

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Smith quoted in Dylan Matthews, “Why Congressional Republicans Want to Cut Social Science Research Funding,” *Vox*, Nov. 12, 2014, <https://www.vox.com/2014/11/12/7201487/congress-social-science-nsf-funding>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.
2. Roberta B. Miller, “The Social Science Lobby in the United States,” in *The Human Sciences: Their Contribution to Society and Future Research Needs*, ed. Baha Abu-Laban and Brendan G. Rule (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1988), 241–252, at 245.
3. Harry Alpert, “The Government’s Growing Recognition of Social Science,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 327 (1960): 59–67, at 64.
4. Boehner and Cantor proposal mentioned in Dan Berett, “Picking on Social Science,” *Inside Higher Ed*, Dec. 21, 2010, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2010/12/21/picking-social-science>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.
5. Tom Coburn, *The National Science Foundation: Under the Microscope*, April 2011, p. 53, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/gdc/coburn/2014500020.pdf>, accessed Nov. 15, 2019.
6. Flake quoted in John Sides, “Congressman Flake’s Remarks,” *The Monkey Cage blog*, May 10, 2012, <http://themonkeycage.org/blog/2012/05/10/congressman-flakes-remarks>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.
7. See Matthews, “Why Congressional Republicans.”
8. Smith quoted in Matthews, “Why Congressional Republicans.”
9. A total of 10.4 percent was noted on p. 37 in COSSA, *Analysis of the President’s FY 2018 Budget Request for Social and Behavioral Science*, May 2017, <http://www.cossa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/COSSA-FY-2018-Budget-Analysis.pdf>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.
10. Five percent and two-thirds were noted on p. 4 in COSSA, *Social and Behavioral Science Research: Essential to Keeping America Competitive, Prosperous, and Safe: Ten Recommendations for the 45th President of the United States*, Dec. 2016, <http://www.cossa.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/COSSA-Recommendations-for-Trump-Administration-Dec-2016.pdf>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.

11. COSSA, *Social and Behavioral Science Research*, 3.
12. COSSA, *Social and Behavioral Science Research*, 2, 4.
13. Vannevar Bush, *Science—The Endless Frontier: A Report to the President on a Program for Postwar Scientific Research* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, July 1945), hereafter, SEF. J. Merton England, *A Patron for Pure Science: The National Science Foundation's Formative Years, 1945–57* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1982).
14. Public Law 507, 81st Congress, S. 247, the “National Science Foundation Act of 1950,” <https://www.nsf.gov/about/history/legislation.pdf>, accessed Dec. 15, 2018.
15. See Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 159.
16. George Mazuzan, “Good Science Gets Funded: The Historical Evolution of Grant Making at the National Science Foundation,” *Science Communication* 14 (1992): 63–90.
17. See my book Mark Solovey, *Shaky Foundations: The Politics—Patronage—Social Science Nexus in Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), esp. chaps. 1 and 4, and my recent essay “The Impossible Dream: Scientism as Strategy Against Distrust of Social Science at the U.S. National Science Foundation, 1945–1980,” *International Journal for History, Culture, and Modernity* 7 (2019): 209–238.
18. Miller, “The Social Science Lobby in the United States.”
19. Many Americans are accustomed to viewing the years from the late 1940s through the mid-to-late 1980s as the era of Cold War. However, there has been considerable scholarly debate about how to conceptualize and periodize the Cold War. See Duncan Bell and Joel Isaac, eds., *Uncertain Empire: American History and the Idea of Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
20. Thomas Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also Charles A. Taylor, *Defining Science: A Rhetoric of Demarcation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); Michele Lamont and Virag Molnar, “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 167–195, esp. 178–181 on “Science, Disciplines, and Knowledge”; Gerhard Sonnert, “Social Science and Sozialwissenschaft: Categorical and Institutional Boundaries of Knowledge,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 54 (2018): 178–197.
21. Major historical studies include Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1965–1905* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975); Thomas I. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Donald T. Crithlow, *The Brookings Institution, 1916–1952: Expertise and the Public Interest in a Democratic Society* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985); Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology*

and Scientism: *The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Dorothy Ross, *Origins of American Social Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Donald Fisher, *Fundamental Development of the Social Sciences: Rockefeller Philanthropy and the United States Social Science Research Council* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Mark C. Smith, *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); John M. Jordan, *Machine-Age Ideology: Social Engineering and American Liberalism, 1911–1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Sarah Igo, *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Alice O’Connor, *Social Science for What? Philanthropy and the Social Question in a World Turned Rightside Up* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007); Andrew Jewett, *Science, Democracy, and the American University: From the Civil War to the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Joel Isaac, *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

22. Recent contributions that survey a wide terrain when considered together and that include plentiful references to earlier studies: Audra J. Wolfe, *Competing with the Soviets: Science, Technology, and the State in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013); Naomi Oreskes and John Krige, eds., *Science and Technology in the Global Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014); Jeroen van Dongen, ed., *Cold War Science and the Transatlantic Circulation of Knowledge* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). On the importance of following the money in the history of science more broadly, see Casper Andersen, Jakob Bek-Thomsen, and Peter C. Kjaergaard, “The Money Trail: A New Historiography for Networks, Patronage, and Scientific Careers,” *Isis*, 103 (2012): 310–315; Noortje Jacobs and Pieter Huistra, “Funding Bodies and Late Modern Science,” *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 7 (2019): 887–898.

23. For historiographic discussions, see Hunter Crowther-Heyck, “Patrons of the Revolution: Ideals and Institutions in Postwar Behavioral Science,” *Isis* 97 (2006): 420–446; Joel Isaac, “The Human Sciences in Cold War America,” *Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 725–746; Mark Solovey, “Cold War Social Science: Specter, Reality, or Useful Concept?,” in *Cold War Social Science: Knowledge Production, Liberal Democracy, and Human Nature*, ed. Mark Solovey and Hamilton Cravens (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–22. Important studies include Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945–1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts, 1940–1970* (Berkeley: University California Press, 1995); Christopher Simpson, ed., *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in*

the Social Sciences during the Cold War (New York: New Press, 1998); James H. Capshew, *Psychologists on the March: Science, Practice, and Professional Identity in America, 1929–1969* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Ron Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military–Industrial Complex* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Michael A. Bernstein, *A Perilous Progress: Economists and Public Purpose in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Philip Mirowski, *Machine Dreams: Economics Becomes a Cyborg Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); S. M. Amadae, *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); David Engerman, *Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Matthew Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Solovey and Cravens, eds., *Cold War Social Science*; Solovey, *Shaky Foundations*; Jamie Cohen-Cole, *The Open Mind: Cold War Politics and the Sciences of Human Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Joy Rohde, *Armed with Expertise: The Militarization of American Social Research during the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); Hunter Heyck, *Age of System: Understanding the Development of Modern Social Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015); David H. Price, *Cold War Anthropology: The CIA, The Pentagon, and the Growth of Dual-Use Anthropology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Susan Lindee and Joanna Radin, "Patrons of the Human Experience: A History of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1941–2016," *Current Anthropology* 57, supplement 14 (2016), S218–S301.

24. For example, O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*.

25. Solovey, *Shaky Foundations*.

26. See Rik Peel, "Ten Reasons to Embrace Scientism," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 63 (2017): 11–21.

27. Friedrich A. Hayek: "Scientism and the Study of Society," *Economica* 9 (1942): 267–291, 10 (1943): 34–63, 11 (1944): 27–39; *The Counter-Revolution of Science: Studies in the Abuse of Reason* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952).

CHAPTER 1: TO BE OR NOT TO BE INCLUDED

1. President Roosevelt, "Let Us Move Forward with Strong and Active Faith," undelivered address prepared for Jefferson Day, Apr. 13, 1945, in Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944–1945* (New York: Harper, 1950), 613–616, at 615.

2. Fulbright quoted on pp. 397–398 in George A. Lundberg, "The Senate Ponders Social Science," *Scientific Monthly* 64 (May 1947): 397–411.

3. Paul K. Hoch, “The Crystallization of a Strategic Alliance: The American Physics Elite and the Military in the 1940’s,” in *Science, Technology and the Military*, ed. Everett Mendelsohn, Merritt Roe Smith, and Peter Weingart (Boston: Kluwer, 1988), 87–116; Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1995); Gregg Herken, *Cardinal Choices: Presidential Science Advising from the Atomic Bomb to SDI* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, rev. ed. 2000); Audra J. Wolfe, *Competing with the Soviets: Science, Technology, and the State in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

4. Roger E. Backhouse and Philippe Fontaine, “Introduction,” in Roger E. Backhouse and Philippe Fontaine, eds., *The History of the Social Sciences since 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–15, at 8.

5. Joel Isaac, “The Human Sciences in Cold War America,” *The Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 725–746; Backhouse and Fontaine, *History of the Social Sciences since 1945*; Mark Solovey and Hamilton Cravens, eds., *Cold War Social Science: Knowledge Production, Liberal Democracy, and Human Nature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

6. Richard S. Kirkendall, *Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966); Patrick D. Reagan, *Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning, 1890–1943* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

7. David H. Price, *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI’s Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Mike F. Keen, *Stalking the Sociological Imagination: J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI Surveillance of American Sociology* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999); Alice O’Connor, “The Politics of Rich and Rich: Postwar Investigations of the Foundations and the Rise of the Philanthropic Right,” in *American Capitalism: Social Thought and Political Economy in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Nelson Lichtenstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 228–248.

8. Teller’s comment on p. 40 in Theda Skocpol, “Governmental Structures, Social Science, and the Development of Economic and Social Policies,” in *Social Science Research and Government: Comparative Essays on Britain and the United States*, ed. Martin Bulmer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 40–50.

9. For a useful but brief account, see J. Merton England, *A Patron for Pure Science: The National Science Foundation’s Formative Years, 1945–57* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1982), esp. 266–273.

10. See, for example, James H. Capshew, *Psychologists on the March: Science, Practice, and Professional Identity in America, 1929–1969* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 176–179; Michael A. Bernstein, *A Perilous Progress: Economists and Public Purpose in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

Press, 2001), 100–101; David Haney, *The Americanization of Social Science: Intellectuals and Public Responsibility in the Postwar United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 30–38, which concentrates on sociology.

A handful of studies by sociologists have undertaken a deeper examination of social science and the NSF inspired by their discipline's interest in the sociology of knowledge, science, and the professions. These works also emphasize issues that figure prominently in my analysis, especially scientific legitimacy, boundary work, natural science–social science relations, and scientific patronage. See Gene M. Lyons, *The Uneasy Partnership: Social Science and the Federal Government in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), 126–136; Samuel Z. Klausner and Victor M. Lidz, eds., *The Nationalization of the Social Sciences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Thomas F. Gieryn, “The U.S. Congress Demarcates Natural Science and Social Science (Twice),” in Gieryn's book *Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 65–114; Otto N. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), 1–18, 33–58.

