

Draft Minutes APSA Council Meeting August 31, 1994 New York Hilton and Towers Hotel 9:30 a.m.–3:00 p.m.

[*Editor's Note: minutes still pending Council approval*]

Present:

Officers: Charles O. Jones, Sidney Verba, David Brady, Paula D. McClain, Ronald Rogowski, Susan Bourque, John Aldrich, Paul Allen Beck, G. Bingham Powell, Catherine E. Rudder

Council: Harriet Applewhite, James Gibson, Jennifer Hochschild, Raymond Hopkins, Gary C. Jacobson, Barbara Romzek, John Garcia, Barbara Geddes, Mark Hansen, Anne H. Hopkins, Margaret Levi, Mamie E. Locke, William E. Nelson Jr., Michael Zuckert

Nominees: Catherine Kelleher, Loch Johnson, Timothy Cook, Helen Milner, Mary Nichols, Theda Skocpol, Toni-Michele Travis, Mark Lichbach, Betty Glad

Staff: Michael Brintnall, Robert Hauck, Sheila Mann, Rovilla McHenry, Maurice Woodard

Guests: Peter Katzenstein, 1995 Program Chair; A. Margaret Conway; chair, Departmental Services Committee; Melissa Collie, APSR Book Review Editor

1. *The Meeting opened with a greeting from President Charles O. Jones.*

2. *The Council unanimously approved the Minutes of the April 16, 1994 Council Meeting.*

3. *Report from President Charles O. Jones.*

President Jones noted that the minutes from the Administrative Committee meeting had been distributed to the Council and that items there will be reported as they arise on the Council meeting agenda.

He nominated Ada Finifter to be the next managing editor of the American

Political Science Review and reported on the work of the Search Committee which advised him. The Search Committee, chaired by Sidney Verba, met twice to review candidates for Managing Editor. It prepared a short list of 6 candidates and then advised the President, who made further inquiries and nominated Ada Finifter from the list. Jones said it was difficult to select just one person because of the exceptionally high quality of the list.

The choice of Ada Finifter was based on the quality of her professional background, on her editorial and managerial experience, and on her working record with the Association. She prepared an outstanding and visionary statement reflecting a mature and caring understanding about the future of research and publication. Her statement raised issues about how to maintain a balance in the *Review* given the diversity of our discipline and also showed a keen awareness of trends (and honest uncertainty about what the next developments will be) in electronic publishing.

In response to a question, President Jones recounted that Ada Finifter's editorial experience includes editing of two volumes of the *State of the Discipline*, editing of the *Encyclopedia of Democracy*, and service as an Annual Meeting program chair. This, he said, "is as close as you can come experience as a journal editor without having been one." Sidney Verba added that the Search Committee was impressed with the seriousness with which she had taken previous editorial assignments and with her knowledge of people in the discipline.

Ronald Rogowski asked if Ada Finifter's statement to the Search Committee could be published because of its reported usefulness in detailing issues in publication, and Catherine Rudder said she would ask her about releasing it.

The appointment of Ada Finifter as managing editor of the *APSR* was moved and seconded and was approved unanimously.

Catherine Rudder reported that Michigan State University has been very generous with arrangements proposed to house the *Review*, and a mutually agreeable package has been put together, which is very similar to that which presently exists with the University of Rochester.

4. *Report from Catherine E. Rudder, Executive Director.*

Catherine Rudder made note of her Annual Report included in the Council briefing book and printed in the September *PS*. She announced that the Ithiel de Sola Pool lectureship has been established and was endowed anonymously. She also reported that APSA has established an inter-disciplinary membership arrangement with the American Society of International Law (ASIL). This is the third such arrangement we have—the others being with sociology and history.

She reported about the recent IPSA World Congress, and said she would circulate her written report to Council members on request. IPSA is in good financial shape. APSA has three members on the IPSA Council (Theodore Lowi, Walter Dean Burnham, and herself), and typically we have one elected to the Executive Committee. Lowi was reelected to the Executive Committee and now serves as first Vice-President of IPSA.

APSA has a number of issues we would like to resolve with IPSA, including rescheduling their meeting date so as not to conflict with ours and also finding a better way to participate fruitfully in IPSA, commensurate with the size of our contribution.

