



NAS

The Science Board's Handler: "A total Federal plan."

## Marshalling support for the grad school

Administration and Congressional ideas are coming together in what may emerge as a whole new Federal grant effort

Since the early days of the Kennedy Administration, Federal support of research in universities has appeared to be the tail wagging the dog.

Project grants from Federal agencies for work the Government thought important created campus research empires, financially independent of university and departmental administrators. The fear was that they were distorting the nature of graduate education in the name of science.

In an effort to redress the balance, by the middle 1960's small programs of institutional grants and what were called centers of excellence grants were being made, and Federal payments of university overhead costs were being adjusted. Nevertheless, by 1966, some \$1.2 billion of the \$1.67 billion being spent on graduate education was still being identified as research and allocated through the research project grants to individuals.

And of that \$1.2 billion ostensibly earmarked for research, less than \$500 million was actually being spent in direct support of research. The rest was an amalgam of expenses universities legitimately undertook, not only to support the research establishments being built, but to insure that gradu-

ate education was not to be buried in the research effort. And grantees, not universities, controlled the bulk of the funds.

Not only was imbalance within universities feared; imbalance between universities was a fact. A score of key science-oriented universities were walking off with more than 80 percent of the Federal dollars.

That could be simply adjusted: Research funds could be distributed on a geographic basis. But, as Representative George H. Mahon (D-Tex.), now chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations and long-time chairman of its defense subcommittee, put it, the Defense Department, spender of the lion's share, is in the research-buying business and is not a WPA for universities.

Despite opposition, in the last Congress, Representative George P. Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, addressed himself to the geographic inequities. His bill, which attracted widespread support in Congress and less enthusiastic support from among scientists concerned about possible dilution of quality research, was modified after hearings last year (SN: 6/22, p. 591).

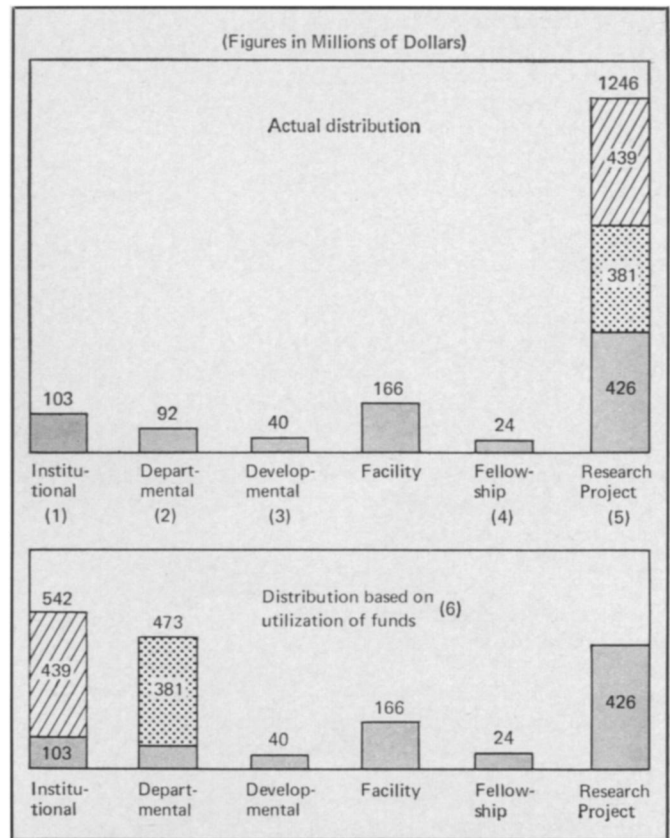
Last week it was again making its way through the legislative process.

The bill would distribute funds by a complicated formula incorporating proportions of graduate and undergraduate students, designed to feed less fortunate institutions, in more states.

Miller proposes that \$400 million in new money go to colleges and universities, on a no-strings-attached basis, "to provide, as a supplement to other forms of support, an element of stable, long-range funding for research and instructional programs in the sciences to the institutions of higher education in such a fashion as to preserve their independence, integrity and freedom of inquiry."

Ironically, if the Miller bill is not enacted this year it will be because the concern of scientists and university administrators for the imbalances within universities is beginning to bear fruit. A number of proposals are being made, and additional time may well be required to strike a new amalgam of the Miller approach and the several others.

President Nixon, for instance, has expressed concern for the fact that in the next decade graduate enrollments in the United States are likely to double—to 1.3 million students—and that the



National Science Board

Proposal for grad school support: shifting the labels.

present \$5 billion total costs are expected to quadruple. Presidential science adviser Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, even more directly than any of his predecessors, has been given responsibility for advising the President on matters of higher education broadly. And through Dr. DuBridge and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert H. Finch, President Nixon has ordered a complete review of Federal education programs, including support for higher education.

A recent Carnegie Institution report recommends graduate education support for needy students as the basis for a supplement to be paid directly to graduate institutions. In the wake of the report, the National Science Board, governing body for NSF, has outlined another new approach, a version of which is likely to emerge as new policy.

**The approach**, says National Science Board Chairman Philip Handler, "is basically a redistribution of what is already being done." But it lays a base of institutional funding applicable to the arts and social sciences as well as the physical sciences and, the NSB suggests, should become a national program. It will basically give money directly to graduate institutions, rather than tie it artificially to specific projects.