11. The present chapter pursues lines of analysis that I have developed elsewhere: Mark Solovey, “Riding Natural Scientists' Coattails onto the Endless Frontier: The SSRC and the Quest for Scientific Legitimacy,” *Journal of the History for the Behavioral Sciences* 40 (2004): 393–424; Mark Solovey, *Shaky Foundations: The Politics–Patronage–Social Science Nexus in Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 20–55, chap. 1, “Social Science on the Endless (and End-less?) Frontier: The Postwar NSF Debate.”

12. Vannevar Bush, *Science—The Endless Frontier* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1995, 50th anniversary reissue of 1945 edition), hereafter, *SEF*. G. Pascal Zachary, *Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of the American Century* (New York: Free Press, 1997), on *SEF* and NSF's origins, 327–334. Daniel J. Kevles, “The National Science Foundation and the Debate over Postwar Research Policy, 1942–1945: A Political Interpretation of Science—The Endless Frontier,” *Isis* 68 (1977): 5–26. Shelby Scates, *Warren G. Magnuson and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

13. Robert F. Maddox, *The Senatorial Career of Harley Martin Kilgore* (New York: Garland, 1981), on the NSF legislation, 162–173, 329–330. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, Subcommittee on War Mobilization, *Hearings on Science Legislation (S. 1297 and Related Bills)*, hereafter, *1945 Senate Hearings*, 79th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1945). On the contending science policy visions, see Daniel L. Kleinman, *Politics on the Endless Frontier: Postwar Research Policy in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Jessica Wang, “Liberals, the Progressive Left, and the Political Economy of Postwar American Science: The National Science Foundation Debate Revisited,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 26 (1995): 139–166.

14. Bush, *SEF*, 9.
15. Bush, *SEF*, 23; Bush to Truman, July 5, 1945, included in *SEF*, 1.
16. S. 1297 in *1945 Senate Hearings*.
17. Letter from Vannevar Bush to D. C. Josephs, Oct. 10, 1946, Folder 12, Box 329, Series III.A Grants, Carnegie Corporation of New York Records, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries, New York.
18. Kevles, "The National Science Foundation and the Debate over Postwar Research Policy, 1942–1945," 24.
19. Bush to Josephs, Oct. 10, 1946, 3.
20. Vannevar Bush to D. C. Josephs, Sept. 19, 1946, Folder Bush Papers, Box 14, Series Historian Files, hereafter, NSF HF, NSF Collection Record Group 307, hereafter, RG 307, National Archives–College Park, MD.
21. Nathan Reingold, "Vannevar Bush's New Deal for Research; or, The Triumph of the Old Order," in Nathan Reingold, *Science, American Style* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 284–333, at 288.
22. Reagan, *Designing a New America*.
23. On the board's vision for the postwar era, see U.S., NRPB, *Post-War Agenda: Full Employment, Security, Building America* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1942). Other liberal scholars involved with the NRPB include the economists Paul Samuelson, Alvin Hansen, and John Kenneth Galbraith.
24. Donald Fisher, *Fundamental Development of the Social Sciences: Rockefeller Philanthropy and the United States Social Science Research Council* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Kenton W. Worcester, *Social Science Research Council, 1923–1998* (New York: SSRC, 2001); Denis Bryson, "Personality and Culture, The Social Science Research Council, and Liberal Social Engineering: The Advisory Committee on Personality and Culture, 1930–1934," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 45 (2009): 355–386.
25. On Mitchell, see Mark C. Smith, *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918–1941* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 49–63; on Yerkes, see Capshew, *Psychologists on the March*, 42–51; on Ogburn, see Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism: The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 161–187; on Nourse, see Joseph G. Knapp, *Edwin G. Nourse—Economist for the People* (Danville, IL: Interstate, 1979).
26. Committee on Problems and Policy, Minutes, Apr. 14, 1945, p. 1, Folder 1785, Box 315, Sub-series 1, Series II, RG 1, Social Science Research Council Archives, hereafter, SSRC Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, hereafter, RAC, Sleepy Hollow, NY. All other quotes in Appendix 1, "The Federal Government and Research," attached to the minutes.

27. Fisher, *Fundamental Development of the Social Sciences*, 191.
28. Committee on Problems and Policy, Minutes, July 28–29, 1945, Folder 1785, SSRC Archives.
29. Harry S. Truman, “Special Message to the Congress Presenting a 21-Point Program for the Reconversion Period, September 6, 1945,” in *Public Papers of the Presidents, Truman, 1945* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1962), 292–294.
30. Smith quoted on p. 311 in Reingold, “Vannevar Bush’s New Deal for Research.”
31. Board of Directors Meeting, Minutes, Sept. 10–13, 1945, pp. 8, 17, Folder 2098, Box 357, Series 9, RG 1, SSRC Archives. Klausner, “The Bid to Nationalize American Social Science,” in Klausner and Lidz, ed., *Nationalization of the Social Sciences*, 3–40, at 7.
32. Distribution of views noted on p. 113 in U.S. Congress, House, *Technical Information for Congress*, Report to the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, 92d Cong., 1st sess., Serial A (Washington, D.C.: GPO, Apr. 25, 1969, rev. May 1, 1971).
33. Bush in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 200.
34. *1945 Senate Hearings*, Compton 631, Rabi 998–999, Dewey 818, Adams 826–827, Bakhmeteff 715, Bowman 23, Simms 1170, Fishbein 496.
35. Adams in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 827.
36. Rabi in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 999, 998.
37. England, *Patron for Pure Science*, 36.
38. Simms in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 1170.
39. Union statement in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 1153.
40. Bush, *SEF*, 18, 19, 5. For background, see Ronald Kline, “Construing ‘Technology’ as ‘Applied Science’: Public Rhetoric of Scientists and Engineers in the United States, 1880–1945,” *Isis* 86 (1995): 194–221.
41. Dewey in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 818.
42. Warren G. Magnuson to the Social Science Research Council, Sept. 19, 1945, Folder 1894, Box 168, Sub-series 37, Series 1, RG 2, SSRC Archives.
43. William F. Ogburn, “The Folkways of a Scientific Sociology,” *Scientific Monthly* 30 (1930), 300–306, at 301.
44. Robert M. Yerkes, “The Scope of Science,” *Science* 105 (May 2, 1947): 461–463, at 462.
45. “Memorandum of the Social Science Research Council, on the Federal Government and Research in the Social Sciences, October 1945,” hereafter, *1945 SSRC Memorandum*, submitted by Mitchell in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 740–743, at 743. Mitchell’s testimony runs just a bit longer, from 738–744, which suggests that he

believed the main points he wanted to make were already included in the memorandum. Presumably, he also wrote the memorandum albeit with input from others.

46. 1945 SSRC Memorandum, 743.

47. Nourse in 1945 Senate Hearings, 759.

48. 1945 SSRC Memorandum, 741.

49. On this point, the sociologist of science Thomas Gieryn's analysis of social science testimony in this episode is largely compatible with mine. In "The U.S. Congress Demarcates Natural Science and Social Sciences (Twice)," Gieryn notes three main points favoring inclusion (pp. 74–84): that social science is useful in the same way as natural science; that the social and natural sciences use similar methods, including observation and quantitative analysis; and that since reality is one package, any division among the sciences impedes understanding.

50. Nourse in 1945 Senate Hearings, 757.

51. 1945 SSRC Memorandum, 743.

52. Yerkes in 1945 Senate Hearings, 755.

53. 1945 SSRC Memorandum, 741.

54. Nourse in 1945 Senate Hearings, 757.

55. Gaus in 1945 Senate Hearings, 747.

56. Mitchell in 1945 Senate Hearings, 739.

57. Ogburn in 1945 Senate Hearings, 769.

58. Cooper in 1945 Senate Hearings, 778.

59. On Mitchell's vote for Thomas, see Smith, *Social Science in the Crucible*, 50–51.

60. On Ogburn's politics, see Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism*, 175.

61. Nourse's views discussed in Knapp, *Edwin G. Nourse*.

62. Heather Douglas, *Science, Policy, and the Value-Free Ideal* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), chap. 3.

63. Isaiah Bowman, *Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 224. For more on Bowman, see Neil Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).

64. Bowman Committee letter included in "Truman Aid Asked for Magnuson Bill," *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1945, reprinted in 1945 Senate Hearings, 1126–1129; "Pending Legislation for Federal Aid to Science," *Science* 102 (Nov. 30, 1945): 545–548.

65. Bowman in 1946 House Hearings, 13, 14. For full citation, see p. 326, n. 68.

66. "Original Members of the Committee [for a National Science Foundation]," attached to Harlow Shapley & Harold C. Urey to Dear Member, July 18, 1946, Folder 8, Box 30, Wirth Papers, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Chicago.
67. Harlow Shapley, *Through Rugged Ways to the Stars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 145, 149–157.
68. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, Subcommittee on War Mobilization, *National Science Foundation, Report on Science Legislation*, hereafter, *1946 House Hearings*, 79th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, Feb. 27, 1946), 6, 16.
69. See Kilgore in *Congressional Record—Senate*, July 3, 1946, 8231–8232.
70. Brown in *1946 House Hearings*, 13.
71. Hart in *Congressional Record—Senate*, July 3, 1946, 8230.
72. Smith in *Congressional Record—Senate*, July 3, 1946, 8231.
73. The amendment, discussion, and vote in *Congressional Record—Senate*, July 3, 1946, 8230–8232.
74. "Science Bill Gets Senate Approval," *New York Times*, July 3, 1946.
75. See William J. Barber, *Designs within Disorder: Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Economists, and the Shaping of American Economic Policy, 1933–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 153–169.
76. Fulbright in *Congressional Record—Senate*, May 4, 1948, 5251.
77. President's Scientific Research Board (John R. Steelman, chair), *Science and Public Policy: A Report to the President, vol. 1* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1947), viii. On Steelman, see Richard Pearson, "Leading Truman Aide John R. Steelman Dies at 99," *Washington Post*, July 21, 1999; on his graduate studies in sociology, see Oral History Interview with John R. Steelman by Niel M. Johnson, Feb. 28, 1996, pp. 6–11, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/steelm2a.htm#transcript>, accessed Apr. 21, 2016.
78. John Dewey, "Liberating the Social Scientist," *Commentary* 4 (1947): 378–385, at 378, 379, 380. Charles A. Beard, "Neglected Aspects of Political Science," *American Political Science Review* 42 (1948): 211–222. Robert S. Lynd, "The Science of Inhuman Relations," *New Republic* 121 (Aug. 1949): 22–25. Louis Wirth, "Preface" to *Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1936), xxvii–xxviii. Gunnar Myrdal, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1944), Appendix 2 "A Methodological Note on Facts and Valuations in Social Science," 1035–1064.
79. Roger A. Salerno, *Louis Wirth: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood, 1987).