President Jones added that in the Administrative Committee there was some venting of frustration regarding IPSA and its seeming inattention to our participation. APSA will seek a report from IPSA from time to time on its work, as well as continue to place an emphasis on our own international programs within APSA.

She announced that APSA will be selling T-shirts at this meeting, to raise money for foreign student travel grants, and she presented a specially designed APSA hat to President Jones and Program chair Paul Beck. She also extended a special thanks to those people on the APSA Council who will be rotating off after this meeting.

5. *Standing and Award Committee Appointments by President-elect Sidney Verba.*

President-Elect Verba reported that he sought to achieve diversity as well

as quality in his appointments. Approval of the appointments was moved and seconded, and passed unanimously.

6. Reports on the 1994 Annual Meeting.

a. President Jones commended Paul Allen Beck, Program Chair, for doing a fine job on the 1994 program, and introduced him to make a report on the meeting.

Beck described key features of the program, including an intellectually excellent program, featured plenary sessions on how the profession has changed, Hyde Park sessions, and memorials to Aaron Wildavsky. He thanked the program committee for its hard work and said its success was due to the many individual members who participate so extensively in the planning. The sheer size of the meeting is a major challenge to manage, with over 600 panels and 3500 proposals. He thanked Jennifer Hacha Richards and the APSA staff for doing a wonderful job.

He then said he would like to discuss a series of issues he has identified in the planning of the meeting for future program chairs to address:

i) an absence of routine procedures for handling the flow of proposals. He has developed a series of forms for every division chair to use in handling proposals and has bequeathed those to the new program co-chairs;

ii) delinquency. Some people commit to serve and then pull out late or never show up. This ruins opportunities for others to participate. He has asked for a report from panel chairs about delinquency which may help in developing new policies or approaches;

iii) multiple submissions. Some people propose and have accepted by different panels one or more papers. This disrupts the program planning when later they must withdraw because of the two-panel participation rule. It takes an enormous amount of interaction among the Program Committee to work this out. A submission form has now been developed which reminds people to specify whether they have made co-submissions. Also the Program Committee might try an email bulletin board to communicate with each other.

iv) overlap of panels with similar themes scheduled at the same time. It was also a mistake to ask panel chairs times when they could NOT hold the panel, since many then ruled out all but a few prime times. The Program Com-

mittee might be enlisted to examine the preliminary schedule for topical conflicts if there is time to include this in the scheduling.

v) allocation of panels to divisions. The current formula emphasizes attendance at panels. The demand for space on the program (that is, requests to present papers) in each Division might also be included, if it can be recorded accurately. Information recorded this year (and updated by Beck at this meeting) is illustrative though not wholly accurate because not all division chairs recorded the information in the same way.

In the face of all of the above issues, especially regarding panel allocation, Theda Skocpol suggested that a small group be convened by the President to review these questions and to report back to the Council. Sidney Verba agreed to organize such a group including the executive director, the program co-chairs, and others to do this.

b. Catherine Rudder suggested it be recorded as the sense of the Council that the data available from Paul Beck this year regarding requests for panel space in each division be used this year at the margin to help decide borderline cases in which a division's allocation might be adjusted up or down a panel, and there was no dissent.

c. Rob Hauck reported on the various activities underway to support attendees at the Annual Meeting including funds from the Council for senior foreign scholars and for international graduate students, supplemented with grant funds from The Asia Foundation, The Hu Msing Foundation, The APSA Council and USIA.

He reported that demand for graduate student travel to the meeting well exceeded funds, and asked the Council to consider increasing the level of its support for graduate school travel to the meeting from \$3000 to \$4800, to be further supplemented by funds from T-shirt sales, if any. There was some discussion about whether or not to restrict funds only to paper presenters, and about the merits of encouraging or discouraging graduate students from serving as chairs or discussants.