Overall costs have not been assigned to the Science Board proposals. If no new institutions and programs are added, it would simply redistribute some existing funds within universities, and accurately identify some other funds.

The \$1.25 billion identified as research money in the base year 1966, for instance, actually represented only \$426 million spent on research. The remaining \$820 million went into institutional and departmental support.

The NSB, to provide a more realistic base for long-range planning, would allot the same \$426 million for project grants, and distribute the rest as \$439 million for faculty salaries and \$381 million for departmental and institutional grants, on the grounds that this is how the money is being spent anyway.

**While the** National Science Board makes no specific proposals for increasing the amount of graduate school money, which has held fairly steady since 1966, implicit in the reapportionment proposal is a base for broader support of graduate education.

In testimony before the Miller committee on the chairman's geographic distribution bill last week, NSB Chairman Handler called for enactment of the bill, but "in the context of a considered, agreed-upon total Federal plan for support of higher education,"—as embodied in the National Science Board report. ◇

## TWO STRATEGIES

### War and poverty

In allowing the controversial Office of Economic Opportunity to go on living for a year, though without a few of its major parts, the new Administration has given tacit recognition to the place of the war on poverty in the American political and social system.

But the strategy of that war under President Nixon is still very much up in the air.

The war on poverty is the one Federal program shaped almost entirely by social scientists. But there is a fundamental difference of opinion among them today though they agree that poverty is a dangerous national problem.

**One school**, of which Presidential Urban Affairs Adviser Daniel Patrick Moynihan is a celebrated member, holds that it is better to get people jobs, and to put money in their pockets and food on their tables, before the matter of their place in the political structure is worked out.

The opposite view, expounded by such academicians as Prof. Richard Cloward and Prof. Frances Piven, both sociologists at Columbia University, stresses the idea that political influence is a precondition to any kind of meaningful economic power. This argument places great reliance upon the community action programs in which poor people have tried, with varying degrees of success, to play a direct part in political processes in which they had heretofore been pawns.

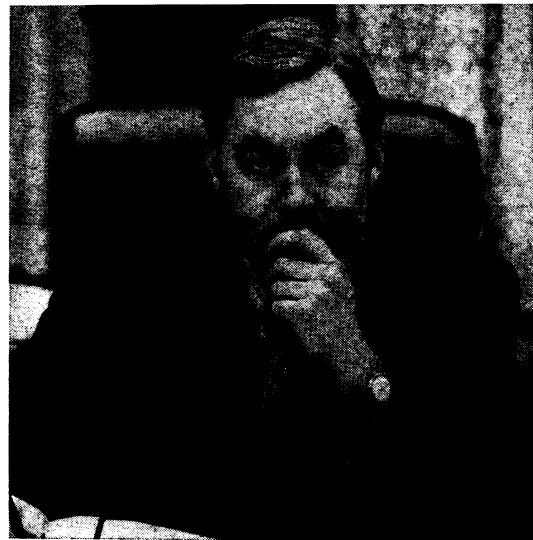
Either view may shape the program now.

In the perspective of Moynihan, and many others concerned with poverty and its broader connection with the civil rights movement, it was the attempt to make activists of people who are poor, jobless and badly schooled that led Lyndon Johnson's Great Society into political quicksand.

**Moynihan** has argued that the politicization of the poor, especially of the Negro poor in the cities, antagonize many mayors and the large white working class constituencies to which they are indebted for their offices.

"In theory," observes Michael Harrington, whose book "The Other America," influenced the late President John F. Kennedy to begin the war on poverty, "the country wants the disadvantaged to stand up and fight for their rights as all the immigrant groups did; in practice, we have knocked people down for taking that pious myth seriously."

Although the Nixon Administration has extended the life of OEO for only one year, there is a move on Capitol



*Moynihan: Shaping the poverty war.*

Hill to prolong the existence of the agency for five years.

The leader of this drive is the powerful chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Representative Carl Perkins (D-Ky.). "I have introduced the five-year extension and plan to hold hearings before the committee sometime after the second week in March," Perkins says.

He expects to have considerable support for his proposal on the house floor. Although there have been numerous incidents of bad publicity surrounding such OEO projects as the Community Action Program and the Job Corps centers, Perkins's office reports that a great amount of favorable mail has also come in.

**It cannot** be known at this time, however, what the effect on public opinion will be when the General Accounting Office submits its massive survey of the OEO to Congress next month. Preliminary reports indicate that the audit will be highly critical of the management of many OEO programs.

What the extension has cost the poverty war is the shifting of its Headstart and Job Corps programs to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor respectively.

The transfer of the Job Corps to the Labor Department has not caused anything like the concern aroused by the switch of the Headstart program to HEW. The anxiety arises over whether Headstart will be placed under the direction of the Children's Bureau or the Office of Education, both divisions of HEW.

John Price, one of Moynihan's aides, believes it is not crucial which department takes over direction of the program. "It shouldn't make that great a difference," he says. "If it goes in the Children's Bureau, there will probably be some new, young people coming in to help guide the program. The Children's Bureau does not have the man-