
APSA Council Minutes

The third Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1972.

Present:

Chadwick F. Alger, Christian Bay, Philip E. Converse, Samuel D. Cook, Thomas R. Dye, Valerie A. Earle, Heinz Eulau, Richard F. Fenno, Fred I. Greenstein, Robert O. Keohane, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Samuel Krislov, Gerhard Loewenberg, Dwaine Marvick, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Clara Penniman, Nelson W. Polsby, Kenneth Prewitt, James W. Prothro, William P. Robinson, Sr., Dankwart A. Rustow, Joseph Tanenhaus and Robert E. Ward.

Approval of Minutes

Minutes of the previous meeting were unanimously approved, subject to such minor corrections as the Secretary may find necessary.

Committee Appointments

President-Elect Ward announced the appointment of Warren E. Miller, Michigan, Barbara A. Hinckley, Wisconsin, and I. L. Claude, Virginia, to the Nominating Committee, and that he had asked Allan P. Sindler, California, Berkeley, to serve as Chairman of this Committee. President-Elect Ward then requested Council approval of the following appointments to other Association committees:

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award

Marian Irish, American, *Chairman*
Gabriel A. Almond, Stanford
Frank Sorauf, Minnesota

Gladys M. Kammerer Award

Richard Neustadt, Harvard, *Chairman*
Elinor Ostrom, Indiana
James McGregor Burns, Williams

E. E. Schattschneider Award

Clement E. Vose, Wesleyan, *Chairman*
Katherine Hinckley, Akron
Joseph Schlesinger, Michigan State

Helen Dwight Reid Award

Joseph S. Nye, Harvard, *Chairman*
Sophia Peterson, West Virginia
Jeremy R. Azrael, Chicago

Edward S. Corwin Award

Joel Grossman, Wisconsin, *Chairman*
George F. Cole, Connecticut
William Beaney, Denver

Leonard D. White Award

C. Herman Pritchett, California, Santa Barbara, *Chairman*
Deil Wright, North Carolina
Frank N. Marini, Syracuse

Pi Sigma Alpha Award

Donald S. Strong, Alabama, *Chairman*
Lewis C. Mainzer, Massachusetts
Donald Hanson, Utah

Editorial Board of PS

William Siffin, Indiana
Herschelle Sullivan Challenor, Brooklyn College

Appointments unanimously approved.

**Committee on the Status of Blacks —
1972-73 Budget**

Russell Adams appeared before the Council and requested a reconsideration of the 1972-73 budget for the Committee on the Status of Blacks. He presented a request from Chairman Paul Puryear calling for: general expenses — \$10,000 (including \$9,000 for committee meetings, \$200 for supplies and telephone, \$800 for printing); Black Graduate Fellowship fund — \$21,600 (for six \$3,600 fellowships). The Administrative Committee had previously recommended \$5,000 for general expenses for the Committee and \$18,000 for five \$3,600 fellowships.

It was agreed that the Administrative Committee would meet at lunch and consider the request of the Committee on the Status of Blacks. Following the luncheon meeting, Matthews, speaking for the Administrative Committee suggested that the Committee on the Status of Blacks come to the December Council meeting with a somewhat more specific outline of what they intend to accomplish at the committee meetings for which an additional \$4,000 was requested; recommended approval of the \$800 requested for printing committee reports, to be taken from the budgeted contingency fund; and recommended that the number of Black Fellowships not be increased, but be continued at \$18,000 for five Fellowships.

Cook stated that he "hates to see APSA retreat from what they have done in the past"; and urged

the Council to defeat the recommendation of the Administrative Committee and approve the request of the Committee on the Status of Blacks. Prothro pointed out that the other committees were budgeted for \$1,500 and that the Committee on the Status of Blacks was already budgeted for \$23,800, including the \$18,000 for the Fellowship Program. Penniman observed that throughout the nation there has been an increase in the number of fellowships earmarked for minorities, and she asked if anyone knew of any qualified Black students who did not have the opportunity for graduate study due to a lack of aid. Cook replied that his experience with the Ford Foundation convinced him that there were many more qualified Black students available than fellowships. Penniman replied that a clearinghouse is needed, therefore, because many institutions are actively seeking qualified Black applicants and cannot find them. Kirkpatrick informed the Council that, in every case, APSA Black Graduate Fellows have been funded by their own institution in their second year of study after the expiration of the APSA Fellowship.

