

Association News

Tenneco	9/1/85	10 M
United Airline	7/1/92	10 M
U.S. Treasury Notes and Bonds:		
	5/15/72	125 M
	5/15/74	200 M
	8/15/75	140 M

Savings and Loan Associations*	Amount
Carver, New York City	\$10,000.00
Independent, Washington, D.C.	10,000.00

Certificate of Deposit

Franklin National Bank, New York City	15,000.00
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*Consistent with the guidelines adopted by the Finance Committee and approved by the Council, the Association has invested funds in institutions making a special effort to promote the establishment of a more democratic and humane social order.

APSA Council Minutes

The first Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., December 4 and 5, 1970.

Present:

Chadwick F. Alger, Edward C. Banfield, Philip E. Converse, John A. Davis, Thomas R. Dye, Heinz Eulau, Fred I. Greenstein, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Nelson W. Polsby, James W. Prothro, Austin Ranney, William P. Robinson, Sr., Dankwart A. Rustow, Robert H. Salisbury, Victoria Schuck, Allan P. Sandler, Gordon Tullock, Sidney Verba, Ellis Waldron

Presiding:

Robert E. Lane, President

Approval of Minutes

Approval of the minutes of the previous meeting of the Council and the Annual Business Meeting minutes was deferred until the second day of the meeting to give members of the Council time to read the minutes. The next day, Kessel moved that the minutes of the Council and the Annual Business Meeting be approved subject to such minor corrections that the Secretary may find necessary. Motion unanimously approved.

Report on Election Outcomes

Kirkpatrick reported to the Council on the results of the mail ballot vote on constitutional amendments and resolutions. (Election results are published in the Winter, 1970, issue of PS.)

Report on Association Finances

Kirkpatrick reported on Association finances for the first five months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and presented revised estimates of annual revenues and expenditures. He estimated the income from membership dues for the current fiscal year would be \$266,000 instead of \$344,000 as in the budget. He noted that dues collection for three quarters of the year would be over before the dues increase approved by the membership would become effective, and that the earlier budget estimate had been based on collection of new dues for a larger portion of the year.

Rustow moved that notices be sent to all those who had been sent dues statements for the quarter beginning January 1, 1971, stating that the dues increase amendment had passed and inviting those members to pay on the new basis. There were no objections to the Rustow motion. Motion approved.

Kirkpatrick pointed out various areas in the budget for the current fiscal year where the Budget Committee had overestimated income and underestimated expenses. According to his revised estimates, if the Association continued operating under the present budget, the Association would end with a deficit of over \$200,000 for the current fiscal year. He estimated that expenses would amount to \$871,000 while revenues would amount to only \$651,000.

Procedure for Budget Reductions

Lane suggested that the Administrative Committee be instructed to discover new sources of income and reduce authorized expenditures for the coming year by an amount to be fixed by the Council.

In the discussion that followed, Tullock suggested continuing the deficit in order to use up the Association's endowment fund. McClosky stated that this procedure would "merely postpone financial disaster for two or three years," that interest from the endowment would be lost as a source of income, and that in the end the Association would be obliged to cut its spending anyway. Ranney observed that the endowment

gives the Association a means of dealing with emergency needs.

Lane moved to refer to the Administrative Committee the question of finding additional funds. No objection; motion approved.

Tulloch moved to request the Administrative Committee to report back to the Council with a plan for reduction in expenditures for the current fiscal year in an amount of not less than \$40,000. Rustow amended the Tulloch motion to add "after hearing a discussion by the Council of its priorities." Tulloch accepted the amendment. Kessel stated that he would like to have the costs of *PS* discussed, and asked that the Administrative Committee consider the budget for the next fiscal year at the same time they are looking at reductions in the present year's budget. Huntington offered a substitute motion—that the Administrative Committee's decisions on reducing the budget shall be final provided that they are sent to members of the Council and no more than one-fourth of the Council objects to the proposed budget.

Lane proposed that the Council set aside several hours on the second day of the meeting for a discussion of Association budget priorities. This discussion would be used as a guide by the Administrative Committee in preparing a revised budget. The Administrative Committee would later submit its revised budget to Council members by mail for their ratification. There was no objection expressed to this procedure and it was followed.

Report of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

Tom Mann reported briefly to the Council on the work of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education and pointed out that the Committee's full report is on pages 563-567 of the Special issue of the Summer 1970 *PS*.

Report of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction

Lane reported to the Council for the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction. He stated that he had prepared a proposal for seed money for a program of research and development in college political education and both he and Kirkpatrick had sent it to various foundations requesting grants. Lane and Kirkpatrick had also spoken informally to NSF officials about obtaining NSF funds. These officials suggested

the advisability of an Association-sponsored conference on undergraduate instruction as a prelude to the submission of a formal proposal. Lane reported that he has scheduled such a conference for December 11-13, 1970, and has invited approximately 24 participants.

