

THE POLICY SCIENCES CENTER, INC.

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September 4, 2011

Dr. Kenneth Prewitt - President
Consortium of Social Science Associations
1701 K St., NW - Suite 1150
Washington, D.C. 20006

&

Dr. Nina Fedoroff - President
American Association for the Advancement of Science
1200 New York Ave., NW
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Dear Dr. Prewitt and Dr. Fedoroff:

I recommend that COSSA and AAAS move quickly to build upon the InterSociety Letter (and the strong support shown in Congressional testimony, discussed in Dr. Prewitt's invited editorial in Science (August 5, 2011), "Social Science, Spared Again") and secure agreement for a **Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom**. I enclose a draft for your consideration. Scientists have a unique opportunity, now with a Democratic President and the Democratic control of the Senate, to secure these Rights for all scientists.

A Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom will protect the rights of individual scientists. It will provide guidance, protection, and strengthen the political backbone of public officials, civil servants, and advisory panel members. Without this legal countermove, we can expect that Republican ideologues and lobbyists will continue to exploit the vulnerabilities that they have found.

The draft **Bill of Rights** focuses on the transgressions and breakdowns at the National Science Foundation/National Science Board system. The 140+ members of the coalition that supported the principles in the InterSociety Letter may find it reasonable to broaden the **Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom** and enforcement mechanisms to include all federal granting agencies. As a first step, the **Bill of Rights** can be supported across the scientific community and a Presidential directive can make it binding across most agencies.

The Policy Sciences Center Inc. is a public foundation.

The Center was founded in 1948 by Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and George Dession. It may be contacted c/o Prof. Michael Reisman, Chair, 127 Wall St., Room 322, P. O. Box 208215, New Haven, CT 06520-8215. (203)-432-1993.

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A National Backlog for Learning

I honor the recent (survival) accomplishment by Dr. Prewitt and others (“ . . . Spared Again.”) However, this accomplishment is not good enough.

The “Republican Narrative” of Presidential candidate Rick Perry, discussed in the attached column by David Brooks, illustrates the national learning backlog. For the past three decades we could have had an exciting national rapid learning mechanism, on the model of the Michelson-Morley experiment in physics, to test these simple, repeating (and sometimes loud, and in some respects honest) truth claims. We might have learned something.¹ It is absurd, and a national embarrassment, that Presidential candidates can espouse (and reputable New York Times columnists can discuss) these causal theories while an accommodating National Science Foundation neutralizes our nation’s universities, and blockades their independent role as honest scientific brokers and engines for fresh evidence, thinking, and rapid learning,

Principles of Democracy

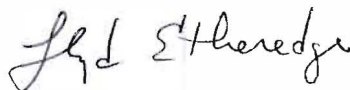
Political scientists have a professional appreciation of the many competitive, hardball (and sometimes clever) tactics, accommodations, banal behavior, and alibis that have been involved in restricting the civic relevance of university-based science since the early Reagan years. Political scientists also have a professional appreciation of the centuries of battles, blood, vigilance, and hard work since Runnymede that were intended to prevent small groups of ambitious power-wielders in Washington, acting behind closed doors, from making secret decisions - falsely portrayed as judgments of scientific merit - to neutralize our national university system and kill lines of important investigation.

Republicans are entitled to fairness and scientific integrity in testing their Narrative, its diagnoses, and its remedies. However creating a Right-Wing Attack Machine, pressuring bureaucrats and the national Science Establishment, threatening the national science budget, and appointing compliant or timid public officials and members of advisory panels at NSF and to the National Science Board are not legitimate tactics in this area. If they wish to restrict scientific freedom in the use of public funds, they must do so by open political combat, achieving public votes and formal legal agreement by both Houses of Congress, a President, and the courts. Assuredly, in their political combat, they must convince many members of the electorate and leaders of national institutions who have attended college, and who believe in evidence-based and reality-connected public policy. They are less likely to attempt this legitimate route if a new, detailed **Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom**, and enforcement mechanisms are agreed upon by thoughtful people of integrity and strengthen the defending walls.²

Unless AAAS, COSSA, and other leaders in our national Science Establishment take further, bold steps, the accommodationist future that we face for the next thirty years will have about the same

political and civic learning rate as we have seen in recent decades. We can do much better.

Yours truly,



Dr. Lloyd S. Etheredge

Attachments: Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom (draft), September 2011

David Brooks, "The Vigorous Virtues," The New York Times. September 1, 2011

1. It is unlikely that all of the truths about social, economic, and international policy, human nature, and human potential lie at one point along the current Left-Right dimension in American domestic politics. There are plausible and testable social science theories to suggest they do not lie along this dimension at all, although there can be elements of truth and insight in many strongly held current views.

Also: there are deep and shared concerns across the political spectrum - for example, an America with strong, healthy, and responsible individuals - where neuroscience paradigms offer the possibility of better empathy and new and faster solutions to societal problems.