It was moved and seconded to increase the budget for graduate student travel grants to \$4800 for panel participants, with a preference for those presenting papers. This was approved unanimously.

d. Hauck reported that international participation in the meeting is quite extensive, with 14 percent of the non-student pre-registrants for the meeting being foreign scholars.

e. Rob Hauck recounted the Council's present policy on deletion of names from the Annual Meeting program. Formally, the policy calls for names to be removed of participants who have not pre-registered by June 15th. For reasons related to data gathering, however, APSA has not deleted names. The major concern is that scholars who are out of the country, mistakenly recorded in the system, or not identified as exempt from registration may be erroneously removed. Further, APSA does not know how many of these "delinquent" registrants actually do meet their obligation by registering on-site; since on-site registration is not computerized.

Hauck reported that an alternative approach would be to bill members who do not pre-register by the deadline, at the higher on-site registration rate. The Council, however, was reluctant to impose even this penalty until further information is available about actual on-site registration rates and took no further action on this proposal.

f. Rob Hauck presented proposed anti-discrimination language to be included in negotiations with hotels for annual meeting sites, to cover situations in which localities establish or enforce laws abridging the civil rights of any APSA members on account of race, gender, ethnicity or sexual orientation.

The language reads:

The Association has selected (name of city) as the site for its annual meeting in light of the city's antidiscrimination record. The Association reserves the right of termination of this agreement if the government of the city in which the hotel is located establishes or enforces laws that, in the estimation of the Association, abridge the civil rights of any APSA member on account of race, gender, ethnicity, or sexual orientation.

The APSA may terminate this agreement on these grounds by giving the hotel written notice. The APSA shall have no liability for such cancellation.

Hauck said that APSA will make a good faith effort to include this policy in all negotiations. It has been reviewed by the APSA's legal counsel. There was no objection to this policy.

g. The agenda for the Annual Business Meeting was approved unanimously.

7. *Report by Peter Katzenstein, Co-chair of the 1995 Annual Meeting Program.*

Peter Katzenstein announced that the theme of the meeting will be Liberalism at Century's End: Competing Perspectives, and that he and Program Co-Chair Mary Katzenstein are considering now what plenary sessions and other events to plan. Suggestions are welcome.

He discussed problems of achieving balance and diversity on the program committee given the domination of the program committee by the Organized Section appointments, and the end of the rule of three. He said the greatest difficulty was seeking balance in terms of race and ethnicity—at one point only one person of color was named on the program committee, though now there are 5 minorities out of 48 committee members.

Barbara Romzek reported on the discussion of the Committee on Organized Sections regarding the rule of three and these issues of diversity. She said the Committee endorsed the concerns, but did not recommend making changes in the selection rules for 2 or 3 years to provide some stability in the formal rules.

Instead, a number of strategies were proposed for encouraging Sections themselves to name more minorities as program organizers, beginning with an effort to advance minority participation generally through the Sections. The program chair also should enter into discussions with those Sections who do not have a record of including minorities in the program committee nominees over the years about ways to advance this.

8. *Report from Bingham Powell, Managing Editor of the American Political Science Review.*

a. Bingham Powell introduced Melissa Collie, Book Review Editor, and Mark Lichbach, incoming Book Review Editor. Powell circulated his report for 1993–1994 which will be printed in the December issue of *PS*. In summarizing the report, he noted the tremendous amount of member and reviewer time in the review process which is devoted to giving authors help. He too, he said, tries to give authors what advice he can about their work, or tries to put them in touch with others who can help. He said he thought this “seminar by mail” tradition was an important role of the *Review*.

He also said he thought the reviewer selection process was working well, by

which the editorial board advises on the selection of referees. This process expands the pool of expertise for selecting reviewers. Typically editorial board members respond within just a few days, and 96 percent of the replies come in 10 days, so this approach is not delaying the review cycle much, and with careful management the elapsed time from receipt to decision has been dropping.

Typically, articles published continue to reflect articles submitted. The 1992 format change has made possible more space in the *Review*, and more articles are being published, without cutting back book review space. Overall 10 percent of all submissions are published.

b. Melissa Collie said it has been a great pleasure to serve as Book Review Editor, also noting the remarkably generous amount of time people contribute to reviews, especially from people who usually are the most professionally active in other ways.

She said the decision about what books to review is supply driven—she seeks out books offering new scholarship making substantial contributions to a field rather than singling out any particular field, though the upshot has been that the reviews have stayed balanced in the fields covered.