80. Louis Wirth, "The Unfinished Business of American Democracy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 244 (1946): 1–9, at 2, 9.
81. Louis Wirth, "Report of the History, Activities and Policies of the Social Science Research Council," Aug. 1937, esp. 151, Folder 2, Box 32, Wirth Papers.
82. Louis Wirth to E. W. Burgess, May 29, 1946, p. 2, Folder 1895, Box 168, Sub-series 37, Series 1, RG 2, SSRC Archives.
83. Louis Wirth, "Responsibility of Social Science," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 249 (1947): 143–151, at 147, 148.
84. Minutes, Feb. 9, 1949, Sub-Committee on Social Sciences and Values, Committee on Commissions of Inquiry, Division of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago, pp. 1, 2, Folder 1369, Box 226, Sub-series 19, Series 1, RG 1, SSRC Archives.
85. Louis Wirth, "Comments on Social Science and Values [rough notes on remarks made at SSRC meeting, Sept. 49]," p. 1, Folder 1370, Box 226, Sub-series 19, Series 1, RG 1, SSRC Archives.
86. Minutes, P&P Committee, July 15, 1946, p. 4, Folder 865, Box 154, Sub-series 19, Series 1, Record Group 1, SSRC Archives.
87. Five thousand copies noted on p. 3 in Minutes, Board Meeting, July 20–21, 1946, Folder 1787, Box 316, Sub-series 1, Series 2, RG 1, SSRC Archives. Waldemar Kaempffert, *Should the Government Support Science?* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1946), 21.
88. Minutes, CFGR, Nov. 15, 1946, p. 3, Folder 864, Box 154, Sub-series 19, Series 1, RG 1, SSRC Archives.
89. Parsons's best-known books were *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937) and *The Social System* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1951). Regarding interpretative analysis, see Talcott Parsons, "Weber's Methodology of Social Science," in Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 8–29. On Parsons's philosophy of social science in the context of his Harvard milieu, see Joel Isaac, *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 179–190. On the development of Parsons's social thought, see Howard Brick, *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), esp. 121–151.
90. Talcott Parsons, "The Science Legislation and the Role of the Social Sciences," *American Sociological Review* 11 (1946): 653–666, at 662–663.
91. Talcott Parsons, "A Basic National Resource," 41–111 in *Nationalization of the Social Sciences*, eds. Klausner and Lidz, 106, 42.

92. Talcott Parsons, "National Science Legislation, Part 2: The Case for the Social Sciences," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 3 (1947): 3–5, at 3.
93. For criticisms of Parsons's draft, see Minutes, Board Meeting, Sept. 13–16, 1948, Folder 2100, Box 358, Series 9, RG 1, SSRC Archives. Parsons, "A Basic National Resource," 107.
94. See documents in Folder SSRC Project, Box 19, Talcott Parsons Papers HUGFP 42.8.4, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.
95. Wang, "Liberalism, the Progressive Left, and the Political Economy of Postwar American Science," 140. Also see Jessica Wang, *American Science in an Age of Anxiety: Scientists, Anticommunism, and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
96. Hadley Cantril, "Polls and the 1948 U.S. Presidential Election: Some Problems It Poses," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research* 2 (1948): 309–320, at 319.

CHAPTER 2: STAKING OUT THE HARD-CORE

1. Alan T. Waterman to John H. Teeter, Dec. 22, 1955, Folder Social Science Research 1953–56, Box 20, Series Waterman Director Files, hereafter, Waterman File, NSF Collection Record Group 307, hereafter, RG 307, National Archives–College Park, MD.
2. Harry Alpert, "The Knowledge We Need Most," *Saturday Review*, Feb. 1, 1958, 36–38, at 37–38.
3. On the NSF's early development, see J. Merton England, *A Patron for Pure Science: The National Science Foundation's Formative Years, 1945–57* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1982); Toby Appel, *Shaping Biology: The National Science Foundation and American Biological Research, 1945–1975* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chaps. 2–5. From the beginning, the agency also had a number of other responsibilities and activities, some of which involved the social sciences, such as the maintenance of a register of scientific personnel in the U.S., but they have little relevance to the present study.
4. NSF, *1950–51 Annual Report*, vii—from the Foreword by James B. Conant, the first chairman of NSF's governing board.
5. NSF, *1954 Annual Report*, 118. NSF, *1953 Annual Report*, "What Is Basic Research?" 38ff.
6. Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1995), 365.
7. Public Law 507, 81st Cong., the National Science Foundation Act of 1950.
8. Neither American historians nor historians of American science have devoted much attention to the NSF's social science efforts during these early years, although England, *Patron for Pure Science*, 266–273, provides a short and reliable discussion.

Accounts by social scientists include Henry W. Riecken, “Underdogging: The Early Career of the Social Sciences in the NSF,” in Samuel Z. Klausner and Victor M. Lidz, eds., *The Nationalization of the Social Sciences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 209–225; Otto N. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), 33–58; and Desmond King, “The Politics of Social Research: Institutionalizing Public Funding Regimes in the United States and Britain,” *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (1998): 415–444.

Also of interest: Krist Vaesen and Joel Katzav, “The National Science Foundation and Philosophy of Science’s Withdrawal from Social Concerns,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* (2019, in press).

I have analyzed many events and issues discussed in this chapter elsewhere: Daniel L. Kleinman and Mark Solovey, “Hot Science/Cold War: The National Science Foundation after World War Two,” *Radical History Review* 63 (1995): 110–139; Mark Solovey and Jefferson D. Pooley, “The Price of Success: Sociologist Harry Alpert, the NSF’s First Social Science Policy Architect,” *Annals of Science* 68 (2011): 229–260; and Mark Solovey, *Shaky Foundations: The Politics–Patronage–Social Science Nexus in Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 148–187, chap. 4, “Cultivating Hard-Core Social Research at the NSF.”

9. Durkheim was the subject of Alpert’s PhD dissertation and his book, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

10. Memo from Harry Alpert to Dr. Waterman, July 1, 1953, Progress Report No. 1, hereafter, Progress Report 1, Folder Role of the Foundation with respect to Social Science Research (Alpert, Mar. 1954), Alpert quoting General Counsel at 1, Box 8, Series Historian Files, hereafter, NSF HF, RG 307.

11. Alpert, “The Knowledge We Need Most,” 37.

12. Figures from “NSF Requests and Appropriations By Account: FY 1951–FY 2019,” <https://dellweb.bfa.nsf.gov/NSFRqstAppropHist/NSFRequestsandAppropriationsHistory.pdf>, accessed Dec. 7, 2018. On the development of military support for the social and psychological sciences, see Solovey, *Shaky Foundations*, 56–102, chap. 3, “Defense and Offense in the Military Science Establishment: Toward a Technology of Human Behavior.”

13. On Waterman, see England, *Patron for Pure Science*, 130–132.

14. Sophie D. Aberle, *The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico: Their Land, Economy and Civil Organization* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1948).

15. Frederick A. Middlebush and Chesney Hill, *Elements of International Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940).

16. England, *Patron for Pure Science*, 127, 169. On American science and anti-communism more generally, see Jessica Wang, *American Science in an Age of Anxiety*:

Scientists, Anticommunism, and the Cold War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), in relation to NSF, esp. 25–37, 254–262.

17. Louis Wirth, “The Social Sciences,” in *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Merle Curti (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 32–82, at 37.

18. On the Reece Committee, see Solovey, *Shaky Foundations*, 122–127.

19. On these consultations, see Appendix to Progress Report No. 1, also Appendix to Memorandum, Harry Alpert to Dr. Waterman, Nov. 1, 1953, Progress Report 2, hereafter, Progress Report 2, Folder Role of the Foundation with respect to Social Science Research (Alpert, Mar. 1954), Box 8, NSF HF.

20. Memorandum, Harry Alpert to Dr. Waterman, Nov. 1, 1953, Position Paper No. 2, hereafter, Position Paper 2, Bush quoted at 1, Folder Role of the Foundation with respect to Social Science Research (Alpert, Mar. 1954), Box 8, NSF HF.

21. Barnard’s point mentioned on p. 1 in Memo from Harry Alpert to Dr. Waterman, May 22, 1953, Folder Social Science Research 1953–56, Box 20, Waterman File.

22. Chester I. Barnard, “Social Science: Illusion and Reality,” *American Scholar* 21 (Summer 1952): 359–361, at 359. William G. Scott, *Chester I. Barnard and the Guardians of the Managerial State* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992) claims on p. 83 that after Barnard joined the NSF’s governing board in 1951, he underwent a “sudden conversion to orthodox positive science methods.” However, I see no evidence that Barnard’s views really changed.

23. Position Paper 2, all quotes at 3.

24. Position Paper 2, 2.

25. Position Paper 2, 4.

26. Riecken, “Underdogging,” 211.

27. See Appendix C, Recommendations Approved by National Science Board, August, 1954, attached to Harry Alpert, with the assistance of Bertha W. Rubinstein, Progress Report No. 5 (Revised), Feb. 1, 1956, hereafter, Progress Report 5, Folder Role of the Foundation with respect to Social Science Research (Alpert, Mar. 1954).

28. NSF, *1955 Annual Report*, 59.

29. Project noted in “Inventory of Natural Science–Social Science Interdisciplinary Activities of National Science Foundation (Through Fiscal Year 1954),” Folder Social Science Research Program, Box 40, Waterman File.

30. Harry Alpert, “Demographic Research and the National Science Foundation,” *Social Forces* 36 (1957): 17–21, project noted on 19.

31. Harry Alpert, “Social Science, Social Psychology, and the National Science Foundation,” *American Psychologist* 12 (1957): 95–98, projects noted on 96.