Prewitt moved that the Administrative Committee recommendation be adopted with an amendment to increase Black Fellowships by one and allocate a total of \$21,600 for the Black Graduate Fellowship Program. Vote on the Prewitt motion was:

For

Alger, Bay, Converse, Keohane, Kirkpatrick, Loewenberg, Matthews, Mitchell, Prewitt, Rustow

Against

Cook, Dye, Eulau, Fenno, Krislov, Marvick, Penniman, Tanenhaus, Ward

Greenstein, Polsby and Prothro abstained.

Vote

10 approved, 9 opposed; motion approved.

Vote on the Administrative Committee recommendation, as amended, was:

For

Alger, Bay, Converse, Dye, Eulau, Fenno, Greenstein, Keohane, Kirkpatrick, Loewenberg, Marvick, Matthews, Penniman, Prewitt, Prothro, Rustow, Tanenhaus

Against

Cook, Krislov, Ward

Mitchell and Polsby abstained.

Vote

17 approved, 3 opposed; motion approved.

Managing Editor, APSR

Polsby announced that Paul Sniderman and David Braybrooke were going off the Editorial Board of the *Review* in March and requested approval of the appointment of Brian Barry of Nuffield College, Oxford. Unanimously approved.

Polsby stated that: "At this time I think it is appropriate to draw to the Council's attention the bylaw of the Association, 2.1 (c) governing the tenure of the managing editor. This bylaw reads:

The Council shall appoint the Managing Editor of the *APSR* for a term of three years. It shall be Council policy to appoint a Managing Editor for a total of not more than six years. The Council shall stipulate the salary and other conditions of the Managing Editors' appointment at the time of appointment.

Although I was appointed by the Council before this bylaw was enacted, with the understanding that the term of appointment would be five years, as it had been for my predecessors, my opinion is that the Council ought to follow its current bylaws whenever they are applicable. The time is therefore nearly upon the Council to provide for the future leadership of the *Review*. Under the bylaw, my term of office would run from June 1971, the date of my first issue as managing editor, to June 1974. If manuscript submissions and acceptances continue at their current rate, as I expect, the June 1974 issue will be filled by June, 1973. By that time, or sooner, if convenient, the Council should have completed its deliberations and acted so that appropriate continuity of responsibility can be maintained."

Polsby withdrew from the room while the matter was discussed.

Ward, for the Administrative Committee, moved that Polsby be asked to serve for a second three-year term as Managing Editor of the *Review*. Motion unanimously approved.

(The complete Report of the Managing Editor appears in the fall issue of *PS*.)

Resolution relating to Staff Implementation of Council Action on Amendment of the Equal Pay and Civil Rights Act relating to Women

The Council then considered the following

resolution submitted by Suzanne Cavanagh and others:

WHEREAS: The Council at its September, 1971 Meeting, passed Resolutions 2.b) 1 and 11 which state: "The American Political Science Association in order to more fully serve its purposes of encouraging the professional study of political science by both men and women, actively supports amendment i) of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 to extend its mandate against sex discrimination to executive, administrative, and professional employees; ii) of Title VII, Section 702 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to extend its mandate against sex discrimination to educational institutions" and;

WHEREAS: The Executive Director and his staff have given no evidence of having taken positive action to implement the specific mandates which was acknowledged by Walter Beach before two representatives of the Women's Caucus and again acknowledged by Beach at the April 13, 1972 Meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women of the American Political Science Association.

RESOLVED that the APSA condemn the Executive Director and his staff for their failure to implement the above mentioned Resolutions passed.

Suzanne Cavanagh appeared before the Council and asked permission to withdraw the resolution because it was based on misinformation.

Krislov moved that the Council assume the authority to accept withdrawal and that a report be given to the membership at the Business Meeting. Unanimously approved.

Resolution regarding Committee on Status of Women Meetings

The next resolution considered was the following, submitted by Cavanagh and others:

WHEREAS: The Council passed Resolution 1.c) that the American Political Science Association "design a Graduate Scholarship Program for Women Political Scientists during the 1971-72 academic year and actively seek outside funds to secure its permanent establishment"; and

WHEREAS: The Association's staff felt that nothing could be done to implement this resolution until the Committee on the Status of Women had met and specifically suggested the approach to be

followed in implementation of Resolution 1.c); and

WHEREAS: This resulted in a delay of seven and one-half months before any action to implement the Resolution was taken:

RESOLVED that the Committee on the Status of Women meet immediately after the Annual Convention each year for the purpose of providing direction to the Executive Director and his staff.

Ruth Silva, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women, stated her belief that the committees do meet after the Annual Meeting and that the resolution was based on misinformation.

