

Funding Democracy: Examining the Role of Research in Universities During the Cold War

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Abstract: Federal funding increased to university research sectors at the close of WWII to fulfill two missions: project American democratic values onto other nations and promote the power of the US military through scientific research. This research seeks to examine those ambitions and see how they influence modern research funding decisions.

Keywords: Cold War, research universities, university funding, soft power, US policy, military contracts, Sputnik, STEM, foreign exchange programs, Confucius Institutes

At the close of the Second World War, an environment of uncertainty blanketed the globe. European governments scrambled to find stability while the Truman administration in the US remained busy developing methods for controlling the new, chaotic world. Hard power was no longer the key focus within this administration, as officials began to utilize soft power methods to bolster their standing in the aftermath of the Second World War. Soft power describes an ability to coerce others to make desired changes through attraction rather than force. In many instances, soft power manifests through the display of cultural practices that one nation projects to induce other nations into following their lead. Education is a crucial component of cultural soft power.¹ The Truman administration linked research and soft power through scientific developments, which helped assert their global position. Increasing funding to stateside research universities promoted scientific developments throughout the country and strengthened the US's standing as a dominant world power while projecting democratic principles to counter Soviet ideologies.

My research contributes to existing scholarly activity on this topic by Rebecca S. Lowen, who reveals the significant changes universities underwent in the aftermath of the Second World War. In the article, "The More Things Change...Money, Power, and the Professoriate," Lowen notes the funding increases received by universities during the Cold War and identifies how monetary assistance promoted liberal agendas while stressing the importance of efforts made by professors who directly received federal funds for their research.² In *Creating the Cold War University*, Lowen addresses research universities, and the dominant role military assistance played in funding these institutions.³ However, Lowen focuses on how federal assistance affected

¹Joseph S. Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94-96, accessed April 8, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097996>.

²Rebecca S. Lowen, "The More Things Change...: Money, Power and the Professoriate," *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (2005): 438-45, accessed September 1, 2020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20461992>.

³Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

the university's goals but neglects to address how funding allowed the US to project images of peace on the global front or promote the country as a dominant world power.

Historian Laurence Veysey provides some of the most in-depth analyses on research universities before the Cold War but does not address how the Cold War altered scholarly practices at universities that received federal grants and assistance. Veysey viewed the research university's overall mission as unchanging in the twentieth century, though current studies indicate noticeable shifts from this original framework.⁴ Clark Kerr, president of the University of California from 1958 to 1967, provided writing on the role of research universities and increases in federal funding during the Cold War, which allowed faculty members to focus on specialized topics for inquiry and encouraged more student participation.⁵ Kerr addresses many ways US research universities promoted peace and democratic values, and outlines a complete framework for the new university referred to as a "multiversity."⁶ From hereto forward, the university in reference is specific to Kerr's multiversity. Nevertheless, Kerr's information on the university's changing scope and how the institution and faculty were affected gives little focus to the power dynamic these changes provided for the federal government.

The University's Role in Promoting Democratic Values

Between 1945 and 1970, research universities gained a strong position in the eyes of key government officials, and the funding provided to these universities reshaped how Americans viewed higher education.⁷ As universities incorporated middle-class values into academics with a dedication to creating upstanding citizens, the purpose of research took on new characteristics.⁸ After the Second World War, government funding began instilling distinct American values in its recipients through university contracts, student funding, and the promotion of foreign exchange programs. Additionally, federal involvement in university funding facilitated government sponsorship of soft power through education while their commitment to scientific and technological studies asserted their position as a global authority.

⁴ Rebecca Lowen points to methods and allotment of funding as areas that Kerr's Multiversity and Veysey's American University differed. Lowen, "The More Things Change...", 438-45; Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

⁵ Clark Kerr, "Toward the More Perfect University," Clark Kerr, Rosemary Park, Jacques Barzun, Sir Eric Ashby, Robert M. Hutchins, and Others, *The University in America: Occasional Papers (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions)*, (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1967), 10-11; see also Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁶ Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 1-34.

