-

gested that the position may simply be a senior level policy analyst slot or that the person would devote only half-time to the social sciences.

In his testimony, Bromley sought to reassure Price that the social sciences are already represented in administration science policymaking. The current OSTP staff, Bromley noted, includes "a senior analyst who is a distinguished mathematics teacher trained in social science." In addition, he said, the president recently appointed Princeton University President Harold Shapiro, an economist, to the Presidential Council of Advisers on Science and Technology. (See box on next page.)

Bromley's subsequent comments echoed his past remarks on the vital importance of social and behavioral science research. Technology already exists to solve many of society's problems, he contended. What remains unknown are the social, behavioral, and economic consequences of various technological solutions. "So I believe deeply," he concluded, "that the time has long passed when we must make common cause between the scientists and engineers, the social scientists, and the humanists to address some of these very important problems."«

JUVENILE JUSTICE NOMINEE GRILLED BY JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Robert W. Sweet, the Bush administration's nominee to be administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), did not face a routine confirmation hearing on Thursday, March 1. Senators on the Judiciary Committee, and especially non-committee member, Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), closely questioned Sweet's qualifications to run the agency.

A former director of the New Hampshire Moral Majority, Sweet was introduced by and received a strong endorsement from Judiciary Committee member Gordon Humphrey (R-NH). Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) also endorsed the nominee. However, committee chairman Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE) set the tone for the hearing by noting that OJJDP has "failed to realize its full promise" because of a series of "ineffective administrators." Biden also criticized the Reagan administration's attempts to eliminate funding for OJJDP and the Bush administration's

current budget proposal, which reduces the agency's funding from \$70 million to \$7.5 million. Biden wanted to know whether Sweet was being nominated to "preside over [OJJDP's] demise?"

Other senators focused on Sweet's seeming lack of qualifications for the position. The statute governing OJJDP clearly states that the administrator must have "experience in juvenile justice." Sweet claimed his record at the National Institute of Education (NIE), where he was deputy and later acting director, his service on the White House Domestic Policy Council staff, and his life-long interest in children and family issues provide the requisite experience. Noting he has been "an advocate for helping young people," Sweet cited his experience as a director of a summer camp during the 1960s. Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL) asked if Sweet belonged to any associations which deal with juvenile justice issues? Sweet answered no. He did admit to being a quick study.

Responding to a question from Sen. Charles Grassley (R-IA), Sweet noted that the key to juvenile delinquency prevention was "strengthening the

family." Biden reminded the nominee that "the vast majority of the kids you [OJJDP] would deal with have no families," or come from families that are dysfunctional. Biden also noted that the OJJDP programs that seem to work would be severely affected by the administration's proposed budget cut.

It was Kerry, using the Senate courtesy that allows non-members of committees to sit in on hearings, who expressed the most "grave reservations and questions" about the nomination. Kerry called the nominee's record and views on juvenile justice issues "considerably blank." He focused on what he called an end-run around the statutory requirements for experience, getting Sweet to acknowledge a total lack of publications and research experience in juvenile justice issues.

Kerry asserted that Sweet had "failed utterly" in his previous administrative position and quoted former Education Secretary Terrell Bell as describing Sweet's tenure at NIE as "a mess." Bell's memoirs also characterize Sweet as "a movement conservative" and "a spreading plague" who caused an "uproar" during his tenure at the department.

Bush Names Princeton's Shapiro to Presidential Science Council

President Bush announced February 2 the appointment of the President's Council of Advisers on Science and Technology (PCAST). Princeton University President Harold Shapiro, an economist, was among those appointed to the panel. President of Princeton since 1988, Shapiro taught at the University of Michigan from 1964 to 1977. He served as Michigan's president from 1980 to 1987. Shapiro received a Ph.D. in economics from Princeton in 1964.

The 12-member PCAST is intended to "provide high-level advice directly to the president on a wide range of important issues concerning science and technology," according to a White House press release. In addition to Shapiro, the committee includes:

- Norman E. Borlaug, distinguished professor of International Agriculture, Texas A&M University;
- D. Allan Bromley (chairman), director, Office of Science and Technology Policy;
- Solomon J. Buchsbaum, senior vice president, Technology Systems, AT&T Bell Laboratories;
- Charles L. Drake, Albert Bradley Professor of Earth Sciences, Dartmouth College;
- Ralph E. Gomory, president, Sloan Foundation;
- Bernadine Healy (vice chairman), chairman, Research Institute of the Cleveland Clinic Foundation;
- Peter W. Likins, president, Lehigh University;
- Thomas E. Lovejoy, assistant secretary for external affairs, the Smithsonian Institution;
- Walter E. Massey, vice president, University of Chicago;
- John P. McTague, vice president-research, Ford Motor Company;
- Daniel Nathans, professor of molecular biology and genetics, Johns Hopkins University Medical School;
- David Packard, chairman of the board, Hewlett-Packard Co.

