# **APSA Council Minutes**

The **first Council meeting** of the year was held in the Windsor Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. **December 4 and 5, 1969.** 

#### Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merrit, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Nogee, A.F.K. Organski, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Francis E. Rourke, Robert H. Salisbury, Allan P. Sindler, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Ellis Waldron, Robert E. Ward, Frederick Wirt

#### Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

I. President Deutsch opened the meeting by welcoming the new members of the Council, outlining the major points of business to be covered, and proposing changes in the order of business to assure completion of major items before the end of the meeting on Friday.

# II. Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

The Council received an oral report from Josephine Milburn, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Women. Mrs. Milburn submitted two requests for Council consideration:

- 1. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession requests that the APSA Council
- a. Consider appropriate alternative means for handling issues of discrimination in the profession. It requests consideration of means that are responsive to a wide variety of situations of differential treatments because of sex, race and religion, including machinery for publicizing specific instances of discrimination and an ombudsman.
- b. Join with other academic associations in urging the AAUP to expand its present concern relating to academic freedom and to include responsibility for considering cases of discrimination against members of the academic community relating to race, religion or sex.

The Council referred this request to the Committee on Academic Freedom for its review and recommendations.

2. The Committee on the Status of Women requests the Council to appropriate up to \$7,000 for a study

to be carried on by mailed questionnaire.

The Council deferred action until toward the end of the meeting so that this request might be considered along with other requests for funds. The Council subsequently approved the request, limiting the total to no more than \$7,000. Minutes of the October 24, 1969 meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women were distributed to all Council members

## III. Report of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange

The Council received an oral report from Carl Beck, Chairman of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange, proposing that the Association proceed with submission of a project to NSF for financial support.

The Council, by formal resolution, asked the Committee to prepare a specific proposal for submission to NSF, and provide copies to the Council for review and final action at a Council meeting on January 15, 1970, in San Francisco.

The Council had before it minutes of the Committee's discussion at a meeting held in September in conjunction with the APSA Annual Meeting.

The Council, by formal action, authorized the President to appoint three additional members of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange.

# IV. Report of the Committee on Program Review and Planning

The Council received a report from Frank Sorauf, Chairman of the Committee on Program Review and Planning.

Mr. Sorauf discussed the report briefly and recommended that it be circulated for comment and suggestions prior to final action at a later meeting. The Council authorized printing the report in *PS*; adopted a recommendation of the President that the President Elect be a member of the Committee on Program Review and Planning; agreed that membership on the Committee be restricted to Council members as originally approved; and noted the present composition of the Committee as including: Frank Sorauf, Chairman, Samuel Huntington, Henry Kariel, Robert Lane, Francis Rourke and Herbert Spiro.

## V. Report of the Committee on Finance

Francis Rourke, Chairman of the Committee on Finance reported on the work of the Committee and

a copy of a cumulative report on income and expenditures through November was distributed to Council members.

Mr. Rourke reported that the Committee on Finance has decided (a) to print twice annually a list of securities held by the Association for investment; (b) to invest a portion of the Association's portfolio in business firms whose activities promote the establishment of a democratic and humane social order.

The Council approved increasing the size of the Committee to five; it further was agreed that President Deutsch should delay making the appointments effective until after the January 15, 1970 Council meeting.

The Council raised the question of the comparative report on professional salaries of the staff of the national office requested at the September meeting. The Executive Director reported on the data collected from other Associations to date. The Council then instructed the Committee on Finance to consider the salaries of government, universities and other professional associations in relation to those of the APSA, to recommend salary ranges for various positions in the APSA national office, and to review and make a recommendation for the salary of the Executive Director and for the Managing Editor of the Review.

The Council also instructed the Committee to review the dues structure of APSA, to make recommendations of a new dues structure, and to make recommendations for a constitutional amendment to remove the provision of specific dues from the constitution.

The Council asked for a report on both of the above items at the January 15, 1970 Council meeting.