⁷ Ethan Schrum, *The Instrumental University: Education in Service of the National Agenda after World War II*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), accessed September 1, 2020, ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁸ Fred M. Hechinger, "New Barrier to U.S. Aid to Education: Support is found for View that it Implies Federal Controls Science Foundation Funds Clash in Views A National Ministry," *New York Times (19 23-Current File)*, March 27, 1963, accessed September 10, 2020, <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/116522362?accountid=14516>.

To promote the spread of democratic values in the United States, Earl McGrath, the US Commissioner of Education from 1949-1953, outlined four primary functions for universities, which included training for vocations that require an education beyond high school, providing service to their communities, encouraging research, and educating youth “to perform intelligently and responsibly all the activities of life in a democratic society.”⁹ These goals reveal the importance the commissioner placed on universities and scholarly research, which helped communities create a democratic environment that fostered more than academic knowledge: a location where students learned the “skills, attitudes, and habits of the scholar.”¹⁰

Continuing to reveal the role education plays in democratic societies, McGrath’s statement *Can Federal Aid Meet the Demands of Higher Education in America?* details the benefits American higher education bestowed upon the nation, which included molding good citizens. McGrath complained of the restraints some Americans encountered due to a lack of financial assistance and asserted that federal grants helped with this dilemma and contributed to the expansion and improvement of college facilities. The commissioner also focused on the success of federal higher education programs by highlighting the GI Bill, which altered campus environments immediately following its enactment.¹¹ As outlined by McGrath, the desire to produce a stable educational environment where all Americans have access to facilities that promote peace through democratic functions motivated government officials to provide universities with money for research.

Some scholars contend that research funding in universities did not come into full scope until the Second World War. The monetary assistance provided to universities proved indispensable to wartime efforts, whereas universities received minimal federal assistance prior to the war. These research efforts reveal how scientific pursuits became a staple of university funding.¹² Before the close of the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt praised the success of scientific wartime ventures and urged that “[t]he information, the techniques, and the research experience...be used in the days of peace ahead for the improvement of the national health, the creation of new enterprises bringing new jobs, and the betterment of the national standard of living.”¹³ As scholars

⁹ Earl J. McGrath, April, 1949: The Goals of Higher Education, Condensed for Publication in the Journal of Higher Education, Speeches, Articles, and Public Statements File, 1949-1953, Earl J. McGrath Papers, Truman Library, 1-3, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/personal-papers/speeches-articles-and-public-statements-file-1949-1953/april-1949-goals>.

¹⁰ McGrath, April, 1949: The Goals of Higher Education, 1-3.

¹¹ Earl J. McGrath, March 23, 1949: *Can Federal Aid Meet the Demands of Higher Education in America?* Third Annual Bulletin Forum, Philadelphia, P.A., Speeches, Articles, and Public Statements File, 1949-1953, Earl J. McGrath Papers, Truman Library, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/personal-papers/speeches-articles-and-public-statements-file-1949-1953/march-23-1949-can>.

¹² Richard C. Atkinson and Blanpied, William A. “Research Universities: Core of the US Science and Technology System,” *Technology in Society*. 30 (2008): 30-48, accessed September 4, 2020, http://www.rca.ucsd.edu/docs/TIS_Research%20Universities%20Core%20of%20the%20US%20science%20and%20technology%20system.pdf.

¹³ Vannevar Bush, *Science The Endless Frontier, A Report to the President by Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, July 1945, President Roosevelt’s Letter*.

displayed their research outcomes, the federal government recognized how university funding helped the US sustain a dominant role in world politics.

During the Cold War, the US federal research grant university took on many tasks, including undertaking the responsibility of promoting democratic ideals. Through statements by government representatives, the US federal government clearly asserted the university's role in creating upstanding citizens. Therefore, by sending messages that directly linked American values to higher education, the US government promoted university education as a democratic tool that helped fight the war against communism.