Lane also reported that he prepared a proposal for the National Endowment for the Humanities regarding political philosophy. He did so because he believed that NSF would emphasize empirical and systematic aspects of political science in their support, and he did not want political philosophy to be overlooked in undergraduate instructional programs of the Association. However, when Lane convened a special committee of political philosophers, chaired by Hanna Pitkin, they rejected Lane's proposal, and prepared a proposal of their own which has been submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Kariel moved to authorize the allocation of the funds not spent by the Committee for an Exploratory Study of Graduate Education to the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction to partially fund the December conference, and to authorize use of contingency funds for any remaining costs.

Salisbury questioned a sentence in the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities stating that the Council of the Association had approved the program. Lane explained that this wording was "in anticipation" of Council action. Ranney asked if the Council would have an opportunity to review the proposal to be submitted to NSF prior to its submission, and questioned whether the Council would be free to alter committee structures listed in the proposal if the grant is received. Lane replied that the Council usually has not dealt with the details of a grant application but merely approved the application in general.

Sindler felt that the submission of a proposal on behalf of the Association by a committee of political theorists without prior review by the Council was a procedural error. He felt that this was a poor precedent in seeking foundation grants. He noted that in the past either the Council or the Executive Committee had approved proposals before they were submitted. Lane explained that he acted to meet foundation deadlines and that delay would have postponed initiation of the program for nearly a year.

He observed that the Council can still take any action it deems appropriate. He stated his belief that the Association had already delayed too long in addressing itself to undergraduate teaching.

Kariel stated that he was pleased that Lane took initiative on behalf of the political philosophy program, but dismayed by the fact that the Council was not involved in making such a decision. Eulau pointed out that the Association is immobilized between September and December, and that if the President cannot take action, nothing can be done.

Greenstein suggested a five-man subcommittee of the Council review and approve the final NSF proposal. Kariel accepted Greenstein's suggestion as part of his original motion (authorizing funds for the conference). The motion was unanimously approved.

Rustow moved that the Council retroactively approve the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities with the understanding that the committee be enlarged by three members to represent subdisciplines other than political philosophy. Unanimously approved.

Mitchell moved that, in accordance with expressed Association policy, it is the sense of the Council that an overhead item should be added into the proposal submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities and in all other proposals. No objection; motion approved.

Report on the Association's State and Local Government Internship Program

The Council then discussed the Association's State and Local Government Internship Program. Waldron urged that internships be open to undergraduates and first-year graduate students in order to direct them toward careers in government service. Salisbury felt that the program is more appropriate for doctoral candidates because not only will the student be improved, but the discipline will be improved. Rustow moved that the President enlarge the existing Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Internships so as to enable it to formulate an application for internships in non-governmental organizations as well as state and local governments. McClosky offered a substitute motion that the Executive Director and Administrative Committee be authorized to prepare a proposal for renewal of the grant for the State and Local

Government Internship Program, to include non-governmental organizations as well as state and local governments, and to try to work into the proposal the sentiments expressed by the Council. McClosky motion unanimously approved.

Waldron stated his feeling that limitation of intern programs to doctoral candidates restricts access of preprofessional students to such internships and it limits sponsorship of such programs to institutions offering the doctoral degree. It may, indeed, completely preclude development of such programs in some states. Waldron moved that the Administrative Committee be instructed to review the doctoral candidacy as a basic requirement for such a program.

Vote on the Waldron motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Davis, Greenstein, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Mitchell, Ranney, Robinson, Rustow, Schuck, Sindler, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Dye, Eulau, Huntington, Prothro, Salisbury

Lane and Tullock abstained from voting.

Vote:

18 for, 5 opposed, motion carried.

Proposed SAIS-APSA Congressional Summer Internship

The next agenda item was a proposed SAIS-APSA Congressional Summer Intern Project. Discussion reflected a reluctance of the Council to lend the Association's name to grant applications developed outside of the Association. Prothro moved that the President be instructed not to pursue this proposal further. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos

Ralph Guzman, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos, reported to the Council for his committee, and requested funds for committee meetings and a scholarship program for Chicano students. (A copy of the committee report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.) Matthews asked if the Committee is working on a proposal to foundations for outside

funding for Chicano scholarships. Guzman replied that such proposals are being prepared. Kessel thought that both the request for funds for committee meetings and funds for scholarships should be referred to the Administrative Committee for their action in light of other budgetary requests and that the Administrative Committee should report back to the Council. Davis suggested that the Chicanos, possibly in conjunction with other social scientists, apply to a foundation for a seed grant to explore the depth of the problem. Dye felt that the request by the Chicanos for a fellowship program, in light of what the Council has done for black students, is not an unreasonable request. However, he believed that there is need for some general Association policy in the area of disadvantaged members of the profession, so that decisions can be made about what to do for all disadvantaged groups instead of considering separate requests from each group.