## VI. Report of the Committee on Professional Ethics

Vernon Van Dyke, Chairman of the Committee on Professional Ethics, called attention to the minutes of the Committee of October 11, 1969 and Advisory Opinions 2, 3, 4 and 5 distributed to the Council prior to the meeting. He noted that Advisory Opinion 1 had already been printed in *PS* (Summer 1969).

The Council received the report and agreed to consider at the next Council meeting (January 15, 1970) what further action, if any, should be taken with respect to Advisory Opinions.

## VII. Printing of Committee Reports

The Council instructed the national office to print all committee reports in *PS* with the notation that they are the responsibility of the committee, not the Association; further, each is to be accompanied by a request to all Association members to furnish their views on the report to the committees, the Council, and the officers of the Association.

## VIII. Report of the Committee on Elections

The Council accepted the report of the Committee on Elections, Herbert Spiro, Chairman.

There was discussion of the failure to include the university affiliation on the ballot in accordance with the Council instructions of September 5. No action was taken.

In response to a letter from Donald Herzberg, there was discussion of the action of the Committee on Elections not allowing substitution of another nominee withdrawing their candidacy.

The Council requested that the Committee on Constitutional Revision give the Council its interpretation of whether the present constitution forbids substitutions in case of death or withdrawal of a candidate. Further, a motion was adopted that, if such substitution is not possible under the present constitution, the Council is to prepare and sponsor a constitutional amendment providing that in the case of any candidate or nominee who is removed from candidacy by death, voluntary withdrawal or any other disability, the original nominators (Nominating Committee or petition signers) will be allowed to substitute another candidate.

The Constitutional Revision Committee is requested to report its interpretation of the present constitution to the Council before January 15, 1970.

After expression of approval of the work of the American Arbitration Association in assisting with the Annual Meeting and in the conduct of the mailed ballot election, the Council directed the national office to employ the services of the AAA again in 1970.

The Council also expressed its thanks and appreciation to the Committee on Elections, its chairman and vice chairman for their work in supervising the conduct of the 1969 elections.

### IX. Report of the Program Committee, 1970

The Program Chairman, Richard Merritt, reported on

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the work of his committee and distributed copies of the program as developed to date.

The Program Chairman then asked for Council action with respect to the request of the Conference for Democratic Politics and the Caucus for a New Political Science for an allotment of panels this year and also suggested that a policy with respect to future years probably should be developed.

The Council then authorized the Program Chairman to invite the Conference for Democratic Politics and the Caucus for a New Political Science to propose up to ten (10) panels each for the 1970 Annual Meeting. It further instructed the Program Chairman and his committee to review proposed panels for their scholarly appropriateness and approve or disapprove their being included in the program.

A resolution to direct that the panels approved be included in the regular program without any designation of a co-sponsoring group failed of passage, and the Program Chairman was instructed to list the appropriate group as co-sponsor. The Council, after discussion of future policy, adopted a motion that beginning with the Annual Meeting of 1971, all panels, plenary sessions, or other aspects of the official program must be organized under the direction of the Program Committee and no panels will be allotted as a bloc to any person or group of persons outside the Committee. Only programs organized under the direct control and supervision of the Program Committee will be printed in the official program. Any exception to this policy must be made by action of the Council on the recommendation of the Program Committee. The motion, as adopted, provided further that nothing in this resolution shall be construed to prohibit or restrain the Association's traditional policy of, where feasible, making rooms available and assisting in the announcement of special meetings organized to serve other legitimate purposes of the Association or its members.

# X. Resignation of Austin Ranney as Editor, APSR and Establishment of Search Committee

Austin Ranney's letter of resignation as Editor, APSR was distributed to Council members in advance of the meeting.

The Council discussed the procedure for selecting a new editor and established a Search and Screening Committee to consider candidates for the position of Managing Editor of the Review. The Committee will consist of the President, President Elect, retiring Managing Editor, three members of the Council, and

one member of the current Editorial Board, the latter four to be appointed by the President.