Sweet was also questioned about his views on the separation of church and state, given his association with fundamentalist Christian organizations and something called the Plymouth Rock Foundation, which according to Kerry, believes that public schools are anti-Christ. Sweet did say that he believed secular humanism was a religion.

The nomination will come up for a vote before the Judiciary Committee in a few weeks. It remains unclear whether the OJJD position is important enough for senators to risk offending the White House by denying Sweet the post.«

HOUSE PANEL PRESSES OERI CHIEF ON FY 1991 BUDGET REQUEST

"Chilly" would be a good word to describe the atmosphere Christopher Cross, assistant secretary for educational research and improvement, found on Capitol Hill last week. In February 28 testimony before the House Labor, Health and Human Services, and Related Agencies Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. William Natcher (D-KY), Cross defended the Education Department's FY 1991 budget proposal for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI). As in recent years, the committee was critical.

OERI has requested \$174.7 million for FY 1991, almost \$80 million more than the agency's FY 1990 funding. Cross defended the large increase by stressing that "the education information coming out of the federal education R&D system is simply not satisfying the demand for it." He emphasized the recent acknowledgement of the value of educational research, most noticeably by governors. Referring to the national education goals developed by President Bush and state governors, Cross made clear that the "current system was not designed nor is it adequate to reach those goals."

The proposed budget includes an 83 percent increase for the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). The \$41.5 million request would strengthen and expand efforts to gather national data related to education and would permit NCES to improve the quality and comparability of state-level data.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and its governing board, chaired by former OERI chief Checker Finn, would see a \$1.8 million increase to \$18.9 million. In FY 1991, OERI plans to explore the feasibility of expanding state-level testing and to broaden the scope of national assessment efforts.

Most of the \$61.3 million proposed for research activities, a 10 percent boost over FY 1990 funding, would support national research and development centers, regional laboratories, and the Education Resources Information Center. The research budget would fund 19 new R&D centers and 10 new regional education labs. Field-initiated research, slated for about \$1 million, was not mentioned in the testimony.

Cross outlined four new presidential initiatives: (1) \$25 million for improving training for principals; (2) \$5 million for dropout prevention research; (3) \$3 million to evaluate state-level reforms; and (4) \$20 million to follow up on issues raised at the education summit.

The OERI budget proposal was not well received by the subcommittee. Both Natcher and Ranking Republican Silvio Conte (R-MA) appeared skeptical of educational research and the federal government's role in these efforts. Cross countered by suggesting that the OERI account was "mis-labeled"; it should be called "data collection and school improvement," he said. Cross made clear, however, that governors and chief state school officers believe research is the federal government's proper role in education.

With more vehemence than his colleagues, but from an opposite perspective, Rep. David Obey (D-WI) pressed Cross to defend OERI's budget. Making clear that his objections were not with Cross personally, but with the administration, Obey launched into extensive and intense questioning of OERI practices.

A staunch supporter of regional labs and their rural education focus, Obey voiced concern that while FY 1991 outlays (money obligated by the department) for the labs increases, proposed budget authority (money requested from Congress) actually declines. Since outlays can include budgetary

commitments from previous years, they do not necessarily reflect changes in financial commitment.

Obey defended research as the "most sexless item" in the budget but the most important in the long run. He expressed concern that OERI did not consult appropriations committee staff in establishing research priorities, suggesting that contact with congressional authorizing committees is insufficient.

Calling himself a "statistical nut," Obey praised slated increases for statistics. He noted concern, however, that the proposal does not include enough money for staffing. He also indicated unhappiness with NAEP and its governing board. The assessment project acts like an "entitlement" program, according to Obey, pulling needed dollars away from statistics. The NAEP governing board should have its own appropriation line, he said.«

COSSA HOSTS CONGRESSIONAL SEMINAR ON SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIZATION

On March 2, COSSA brought social science scholars to Capitol Hill for its latest congressional breakfast seminar, *After the Revolutions: Democratization in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*. Co-sponsored by the International Studies Association, a COSSA Affiliate, the seminar assembled three accomplished scholars to discuss recent events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

James R. Millar, director of the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies and professor of international affairs at George Washington University, discussed the current economic situation in the Soviet Union. He explained that while most Soviets are dissatisfied as consumers, they are content as workers – making each citizen both a potential proponent and potential adversary of reform.

The Eastern Bloc's scarcity economy founded on heavy government subsidization is frustrating in its inefficiency but comforting in its regularity, Millar said. Warning policymakers not to assume that reforms will follow a U.S. economic model, he suggested that the principal result of reform is likely to be greater global economic diversity.