Banfield felt that the request for funding a scholarship program is not so much practical as it is symbolic. Tullock expressed his feeling that any number of qualified Chicanos could be placed in universities without expenditure of Association funds. Converse stated that he would be in favor of the Administrative Committee doing its best to help with the first seed money for Chicano committee meetings with the instruction that they develop a proposal to obtain other monies. Ranney moved to postpone consideration of the requests by the Committee on the Status of Chicanos until after discussion of the budgetary priorities and guidelines for the Administrative Committee.

Vote on the Ranney motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Davis, Eulau, Greenstein, Kariel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Prothro, Ranney, Robinson, Rustow, Salisbury, Schuck, Sindler, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Dye, Kessel, Mitchell, Tullock

Lane abstained from voting.

Vote:

19 for, 4 opposed, motion carried.

Proposal for a Committee on the Status of Foreign Born

Amrit Lel spoke to the Council requesting the creation of a Committee on Foreign Born. McClosky proposed that the President of the Association be authorized to appoint an ad hoc Committee on Disadvantaged Groups composed of members of disadvantaged groups and others, to meet for a single meeting, for the purpose of *formulating general Association policies for dealing with the special problems, needs, and requests of disadvantaged groups in the political science profession.* Eulau observed that "the Association is not a foundation." The Association, he said, is not able to take effective action to resolve all of the problems of American society. The Council and the members of the Association must realize the limits of the Association.

Vote on the McClosky motion was:

For:

Alger, Banfield, Converse, Dye, Eulau, Greenstein, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Matthews, Prothro, Ranney, Rustow, Salisbury, Schuck, Sindler, Tullock, Verba, Waldron

Against:

Davis, Mitchell, Robinson

Lane abstained from voting.

Vote:

21 for, 3 opposed, motion carried.

Staff position on Academic Freedom

Sindler and Prothro spoke to the Council concerning a staff representative for academic freedom to function in the area of academic freedom but not in the area of disadvantaged groups within the profession. *The Committee on Academic Freedom feels that every effort should be made to secure external funding for a staff position, and only in the event that outside funding has failed should the resources of the Association be used.*

Report of the Program Committee for the 1971 Annual Meeting

Verba reported to the Council on the work of the Program Committee. Dye pointed out Council policy preventing multiple appearances of people on panels at an Annual Meeting. He observed

that there is no rule preventing re-appearance year after year of the same people, but suggested to Verba that a general policy preventing consecutive annual re-appearance would be wise.

Report of the Managing Editor of the REVIEW

Ranney and Polsby reported on the progress of the change-over in Managing Editor of the *Review* and changes which are being made in the format and the operation of the *Review*. The last issue edited by Austin Ranney will be March 1971. Polsby mentioned that he has requests to make regarding further professionalized editing of the *Review*, additional issues, etc., and that he will ask for a hearing before the Administrative Committee when they consider the budget for the next fiscal year. He also noted that the *Review* generates more income than it costs; the income from library memberships, advertising, and royalty payments exceeds the cost of the *Review*.

Report of the Committee on Recruitment and Placement

Martin Heisler reported to the Council for the Committee on Recruitment and Placement. Huntington moved to levy an appropriate charge on Ph.D. producing departments for the placement services of the Association. Motion unanimously approved. Rustow moved to authorize \$1450 as requested by the Committee to survey the job market. Unanimously approved. Mitchell moved to authorize \$450 to the Committee for travel to regional meetings to evaluate regional personnel service operations and \$100 for miscellaneous expenses. Unanimously approved.

Ad Hoc Committee of Department Chairmen

Salisbury moved to authorize the President to appoint an ad hoc committee of department chairmen to explore how the national office can be of service to them. This committee will be financed primarily by the departments themselves, but there may be some departments which do not have money available. Thus the motion included an appropriation of \$500 for expenses of the committee. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks

Paul Puryear reported to the Council for the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession (a copy of the Committee report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.) The Committee requested \$5,500 for the completion of a survey they are doing and asked the Council to approve the Committee's

proposal for a Black Scholars' Program. Russell Adams reported on the work of the Subcommittee on Cognitive Values in reporting a "victim's eye view" of the problems of black professionals.