She selects reviewers who are contributing scholars in the fields covered, with active publication records in the field, and she will not accept requests from scholars to review a particular book (in fact asking to review a book will disqualify someone from becoming its reviewer).

She has also tried to give reviewers space to say important things about the book—so that she has gradually been lengthening reviews at the cost of reviewing fewer books. She said she believes the role of the Book Review Section is not just to provide book summaries, but to give substantive commentary. Reviews are edited only for “meanness” and unnecessarily nasty remarks are stricken; other substance is not changed.

c. Since Melissa Collie will be stepping down as Book Review Editor after the March 1995 issue, President Jones used this opportunity to thank her for her service to the *Review* and the Association, and to tell her “by God we’re very grateful.”

9. *Report from Susan Bourque, Treasurer.*

a. Susan Bourque reported that APSA had an extraordinarily favorable year financially, ending the year with a

surplus of almost \$283,000 on revenues of \$2,700,000. Very positive membership growth, successful sales of the *State of the Discipline* and the *Directory of Membership*, net proceeds from the sale of investments, and very careful cost containment made this surplus possible. Her full report will be published in the December issue of *PS*.

Bourque also presented the revised proposed budget for FY 1995, noting it was changed only very slightly from the preliminary budget approved at the last meeting. The budget projects a \$64,000 surplus.

In reviewing the budget several items were discussed:

i. Michael Brintnall presented a proposal that APSA withdraw its membership from COPAFS (the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics), on the grounds that the narrow focus of its work does not warrant a continued expenditure of APSA funds for dues. Funds might instead be redirected to COSSA (Consortium of Social Science Associations) which more broadly addresses federal policy issues (including those overseen by COPAFS), and to whom APSA owes a greater dues contribution than we have been making. Individual APSA members interested in participating in any workshops or programs provided by COPAFS would not be affected by this change.

It was moved and seconded to withdraw from COPAFS, and to increase the COSSA payment by \$2000, and this passed unanimously.

ii. Ronald Rogowski asked about the surge in revenues for copyright permissions in 1994, about the decline in advertising revenues, and about increases in child care costs. Catherine Rudder reported that copyright revenues had jumped because of a one-time purchase by University Microfilms that was not expected again this year. Space advertising is down everywhere not only with us, and increasing mailing list sales partly offset it. A new advertising manager will be joining APSA with specific responsibilities to address this issue. Child care at the meeting is increasingly costly, but the Association has historically been deeply committed to providing it. We have asked parents using the child care service to pay a slightly larger share of the cost and have asked for a payment up front to help in planning the space. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession has been asked to oversee these policies to assure they are fair.

Approval of the revised proposed budget for FY 1995 was moved and seconded, and passed unanimously.

b. Susan Bourque moved approval of the following two proposals recommended by the Administrative Committee for application of the operating surplus from FY 1994:

i. Allocating \$32,000 to support the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute for 1995. Catherine Rudder explained that the presumption is that the Institute would take place in Atlanta, where the host institutions have provided extensive support in the past, and where it is most appropriate to pursue promises of funding from the Coca-Cola Corporation. In the meantime, we will be searching for new support and a new permanent home for the Institute. This was seconded and approved unanimously.

ii. Putting the remaining \$250,000 in the Trust and Development Fund for the Second Century Fund. Should the Council not approve a plan or should no plan be put forward for the use of these funds, the money would no longer be earmarked. Catherine Rudder explained that the idea of the Second Century Fund is to build a capital fund to serve political scientists into the next century. While there is no concrete proposal today for use of these funds, the Endowed Programs Committee is exploring the idea of a Centennial Center for Scholars and Teachers of Government to be located in the APSA building. At the moment, the vote is on earmarking funds for purposes such as this until the Endowed Programs Committee can come to the Council with a plan. This was seconded and approved unanimously.

c. Catherine Rudder explained a proposal from the Trust and Development Fund Board to change the APSA by-laws to incorporate a total spending rule for endowment income. The proposed rule states:

Prior to the closing of the books at the end of the fiscal year, the Executive Director shall assign to the Association's general operating fund from the Trust and Development Fund an amount equal to a three-year moving average of four and one-half percent of the market value of the fund. If additional monies are needed for the operating fund, the Trust and Development Fund Board of Trustees may approve an allocation of up to six percent of the market value of the fund, calculated using a three-year moving average.