2. A legal framework - i.e., the **Bill of Rights** - is wiser and preferable to the national "solution" of the past thirty years. Our national scientific Establishment does not hold legal office with top-down authority and the heady tradition of the past thirty years, with behind-closed-door Washington strategizing and political accommodations, gives the appearance of crossing many legal and ethical lines. For example, of conspiring against the due process rights (and damaging the careers) of individual scientists who have applied, across the past three decades, to further the Donald Campbell/learning tradition of testing ideological assumptions, or who have applied to do research that, to Republicans, would be socially disruptive or politically challenging, or investigate social pathologies (like racism) that Republicans firmly wished to remain invisible.

Similarly the compliant *en masse* restructuring of the SBE sciences via the National Academy of Sciences and the Luce Commission probably involved economic and scientific fraud; the same conspiracy against the civil and due process rights of activist- and reform-oriented scientists (including, probably, the entire UC Berkeley social science faculty); and cavalier violations of the racketeering statutes by Luce et al., who the National Academy of Sciences (Press, and later Alberts) allowed to use federal funds and to serve as judges while dishonestly manipulating the ranking process to achieve ten-year "leading edge" designation and competitive advantages for themselves, their ideas, and their friends. [Notably, the off-the-record meeting of David Hamburg's Carnegie Commission twenty years ago bluntly warned the power- and Washington-oriented members of our scientific Establishment not to do this - and that integrity, honesty, and political courage would be the wiser policy.] There may be stark lessons ahead, and an abundance of legal (and peer) sanctions that will be imposed for what already has occurred.

A Bill of Rights for Scientific Freedom (Draft)

by
Lloyd S. Etheredge ¹

Preamble

- Awards of public funds for research by the National Science Foundation must be made on the basis of scientific merit as determined by a peer-review process. Neither the National Science Foundation, the National Science Board, nor any of their officials and employees, advisory bodies, or peer-review panels will make any adverse recommendation concerning budget and funding priorities for programs and infrastructure initiatives, nor concerning individual grant applications, based on any other criteria, except as specified below.

- The purpose of this Bill of Rights is to confer and guarantee the rights of scientists. It also is intended to establish guidance and protections and strengthen political backbones of National Science Foundation and National Science Board officials and public employees, reviewers, and advisers; and to establish reliable enforcement mechanisms.

Scientific Rights

A.) Any truth claim made by any public official, or candidate for public office, or expressed in the news or opinion columns of national newspapers or other national media, shall be deemed legitimate for scientific investigation using public funds.

B.) Any social fact, condition, or pathology (or alleged pathology) and any cause that is claimed in public discourse or ideological statements, the news media, and/or standard textbooks or in peer-reviewed scientific journals shall be deemed legitimate for scientific investigation using public funds.

C.) Any truth claims or viewpoints that are acceptable for public funding by any other government agency (e.g., the National Endowment for the Humanities) shall be acceptable for scientific investigation using public funds.

D.) No adverse decision or recommendation by the National Science Foundation, National Science Board, or any of its officials, employees, reviewers, or advisers may be based on beliefs or claims, even if justified, that a line of research is (or might be) controversial, socially disruptive, or politically challenging or arouse criticism from any member of Congress or Committee. [This prohibition extends to all other political or sociological arguments and justifications for suppression, even if they might appear as valid - e.g., that “The American people are not ready for evidence--based public policy” or that any publicly funded research reflects a hateful “Nanny State,” or that a public mood does not favor a specific, unsettling line of investigation; or a preference that

government-funded research must be “neutral” in its impact on partisan truth claims or public debates.]

E.) All recommendations for program initiatives, infrastructure investments, and grant applications shall receive a fair and honest evaluation of scientific merit by a peer-review process. The National Science Foundation, National Science Board, and advisory panels may not engage in prior screening or restrictive program definitions that deny unwanted, politically challenging, heterodox, or uncomfortable research ideas the right to evaluation based on scientific merit.

F.) Nothing in this Bill of Rights shall restrict the legitimate power of the federal government to determine the spending of public monies. However, these restrictions on scientific freedom must be enacted into law by a legal and democratic due process that secures agreement from both Houses of Congress, is signed by a President, and upheld by the courts. Restrictions may not be imposed by pressure or threat, nor by appointments of compliant officials or advisers, nor by other means. All of the legal and non-scientific criteria allowed to affect program-level, budget, and individual grant decisions must be reported publicly, fully, promptly, and in writing to all of the parties who are known to be affected.

Enforcement and Appeals

A.) All participants in advising, reviewing, influencing, or deciding budget and program initiatives and the award of individual grants at the National Science Foundation and the National Science Board must sign a legally binding oath to enforce and abide by this Bill of Rights fully and in good faith.

B.) [X - to be determined] shall establish, in consultation with professional and scientific societies, a public Scientific Integrity Board with assigned legal counsel, and procedures by which any adverse decision resulting in scientific suppression or alleged scientific suppression in violation of this Bill of Rights may be appealed.