Mae King reported on the progress of the 1971-72 APSA Black Graduate Fellowship Program. She stated that there was a large increase in the number of applicants this year, and commented on the Association's efforts to make available to students information on financial assistance provided by American universities. She reported briefly on the results of a survey of political science graduate departmental chairmen, noting that 59 of the 117 potential respondents had provided information on financial assistance programs at their institutions. The graduate fellowship applicants and other students are provided with this information.

Dye moved to approve the Black Scholars' Program proposal.

Sindler noted that in the proposal a Policy Committee would have full control of the program, and that he was concerned that the proposed governing structure is one of complete autonomy from the Association. He asked if enlargement of the governing committee would help to insure representation of diverse viewpoints. Puryear replied that the Committee on the Status of Blacks felt that the Black Scholars' Program was designed to benefit black members of the profession and should be guided by blacks. McClosky asked if it would be possible for black people with various points of view to be appointed to the committee. Banfield expressed concern about whether the blacks who run the program will represent all points of view within the black community. Puryear cited the boycott of the last Annual Meeting as an indication of unity among black political scientists on basic goals. Rustow stated that he did not share any of the apprehensions about the Policy Committee, but moved to amend the proposal to stipulate "vacancies on the Policy Committee shall be filled by the President of the APSA in full consultation with incumbent members of the Policy Committee and in accordance with by-laws of the Association."

Puryear, after consultation with other members of his Committee who were present, stated that they were not sure what is meant by the phrase "in full consultation with incumbent members of the Policy Committee," and that

they would like to have some assurance that names proposed by the Committee would be considered. Ranney stated that in making Committee appointments, the chairmen of committees are always consulted, and that no one would be appointed who the Committee was *not willing* to accept. Puryear, on behalf of his Committee, accepted the amendment by Rustow, in view of the explanation by Ranney. The Dye motion for the Council to approve the APSA Black Scholars' Program proposal as amended was unanimously approved.

Because of budgetary problems, Kessel moved to table, without prejudice, the Committee on the Status of Blacks' request for money to complete their survey. Unanimously approved.

Report of the Chairman of the Board of Editors of PS

James David Barber, Chairman of the Editorial Board of *PS* reported to the Council. He stated that his Board had agreed to cut their budget by \$5,000 by eliminating designers for *PS*.

Composition of Administrative Committee

Lane requested that the Council change the size of the Administrative Committee to include three *ex officio* members and four Council members. Unanimously approved. Lane reported that, in addition to the *ex officio* members—President Lane, President-Elect Eulau, and Treasurer Matthews—he wished to appoint Huntington, Mitchell, Davis and Prothro from the Council, and asked for Council approval of these appointments. Unanimously approved.

Association By-Laws

Ranney presented the Council with proposed By-Laws for review and consideration prior to the next Council meeting. The proposed By-Laws are consistent with the Constitution of the Association, and for the most part, they represent a codification of previous actions by the Council and Business Meeting.

Political Science Abstracts

Lane expressed concern that American political science does not have an abstracting service which is comparable to other disciplines. He believed the *International Political Science Abstracts* to be inadequate. The Association's Committee on Scientific Information Exchange was interested in long-range problems, and, therefore, Lane asked if the Council would consider acting now to initiate an abstracting service. Rustow moved that

the Council request the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange to explore the desirability, feasibility and cost of a journal of abstracts and to report on this to the next Council meeting. Ranney amended the motion to ask the Committee to report to the Council no later than the Council meeting immediately prior to the 1971 Annual Meeting. Rustow accepted Ranney's amendment. Motion was approved; only Eulau opposed.

Expenses for Committee on Foreign Born

Lal Goel appeared before the Council and asked that the Foreign Born be authorized \$500 in the interim before the ad hoc committee on disadvantaged groups met, for expenses of their group for mailing, telephone, compilation of a list of foreign born and other expenses. Banfield moved that if the Administrative Committee finds this to be a matter of its priorities, the Committee be authorized to make the requested allocation of \$500. There was no objection to the motion; motion approved.

Discussion of Association Priorities for Guidance of Administrative Committee

The Council devoted several hours to an informal discussion of Association purposes and priorities. It was hoped that this discussion would assist the Administrative Committee in the difficult task of budget reduction. Following this discussion, Lane requested that each member submit a ranking of expenditure categories for budget reductions. These rankings would guide the Administrative Committee in preparing a revised budget.

The Council agreed to hold their next meeting in Washington, D.C., on February 19 and 20. The meeting adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

Correction Note

In the minutes of the September 7-8, 1970, Council meeting, Thomas Dye was incorrectly listed as voting against as well as for the Sindler Amendment to Ad Hoc Committee Constitutional Amendment for a mail ballot on resolutions (Winter, *PS*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 71). Mr. Dye voted for the Sindler Amendment as recorded and his name should be deleted from the against column making the vote 14 for, 7 against.