32. Progress Report 5, 3, 4.
33. See George T. Mazuzan, "Good Science Gets Funded": The Historical Evolution of Grant Making at the National Science Foundation," *Science Communication* 14 (1992): 63–90; Marc Rothenberg, "Making Judgments about Grant Proposals: A Brief History of the Merit Review Criteria at the National Science Foundation," *Technology and Innovation* 12 (2010): 189–195.
34. Bertha W. Rubinstein, "Federal Support of Unclassified, Extramural Social Science Research: 1953–1955," rankings on 1, Folder Social Science Research 1953–56, Box 20, Waterman File.
35. Memorandum, Study Director for Social Science Research to Advisory Panel for Social Science Research, Oct. 1, 1956, figures on 2, Folder Social Science Research 1953–56.
36. Robert Yerkes received a large grant from the psychobiology program, as noted in Appel, *Shaping Biology*, 87.
37. See NSF, *1955 Annual Report*, 61.
38. Harry Alpert, "Congressmen, Social Scientists, and Attitudes toward Federal Support of Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review* 23 (1958): 682–686.
39. NSF annual reports list the agency's advisory panels and their members. Memorandum, Study Director for Social Science Research to Advisory Panel for Social Science Research, Oct. 1, 1956, recommendations on 3.
40. Harry Alpert to Director [Waterman], June 14, 1957, Folder Social Science Research Program, Box 40, Waterman File.
41. NSF, *1958 Annual Report*, 41–42.
42. Harry Alpert to Director [Waterman], June 14, 1957, 1.
43. Harry Alpert to Director [Waterman], June 14, 1957, 19; NSF, *1960 Annual Report*, impact of Ford Foundation decision noted on 56. Also see Solovey, *Shaky Foundations*, 103–147, chap. 3, "Vision, Analysis, or Subversion: The Rocky Story of the Behavioral Sciences at the Ford Foundation"; Jefferson D. Pooley, "A 'Not Particularly Felicitous' Phrase: A History of the Behavioral Sciences Label, *Serendipities* 1 (2016): 38–81.
44. Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 168.
45. Memo, Director Waterman to Members of the National Science Board, July 29, 1952, p. 1, Board Books, Tab #2a, 15th Meeting, Aug. 7–8, 1952, National Science Board Library, hereafter, NSB Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.
46. Executive Order 10521, Mar. 17, 1954, reprinted in England, *Patron for Pure Science*, 353–355.

47. See Dael Wolffe, ed., *Symposium on Basic Research* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1959).
48. Phrase taken from Mazuzan's article "Good Science Gets Funded."
49. Dael Wolffe, "Social Science," *Science*, Dec. 16, 1960, 1795.
50. Alpert's articles include "The National Science Foundation and Social Science Research," *American Sociological Review* 19 (1954): 208–211; "Anthropological Research and the National Science Foundation," *Bulletin of the American Anthropological Association* 3 (1955): 1–3; "The Social Sciences and the National Science Foundation," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99 (1955): 332–333; "The Social Sciences and the National Science Foundation, 1945–1955," *American Sociological Review* 20 (1955): 653–661; "Demographic Research and the National Science Foundation"; "Geography, Social Science, and the National Science Foundation," *Professional Geographer* 9 (1957): 7–9; "Social Science, Social Psychology, and the National Science Foundation"; "The Social Science Research Program of the National Science Foundation," *American Sociological Review* 22 (1957): 582–585.
51. Alpert, "The National Science Foundation and Social Science Research," 211.
52. Author's interview with Bertha Rubinstein, Feb. 4, 1992.
53. Author's interview with Pendleton Herring, Oct. 3, 1992. Fred I. Greenstein and Austin Ranney, "Pendleton Herring: 27 October 1903–17 August 2004," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 150 (2006): 487–492.
54. McCann quoted in Board Books, 55th Meeting, Sept. 16–17, 1958, Tab A, at 7, NSB Library. Kevin McCann, *Man from Abilene* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952). Joan D. Goldhamer, "General Eisenhower in Academe: A Clash of Perspectives and a Study Suppressed," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 33 (1997): 241–259.
55. Riecken, "Underdogging," 217.
56. On juvenile delinquency, Kefauver, and social scientists, see James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The problem of juvenile delinquency also became relevant to the new specialty of family therapy. See Deborah Weinstein, *The Pathological Family: Postwar America and the Rise of Family Therapy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).
57. The subcommittee's recommendation and its legislative supporters noted in Appendix J to Progress Report 5.
58. NSB Minutes, 39th Meeting, Mar. 12, 1956, closed session, p. 2, NSB Library.
59. "Excerpts from Juvenile Delinquency, Report of Senate Committee on the Judiciary's Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency," Senate Report No. 130, 1957, in *Congressional Record—Senate*, June 3, 1957, 8212.
60. Alan T. Waterman to Mr. Clyde C. Hall, July 29, 1957, Folder Social Science Research Program, Box 40, Waterman File.

61. Theodore M. Hesburgh, *God and the World of Man* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1950), 5. Michael O'Brien, *Hesburgh: A Biography* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998).
62. T. M. Hesburgh, chairman, "Report of Committee on Social Sciences," May 18, 1958, in Board Books, 54th Meeting, June 24, 1958, Tab Q, NSB Library.
63. The quotations are paraphrases of Stratton's comments as reported in NSB Minutes, Closed Session, 54th Meeting, June 28–30, 1958, at 6, 7, NSB Library.
64. Weaver's views and Waterman's reminder in NSB Minutes, Closed Session, 54th Meeting, 6–7. Warren Weaver, *Scene of Change: A Lifetime in American Science* (New York: Scriber, 1970), 154.
65. NSB Minutes, Closed Session, 54th Meeting, McLaughlin's suggestion on 7.
66. "Report of the Social Sciences Committee" in Board Books, 56th Meeting, Oct. 13–14, 1958, 3–4, NSB Library.
67. Theodore Hesburgh Oral History Transcript, interviewed by Marc Rothenberg, Oct. 27, 2008, at 4, NSF Oral Histories, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.
68. Harry Alpert, "The Social Sciences: Problems, Issues, and Suggested Resolutions," April 15, 1958, at 2, Tab R in Board Books, 54th Meeting, June 24, 1958, NSB Library.
69. Alpert, "The Social Sciences: Problems, Issues, and Suggested Resolutions," 3, 2.
70. Memo, from Program Director [Riecken], Social Science Research Program, to Director [Waterman], Sept. 26, 1958, figures on 2, Folder Social Science Research Program, Box 40, Waterman File.
71. Charles O. Porter, "Social Sciences Ignored in National Science Foundation Board Nominations," *Congressional Record-House*, Aug. 19, 1958, figures on 16987. However, the comparable figure given in Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, p. 47, is only 2.2 percent.
72. Memo, Riecken to Waterman, Sept. 26, 1958, at 2, 3.
73. Press Release, "National Science Foundation Announces Award of 841 Fellowships in Science for 1958–1959," Mar. 18, 1958, Folder Social Science Research Program, Box 40, Waterman File.
74. See Joel Isaac, "The Human Sciences in Cold War America," *Historical Journal* 50 (2007): 725–746; David Engerman, "Social Science in the Cold War," *Isis* 101 (2010): 393–400; Mark Solovey, "Cold War Social Science: Spectre, Reality, or Useful Concept?" in *Cold War Social Science: Knowledge Production, Liberal Democracy, and Human Nature*, ed. Mark Solovey and Hamilton Cravens (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–22.
75. These figures are for 1955 to 1957, taken from a NSF report excerpt placed by Senator Wayne Morse in the *Congressional Record—Senate*, June 3, 1957, 8213.

Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, p. 24, has somewhat higher figures, with the social sciences' share of overall federal science obligations between 3 percent and 4 percent for the years 1956, 1957, and 1958. Whatever figures one chooses, though, the point that the social sciences' share was rather small is clear.

76. Harry Alpert, "The Government's Growing Recognition of Social Science," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 327 (1960): 59–67, at 62.

77. For further discussion, see Solovey and Pooley, "The Price of Success: Sociologist Harry Alpert, the NSF's First Social Science Policy Architect."

78. Jennifer Platt, *A History of Sociological Research Methods in America, 1920–1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 69. Also Stjepan G. Mestrovic, "Introduction to the Gregg Revivals Edition," 3–12 in Harry Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (UK: Gregg Revivals, 1993).

79. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, on scientific criteria, 111–112; Harry Alpert, "France's First University Course in Sociology," *American Sociological Review* 2 (1937): 311–317, at 315. Also see Alpert's essays: "Emile Durkheim and Sociologismic Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology* 45 (1939): 64–70; "Emile Durkheim: A Perspective and Appreciation," *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959): 462–465.

80. Harry Alpert, review of Robert M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union* (1948), in *Jewish Social Studies* 11 (1949): 189–191, at 190–191. Also see Alpert's reviews of Ruth G. Weintraub, *How Secure These Rights?* (1949), in *Jewish Social Studies* 11 (1950): 261–263, and of Carey McWilliams, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America* (1948), in *American Journal of Sociology* 54 (1948): 177.

81. Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, 108–109.

82. Harry Alpert, "Robert M. MacIver's Contributions to Sociological Theory," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1954), 286–292, at 290, 291, 292.

83. Alpert, "Robert M. MacIver's Contributions to Sociological Theory," 292.

84. Harry Alpert, "Public Opinion Research as Science," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20 (1956): 493–500, quoting Bush at 494–495.

85. Harry Alpert, "The Growth of Social Research in the United States," in *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences*, ed. Daniel Lerner (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1959), 73–86, at 82.

86. Harry Alpert, "Some Observations on the State of Sociology," *Pacific Sociological Review* 6 (1963): 45–58, esp. 48.

87. Harry Alpert, "George Lundberg's Social Philosophy: A Continuing Dialogue," in *The Behavioral Sciences: Essays in Honor of George A. Lundberg*, ed. Alfred de Grazia et al. (Great Barrington, MA: Behavioral Research Council, 1968), 48–62, esp. 58.

88. The two plaques and the doggerel noted in Robert B. Clark, "Harry Alpert Memorial," Nov. 9, 1977, Harry Alpert Collection, UA REF 1, Biographical Collection, Box 1, University of Oregon Library, Division of Special Collections and University Archives, Eugene, Oregon.

89. Ogburn in *1945 Senate Hearings*, 774. For full citation, see p. 322, n. 13.

90. Record of interview with JP and Theodore Hesburgh, Dec. 2, 1958, Folder 8, Box 722, Series III.A Grants, Carnegie Corporation of New York Records, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

CHAPTER 3: HELP FROM ABOVE

1. Henry W. Riecken, "Social Sciences and Social Problems," *Social Science Information* 8 (1969): 101–129, at 104.

2. Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "The Impact of the Behavioral Approach on Traditional Political Science," in *Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics*, ed. Austin Ranney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 1–30, at 29.

3. Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, rev. ed. 1995), 386.

4. Roger L. Geiger, "What Happened after Sputnik? Shaping University Research in the United States," *Minerva* 35 (1997): 349–367, percentages on 363.

5. George T. Mazuzan, "NSF 88–16, a Brief History," July 15, 1994, at 10, <https://www.nsf.gov/about/history/nsf50/nsf8816.jsp>, accessed Dec. 7, 2018.

6. Noted in NSF, *1958 Annual Report*, 11–13.

7. Waterman in NSF, *1961 Annual Report*, xvii.

8. Haworth in NSF, *1966 Annual Report*, xix.

9. Henry J. Aaron, *Politics and the Professors: The Great Society in Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978); Robert Wood, *Whatever Possessed the President, Academic Experts and Presidential Policy, 1960–1988* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

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11. See Clayton Alderfer, "Henry W. Riecken: Present at the Beginning (Many Times)—Biography of an Applied Behavioral Scientist," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 35 (1999): 142–144; Robert F. Boruch, "Henry W. Riecken, Jr.

(1917–2012),” *American Psychologist* 68 (2013): 398; Bart Barnes, “Henry W. Riecken, Jr., Social Scientist,” *Washington Post*, Jan. 8, 2013.

12. Henry W. Riecken, *The Volunteer Work Camp: A Psychological Evaluation* (Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1952), ix.

13. Henry W. Riecken and Robert F. Boruch, eds., *Social Experimentation: A Method for Planning and Evaluating Social Intervention* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

14. Henry W. Riecken, “Underdogging: The Early Career of the Social Sciences in the NSF,” in *Nationalization of the Social Sciences*, ed. Samuel Z. Klausner and Victor M. Lidz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 209–225, at 216.

15. Henry W. Riecken, “Social Change and Social Science,” in *Science and the Evolution of Public Policy*, ed. James A. Shannon (New York: Rockefeller University Press, 1973), 135–156, at 140–141.

16. Author’s interview with Bertha Rubinstein, Feb. 4, 1992.

17. “Howard H. Hines,” Obituary, *Washington Post*, April 1997, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1997/04/07/diaconate-head-thomas-knestout-dies/d8aeea55-514b-4cbb-a9b5-e76e7623d66a/?utm_term=.1e732695bb02, accessed Dec. 21, 2018. Otto N. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), 62, 63.

18. Hines in “Director’s Program Review: Social Sciences,” Jan. 14, 1971, at 15, 19, NSF Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.

19. On the Office, see NSF, *1959 Annual Report*, 44 ff; on the Division, see NSF, *1961 Annual Report*, 44.

20. Editorial, “U.S. Aids Research in Social Sciences,” *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1960.

21. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, figures on 63.

22. Howard H. Hines to NSF Director, “Annual Report of Division of Social Sciences Fiscal Year 1968,” Oct. 10, 1968, funding from other units on 5, Folder Social Science Annual Reports, Box 42, Series Historian Files, hereafter, NSF HF, NSF Collection Record Group 307, hereafter, RG 307, National Archives–College Park, MD.

23. Memo, Director Waterman to Members of the National Science Board, Aug. 12, 1959, at 2, in Board Books, 61st Meeting, Tab H, NSB Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.

24. Henry W. Riecken to Leland J. Haworth, “Annual Review of the Division of Social Sciences, Fiscal Year 1963,” July 15, 1963, at 21, Folder Social Science Annual Reports, Box 42, NSF HF.

25. See Gina Perry, *Behind the Shock Machine: The Untold Story of the Notorious Milgram Psychology Experiments* (New York: New Press, 2012), which notes (p. 27) that

Milgram received NSF funding in 1961, although a follow-up request for additional support was turned down (p. 213).

26. NSF, *1968 Annual Report*, 141.

27. NSF, *1963 Annual Report*, 32.

28. Figures on p. 35 in “Director’s Program Review: Social Sciences.”

29. U.S. Congress, Senate, Special Subcommittee on Science, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *National Science Foundation Act Amendments of 1968, Hearings*, hereafter, *1968 NSF Hearings*, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1968), figures on 121.

30. See Maurice Goldhaber and Gerald F. Tape, “Leland John Haworth, 1904–1979,” in *National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoir* (Washington, D.C.: NAS, 1985), 355–382, at 355.

31. NSF annual reports provide lists of NSB members.

32. Waterman quoted in Memo, Assistant Director for Social Sciences Henry Riecken to Director Waterman, “Annual Review of the Division of Social Sciences, FY 1961,” July 15, 1961, pledged at 1, Folder Social Science Annual Reports, Box 42, NSF HF.

33. NSF, *1963 Annual Report*, 28–29.

34. Ralph L. Beals, *Politics of Social Research* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1969), DSB membership on 101. Daniel S. Greenberg, *The Politics of Pure Science* (New York: New American Library, 1967), PSAC membership on 16.

35. John Walsh, “Behavioral Sciences: Report Bids for a Bigger Role,” *Science* 161 (Sept. 13, 1968): 1112–1114, at 1113.

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39. Emily Hauptmann, "Propagandists for the Behavioral Sciences': The Overlooked Partnership between the Carnegie Corporation and SSRC in the Mid-Twentieth Century," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 52 (2016): 167–187; Emily Hauptmann, "The Ford Foundation and the Rise of Behavioralism in Political Science," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 48 (2012): 154–173.
40. NSB Minutes, closed session, 61st Meeting, Aug. 27–28, 1959, Waterman on 12, NSB Library.
41. James D. Carroll, "Notes on the Support of Political Science Research Projects by the Division of Social Sciences of the National Science Foundation, Fiscal Years 1958–1965," in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Government Operations, Research and Technical Programs Subcommittee, *The Use of Social Research in Federal Domestic Programs, Pt IV* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, April 1967), 81–106.
42. Duncan MacRae Jr., "The Development of Moral Judgment in Children," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1950.
43. Duncan MacRae Jr., with the collaboration of Fred H. Goldner, *Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-first Congress* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958), iv.
44. Memo, Assistant Director for Social Sciences [Henry Riecken] to Director Waterman, "Annual Review of the Division of Social Science, FY 1961," 8.
45. Anon, "NSF and Behavioral Science," *American Behavioral Scientist* 7 (Sept. 1963): 70–71, at 70.
46. Pooh-bah quote from Jacob Heilbrun, "Reagan's Athena," book review of Peter Collier, *Political Women: The Big Little Life of Jeane Kirkpatrick*, July 23, 2012, www.theamericanconservative.com, accessed June 7, 2016.
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48. Gunnell, *Descent of Political Theory*, 258.
49. Mann quoted in Binder, "Evron Kirkpatrick."
50. Kirkpatrick, "The Impact of the Behavioral Approach on Traditional Political Science," 3, 14, 25, 29.
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CHAPTER 4: TWO CHALLENGES, TWO VISIONS

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29. Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York: Free Press, 1969), 191, xxix–xxx. Nevertheless, Moynihan still saw a valuable role for social science (p. xxix) "not in the formulation of social policy, but in the measurement of its results." *Public Interest*, a journal founded in the mid-1960s to bring serious analysis to the study of social problems, became a main venue for criticisms of this sort, including from disenchanted liberal scholars and policy intellectuals who were moving rightward and became known as neoconservatives, such as Edward Banfield, Irving Kristol, Nathan Glazer, and Moynihan. In *The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), Banfield charged that Great Society programs and policies informed by social science perspectives had, in fact, made urban problems worse, not better.

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36. Daniel S. Greenberg, “National Research Policy: Ambuscade for the ‘Establishment,’” *Science* 153 (Aug. 5, 1966): 611–615, at 611. Dennis W. Brezina, “Rise and Demise of the Senate Subcommittee on Government Research,” *Federation Proceedings* 29 (1970): 1821–1829.

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38. Fred Harris, “National Foundation for the Social Sciences (S. 836),” *Congressional Record—Senate* 112 (Oct. 11, 1966): 26028–26029, at 26028.

39. S. 836 reprinted in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 1–5. In February 1967, Mondale introduced a separate bill, cosponsored by Harris, to create a Council of Social Advisers that would have been responsible, among other things, for developing an annual social report on the state of the nation and that would have provided the nation with a counterpart to the Council of Economic Advisers. Harris and Mondale considered their two bills to be companion pieces needed to realize the full potential of social science contributions to the national welfare. And Harris’s subcommittee conducted hearings on Mondale’s Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act: U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on Government Research, *Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act*, pt. 1–3, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1968).

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41. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Government Operations, *Establishment of a National Foundation for the Social Sciences*, report to accompany S. 836, 90th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, June 17, 1968), hereafter, *1968 Committee Print*.

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43. S. 836 text in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 2.

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45. *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 5.
46. Rustow in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 346.
47. Harrington in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 646.
48. Dan Geary, *Radical Ambition: C. Wright Mills, the Left, and American Social Thought* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009).
49. *1968 Committee Print*, 4. Problems in international relations associated with greater military support for the social sciences received extensive attention from Harris's subcommittee: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Government Operations, Subcommittee on Government Research, *Federal Support of International Social Science and Behavioral Research, Hearings*, 89th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: GOP, 1966).
50. Harris, "Political Science and the Proposal for a National Social Science Foundation," 1089, 1094, 1093.
51. *1968 Committee Print*, 7, 8.
52. Harris, "Political Science and the Proposal for a National Social Science Foundation," 1094.
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54. *1968 Committee Print*, 7.
55. Eckstein in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 776.
56. *1968 Committee Print*, 7, 8.
57. *1968 Committee Print*, 5, 7.
58. *1968 Committee Print*, 7, 12.
59. I. Bernard Cohen, *Interactions: Some Contacts between the Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), "A Conversation with Harvey Brooks," 153–188, at 179. Lowitt, *Fred Harris*, 44. Rohde, *Armed with Expertise*, 104.
60. Harold Orlans, "Social Science Research Policies in the United States," *Minerva* 9 (1971): 7–31, at 8. Nathan Glazer, "Harold Orlans 1921–2007," *ASA Footnotes* 36 (April 2008), http://www.asanet.org/sites/default/files/savvy/footnotes/apr08/obit_0408.html, accessed June 7, 2016.
61. Daniel P. Moynihan to Senator Harris, Apr. 26, 1967, Folder 1, Box 84, Fred R. Harris Papers, University of Oklahoma Carl Albert Center Archives, Norman, Oklahoma. See Harris's mention of Mead and Schlesinger in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 263, and statements in those hearings by Bohannon 686, Carter 298, Davis 265, Hays 379, Holton 620, Likert 733, Malone 446, McDougal 509, Miller 342, Millikan 606,

Murphy 647, Price 414. Kirkpatrick's strong support noted on p. 490 in Luther J. Carter, "Social Sciences: Where Do They Fit In?" *Science* 154 (Oct. 28, 1966): 488–491.