Appeals may be filed concerning *de facto* decisions - for example, budget and program decisions which kill infrastructure investments or lines of investigation by omission or when formal votes do not occur. And when proposals are removed from agendas or circulation for formal review.

Appeals may be filed by individuals, recognized scientific and professional organizations and/or universities (individually or as a class action).

The Scientific Integrity Board shall operate with public hearings and due process, including the right to be represented by counsel. It shall have the power to compel all government officials,

employees and advisers to testify in public and under an oath. An appeal to the Board shall grant full rights of discovery and disclosure of all internal administrative documents and communications of the National Science Foundation, the National Science Board, its staff, and its advisory committee members, consultants, and reviewers bearing upon the decisions. No claims of privacy or administrative secrecy or confidentiality shall be acceptable.

There shall be appropriate penalties for any public officials or advisers who violate this Bill of Rights, or who induce or condone a violation by others.

September, 2011

1. Draft by Lloyd S. Etheredge, Director - Government Learning Project at the Policy Sciences Center, Inc., a public foundation. Email: lloyd.etheredge@policyscience.net. URL: www.policyscience.net; (301)-365-5241 (v). This draft is a working document prepared for discussion.

The New York Times. September 1, 2011

The Vigorous Virtues

By DAVID BROOKS

There's a specter haunting American politics: national decline. Is America on the way down, and, if so, what can be done about it?

The Republicans, and Rick Perry in particular, have a reasonably strong story to tell about decline. America became great, they explain, because its citizens possessed certain vigorous virtues: self-reliance, personal responsibility, industriousness and a passion for freedom.

But, over the years, government has grown and undermined these virtues. Wall Street financiers no longer have to behave prudently because they know government will bail them out. Middle-class families no longer have to practice thrift because they know they can use government to force future generations to pay for their retirements. Dads no longer have to marry the women they impregnate because government will step in and provide support.

Moreover, a growing government sucked resources away from the most productive parts of the economy — innovators, entrepreneurs and workers — and redirected it to the most politically connected parts. The byzantine tax code and regulatory state has clogged the arteries of American dynamism.

The current task, therefore, is, as Rick Perry says, to make the government “inconsequential” in people's lives — to pare back the state to revive personal responsibility and private initiative. There's much truth to this narrative. Stable societies are breeding grounds for interest groups. Over time, these interest groups use government to establish sinecures for themselves, which gradually strangle the economy they are built on — like parasitic vines around a tree.

Yet as great as the need is to streamline, reform and prune the state, that will not be enough to restore America's vigorous virtues. This is where current Republican orthodoxy is necessary but

insufficient. There are certain tasks ahead that cannot be addressed simply by getting government out of the way.

In the first place, there is the need to rebuild America's human capital. The United States became the wealthiest nation on earth primarily because Americans were the best educated. That advantage has entirely eroded over the past 30 years. It will take an active government to reverse this stagnation — from prenatal and early childhood education straight up through adult technical training and investments in scientific and other research. If government is “inconsequential” in this sphere, then continued American decline is inevitable.

Then there are the long-term structural problems plaguing the economy. There's strong evidence to suggest that the rate of technological innovation has been slowing down. In addition, America is producing fewer business start-ups. Job creation was dismal even in the seven years before the recession, when taxes were low and Republicans ran the regulatory agencies. As economist Michael Spence has argued, nearly all of the job growth over the past 20 years has been in sectors where American workers don't have to compete with workers overseas.

Meanwhile, middle-class wages have been stagnant for a generation. Inequality is rising, and society is stratifying. Americans are less likely to move in search of opportunity. Social mobility has been flat for decades, and American social mobility is no better than European social mobility.

Some of these problems are exacerbated by government regulations and could be eased if government pulled back. But most of them have nothing to do with government and are related to globalization, an aging society, cultural trends and the nature of technological change.

Republicans have done almost nothing to grapple with and address these deeper structural problems. Tackling them means shifting America's economic model — tilting the playing field away from consumption toward production; away from entitlement spending and more toward investment in infrastructure, skills and technology; mitigating those forces that concentrate wealth and nurturing instead a broad-based opportunity society.

These shifts cannot be done by government alone, but they can't be done without leadership from government. Just as the Washington and Lincoln administrations actively nurtured an industrial economy, so some future American administration will have to nurture a globalized producer society. Just as F.D.R. created a welfare model for the 20th century, some future administration will have to actively champion a sustainable welfare model for this one.

Finally, there is the problem of the social fabric. Segmented societies do not thrive, nor do ones, like ours, with diminishing social trust. Nanny-state government may have helped undermine personal responsibility and the social fabric, but that doesn't mean the older habits and arrangements will magically regrow simply by reducing government's role. For example, there has been a tragic rise in single parenthood, across all ethnic groups, but family structures won't spontaneously regenerate without some serious activism, from both religious and community groups and government agencies.

In short, the current Republican policy of negativism — cut, cut cut — is not enough. To restore the vigorous virtues, the nanny state will have to be cut back, but the instigator state will have to be built up. That's the only way to ward off national decline.