Prewitt moved that the Council oppose the resolution. Motion unanimously approved. This resolution was later withdrawn by Cavanagh.

Resolutions regarding Composition of Association Committees

Wilma Krauss and others submitted a resolution that:

RESOLVED: That the Committees within the American Political Science Association more accurately reflect the age, sex and the type of department of the total membership of the APSA.

Wilma Krauss later withdrew this resolution and it was not considered by the Council.

Christian Bay and others presented a resolution that:

WHEREAS: There are nearly as many students as there are faculty among the APSA membership; and

WHEREAS: Up to now there is virtually no representation of the student constituency on the various APSA committees, let alone on the APSA Council itself; and

WHEREAS: This neglect and the complacency with which it has been tolerated reflect an insupportable assumption of intellectual superiority over their students on the part of many faculty members, and this in a time of unprecedented changes, when the fresh perspectives of aspiring political scientists may be the only cure for professional ossification and mounting irrelevancy to the fast-changing world of real politics;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT

The principle of students being entitled to representation in APSA governing organs be affirmed, and that

- a) two of the seats on next year's and each following year's Council be reserved for student nominees; and that
- b) measures be taken to ensure that within twelve months from now all APSA Committees shall have at least a 25% student membership; and
- c) a special committee, consisting of three faculty and three student members, be appointed to investigate the possibility of founding an APSA-sponsored journal of political science which will be edited by student APSA members.

Ward pointed out that if quota systems were followed in making committee appointments, women and blacks would be obliged to give up positions they currently hold. This is because women and blacks currently occupy more positions in the Association than their proportion of Association membership would warrant under a quota system. Concerning student participation, he stated that the *Administrative Committee* believed that implementation of the resolution would require a Constitutional amendment. Ward moved that both of the above resolutions be referred to the Rules Committee.

It was Keohane's view that the Nominating Committee was already making special efforts to nominate women and blacks, and that the Council should adopt a modified version of this resolution requesting it to do the same for students. Bay and Rustow both called attention to the recent decline in student membership in the Association, as reported by the Executive Director. Polsby expressed the view that if the Association is a learned society, it is appropriate to expect that *its officers demonstrate a settled commitment* to scholarships. He added that he could not think of instances where the professional interests of students were different from those of other members. Penniman commented on the practical problems of identifying students for nomination, inasmuch as students have not yet achieved academic reputations outside of their own institutions. Nominating Committee members would be tempted to name students from their own students.

Penniman offered a substitute motion that items a) and b) of the Bay resolution be referred to a special ad hoc committee to be appointed by the President with instructions to report back at the time of the fall meeting next year, and that item c) be referred to the Administrative Committee with the same instructions. Motion approved by voice vote. Rustow, Keohane and Bay opposed.

Resolution regarding Association Support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution

Wilma Krauss and others submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS: Policy of the American Political Science Association has supported equality of opportunity and rights, including support for the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act for all persons regardless of sex;

WHEREAS: The Equal Rights Amendment of the Constitution, passed by the United States Senate on March 22, 1972, is now in the process of ratification in the states;

RESOLVED: That the American Political Science Association communicate its support for the ERA to the appropriate legislative officers in each state where the amendment is now under consideration.

The Council recommended that the Annual Business Meeting approve the resolution. The Council also asked the national office to get in touch with each state where the Equal Rights Amendment still remains as an open question and express the Association's support.

Resolution regarding Reestablishment of a Separate APSA Academic Freedom Committee
Bay and others submitted the following resolution:

WHEREAS: There have been increasingly flagrant violations of academic freedom in North American universities in the last couple of years; and

WHEREAS: These violations have amounted to instances of firing or denying tenure to colleagues on political grounds, as well as evidence of clear political discrimination in hiring policies; and

WHEREAS: While other professional associations have censured at least some of the offending institutions, the APSA Council has seen fit to in effect abolish the APSA Committee on Academic

Freedom, by way of combining it with another committee, under the chairmanship of a colleague who, while he is personally a stalwart champion of academic freedom, nevertheless is on emphatic record as opposing an APSA Academic Freedom Committee able and willing to pass judgement on academic freedom violations; and

WHEREAS: The need for free and fearless political commitment and discussion on the part of faculty and students has never been more urgent, while the climate of intimidation keeps getting worse;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT

The American Political Science Association at this time re-establish its Committee on Academic Freedom and that

- a) this committee have seven representative members to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council; and that
- b) this committee be funded sufficiently to meet four times a year, and to conduct up to ten on-the-spot investigations each year; and that
- c) this committee be charged with the tasks of
 - 1) acting in support of victimized colleagues and students, by way of expressions of solidarity and moral support when merited, and by way of censuring or blacklisting offending institutions, or by other appropriate means;
 - 2) examining the AAUP's definition of academic freedom, with a view to clarifying and improving on the principles and practices of academic freedom in our profession;
 - 3) tackling the problem, entirely neglected so far by the APSA, of developing constructive, enforceable principles of academic freedom for students.