Promotion of Power through Scientific Research

Promotion of peace efforts through government programs persisted, and by 1950 Congress enacted legislation to bring monetary assistance to universities through the National Science Foundation (NSF).¹⁴ However, efforts to provide funding to the NSF were contentious until 1955, when the NSF-sponsored release of *Soviet Professional Manpower* by Nicholas DeWitt, followed by the Soviet detonation of a hydrogen bomb, convinced Congress of the pressing need for scientific research funding.¹⁵ In 1960, the NSF offered grants to sixty-three science teachers that studied biology, chemistry, physics, and physical science at the Science Institute of Fisk University. The program also offered \$15,000 to five students that studied in the doctoral program at Hampton Institute.¹⁶ Within ten years, NSF's original budget expanded from \$100 thousand to \$100 million.¹⁷ These efforts by Congress and the NSF favored scientific research, which provided federal authorities with the benefit of advancing US militaristic ambitions through a body of minds educated in scientific fields.

McGrath did not just endorse US education as a means for creating upstanding citizens; he also considered it an area of vulnerability. To prevent potential corruption of higher education, the commissioner threw his support behind efforts to put the US Office of Education under control of the Federal Security Administration, claiming, "Nothing is more closely related to the public welfare than education." Discontent swelled around the federal government's role with universities, but McGrath's strong stance ensured that government involvement served the added benefit

(Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1945), accessed September 10, 2020, <https://www.nsf.gov/od/lpa/nsf50/vbush1945.htm>.

¹⁴ Public Law 507-81st Congress. Chapter 171-2D Session. S. 247. An Act: Establishment of the National Science Foundation, accessed September 4, 2020, <https://www.nsf.gov/about/history/legislation.pdf>.

¹⁵ John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 74-75.

¹⁶ "College Roundup," *New Pittsburgh Courier (1959-1965)*, Jul 02, 1960, National edition, <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/371578489?accountid=14516>.

¹⁷ R.C. Lewontin, "The Cold War and Transformation of the Academy," in *The Cold War and the University Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*, ed. Andre Schiffrin, Chomsky, et al., (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1998), 16.

of providing safety.¹⁸ Education and security remained associated on many levels throughout the Cold War.

In 1950, the military budget climbed from \$13 billion to \$54 billion, and over the next forty years, the US economy relied heavily on these funds for prosperity. Research divisions at universities also benefitted from this massive military budget, which supported research grants and fellowships and cultivated new fields of study in higher education.¹⁹ Scholars who attended universities that received substantial government monetary assistance highlight the benefits of this federal funding with their academic successes.

Harriet Zuckerman's research on Nobel prize-winning scientists from 1901-72 reveals that "somewhat more than half of the ninety-two laureates who did that [prize-winning] research in the United States did so at just six institutions: Harvard, Columbia, [University of California-] Berkeley, the Rockefeller [University], [University of] Chicago, and Washington University (in St. Louis)."²⁰ Significantly, Harvard and Columbia ranked in the top fifteen among universities receiving the most federal funds directed toward research in 1975.²¹ Furthermore, by the early 1960s, the federal government supplied over a billion dollars a year for research and development. The University of California was one of six universities that "received 57 percent of the funds in a fiscal year" and one of twenty institutions that received 79 percent of the funds in a year.²² Some universities received up to sixty percent of their funding solely from government entities.²³ Focus on military-oriented themes brought new meaning to research funding and allowed universities to take advantage of government grants.

Federal funds frequently benefitted sectors that promoted US military power. Kerr claims that fields like Humanities and Social Sciences were at a disadvantage because the student-to-teacher ratio was too high, and educations were not personalized. Without specialization in their fields, scholars received less funding.²⁴ As a result, scientific knowledge increases persisted among

¹⁸ Earl J. McGrath, March 10, 1949: Statement, To Editor of The Nation's Schools, Speeches, Articles, and Public Statements File, 1949-1953 of Earl J. McGrath Papers. Truman Library. 2, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/personal-papers/speeches-articles-and-public-statements-file-1949-1953/march-10-1949>.

¹⁹ David Montgomery, "Introduction," in *The Cold War and the University Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*, ed. Andre Schiffrin, Chomsky (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1998), xix.

²⁰ Harriet Zuckerman, *Scientific Elite: Nobel Laureates in the United States*, (New York: The Free Press, 1977, 170.