The Council also directed that a letter be sent immediately by the Executive Director to all department chairmen advising them of the vacancy and asking for their suggestions and nominations for Managing Editor. The Council further directed the President to recommend a person for the editorship at the Council meeting of January 15, 1970.

# XI. Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks

Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, reported for the Committee.

In response to the requests for action included in the report, the Council:

- A. Approved the report on the Black Fellowship Program and authorized its implementation by the national office and the committee.
- B. Recognized the need for the development of research funds for black faculty and directed the Executive Director to seek foundation support for a Black Faculty Research Program. With respect to the availability and possible use of Association funds, the Council referred the question to the Committee on Finance.
- C. Requested the Committee on the Status of Blacks to prepare a specific proposal for a conference to discuss the scope, purpose, and organization of a Center for Black Politics and present it to the Council at its meeting on January 15, 1970.
- D. Referred the request for greater black representation on the Council to the Committee on Nominations with the request that the Committee take care to see that blacks are adequately represented.

The Nominating Committee was encouraged to consult with the Committee on the Status of Blacks with a view to securing suggestions of possible names.

- E. Tabled the recommendation for appointment of a Black Associate Director of APSA to concern himself with the problems of blacks in the profession.
- F. Reaffirmed Association non-discrimination policy, including its policy to sever business relations with any firm discriminating against blacks or other minority groups.

- G. After considerable discussion of the desirability of the Association taking positions on public policy, approved a motion that the Association's opposition to discrimination was best evidenced by its own non-discriminatory policies and practices, and that further actions on public policy affecting the welfare and status of blacks and other oppressed peoples as well as other policy matters is best served by the scholarship and personal activities of individual political scientists.
- H. Approved the recommendation of the Committee, in response to a request for recommendation by the national office and Council, that the current personnel service policy of listing faculty positions for "black political Scientists" when so requested be continued.
- I. Suggested that the Finance Committee inform the Committee on the Status of Blacks about its actions with respect to investment policy not only designed to penalize companies that discriminate but to aid those companies and organizations seeking to promote desirable social goals and consult with the Committee about further actions or policies the Finance Committee will recommend to the Council.
- XII. The Chairman of the Committee on Elections suggested that the Association might wish to sponsor some research on the 1969 APSA elections and suggested a possible expenditure for that purpose of up to \$2,000. After considerable discussion, the Council disapproved of any financial appropriation but asked the national office to do a simple study of voting totals in various categories. The Council further authorized that the data be available to any scholar interested in further research.
- XIII. Robert Lane, President-Elect, presented a draft of a development program for the Association and asked the Council's opinion of his taking leave for a year, spending the year in Washington to help develop such a program. The Council referred the proposed development program to the Committee on Program Review and Planning of which the President-Elect is to be a member and expressed their endorsement of the President-Elect spending the year of his Presidency in Washington helping develop Association programs.
- **XIV.** President Deutsch asked the Council to approve expanding the Editorial Board of *PS* to six members. Such expansion will enable Betty Glad, University of Illinois, to be retained on the Committee as recommended by the Chairman of the Editorial Board, James David Barber. In accordance

with the procedure and terms originally established, the terms of members will be three years with the terms of two members expiring each year. The terms of Henry S. Kariel and Martin Kilson expire in 1970; of James David Barber and Philippe C. Schmitter in 1971; and of Betty Glad and Barbara Hinckley in 1972.

Several members of the Council asked about the change of name of *PS* to "The American Political Scientist" as mentioned by President Deutsch. After considerable discussion, the Council expressed its appreciation for the work of the Editor, the Chairman and members of the Editorial Board, suggested that the Chairman of the Editorial Board, if he wishes, present to the Council any proposals he may have for changing the title or other aspects of the Association newsletter.