Bay asked the Council to hear Mark Roelofs speak on the resolution. Roelofs argued that the AAUP would not provide sufficient protection for academic freedom. According to Roelofs, the AAUP is "too legalistic" in its investigations and "not sufficiently political"; the AAUP "fiddled and diltled and wondered" over its definition of academic freedom. Earle responded, citing her experience as a member of the Council of the

AAUP, that the AAUP had carefully drafted a series of recent statements on academic freedom updating its famous 1941 Statement of Principles. She also stated that the AAUP has drafted a new Statement on Student Rights. Penniman objected that this resolution, by implication, attacked a professional colleague who had devoted his life to the cause of academic freedom. She also argued that the resolution failed to recognize the real nature of the investigative process.

The Administrative Committee recommended that the motion be defeated. Vote on the Administrative Committee recommendation was:

For

Converse, Cook, Dye, Earle, Eulau, Fenno, Greenstein, Keohane, Kirkpatrick, Krislov, Loewenberg, Marvick, Matthews, Penniman, Polsby, Prothro, Tanenhaus, Ward

Against

Alger, Bay, Robinson, Rustow

Prewitt abstained.

Vote

18 approved, 4 opposed; motion approved.

Resolution regarding Gene Mason Case

The following resolution was submitted to the Council:

WHEREAS: Dr. Gene L. Mason is a member of the APSA in good standing;

AND WHEREAS: After years of preparing for a Congressional campaign in the Sixth District of Kentucky, and just before he announced his candidacy, Dr. Mason was arrested and subsequently convicted of purchasing stolen goods — namely one IBM electric typewriter for \$50;

AND WHEREAS: Dr. Mason reported on the circumstances surrounding his arrest at the APSA Annual Meeting of 1970;

AND WHEREAS: The Judge cited Dr. Mason's giving of this APSA paper as one of the reasons for denying him probation and sentencing him, instead, to one year in the Kentucky State Prison starting July 24, 1972, saying that Dr. Mason had failed to show humility to the court after his conviction, and he served 36 days of this sentence before it was changed to 5 years on probation.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT

The American Political Science Association Annual Meeting of 1972, in Washington, D.C., reaffirms the academic and civil liberties of all its members to write and speak the truth as they see it, particularly in APSA publications and meetings, without fear of reprisals.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT

The APSA encourages all its members to investigate the facts of the Mason case, to draw their own conclusions about whether justice has been served, and to take whatever remedial steps they deem appropriate.

The resolution was not submitted within the deadlines set by the Rules Committee and approved by the Council and could not, therefore, be referred to the floor of the Business Meeting. The Council approved by voice vote, with Bay abstaining, a motion to refer the resolution to the Committee on Ethics and Academic Freedom.

Annual Review of Political Science

Kirkpatrick reported that *Annual Reviews* was not interested in publishing an *Annual Review of Political Science* unless they had full control over the editorial content. On the basis of previous discussions of the Council, such control by *Annual Reviews* was unsatisfactory, and the Executive Director so informed *Annual Reviews*. The Council authorized the Executive Director to carry on further negotiations, if that seems desirable, and report back to the Council.

Life Membership Fee

Gordon Tullock, who was unable to attend the Council meeting, wrote a letter to President Eulau (a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes) setting out his suggestions for a revised Life Membership Fee. The matter was referred to the Administrative Committee for their consideration. It was noted by the Council that a change in the Life Membership fee would require a constitutional amendment.

Resolution regarding National Office Staff Support for Women's Activities

Wilma Krauss appeared before the Council and withdrew the following resolution which she and others had submitted which read:

WHEREAS: The vast majority of policy adopted

by the APSA Annual Business Meeting in September, 1971 pertaining to equal opportunity for women in political science has yet to be implemented due to the failure of the Executive Director and his staff to carry out such mandates from the membership;

WHEREAS: There is a need for the coordination of inquiries to the APSA from employers seeking women political scientists to fill positions and from women political scientists seeking employment; and

WHEREAS: There is a need for coordination of the APSA's work on behalf of equal opportunity for women in the profession with government agencies and other organizations with the same objectives;

RESOLVED: That the APSA officers either: (1) replace one of the present staff members with a person to be designated Coordinator for Women's Opportunity and Rights in the Profession, such person to be chosen with the advice of concerned women members, or (2) explore the possibility of financing a new APSA staff position to be designated as Coordinator for Women's Opportunities and Rights in the Profession.