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63. Kaysen in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 374, 376.

64. Wildavsky in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 285, 288, 290.

65. Orlans, "Social Science Research Policies in the United States," 12.

66. Simon in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 384, 392.

67. Haworth in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 64, 66, 101, 67, 71, 94.

68. Haworth in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 100, 72, 92, 96, 73, 101.

69. Minutes, Advisory Committee for Social Sciences Meeting, Feb. 2, 1967, at 1, Folder Division of Social Sciences 1968, Box 13, Series Haworth Director Files Jan.–Dec. 1969, RG 307.

70. Memorandum to Members of the National Science Board: "The Role of the National Science Foundation in Social Science Research," Jan. 12, 1967, at 6, in Documentary Supplement, Part 1, vol. 2, Box 1, Collection: Administrative History of the National Science Foundation, Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library Archives, Austin, TX.

71. Haworth in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 101.

72. "S. 508—Introduction of Bill—A National Foundation for the Social Sciences," *Congressional Record—Senate*, Jan. 22, 1969, S699–S705.

73. NEH chairman Barnaby C. Keeney to Senator Pell, Dec. 14, 1967, included in *1968 NSF Hearings*, figures on 160.

74. Lowitt, *Fred Harris*, 54, 59, 62.

75. Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 166.

76. Otto N. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), says (p. 77) that "redundancy . . . put a stop to the proposed secession of social science from NSF." Note that this statement is misleading also because it wrongly implies that success of the NSSF bill would have entailed separation of the social sciences from the NSF. More recently, Tiago Mata and Tom Scheiding, "National Science Foundation Patronage of Social Sciences, 1970s and 1980s: Congressional Scrutiny, Advocacy Network, and the Prestige of Economics," *Minerva* 50 (2012): 423–449, say (p. 425) that the NSSF proposal "floundered as redundant."

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CHAPTER 5: LOSING GROUND

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2. John D. Plummer to Mr. President, undated but ca. 1975, Folder: AD/BBS: Social and Behavioral Sciences, General/Miscellaneous Background, Box 14, Series Historian Files, hereafter, NSF HF, NSF Collection Record Group 307, hereafter, RG 307, National Archives—College Park, MD.
3. David L. Sills, “Behavioral Field Widens Horizons,” *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1970.
4. Daniel J. Kevles, “Principles and Politics in Federal R&D Policy, 1945–1990: An Appreciation of the Bush Report,” preface to the 40th anniversary ed. of Vannevar Bush, *Science the Endless Frontier* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1990), ix–xxv, xxiii.
5. Godfrey Hodgson, *The World Turned Right Side Up: A History of the Conservative Ascendancy in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2006 ed.); Justin Vaisse, *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
6. For a contemporary discussion, see Henry J. Aaron, *Politics and the Professors: The Great Society in Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978).
7. Kevles, “Principles and Politics in Federal R&D Policy, 1945–1990,” xxiii.
8. See Toby Appel, *Shaping Biology: The National Science Foundation and American Biological Research, 1945–1975* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 235.
9. On OMB’s power, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, chairman, Advisory Committee for the Social Sciences, “Annual Report, 1971,” Board Books, 144th Meeting, Jan. 20–21, 1972, National Science Board Library, hereafter, NSB Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA, which says (p. 4) that “the OMB is in a position to determine effectively the balance between basic and applied research supported by federal money in various fields and in general the levels and kinds of training and research funds made available to various academic disciplines, to non-profit corporations and to industry.”
10. The only substantial account of the NSF’s involvement with the social sciences during this period comes from Otto N. Larsen’s insider’s history: *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), 91–127, chap. 5, “Relevance, RANN, Reorganization.”
11. Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 252.
12. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 53.

13. The second biologist was Rita Colwell, who began her appointment in 1998 and was the NSF's first female director.

14. See Milton Lomask, *A Minor Miracle: An Informal History of the National Science Foundation* (Washington, D.C.: NSF, 1976), 237–239. Also see Sylvia D. Fries, “The Ideology of Science during the Nixon Years: 1970–76,” *Social Studies of Science* 14 (1984): 323–341; Cyril S. Smith and Otto N. Larsen, “The Criterion of ‘Relevance’ in the Support of Research in the Social Sciences: 1965–1985,” *Minerva* 27 (1989): 461–482.

15. Glenn Bugos and Walter Vincenti, “Alfred John Eggers, Jr., 1922–2006,” in National Academy of Engineering, *Memorial Tributes, vol. 15* (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2011), 60–64.

16. McElroy in NSF, *1971 Annual Report*, 2. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee of Science, Research and Technology, *The Psychological and Social Sciences Research Support Programs of the National Science Foundation: A Background Report*, 95th Cong., 1st Sess. (Aug. 1977), hereafter, *1977 House Background Report*, RANN's objectives on 91–92. On RANN's rise and fall, see Dian Olson Belanger, *Enabling American Innovation: Engineering and the National Science Foundation* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1988), esp. 76–123.

17. *1977 House Background Report*, 92.

18. Figures from Lomask, *A Minor Miracle*, 249.

19. Twenty-five percent noted in Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 97.

20. Figures from Smith and Larsen, “The Criterion of ‘Relevance,’” 465.

21. *1977 House Background Report*, 11.

22. *1977 House Background Report*, 97, 109.

23. NSF, *1976 Annual Report*, 67, 85. On RANN's social science work, see *1977 House Background Report*, esp. 91–142, “Problem-Oriented Applied Social Research in the Program of Research Applied to National Needs,” three programs for productivity on 109.

24. Figures from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 97–98.

25. *1977 House Background Report*, RANN's applied social research accomplishments on 153–157, quotes at 154, 156.

26. NSB Minutes, 146th Meeting, Apr. 20–21, 1972, Appendix F: Highlights 1971 Annual Report, Advisory Committee for Research Application, at 32, NSB Library.

27. Wallace, “Annual Report 1971,” 2.

28. Senator Edward M. Kennedy to Director Guyford Stever, Oct. 22, 1974, Folder Social Sciences, Division of, 1974, Box 8, Series Director Files, Subject Files, 1974 Alpha Files A–G, RG 307, Acc. No. 307-79-010, National Archives, Washington National Record Center, Suitland, MD. When I did my research, this part of the

NSF collection was not yet fully processed. After materials at Suitland are fully processed, they are usually moved to the National Archives in College Park, MD.

29. Criticisms noted in *1977 House Background Report*, 906–910.

30. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 95.

31. Committee on the Social Sciences in the National Science Foundation, *Social and Behavioral Science Program in the National Science Foundation, Final Report*, hereafter, *Simon Report* (Washington, D.C.: NAS, 1976), 64, 7, 8.

32. *Simon Report*, 8.

33. Robert Gillette, “1973 Budget: Administration Bets on Applied Science,” *Science* 175 (Jan. 28, 1972): 389–392, at 392.

34. Figures from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 97. The total of \$2,227 million is an approximation. To simplify, I have assumed that the \$468 million is in 1975 dollars—although this amount was actually distributed over a few years—and then used the CPI inflation calculator, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>, to derive the 2018 equivalent.

35. NSF, *1978 Annual Report*, 97.

36. Richard C. Atkinson, “The Golden Fleece, Science Education, and U.S. Science Policy,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 143 (1999): 407–417, esp. 415.

37. Richard J. Green and Will Lepkowski, “A Forgotten Model for Purposeful Science,” *Issues in Science and Technology* 22 (2006): 69–73. For an earlier assessment, see Samuel J. Raff, “RANN Research at NSF: Some Results of an Evaluation,” *Evaluation Review* 3 (1979): 497–512.

38. See Aaron, *Politics and the Professors*; Charles E. Lindblom and David K. Cohen, *Usable Knowledge: Social Science and Social Problem Solving* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979); Robert F. Rich, *Social Science Information and Public Policy Making* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981).

39. Carol H. Weiss and Michael J. Bucuvalas, *Social Science Research and Decision-Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 25. “Carol (Hirschorn) Weiss,” obituary, *Boston Globe*, Jan. 10, 2013.

40. Carol H. Weiss, “Introduction,” in *Using Social Research in Public Policy Making*, ed. Carol H. Weiss (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1977), 1–22, at 17, 18.

41. Weiss and Bucuvalas, *Social Science Research and Decision-Making*, 270.

42. Weiss, “Introduction,” 9, 10.

43. NAS-NRC Assembly of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Study Project on Social Research and Development, *The Federal Investment in Knowledge of Social Problems*, hereafter, *FIKOSP* (Washington, D.C.: NAS, 1978), xii, 3–4. Related problems concerned the development of research agendas, which (p. 3) seemed to be “largely a reactive process, with few examples of systematic planning,” and poor management

in the federal support system for social knowledge development and application, including (p. 4) a “rapid turnover of leadership.”

44. Aaron, *Politics and the Professors*, 8.

45. *FIKOSP*, 8, 7.

46. Psychobiology grant noted in Appel, *Shaping Biology*, 107.

47. Dollar amounts mentioned in David Johnston, “Senator Proxmire Bars Race in 1988,” *New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1987.

48. Senator William Proxmire, “Foreword: PPB, the Agencies and the Congress,” v–xvii, at vi, in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Subcommittee on Economy in Government, *The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures: The PPB System, a Compendium of Papers* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969). Philip M. Boffey, “Love and Senator Proxmire,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Mar. 24, 1975, 5–6, at 5.

49. Boffey, “Love and Senator Proxmire,” 5.

50. Constance Holden, “Social Science at NSF Needs Pruning, Says Proxmire,” *Science* 185 (Aug. 16, 1974): 597.

51. Proxmire quoted in “Note about Proxmire’s Comments on NSF Projects from 7-1-74,” Folder Social Sciences, Division of, 1974.

52. See discussion of awards in Johnston, “Senator Proxmire Bars Race in 1988.”

53. Noted in Laurence J. Kotlikoff and Scott Burns, *The Coming Generational Storm: What You Need to Know about America’s Economic Future* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 118.