²¹ In 1975, universities with the most federal funding ranked MIT, University of Washington, Stanford, UCLA, and University of Wisconsin. In 1990, four of these schools maintained a top-five position. Harvard, Yale, and Cornell kept positions within the top 15 in both studies. While Berkeley did not rank in the top fifteen, three other research universities operating under the University of California's massive campus system landed within the top ten. The University of California branches listed are Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation..." 25.

²² Lowen, "The More Things Change..." 438-45; Lowen consults Kerr, *The Uses of the ...*, 40-41.

²³ Howard Zinn, "The Politics of History in the Era of the Cold War," in *The Cold War and the University Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*, ed. Andre Schiffrin, Chomsky, et al., (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1998), 41.

²⁴ Kerr, "Toward the More Perfect University," 11.

students across the nation who performed their research at federally-funded universities.²⁵ With an abundance of assistance directed to STEM fields, government funding continued to neglect scholarly pursuits that did not benefit the military.

Militaristic ambitions that supported federal aid provisions to universities spurred the growth of STEM sectors.²⁶ This shift pulled some focus from humanistic teaching methods that dominated higher education up until that point.²⁷ Research began to take a more decisive role in satisfying these goals. Some universities became involved in managing federal laboratories through military contracts, as with the University of California's management of the Los Alamos and Livermore projects.²⁸ The university was not just an institution for spreading democratic values but also for promoting combat and nuclear production.

Funding for military means altered the landscape of research universities. "Project research before the war was an industrial or government enterprise carried out by industrial and government scientists in industrial and government installations."²⁹ Established for the Manhattan Project, money directed to the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico helped develop nuclear weapons, including the hydrogen bomb.³⁰ In these new research facilities, university professors created an academic culture within military settings.³¹ Many university heads embraced this new scientific research. President of Cornell University Edmund Ezra Day argued for the expansion of nuclear technology since it provided the US with more weight in the Cold War but cautioned, "we have in the newly acquired command of atomic energy a power with which the whole world must reckon- a power with which the world seems as yet quite unprepared."³² These research initiatives were apparent attempts to project America's image of power onto other nations. Because of the grants provided to universities, advancements continued to persevere in science sectors.³³

²⁵ Hechinger, "New Barrier to U.S. Aid to Education..."

²⁶ Benjamin Fine, "Education in Review: Federal 'Crash' Program for Encouragement of Science Criticized as Inadequate Narrow Emphasis ILL-Considered Measures," *New York Times (1923-Current Fjile)*, Dec 08, 1957, <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/114274520?accountid=14516>.

²⁷ Tomislav Topolovčan and Snježana Dubovicki, "The Heritage of the Cold War in Contemporary Curricula and Educational Reforms," *CEPS Journal : Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal* 9, no. 2 (2019): 11-32, accessed September 20, 2020, doi:<http://dx.doi.org.vortex3.uco.edu/10.26529/cepsj.567>. <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/2249688769?accountid=14516>.

²⁸ Reference to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Los Alamos National Laboratory. Lowen, "The More Things Change...:" 438-45; Jencks and Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, 223.

²⁹ Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation..." 13.

³⁰ Montgomery, *The Cold War and the University Toward*, xi-xvi.

³¹ Lewontin, "The Cold War and the Transformation..." 13.

³² Edmund Ezra Day, *Education for Freedom and Responsibility; Selected Essays*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1952), 22.

³³ Hechinger, "New Barrier to U.S. Aid to Education."

Interestingly, federal funding increases to universities in the US resulted from Soviet advancements in research tied to science-heavy academics.³⁴ The Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik played a pivotal role in promoting scholarly research within the US and caused the US to question the effectiveness of their educational system, which up until that point, they had considered a solid basis for the nation's democratic functions. In the decade following Sputnik's launching, funding to research at universities remained on an incline. Soviet academic success challenged the US and pushed the country to a STEM-focused education model while also bringing the link between democracy and educational gains into question.³⁵

Scientific research conducted through federally funded research grants helped the US government promote a dominant image on the world stage. The success of Nobel Prize winners and the research conducted at Los Alamos asserted the nation's capabilities in creating powerful arms. Recognizing the potential that scientific research held in asserting US dominance, the government poured money into research grants centered on scientific and technological research. The launching of Sputnik served as a marker for US advancements in scientific research and challenged the links between democracy and education. Following the launching of Sputnik, US funding in research universities significantly rose. The US government promoted scientific research through increased funding efforts, which helped improve its global image as a powerful nation capable of standing up to Soviet aggressors.