**XV.** There was brief discussion of the desirability of again holding a meeting or meetings for departmental chairmen at the Annual Meeting; it was agreed that the Executive Director and Program Chairman will explore doing so and report back to the next Council meeting.

The Council adjourned at 2:30 p.m., December 5, to meet again on January 15, 1970 in San Francisco, California. Arrangements for the January 15, 1970 meeting and notices about it will be sent out by the Executive Director.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

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The **second Council meeting** of the year was held in the Sheraton Commander Hotel, Cambridge, Massachusetts, **January 15 and 16, 1970.** 

The night preceding the Council meeting, a reception was held for members of the Council by Boston University, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northeastern, Simmons and Tufts. Other institutions invited to attend the reception were: Bentley, Boston College, Brandeis, Brown, Merrimack (North Andover), Radcliffe, Sulfolk, University of Massachusetts (Boston), Wellesley and Wheaton.

#### Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Tobe Johnson, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merritt, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Nogee, A.F.K. Organski, Jewel L. Prestage, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Robert H. Salisbury, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Ellis Waldron and Frederick Wirt

#### Presiding:

Karl W. Deutsch, President

There was discussion of the draft of the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting. Lane moved to leave the clarification of minutes of the Annual Business Meeting dealing with the Committee on the Status of Women in the-Profession to the national office to be revised for style and consistency. Unanimously approved.

Spiro made a motion that reports of the Council meeting contain a brief summary of arguments, identify people taking major positions, and identify individuals voting on resolutions. Unanimously approved.

Baker indicated that there may have been an error in reporting on one of the motions at the Annual Business Meeting regarding the Congressional Distinguished Service Awards. Lane moved that Baker make a revision of the minutes, if necessary, on the abolition of the Congressional Distinguished Service awards following a review of the transcript of the meeting. Unanimously approved.

Nogee moved that the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting be approved with the above revision. Unanimously approved.

A motion was made by Lane that the President shall nominate and the Council elect an Administrative

Committee to assist the Council, the President and the Executive Director in the management of the business of the Association by presenting alternatives and recommending action to the Council and proposing an agenda for Council meetings. The Administrative Committee will report its actions to each Council meeting for confirmation. The Committee shall include the President, President-Elect, Treasurer, ex-officio, and two other elected members of the Council.

Discussion centered about the question of whether an Administrative Committee could assist the Council in discharging its policy-making functions by 1) removing minor but time-consuming items from the Council agenda, 2) structuring policy alternatives for Council consideration, and 3) taking administrative action on items which arise between meetings of the Council and which require Association response.

Organski questioned the advisability of an Administrative or Executive Committee, since according to the stated purposes, it would have no powers not already vested in the President, making its existence superflous. Ranney said he thought it would work only if there is a clear understanding between the Council and the Administrative Committee of the jurisdictional limits of the Administrative Committee. The question arose as to whether the Administrative Committee would make recommendations to the Council on policy alternatives; Lane indicated he would not want to preclude the Administrative Committee from doing so. Sorauf stressed the fact that the Administrative Committee should not be a policy-making group itself. Lane explained that the Committee's actions would be reversible by the Council and that the Committee would report to the Council.

Wirt observed that, in terms of functions, the Administrative Committee would set the agenda for Council meetings, develop alternatives on programs and make recommendations, and settle administrative, i.e. minor, items of business. All of this would be reported to the Council and would be changeable by the Council.

Lane's original motion on the establishment of an Administrative Committee was approved. Only Ranney opposed.

Deutsch reported to the Council for the Search Committee for a new Managing Editor of the Review, which met on the 23rd of December. The Committee considered about 40 names, reduced it

to a short list o 'x. A number of names who were high on the list were taken out because they specifically indicated that they did not want to be considered. Of the list of six, every member of the Search Committee wrote down the numbers 1-6 and the numbers were averaged. Number one was Nelson W. Polsby. He received four first place votes, one second and one third. Deutsch read a letter of tentative acceptance from Polsby. The Committee also recommended that the salary for the Editor should be \$8,000 and that \$12,000 be provided the Editor for a secretary and copy reader.