This practice is already being followed. It was moved and seconded to adopt this change, and it was approved unanimously.

d. Susan Bourque presented the

APSA's audited financial statements, noting that they were clean. She moved their acceptance, which was seconded and approved unanimously.

e. Susan Bourque thanked the Committee and staff work which led to such fiscal success, noting in particular the work of the Trust and Development Board of Trustees and its retiring members Jack Peltason and David Brady. She then awarded an APSA New York Annual Meeting T-Shirt to David Brady, in recognition of his "fiscal conservatism and sartorial splendor."

10. Report by Barbara Romzek from the Committee on Organized Sections.

Barbara Romzek described topics discussed at the first Committee meeting and other recent developments regarding Sections, including the development of a Section Officers newsletter, the first distribution of mailing list revenues to Sections, and an alert about the prospect of several Sections naming awards after the same person. Several specific topics to bring to the Council's attention are the following:

a. A proposal to remove the \$5000 cap on total mailing list sales revenues which can be rebated to Sections. The cap was initially approved to provide an upper bound for planning purposes. It was not reached this year in any event, but its removal is of symbolic importance to Sections. The removal of the cap was moved and seconded, and approved unanimously.

b. A discussion of efforts to implement the Council requirement that Sections have a minimum size of 250 members. Romzek noted that there are presently 6 Sections falling significantly below this number, of which 1 is new and is being given one more year to grow. The other five Sections have been given another year to reach 250 members, but to facilitate planning two years from now, they will not be included on the 1996 program committee. Each is now in discussions with her about how to apply this Committee decision.

Romzek reported that Christa Slayton, head of the Transformational Politics Section had written to her objecting to the decision about the 1996 meeting, arguing that the decision was precipitous and undercut their ability to attract new members. Romzek said she in turn had suggested a number of informal ways for the Section to address the 1996 meeting, including meeting with the 1996 program chair, when that person is selected, to discuss involvement in the meeting. (Any decertified

Section is welcome to organize panels as a related group.)

James Gibson said that he did not think the Council should interfere in the work of the Committee to implement Council policy regarding Organized Section size, but that he did think it would be useful to have a sense of the Council resolution that it still supports the 250 person minimum size for Organized Sections. This was seconded, and passed with one vote against.

c. Romzek added that the Organized Sections Committee has learned that many Organized Section officers are still unhappy with the Council decision to preclude sale of advertising in Section newsletters. She said the issue largely is that we need better data to support the justification for this rule—that such ad sales would draw revenue away from *APSR* and *PS*.

Several suggestions were made to obtain relevant information, including having the APSA advertising and exhibits manager talk with publishers about their views and practices, to look at newsletters of Sections in other Associations to evaluate their practices, and to look at advertising sold to specialty journals.

11. Report on APSA Minority Programs.

Maurice Woodard reported on this year's APSA Graduate Fellows, and noted that one Fellow will be funded directly by APSA. Typically, graduate institutions themselves take on full financial support for APSA Graduate Fellows, obviating the need for APSA resources. APSA had also agreed to fund directly a second student, who withdrew to attend law school at the last minute.

Michael Brintnall reported that the Minority Identification Project continues apace, with 288 students identified this year, 50 schools supplying names of students, and many students reporting they are hearing from upwards of 30 graduate schools. He also noted data from the last survey of graduate students, however, suggesting that minority enrollments in graduate school may be falling off.

Maurice Woodard added that minority membership in APSA however has grown significantly from 1988 to 1994, however, with African American membership, as self-reported by members, increasing from 90 to 356 people in that time.

12. *Reports on Research Support Activities.*

James Gibson described the work on NSF on the democratization initiative. Scholars interested in the project are trying to raise new money through NSF, Congress, and other sources for this work.

Catherine Rudder noted that the NRC Assessment of Graduate Programs is continuing with a release date of December 4.

13. *Reports on International Programs.*

Rob Hauck described the agenda of the International Committee and referred to several reports on international programs included with the agenda. Consistent with the Council's interest in broadening the international role of the APSA, the Committee this year, chaired by T.J. Pempel, and with Margaret Scranton, David Lampton, Rodney Hero, Ian Lustick, and Samuel P. Huntington, has become increasingly active.