Foreign Exchange Programs

Government funding for higher education extended beyond research grants. Margaret O'Mara criticizes concepts outlined by Kerr as dealing with only a select few elite universities, which O'Mara claims limits international students' impact on the development of America's dominant higher education system.³⁶ The foreign exchange program had more than 30,000 students receiving support from private and federal entities in 1951 and 1952. The purpose of providing support to some of these students was to equip them to deal with social and economic problems in their home countries. By exposing these students to the institutions that created democratic citizens

³⁴ David Kaiser, *American Physics and the Cold War Bubble*, (University of Chicago Press: In preparation) 1230-31, accessed September 4, 2020, <http://web.mit.edu/dikaiser/www/CWB.html#CWBCChapters>.; chapter 1 "The Physics of Spin" accessed at <http://web.mit.edu/dikaiser/www/Kaiser.PhysSpin.pdf>.

³⁵ Daniel Tröhler, "Harmonizing the Educational Globe. World Polity, Cultural Features, and the Challenges to Educational Research," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 29, no. 1 (January, 2010): 12-15, accessed September 20, 2020, <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/204259653?accountid=14516>.; J. A. Douglass, *The Cold War, Technology and the American University*. UC Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education (July, 1999), 1-9, accessed September 20, 2020, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9db970dq>.

³⁶ Margaret O'Mara, "The Uses of the Foreign Student," *Social Science History* 36, no. 4 (2012): 583-615, accessed September 3, 2020, doi:10.2307/23361144.

in America, exchange students could take the same concepts and project them onto their home countries.³⁷

In the 1951-52 academic year, international students receiving education at American universities populated campuses with students who arrived from countries vulnerable to communism.³⁸ By 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower praised the success of these exchanges in his yearly address to new international students from the American Field Service. The president claimed he bore direct witness to the program's growth with his yearly attendance from 1948-57, of which he only missed one year.³⁹ Recruiting the world's brilliant minds was not just a way to preserve peace through shared institutions but also to counter the growing threat of communism with a dominant presence of democratic nations, a mindset emphasized in a 1952 *Foreign Affairs* article stating, "it would be ironic if we fell into the error of seeking talent in other countries only among the favored few, leaving it to the Communists to recruit—as they eagerly do—the vigorous and striving potential leaders outside this charmed circle."⁴⁰ The foreign exchange program allowed the US government to promote democratic ideals in nations vulnerable to Communist influence.

Modern Implications

In 1962, President Kennedy professed, "education is both the foundation and the unifying force of our democratic way of life."⁴¹ However, recent activity in the Confucius Institutes (CIs) in America has brought this unifying force into question. CIs are located on university campuses across the country and offer students the opportunity to engage in Chinese cultural and educational practices. However, these facilities have come under increased scrutiny over the past decade as tensions between the US and China heighten. Conflicted university coordinators have noticed how complaints against CIs moved from "academe to the political sphere," with attention drawn to accusations from American diplomats related to espionage-related threats and the influence of the Chinese government on US campuses.⁴² Rather than promoting peace through democracy, these

³⁷ John W. Gardner, "The Foreign Student in America," *Foreign Affairs* 30, no. 4 (1952): 637-38, accessed September 5, 2020, doi:10.2307/20030929. https://heinonline-org.vortex3.uco.edu/HOL/Page?public=true&handle=hein.journals/fora30&div=59&start_page=637&collection=journals&set_as_cursor=2&men_tab=srchresults.