Report of the Executive Director

Dr. Kirkpatrick reported to the Council on the activities of the national office. The Executive Director's report was printed in the Summer issue of *PS*.

Committee on Undergraduate Education in Political Science

Ward moved that the following committee members be approved as an advisory committee to oversee the NSF grant the Association has received on undergraduate education in political science:

Vernon Van Dyke, Iowa, *Chairman*
Vincent Browne, Howard
Martin Diamond, Northern Illinois
Heinz Eulau, Stanford
Betty Nesvold, San Diego State
Jack Peltason, Illinois, Urbana
Ithiel Pool, M.I.T.
James Robinson, Macalester
Stanley Rothman, Smith

No objection; motion approved.

APSR Page Charges

The subject of page charges for the *APSR* was again considered by the Council. Tanenhaus spoke on behalf of page charges: he argued that most scientific journals have such charges, that these charges allocate costs to those who benefitted most and that these charges tend to shorten articles. Polsby objected to the *APSR* instituting page charges on the grounds that they would discriminate against scholars who do not have the kind of grants which in other disciplines subsidize page charges. This would amount in political science to discrimination by subject matter, which is against *APSR* policy. Bay agreed entirely with Polsby. It was agreed that the subject of page charges for the *APSR* would be taken up by the Administrative Committee.

Compliments

Alger complimented the national office for increasingly recognizing the interdependencies between political science in the United States and the rest of the world, noting recent liaison with UNESCO on documentation and literature retrieval, articles in *PS* on political science in other countries, special efforts to invite foreign scholars to annual meetings, an association sponsored session on APSA and UNESCO at the September 1972 meeting and successful efforts to permit political scientists to participate in a National Academy of Science exchange program with Eastern Europe and the USSR.

On the other hand, as he concluded his term on the Council Alger wished to express his distress at the limited attention given by the Council to the interdependencies between U.S. political scientists and those in other countries. In fact, on occasions when items involving relations with political scientists abroad have been discussed, such as dues to IPSA and relations between a proposed abstract journal and one already produced by IPSA, the Council has been highly uninformed. Alger urged the national office to intensify its efforts to develop links between the association and political scientists abroad as well as its program for informing members about developments in political science around the globe. He urged the Council to become energetically concerned with the responsibilities of APSA to the global community of political scientists.

Tanenhaus complimented Eulau as a "most

extraordinary man who has given each of the Council members at least three days of life" (in having shortened Council meetings).

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

APSA 1972 Annual Business Meeting Minutes

Wednesday, September 6, 1972
Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

President Heinz Eulau opened the Meeting at 4 p.m. and turned the chair over to Vice President Clara Penniman, who presided over the Meeting.

Constitutional Amendment to Provide for an Association Trust and Development Fund

A Constitutional Amendment proposed by the APSA Council to add a new section nine (9) to Article VII of the Association Constitution to provide for an Association Trust and Development Fund was presented to the Annual Business Meeting. The Amendment reads as follows:

The Association Trust and Development Fund shall be administered by a Board of Trustees. The Treasurer of the Association shall serve ex-officio as Chairman of the Board. Six other Trustees shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council. No more than two of the appointive Trustees shall be currently serving as members of the Council. Each appointed member shall serve for a term of three years and be eligible for one additional three-year term, for a maximum service of six years. Of the first six appointments to the Board, two shall have three-year terms; two two-year terms, and two one-year terms as determined by drawing lots at the first meeting of the Board. Thereafter, two appointed members' terms shall expire on the first day of January of each year.

The Fund shall consist of all endowment and trust funds and such other funds as may be assigned to it by the Council. Within any guidelines laid down by the Council, and with appropriate professional advice, the Board of Trustees shall direct the investment of the Fund's resources. On the first day of July of each year, the Board of Trustees shall assign to the Association's general operating funds all moneys from interest and dividends earned by the Fund since the first day of July in the preceding year. At least once annually, the Board shall publicly issue an official accounting of the Fund's receipts, investments, and expenditures. The Council may, at its pleasure, assign any surpluses from the general operating funds to the Trust and Development Fund.

No appropriation shall be made from the Fund's capital except (1) upon a request of the Council