14. *Reports on Education Programs.*

Sheilah Mann reported on the two faculty institutes which APSA conducted this summer in collaboration with the University of Tulsa and with American University. The institute at Tulsa addressed Defining the Core of Constitutionalism, Citizenship, and Civic Education and ran with NEH support. The program at American University was supported by the USIA, and presented an in-depth study of the American Political System to foreign political scientists from 18 countries.

Mann also reminded Council members that faculty who have received teaching awards at their home institutions will be honored at the Annual Meeting at the President-Elect's reception and will be named in *PS*.

15. *Report from the Departmental Services Committee.*

M. Margaret Conway, Chair of the Departmental Services Committee, joined the meeting to present the dues proposal from the committee. She noted that dues have been adjusted every three years in the past, which calls for relatively large increments to stay in line with costs. The Committee now instead proposes dues be adjusted on an annual cycle, with a slight increase for 1994–1995. She reported that the Committee has reviewed the different

size and dues rate categories, including looking at some alternative categories suggested by Council members, and has concluded that no modifications to them are warranted.

The new dues proposal was moved and seconded, and passed unanimously.

Conway also reported that the Committee has changed the Departmental Survey to cover questions suggested by the Council, including graduate student stipends, departmental operating budgets, and graduate student placement.

16. *Other Business.*

President-Elect Sidney Verba commended President Charles O. Jones on his service to the Association and presented a plaque and a framed political print from the Association in appreciation.

The meeting adjourned. The next meeting will be April 8, 1995 in Chicago.

APSA Awards Presented at 1994 Annual Meeting

DISSERTATION AWARDS

Gabriel A. Almond Award (\$250)

For the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted in 1992 or 1993 in the field of comparative politics.

Award Committee: Gary Marks, Chair, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Germaine A. Hoston, University of California at San Diego; David Cameron, Yale University

Recipient: Daniel Goldhagen, Harvard University

Dissertation: "The Nazi Executioners: A Study of Their Behavior and the Causation of Genocide"

Dissertation Chair: Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University

Citation: The Almond Prize Committee, composed of David Cameron (Yale University), Germaine Hoston (University of California at San Diego), and chaired by Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) has decided to award the Almond Prize to Daniel Goldhagen of Harvard University whose dissertation is entitled "The Nazi Executioners: A Study of Their Behavior and the Causation of Geno-

cide." The chair of Goldhagen's dissertation committee is Stanley Hoffmann.

The dissertation draws on detailed and original historical research on the Holocaust to advance a challenging thesis concerning the perpetrators' motivations. Instead of examining political or military leaders, Goldhagen probes the motivations of ordinary soldiers, guards, and civilians who executed the Holocaust. The strengths of the dissertation are impressive. The study is well grounded, lucidly written, and is likely to be much debated in the fields of German and comparative politics and, indeed, within political science generally. Given Gabriel Almond's longstanding concern with understanding the sources of political extremism, from his study of the sources of support for Communism to his very recent work on varieties of religious fundamentalism, it is perhaps particularly fitting that the committee selected Daniel Goldhagen's dissertation.

William Anderson Award (\$250)

For the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted in 1992 or 1993 in the field of intergovernmental relations.

Award Committee: Susan A. MacManus, University of South Florida, Chair; Bryan Jones, Texas A&M University; Lenneal Henderson, University of Baltimore

Recipient: Dewitt John, National Academy of Public Administration, The University of Chicago

Dissertation: States at the Center of Environmental Politics

Dissertation Chair: Gary Orfield, University of Chicago

Dewitt John's dissertation, *States at the Center of Environmental Politics* (University of Chicago, Adviser, Gary Orfield) offers a provocative new dimension to federal-state intergovernmental relations. Using a series of intriguing case studies, complete with interviews with key actors and observers, and some heretofore unanalyzed national environmental data bases, John questions the conventional wisdom of Washington as the center of the federal system and of federal agencies as the gorilla in the closet, forcing states to act responsibly. His major thesis is that when use of certain governmental action tools, like those involving public services, subsidies, and catalytic action, is required, states are comparatively advantaged vis-à-vis the federal government, which is better po-