54. Proxmire quoted in Boffey, “Love and Senator Proxmire,” 5.

55. Proxmire quoted in L. Stuart Ditzen, “Why Do Phila. Folk Talk That Way?” *Philadelphia Bulletin*, Mar. 2, 1977.

56. Proxmire press release, Sept. 27, 1979, <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/fullbrowser/collection/proxmire/id/241/rv/compoundobject/cpd/443>, accessed Dec. 21, 2018. Also see the letters by Sherry B. Ortner (pp. 2, 8) and Roy A. Rappaport (pp. 8–9) with a reply by Senator Proxmire (p. 9), published under “Golden Fleece Award Sparks Protests” in *Anthropology Newsletter* 20:10 (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1979). There are slightly different versions of Ortner’s letter and Rappaport’s letter—Ortner archival letter, Rappaport archival letter—and a “Statement by Dr. Sherry B. Ortner re: ‘Golden Fleece Award,’ issued Sept. 27.” These documents are in “Statements on the Golden Fleece Award for October, 1979,” Folder 8219, Box 680, Sub-series 5, Series 3, RG 2, Social Science Research Council Archives, hereafter, SSRC Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY.

57. Proxmire press release, 2.

58. Boffey, “Love and Senator Proxmire,” 5.

59. Ortner archival letter, 2; Ortner letter, 8. On rethinking modernization theory, see Michael E. Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), esp. 157–185, chap. 6, “Modernization under Fire: Alternative Paradigms, Sustainable Development, and the Neoliberal Turn.”
60. “Statement by Dr. Sherry B. Ortner.”
61. Rappaport archival letter.
62. Ortner letter, 2.
63. Rappaport letter, 8.
64. Daniel Schorr, “Cults and Charismatic Leaders Become a National Crisis Subject,” *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), Dec. 7, 1978.
65. Proxmire letter, 9.
66. Donald Lambro, *Fat City: How Washington Wastes Your Taxes* (South Bend, IN: Regnery/Gateway, 1980), xv, xviii.
67. Lambro, *Fat City*, 134–135.
68. Lambro, *Fat City*, chap. 17, 134–143, at 135, 136.
69. Lambro, *Fat City*, 140, 142.
70. Lambro, *Fat City*, 214.
71. Lambro, *Fat City*, 134.
72. Holden, “Social Science at NSF Needs Pruning, Says Proxmire,” 597.
73. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 71.
74. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 71.
75. See Richard W. Burkhardt Jr., *Patterns of Behavior: Konrad Lorenz, Niko Tinbergen, and the Founding of Ethology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Marga Vicedo, *The Nature and Nurture of Love: From Imprinting to Attachment in Cold War America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
76. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 71.
77. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 71.
78. Peter Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 193. Dow worked at the Educational Development Center in Cambridge, MA, first as director of the Elementary Social Studies Program (1966–1967), then as director of the School and Society Programs (1967–1975).
79. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 71.
80. See Susan M. Marshner, *MAN: A Course of Study—Prototype for Federalized Textbooks?* (Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 1975), 2.

81. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 72.
82. NSF, *1970 Annual Report*, 72.
83. Dorothy Nelkin, *Science Textbook Controversies and the Politics of Equal Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 31.
84. Nelkin, *Science Textbook Controversies*, 35, 34, 41. To derive the 2018 equivalent, I put \$7.3 million in 1972 dollars into the CPI calculator, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>, although that amount was actually distributed over many years.
85. See Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 185 ff. For a recent account of the MACOS controversy by a historian of science, see Jamie Cohen-Cole, *The Open Mind: Cold War Politics and the Sciences of Human Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 217–252, chap. 8, “A Fractured Politics of Human Nature.”
86. Marshner, *MAN*, 10, 24, 26.
87. Marshner, *MAN*, 20, 43, 41, 20.
88. Marshner, *MAN*, 42.
89. Conlan quoted in Deborah Shapley, “Congress: House Votes Veto Power on All NSF Research Grants,” *Science* 188 (Apr. 25, 1975): 338–341, at 341, 338.
90. Advertisement in *Washington Post*, Apr. 5, 1975.
91. Shapley, “Congress,” 341.
92. Shapley, “Congress,” 338–339, 341.
93. Harvey Brooks, “Knowledge and Action: The Dilemma of Science Policy in the ‘70’s,” *Daedalus* 102 (Spring 1973): 125–143, at 126.
94. Shapley, “Congress,” 338–339.
95. Roth’s proposal discussed in *1977 House Background Report*, Appendix III, 895.
96. Bills from Conlan and Helms noted in Nelkin, *Creationist Controversy*, 133–134.
97. Conlan quoted in John Walsh, “NSF Peer Review Hearings: House Panel Starts with Critics,” *Science* 189 (Aug. 8, 1975): 435–437, at 435.
98. NSB Minutes, 174th Meeting, June 18–20, 1975, Appendix B: Policy Statement on Implementation of Science Curricula by the National Science Foundation Adopted by the National Science Board at Its 174th Meeting on June 20, 1975, and Appendix C: Policy Statement on Pluralism in Education Adopted by the National Science Board at Its 174th Meeting on June 20, 1975, NSB Library.
99. A 70 percent decline noted (p. 108) in Dorothy Nelkin, *Science Textbook Controversies and the Politics of Equal Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978).
100. For a contemporary perspective, see Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 185–205.
101. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, *Secondary Math and Science Education*,

Hearings (Washington, D.C.: GPO, May 7, 1982), percentages from graph in testimony by Sarah E. Klein, p. 125.

102. Charles L. Heatherly, ed., *Mandate for Leadership: Policy Management in a Conservative Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Heritage Foundation, 1981), 239.

103. See Montgomery, *Minds for the Making*, 248–260.

104. Averch quoted in Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 229.

CHAPTER 6: MOMENTUM LOST

1. Richard C. Atkinson, “Federal Support in the Social Sciences,” *Science* 207 (Feb. 22, 1980), 829, at 829.

2. Percentages from Table 1: “Total Federal Obligations for Basic Research in Universities in the Social Sciences with Percent Distribution by Agency (FY 77–80)—\$ in M,” Folder BBS-Biological & Social Sciences, 1979, Box 3, NSF Collection Record Group 307, hereafter, RG 307, Acc. No. 307-87-223, National Archives, Washington National Record Center, Suitland, MD. When I did my research, this part of the NSF collection was not yet fully processed. After materials at Suitland are fully processed, they are usually moved to the National Archives in College Park, MD.

3. Percentages from Table 2: “Total Federal Obligations for Basic Research in the Social Sciences with Percent Distribution by Agency (FY 77–80)—\$ in M,” Folder BBS-Biological & Social Sciences, 1979.

4. H. Guyford Stever, *In War and Peace: My Life in Science and Technology* (Washington, D.C.: Joseph Henry Press, 2002), 238.

5. Patricia A. Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President: Richard Atkinson and the University of California, 1995–2003* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 23–28 cover his NSF years.

6. “National Science Foundation Nomination of Richard C. Atkinson to be Director,” April 21, 1977, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid+7374>, accessed May 17, 2016. Also see Richard C. Atkinson Oral History Transcript, interviewed by Marc Rothenberg, Sept. 18, 2007, 1–3, NSF Oral Histories, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.

7. Constance Holden, “NSF Gains Social Sciences Champion,” *Science* 189 (Aug. 8, 1975): 436.

8. Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 15–17. His curriculum vita, <http://www.rca.ucsd.edu/docs/RCAVita.pdf>, accessed Dec. 18, 2018.

9. Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 17–19. Hunter Crowther-Heyck, “George A. Miller, Language, and Computer Metaphor of Mind,” *History of Psychology* 2 (1999): 37–64.

10. Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 19–20. On Stanford, see Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

11. R. C. Atkinson and R. M. Shiffrin, “Human Memory: A Proposed System and Its Control Processes,” in *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation: Advances in Research and Theory*, Vol. 2, ed. K. W. Spence and J. T. Spence (New York: Academic Press, 1968), 89–195. Theory in “In Honor of ... Richard Atkinson,” https://fabbs.org/our_scientists/richard-atkinson-phd/, accessed May 24, 2016.

12. See Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 21–23; Chizuko Izawa, ed., *On Human Memory: Evolution, Progress, and Reflections on the 30th Anniversary of the Atkinson-Shiffrin Model* (Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999).

13. Ezra Bowen, “‘Hello, Jimmie,’ said the Machine, ‘I’ve Been Waiting for You,’” *Life*, Jan. 27, 1967, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 81; Richard C. Atkinson and Harlaelee A. Wilson, “Computer-Assisted Instruction,” *Science* 162 (Oct. 4, 1968): 73–77.

14. See Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 21.

15. Richard C. Atkinson, *Human Memory and the Learning Process: Selected Papers of Richard C. Atkinson*, ed. by Y. Zabrodin and B. F. Lomov, trans. into Russian (Moscow: Progress Publishing House, 1980), quotes from Atkinson’s preface.

16. Atkinson Oral History Transcript, 3. On the various critiques of scientific psychology, see Thomas Teo, *The Critique of Psychology: From Kant to Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Springer, 2005).

17. Stephen Cole, Leonard Rubin, Jonathan R. Cole, Committee on Science and Public Policy, National Academy of Sciences, *Peer Review in the National Science Foundation: Phase One of a Study* (Washington, D.C.: NAS, 1978).

18. See Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 26–27.

19. Pelfrey, *Entrepreneurial President*, 27, 103.

20. Richard C. Atkinson, “The Golden Fleece, Science Education, and U.S. Science Policy,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 143 (Sept. 1999): 407–417, Rabi’s visit on 415.

21. R. C. Atkinson, “Federal Support for Psychology and the Social Sciences: A Look Ahead,” at 1, Folder: Remarks by Richard C. Atkinson, 1975–85, Box 46, Series: NSF Historian Files, hereafter, NSF HF, RG 307, National Archives–College Park, MD.

22. Atkinson, “Federal Support for Psychology and the Social Sciences,” at 5.

23. Atkinson, “The Golden Fleece,” 410.

24. Atkinson, “The Golden Fleece,” 410.

25. Richard C. Atkinson, “Psychology and the Golden Fleece,” transcript of invited address at Sixth National Institute on Teaching Psychology to Undergraduates, Jan. 4–7, 1984, at 5, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED242624.pdf>, accessed Dec. 13, 2018.

