

*epj*

# THE POLICY SCIENCES CENTER, INC.

127 Wall Street, Room 322

P.O. Box 208215

New Haven, Connecticut 06520-8215 U.S.A.

Tel: (203) 432-1993 • Fax: (203) 432-7247

MYRES S. McDOUGAL  
Chairman (1906-1998)

W MICHAEL REISMAN  
Vice Chairman

ANDREW R. WILLARD  
President

Please Reply to: DR. LLOYD ETHEREDGE  
7106 Bells Mill Road  
Bethesda, MD 20817  
Tel: (301) 365-5241  
Fax: (301) 657-4214  
Internet: [lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu](mailto:lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu)  
July 16, 2007

Dr. Steven C. Beering  
Chair, National Science Board & Pres.-emeritus  
Purdue University - Office of the President  
West Lafayette, IN 47907

Dear Dr. Beering:

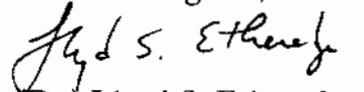
I enclose a letter from Donald Kennedy, the retiring Editor-in-Chief of Science, concerning NSF-related issues that you should know about.

Dr. Kennedy has acknowledged, for the first time in print, that Science has made undisclosed decisions to be silent about several areas of uncorrected breakdowns of intellectual and scientific integrity affecting NSF - e.g., the erosion of legal and ethical standards, conflicts of interest, and political cowardice that corrupted the national research priorities for the social sciences recommended by NSF's advisory system.

Scientific self-governance can be disabled by the same mechanisms of insider competition for financial gain, clever dishonesty and gamesmanship, stonewalling, and coverups that affect political life. Normally, as a nation, we rely upon an informed, free, and independent press to sound the alarm. Especially so when there have been deep breakdowns that damage our country, and by institutions that are supposed to be trustworthy. You and your colleagues will have to clean up the mess and repair the damage without these allies.

I hope that you will -

With best regards,

  
(Dr.) Lloyd S. Etheredge

cc: Members - National Science Board



August 4, 2006

Dr. Lloyd Etheredge, Director  
Government Learning Project  
The Policy Sciences Center, Inc.  
127 Wall Street, Room 232  
P.O. Box 208215  
New Haven, CT 06520-8215

Dear Dr. Etheredge,

Thanks for your letter of July 11 and for several <sup>additions</sup> ~~editions~~ that have followed. I've known for some time, both because of my service on Dave Hamburg's Commission and because you've written me from time to time, of your concern about the social, behavioral, and economic sciences at NSF and at the Academies. I don't think this is an area in which the AAAS, through its elected Board of Directors is likely to take a position. On the other hand, the News department at *Science* is always interested in issues relating to how the scientific community is served is being treated by government or by other entities. I'm forwarding a copy of your letter to Colin Norman, the news director, so that his staff can be made aware of this concern.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Donald Kennedy".

Donald Kennedy  
Editor-in-Chief

DK/jw

# THE POLICY SCIENCES CENTER, INC.

127 Wall Street, Room 322

P.O. Box 208215

New Haven, Connecticut 06520-8215 U.S.A.

Tel: (203) 432-1993 • Fax: (203) 432-7247

MYRES S. McDOUGAL  
Chairman (1906-1998)

W MICHAEL REISMAN  
Vice Chairman

ANDREW R. WILLARD  
President

Please Reply to: DR. LLOYD ETHEREDGE  
7106 Bells Mill Road  
Bethesda, MD 20817  
Tel: (301) 365-5241  
Fax: (301) 657-4214  
Internet: lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu  
July 11, 2006

Dr. Donald Kennedy, Editor-in-Chief of Science  
c/o Stanford University - Dept. of Biological Sciences  
401 Encina Hall, Mail Code 6055  
Stanford, CA 94305-6055

Dear Dr. Kennedy:

As a member of AAAS I am writing to ask your leadership, as the Editor-in-Chief of Science, to develop and publish a series of investigative articles disclosing the accommodations of our national agenda-setting institutions in science that have unwisely shaped the decline of the social, behavioral, and economic sciences, changed the civic role of our research universities, and removed vital resources for independent thinking and evidence-based (v. belief-based) social, economic, and foreign policy.

I also am writing to request the assistance of Science and AAAS in securing a full public disclosure of NSF and National Academy of Science documents and correspondence that shed light on the related internal debates and divisions within the National Academy of Sciences; the resistance to the judgment about the overriding importance of scientific integrity conveyed by the senior scientific statesmen associated with David Hamburg's Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government; and subsequent battles.<sup>1</sup>

### Fall Testimony to Defend the Social Sciences

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison has raised the possibility of jettisoning the social, behavioral, and economic (SBE) sciences from the NSF budget. She has legitimate criticisms about lackluster SBE accomplishments. However the SBE sciences are (for the most part) not to blame. As you know, an earlier threat to jettison the SBE sciences, by David Stockman, resulted in constraints and accommodations by our national science Establishment and the current lackluster and unimpressive record.<sup>2</sup> We cannot let the SBE sciences be wiped-out by Republicans and others who view the SBE sciences with disdain and do not know the earlier treaty. The full record of this behind-closed-doors accommo-

dation must become public if we are to defend ourselves and build the future that we want for our disciplines and the country. Hopefully, full disclosure and accountability will be voluntary.