³⁸ Over 1000 students came from Germany and Japan. Almost 7,500 students came from the rest of Europe, of which Austria provided 237. Additionally, over 10,000 students came from Asia and the Near East. Gardner, "The Foreign Student in America,"; For information pertaining to the significance of these regions vulnerability to communism read Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992).

³⁹ Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Remarks to the American Field Service Students, July 18, Published Papers of the President*, (Washington DC: GPO, 1958), 561-62, accessed September 4, 2020, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/ppotpus/4728417.1957.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.

⁴⁰ Gardner, "The Foreign Student in America," 637-39.

⁴¹ Kennedy, "Text of the President's Message to Congress on Educational Needs."

⁴² Elizabeth Redden, "Closing Confucius Institutes," *Inside Higher Education*, January 9, 2019, accessed October 21, 2020, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2019/01/09/colleges-move-close-chinese-government-funded-confucius-institutes-amid-increasing>.

exchanges between US and Chinese governments have made university funding a diplomatic battlefield.

The prominent issue research universities face concerning CIs relates to funding. These institutes require universities to match their funding equally. Since university budgets are already limited, CIs become easy targets for university officials needing to free up funds.⁴³ The CIs initially received praise for the success they brought to foreign diplomacy and the opportunity they provided for exchanging culture with another nation. The CIs now reveal how a threat to US power can result in funding decreases or the termination of these university programs.

Conclusion

Following the protest activity of the early 1960s, commentators viewed universities as the breeding grounds for anti-government activity.⁴⁴ At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a Socialist Club emerged from the intellectual community in the 1950s, with more leftist activity, including draft protests, following in the 1960s.⁴⁵ At Swarthmore, students supported the Marshall Plan but advocated against Germany's division and America's role in promoting the Federal Republic. They opposed the formation of NATO, and between 1946-7, support for unionization was also at a high.⁴⁶ Other arguments contend the opposite and say universities fostered government ideals since Cold War universities operated under the control of the US government and "supportive incorporated foundations."⁴⁷ Intentions did not always align with results, but federal funding allowed the US to spread American ideologies even when the democratic values of universities ran perpendicular to federal activity.

Research universities have been essential in preserving power for the US throughout the Cold War. The US gained nuclear technology through scientific inquiry and study, which permitted diplomats to assert themselves more forcefully in political affairs.⁴⁸ With this security available, the federal government provided monetary assistance to programs that promoted American democratic values. Government funding also provided a framework for projecting US ideologies onto other nations through foreign exchange programs. The start of the Cold War marked a distinct shift in how the federal government interacted with universities, specifically with the funding provided to research universities that placed an acute focus on studying scientific and technological topics. Through university contracts, student funding, and the promotion of foreign exchange pro-

⁴³ Redden, "Closing Confucius Institutes."

⁴⁴ Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 101-02.

⁴⁵ Matthew Levin, *Cold War University: Madison and the New Left in the Sixties*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 73, accessed September 4, 2020, <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/lib/ucok-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3445342>.

⁴⁶ Montgomery, *The Cold War and the University Toward an Intellectual...*, xvi-xix.

⁴⁷ Masaki Fujioka, "Understanding the History of American Universities during the Cold War Era --The Validity of the Concept of 'Tension,'" *社会システム研究 = Social systems: political, legal and economic studies* (March, 2016), 19: 69, accessed September 3, 2020, https://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2433/210565/1/soc.sys_19_69.pdf.

⁴⁸ For information on nuclear arms played and "risk-taking" by American diplomats consult Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power....*

grams, the federal government also imparted distinct American values to the nation. Research development plays a pivotal role in Cold War studies, and diplomats still assert power through federal assistance, as with the continued supply of grants to study Soviet behavior.⁴⁹ However, with growing tensions between the United States and China, in addition to Russia's current campaign against Ukraine, the need to re-examine the role of federal funding to research universities is increasingly relevant.

⁴⁹ Daniel Bell, "Ten Theories in Search of Reality: The Prediction of Soviet Behavior in the Social Sciences," *World Politics* 10, no. 3 (1958): 327-65, accessed October 25, 2020, doi:10.2307/2009491.