26. Atkinson, "The Golden Fleece," 416. Pelfrey says much the same: *Entrepreneurial President*, 191, fn. 19.
27. List of awards: <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/tp/id/70852>, accessed Dec. 20, 2018.
28. Atkinson, "The Golden Fleece," 412.
29. Atkinson, "The Golden Fleece," 412.
30. Atkinson, "The Golden Fleece," 413.
31. Atkinson, "The Golden Fleece," 413–414.
32. Peter Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 236.
33. Richard C. Atkinson, "Remarks," Temple University, Philadelphia, Oct. 30, 1975, at 6, Folder Remarks by Richard C. Atkinson, 1975–85, Box 46, NSF HF.
34. Atkinson, "Federal Support," 7.
35. Atkinson Oral History Transcript, 17.
36. On the 1975 reorganization, see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, *The National Science Board: Science Policy and Management for the National Science Foundation, 1968–1980*, hereafter, *NSB History 1968–1980*, 98th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1983), 646.
37. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee of Science, Research and Technology, *The Psychological and Social Sciences Research Support Programs of the National Science Foundation, A Background Report*, hereafter, *1977 House Background Report*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, Aug. 1977), 900.
38. Atkinson, "Federal Support," 9.
39. White House Press Release, July 2, 1976, www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0248/whpr19760702-011.pdf, accessed Dec. 13, 2018.
40. On Rabin, see Jeffrey Mervis, "Graham's Appointees Mirror His Credentials," *The Scientist*, June 29, 1987, www.the-scientist.com/news/grahams-appointees-mirror-his-credentials-63686, accessed Apr. 27, 2017.
41. Otto N. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), 126 fn. 34, 102, also see 112–113.
42. The historian Donald McGraw provides extensive analysis of the NSF's involvement with the biological sciences, including certain areas of the social and behavioral sciences, in *Millennial Biology: The National Science Foundation and American Biology, 1975–2005* (NY: Springer, forthcoming 2020).
43. Atkinson quoted in *Director's Program Review: Behavioral and Neural Sciences, Background Paper*, NSF Board Books, 249th Meeting, Nov. 17–18, 1983, Tab B, at 1,

National Science Board Library, hereafter, NSB Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.

44. Figures from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 106.

45. Figures from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 106.

46. Figures from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 106.

47. Figures and percentages from Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 106.

48. NSF, *1979 Annual Report*, 63.

49. Atkinson made the request noted in NSB Minutes, 184th meeting, Sept. 16–17, 1976, Appendix A, “Highlights of NSB Review of NSF Social Science Programs,” p. 27, NSB Library.

50. Atkinson, “Federal Support,” 9.

51. On NAS’s involvement with the social and psychological sciences up through the early 1960s, see Rexmond C. Cochrane, *The National Academy of Sciences: The First Hundred Years, 1863–1963* (Washington, D.C.: NAS, 1978). For information about membership expansion and associated controversy during the 1960s and early 1970s, see Division of Behavioral Sciences, NRC-NAS, May 1972, Folder Behavioral Sciences: Proposed, Meetings: Annual, 1972, Central File Policy Files 1966–1972, National Academy of Sciences Archives, hereafter, NAS Archives, Washington, D.C. Also see I. Bernard Cohen, *Interactions: Some Contacts between the Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), “A Conversation with Harvey Brooks,” 153–188, esp. 167–177.

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53. Members listed in Memorandum, Henry David, Executive Director, ABSS to Philip Handler, NAS President, June 12, 1973, Folder Assem Behavioral & Social Sciences, Membership, 1973, Central File Policy Files, 1966–1972, NAS Archives. The 1973 reorganization also created assemblies for the physical sciences, life sciences, and engineering sciences.

54. Constance Holden, “ABASS: Social Sciences Carving a Niche at the Academy,” *Science* 199 (Mar. 17, 1978): 1183–1187, board supervision on 1185.

55. Herbert A. Simon, “Biographical,” from *Nobel Lectures, Economics 1969–1980*, ed. Assar Lindbeck (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 1992), <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/economic-sciences/1978/simon/auto-biography/>, accessed May 24, 2016.

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57. Herbert A. Simon, *Models of My Life* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 292.

58. Simon in *1967 NSSF Hearings*, 394. For a full citation, see p. 341, n. 1.

59. Memorandum, Herbert A. Simon, Chairman Division of Behavioral Sciences, to Committee on the Review of NRC, Jan. 21, 1970, at 3, 2, Folder Behavioral Sciences, General 1970, Central File Policy Files 1966–1972, NAS Archives.
60. *Simon Report*, 5. For a full citation, see p. 349, n. 31.
61. *Simon Report*, 28.
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63. *Simon Report*, 17.
64. Simon quoted in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, *1977 National Science Foundation Authorization Hearings*, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), 793.
65. See John D. Marks, *The Search for the “Manchurian Candidate”: The CIA and Mind Control* (New York: Times Books, 1979).
66. Simon in *1977 NSF Authorization Hearings*, 796, 801.
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69. Dian O. Belanger, *Enabling American Innovation: Engineering and the National Science Foundation* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1997), 118.
70. *1977 NSF Authorization Hearings*, Attachment E, “The Social Sciences as a Research Area in the National Interest,” 511, 814.
71. NSF, *1979 Annual Report*, viii, 63.
72. P.M., “A Boost for Social Science in New Budget,” *Science & Government Report*, March 1, 1978, 3–4, Carter administration on 3.
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74. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 106.
75. David Johnson, “Next to Nothingness and Being at the National Science Foundation: Part II,” *Psychological Science* 3 (1992): 261–264, program changes on 263.
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- information, see Burns, “The Michigan, Then National, Then American National Election Studies,” funding sources on 9, importance for political science on 10–11.
79. Memorandum, Director Knapp to NSB Members, Oct. 19, 1983, 83-332-3.
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82. NSB 81–476, *Status of Science Reviews*, Nov. 1981, funding of all eleven facilities on 54, NSB Library.
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84. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Toward a Social Report* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969).
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89. *1977 House Background Report*, 152.
90. Aborn, “The Short and Happy Life,” 33.
91. Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Robert Parke, “Social Indicators,” *Science* 188 (May 16, 1975): 693–698, at 698.
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93. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 108.
94. Aborn, “The Short and Happy Life,” 34.
95. NSB, *Status of Science Reviews, 1980* (NSB 79–370), Nov. 1979, at 144, NSF Library.

96. Atkinson quoted in P.M., "A Boost for Social Science in New Budget," 3.
97. Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 104.
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100. For NSB membership up through Feb. 1981, see *NSB History 1968–1980*, 653–656.
101. David C. Leege, "Is Political Science Alive and Well and Living at NSF? Reflections of a Program Director at Midstream," *PS* 9 (1976): 8–17, at 12, 13.
102. Leege, "Is Political Science Alive and Well and Living at NSF?" 13, 14.
103. Herbert Costner to Otto Larsen, May 30, 1978, quoted in Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 126–127, fn. 43.
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106. Ashbrook quoted in *Toward the Endless Frontier*, 546.
107. John M. Ashbrook, "A Critique of NSF," *Society* 17 (Sept./Oct., 1980): 12–14, at 13, 14.
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111. Discussion with Atkinson noted in Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 120.
112. Donald N. Langenberg, Acting Director, Memorandum for Members of the National Science Board, Aug. 12, 1980 (NSB-80–325), at 14, NSB Library.
113. Langenberg quoted in NSB Minutes, 219th Meeting, at 14.
114. Slaughter's comments in NSB Minutes, 221st Meeting, Nov. 20–21, 1980, at 9, NSB Library.
115. Slaughter's comments in NSB Minutes, 221st Meeting, at 9. NSB Minutes, 220th Meeting, Oct. 16–17, 1980, at 26, 29, NSB Library. Also, see documents in Folder: Letters Pertaining to the Reorganization of the Biological, Behavioral, and Social Sciences Directorate, 1980–81, Box 16 Directorate of the Biological,

Behavioral and Social Sciences, General 1976–92 to Div. of Social and Economic Sciences 1974–81, Series Director Subject Files 1964–83, RG 307. For further discussion, see Larsen, *Milestones and Millstones*, 131–140.

116. Atkinson in “The Golden Fleece” claimed (p. 416) “sole credit” for establishing this award.

117. Vannevar Bush Award, May 21, 2003, Richard C. Atkinson, Citation, http://www.rca.ucsd.edu/speeches/Vannevar_Bush_Award_Citation_052103.pdf, accessed Oct. 27, 2018.

118. Atkinson, “The Golden Fleece,” 415.

119. Atkinson Oral History Transcript, 26.

CHAPTER 7: DARK DAYS

1. Roger Witherspoon, “The Ax Falls Hard on Social Research,” *Atlanta Constitution*, July 9, 1981.

2. Philip J. Hilts, “White House Uses Social Sciences, but Cuts Funding for Research,” *Washington Post*, June 29, 1981.

3. Hilts, “White House Uses Social Sciences.”

4. Roger E. Backhouse and Philippe Fontaine, “Toward a History of the Social Sciences,” in *The History of the Social Sciences since 1945*, ed. Roger E. Backhouse and Philippe Fontaine (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 184–223, at 197.

5. Charles A. Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Allan Bloom, *Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today’s Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

6. “Editor’s Note,” *Social Research* 35 (1968). To help rectify the imbalance, the same issue included a focus section on “Conservative Approaches in the Human Sciences.”

7. George Gilder, *Wealth and Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

8. David Dickson, *New Politics of Science* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 3, 8. Also see John A. Remington, “Beyond Big Science in America: The Binding of Inquiry,” *Social Studies of Science* 18 (1988): 45–72; Chris Mooney, *The Republican War on Science* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), esp. chap. 4; Genevieve J. Knezo, CRS Issue Brief, “Science and Technology Policy and Funding: Reagan Administration,” updated Oct. 28, 1988, NSF Library, NSF headquarters, Alexandria, VA.

9. Dickson, *New Politics of Science*, 18, 13, 50. To see how these developments shaped studies on the causes and consequences of poverty and influenced antipov-erty measures, see Alice O’Connor, “Dependency, the ‘Underclass,’ and the New

Welfare ‘Consensus’: Poverty Knowledge for a Post-Liberal, Postindustrial Era,” in her book *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 242–283.

10. U.S. historians, historians of science, and historians of the social sciences have devoted little attention to NSF social science policies and programs in the 1980s. The best starting place remains the sociologist Otto N. Larsen’s account: *Milestones and Millstones: Social Science at the National Science Foundation, 1945–1991* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992), chap. 6, “The 1980s: Threat, Unity, Promise,” 129–226. Larsen offers many insights based on his experiences as an insider at the agency during this period. He also provides extensive excerpts from published and unpublished primary sources.

11. U.S. President, *America’s New Beginning, A Program for Economic Recovery* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 1981), 4, 2.

12. Figures on proposed cuts from p. 573 of U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, *1982 National Science Foundation Authorization Hearings*, hereafter, *1982 NSF Authorization Hearings*, 97th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1981). I have rounded all figures to the nearest \$100,000.

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CHAPTER 9: ALTERNATIVE VISIONS

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