Unexpectedly, the SBE sciences are in greater danger and have fewer allies than in the past. The Stockman attack was merely ideological. Today, the anti-SBE coalition appears to add genuine scientific contempt and a ruthless (us v. them) hope to get all of the SBE funds for the physical sciences, engineering, and mathematics. The assessment of APA's Executive Director for Science (a former program director at NSF) is: ". . . [S]ome lawmakers hold our areas of science in great disdain. Some would like to see the social and behavioral science programs of NSF removed entirely from its portfolio . . . Let's consider ourselves fairly warned. The effort to drive social and behavioral science out of the federal funding portfolio will continue, and we need to marshal our resources in response."<sup>3</sup>

### The Future That We Want for Our Country

When human beings live in sewage long enough, they begin to accommodate. I do not know how you feel, personally, about our current period of national mindlessness and the prospects of the same recycling simple ideas on loud, policy argument television forever - but I have had enough. The enclosed letter to Dr. Douglas Randall on the National Science Board discusses three key areas where NSF-supported SBE sciences have stalled and we, as a nation, are in trouble. There is too much at stake. Surely, a tenured academic world has a social contract to be independent and no need to be sheep-like.

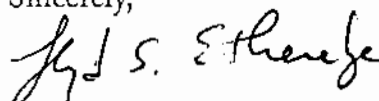
What has happened is almost incomprehensible. The past twenty+ years are likely to be seen as one of the great scandals in the history of American science. I spent eight years as a member of the MIT faculty and, as a young scientist, was inspired by the integrity and political courage of the scientists whose names are inscribed around the Great Court. Even Senator Joseph McCarthy could not, by a direct assault, have produced as much damage to the civic role of our research universities. I opposed these accommodations from the beginning. And the restrictions were crafted by our scientific elites, who induced breakdowns of scientific integrity, anger, and cynicism.

- The historical record also is likely to provide valuable and cautionary lessons about how flawed secret, elitist, decisions can be in the self-governance of science. I do not believe that all of the truths of social and economic policy lie at a single point along the current Left-Right dimension in American politics. They may not lie along this dimension at all. Thus, I think Frank Press and Bruce Alberts et al. were acting as amateurs, should have made this argument instead, and were wrong to let ideological zealots frame the terms of the debate. [In fact, the NAS system has capably and honestly promoted evidence-based environmental policy during the past two decades. There is a tawdriness to what happened: I see no reason why temporary accommodations were institutional-

ized, the SBE sciences had to be sacrificed, and the civic role of our universities be permanently diminished, now for two decades+ after the departure of Stockman, Reagan, and the zealots.]<sup>4</sup>

Would you be willing for Science to break the story?

Sincerely,



(Dr.) Lloyd S. Etheredge, Director  
Government Learning Project

cc: Dr. David Baltimore, Chair - AAAS Committee on Council Affairs  
Dr. John Holdren, AAAS President  
Dr. Colin Norman, News Editor - Science

1. I enclose a copy of a written request to Dr. Beering of July 4, 2006.
2. David Stockman's pre-emptive strike resulted in a high-level rescue mission of distinguished scientists and a set of accommodations, political redirections, and constraints that were embodied in a "new leading edges" NAS/NRC Report under Duncan Luce. This NSF-funded report over-rode the existing national scientific consensus (expressed in Donald Campbell's "Reforms as Experiments") to evaluate the assumptions of public policy and support democratic decision making; and it thereby mis-used the prestige of the National Academy of Sciences - i.e., purporting to give consensus *scientific* advice while over-riding the likely scientific advice of most of its members. Frank Press also exempted the Luce project from normal conflict of interest restrictions, so it could redirect national priorities to the politically disengaged (behavioral rational choice) theories of Luce, Ferejohn and Fiorina, three of its members, without fair and independent scientific evaluation for the 600+ competing research ideas, or disclosure of their conflict of interest and the exemption in the Report. [Luce et al. wrote that the new national "leading edge" priorities were "a purposive sample," a term that neither they nor Frank Press ever explained. ] Readers of Science will be interested to read what Donald Campbell wrote to his colleagues in the NAS about these decisions.
3. Steven Breckler, "Red Alert," *Psychological Science Agenda*, 20:5 (May, 2006). Online at <http://www.apa.org/science/psa/brecklercolumns.html>.
4. It might be supposed that the Establishment suppressed only a few nuisance scientists who wanted to argue with Reagan. But there was a new and powerful paradigm for evaluating the claims of ideology and types of non-rational behavior, based on new measures of established hierarchical images and emotional responses. It had been vetted with a working group of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. The new paradigm integrated ideas and findings across several fields and traditions - in a way that would have been valued and exciting in particle physics - and it had the virtue of clarifying likely physiological links via the effects of vivid imagery to arouse and suppress emotion, through brain connections that partly bypass the neocortex and rational mediation. The approach also offered insight, and potentially fresh thinking about remedies, concerning the psychology of hierarchical relationships and problems of Blacks and other lower status or dominated populations: L. S. Etheredge, "Wisdom in Public Policy" in R. J. Sternberg and J. Jordan (Eds.), A Handbook of Wisdom: Psychological Perspectives (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 297-328, pp. 312-314, 319-320.