Millar also advocated enactment of an economic aid package similar to the post World War II Marshall Plan. Such a program could substantially contribute to economic and political stability in Eastern Europe, he said.

The Warsaw Pact's future role was addressed by Robin Remington, professor of political science at the University of Missouri-Columbia. She identified both an East-East and East-West function for the Warsaw Treaty Organization. While recent reforms demand changes in both functions – including the demise of the offensive capacity in the Warsaw Pact's East-West relationship – the organization will not necessarily disintegrate, Remington warned. The Warsaw Pact will continue to exist because of shared interests, such as the containment of Eastern European nationalism and the perceived threat of a reunited Germany. New organizational structures will emerge to stabilize new security relationships.

Remington also discussed the role of the military in Eastern Europe. In the classic political science paradigm, the preconditions for military action are a decline in political legitimacy, lack of economic stability, popular unrest, and threats to corporate military interests. As new parties struggle for legitimacy in Eastern Europe, economic stability becomes vital to avoid military coups.

Remington joined Millar in supporting a Marshall Plan-type of aid package, and also advocated a debt moratorium for Eastern Europe. She predicted that an increased presence in reforming countries would give the United States a foothold in the European Economic Community, since Eastern Europe is almost certain to be included in the eventual European community. Finally, Remington suggested that exchange programs such as the U.S. Information Agency's Visitors Program and the Peace Corps be used to provide technical assistance to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Dan Nelson, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, warned that revolutions are the easy part – the difficult task is rebuilding economic and political life. Nelson identified several major problems facing Eastern European countries as they begin to rebuild. First, there are process problems related to sudden pluralization. The new parties must draw from pre-World

War I models, and they do not have an understanding of the process of elections or campaigning. At the same time, the infrastructure needed to support democracy – including an independent press, judiciary, and media – is inadequate.

These problems of transition will be exacerbated, Nelson continued, by the gap between popular expectations and economic realities. Reforms will necessitate austerity, and economic expectations must be lowered. Finally, Nelson predicted that many countries will face a dilemma between the desire for national sovereignty and the need for international dependence. Populations may grow restless as they see their governments bowing to the demands of international organizations.

Nelson reminded seminar attendees not to congratulate themselves for world changes and to remember that credit is due the populations of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The U.S. must now direct significant attention to assisting the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in its upcoming struggles for democracy, he said.

The seminar, which was moderated by COSSA Executive Director Howard J. Silver, attracted more than 70 attendees from Capitol Hill, the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency, foreign embassies, and other Washington organizations.«

EASTERN EUROPE NEEDS SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, WITNESSES SAY

Washington was moved by Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel's recent speech before Congress. Czechoslovakia has much to learn, the presidential playwright told legislators, "We must learn how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life so that it will lead to prosperity and not to poverty."

Now Congress must decide how best to aid Havel and his fellow Eastern European reformers. In February 8 testimony before the House Budget Committee, three scholars agreed with Havel that monetary aid is insufficient without the political scientists, economists, and other social scientists needed to build a democratic infrastructure.

Ed Hewett, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, outlined two possible scenarios for Eastern Europe. In the more optimistic, economics would dominate developments, he said. Political leadership would be short-lived, with coalition governments resigning after a year or so to give way to new coalitions. This political fluidity would provide a "safety valve" during the painful economic transition, he predicted. The pessimistic scenario, continued Hewett, is one in which politics dominate developments. Difficult economic conditions would foster a political tendency toward repression in order to maintain political stability.

Rozanne L. Ridgway, president of the Atlantic Council of the United States and distinguished career foreign service officer, stressed the emerging opportunities in Eastern Europe. The United States can increase its presence, she said, "not in military terms, but in terms of diplomacy, educational and cultural exchange, commercial services, agricultural, scientific, and technological expertise – the list is endless." Echoing Hewett, Ridgway suggested sending U.S. facilitators, perhaps through student exchange programs, to work in Eastern Europe.

Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs outlined four types of necessary aid: government and private investment; emergency aid; debt relief; and technical assistance that would provide leadership in the areas of law, accounting, management consulting, and education. He stressed that the United States should assist Eastern Europe not only out of moral obligation, but because the success of the new economies is consistent with U.S. interests.«

COSSA WELCOMES NEW STAFF

COSSA extends a hearty welcome to its two newest staff members, Karen E. Carrion, office manager, and Katherine L. Pringle, intern. Karen has come to us by way of the American Political Science Association, where she was the assistant to the administrative director of the Congressional Fellowship Program. Kate is a senior at The American University, majoring in political science and planning to enter law school in the fall.

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