# THE POLICY SCIENCES CENTER, INC.

127 Wall Street, Room 322

P.O. Box 208215

New Haven, Connecticut 06520-8215 U.S.A.

Tel: (203) 432-1993 • Fax: (203) 432-7247

MYRES S. McDOUGAL  
Chairman (1906-1998)

W MICHAEL REISMAN  
Vice Chairman

ANDREW R. WILLARD  
President

Please Reply to: DR. LLOYD ETHEREDGE  
7106 Bells Mill Road  
Bethesda, MD 20817  
Tel: (301) 365-5241  
Fax: (301) 657-4214  
Internet: [lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu](mailto:lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu)  
July 22, 2006

Dr. Ralph Cicerone, President  
National Academy of Sciences  
2101 Constitution Ave., NW  
Washington, D.C. 20418

Dear Dr. Cicerone:

I am writing to make a formal request that the NAS Council and NRC Council make public on the [www.nas.edu](http://www.nas.edu) Website all material concerning the agenda-setting work of the NAS and NRC for the social, behavioral, and economic (SBE) sciences beginning with the Reagan Administration and the Luce/Smelser Report. The complete historical record is essential for the SBE sciences to respond to Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, to well-informed democratic decision-making, and to the self-correction of science.

I am especially concerned that correspondence, internal records, and email discussions are released of: 1.) the controversies; 2.) the policy of non-disclosure to the wider scientific and academic community, Congress, the contracting Executive branch agencies, and the public [the NAS/NRC "sins of commission" and "omission," in the terms Dr. Hilgard used in one of his letters]; and 3.) the waiver of conflict of interest rules for the Luce/Smelser panel.

### Senator Kay Hutchison: Understanding SBE Performance

David Stockman, the OMB Director in the early Reagan Administration, launched a pre-emptive strike to zero-out all behavioral science in the federal budget. This was simply an ideological attack [and led to unwise accommodations by our national scientific Establishment that somehow became permanent]. Today, the SBE sciences are in greater danger. The current anti-SBE coalition appears to add genuine scientific contempt and a ruthless (us v. them) hope to get all of the SBE funds for the physical sciences, engineering, and mathematics. The assessment by APA's Executive Director for Science (a former program director at NSF) is:

*“ . . . [S]ome lawmakers hold our areas of science in great disdain. Some would like to see the social and behavioral science programs of NSF removed entirely from its portfolio . . . Let’s consider ourselves fairly warned. The effort to drive social and behavioral science out of the federal funding portfolio will continue, and we need to marshal our resources in response.”<sup>1</sup>*

Senator Hutchison has raised legitimate criticisms of the lackluster record of the SBE disciplines. However we, for the most part, are not to blame. We need the NAS Council and the NRC Council to release the historical record.

### Contrasting Records and the Search for Explanations

The restricted role of the SBE sciences contrasts with the extraordinary civic leadership the Academies have provided in the physical sciences - e.g., the Institute of Medicine and environmental policy. Nobody has been sent to the guillotine. Looking at the complete historical record, I believe that current members of the NAS Council and NRC Council will agree that it was unwise, unworthy of the scientific tradition, and paranoid to neuter the SBE disciplines and quietly alter the civic role of American universities.

I enclose two related letters, to the Editor-in-Chief of Science and Senator Hutchison, which touch upon this request and my background as a participant and professional observer of key parts of this history across the past twenty+ years.<sup>2</sup>

At this point, I do not believe that most people understand what has happened. [Current members of the NAS Council and NRC Council may not understand this, either.] There is resignation and cynicism in the SBE sciences. People do not know who to fight, or what mechanisms can be activated to make a difference or heal the damage.

Yours truly,

(Dr.) Lloyd S. Etheredge, Director  
Government Learning Project

cc: NRC & NAS Councils

1. Steven Breckler, “Red Alert,” *Psychological Science Agenda*, 20:5 (May, 2006). Online at <http://www.apa.org/science/psa/brecklercolumns.html>.

2. There is additional material at [www.policyscience.net](http://www.policyscience.net). The equation changes: The original accommodations were induced by Stockman’s attack and fear; the lack of liberal support becomes important later, in sustaining the accommodation. Today the erosion of institutional memory, resignation and cynicism, scientific contempt, the absence of visionary leadership at NSF, the generic resistance to analytical questioning that Plato observed, etc. have become more important.