Ranney moved the the Council appoint Nelson Polsby as Editor of the Review. Approved unanimously. Milburn made a motion that, as recommended by the Search Committee, the Editor should have a stipend of \$8,000. Approved unanimously. Salisbury suggested that the criteria of choosing the Editor should be made known to Association members. Ranney will write a report listing the criteria and announce appointment of the Editor in the March issue of the Review. It was mentioned during the discussion that Sindler and Huntington, two Council members who were unable to attend the meeting, were in favor of Polsby as Editor of the Review. McClosky moved, and Ranney seconded, that the Council should authorize approximately \$12,000 for secretarial and copy reading assistance to the Editor of the Review. Unanimously approved.

Ranney made a motion that: it is the sense of the Council that we approve and accept the idea of increased *Review* space without committing resources for any particular way it will be done and subject to the availability of resources. There was considerable discussion. Baker offered, and Ranney accepted, a substitute motion that the Council shares the concern about the desirability of expanding journal space and is receptive to hearing concrete proposals that can be acted upon in the light of financial resources. Baker's motion was approved. Only Kariel opposed.

The Council unanimously expressed appreciation to Ranney for his work as Managing Editor of the *Review*.

Deutsch asked that Grant McConnell and Tobe Johnson be the appointive members of the Administrative Committee. It was moved, seconded, and unanimously approved that the Administrative Committee be composed of the President, President-Elect, Treasurer, and Council members Grant McConnell and Tobe Johnson.

James D. Barber, Chairman of the Editorial Board of PS, appeared before the Council to report on PS. He asked instruction and advice from the Council regarding changing the title of PS to The American Political Scientist and on the substance and structure of the journal. He felt that the title The American Political Scientist, would better communicate what he hoped the journal would be, and that such a title would attract articles for publication. Concerning substance: Barber observed that if PS is to be solely a newsletter, it could be handled by the national office and would not require a Board to oversee it. He favored the alternative of having, in addition to a newsletter, a journal on common professional concerns, including discussions of professional policies, goals, and ethics, and ideological quetions facing political scientists. In that case, it would be more appropriate to have an independent editor and board overseeing the journal. His recommendation was that the present arrangement continue with the Washington office maintaining the management and the responsibility for the regular sections, and the Editorial Board handling manuscripts and consulting with the Editor on general questions about PS.

There was a great deal of discussion concerning the substance of PS. Discussants commented on the new format of the Fall issue of PS, the cost of the new PS (approximately two-thirds of the present cost of the APSR), and the fact that PS was now accepting authored articles and poems. There was also discussion about whether these changes had been authorized by the Council and what should be the relationship between the Council and the Editor and Board of PS. Finally, the Council was concerned about the length of some of the committee reports which are printed. Ranney made a motion that the Editorial Board of PS should exercise editorial judgment concerning the length of reports of Association committees. Motion was unanimously approved.

There was general agreement that the title of *PS* should not be changed. Kariel moved to drop the subtitle, "Newsletter of the American Political Science Association" and to have instead "published quarterly by the American Political Science Association." Motion was approved unanimously. Prestage moved to thank the Chairman of the Editorial Board, the Editor and the Board for the work they have done on *PS*. Unanimously approved.

Tobe Johnson, on behalf of Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the

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Profession, presented a proposal from the Committee on the Status of Blacks for a conference on Black Politics to consider the feasibility of creating a formal organization to provide needed technical and research assistance for Black elected officials. Lane raised the question of funding, and requested that the Association find ways it can make available outside funds which might help to carry on activities of this sort. Kirkpatrick discussed the possibility of securing funds for the conference. He also discussed the new Tax Reform Act and what implications this Act may have on making funds available from Foundations.

Ranney stated that the APSA has a legitimate public service function, on the basis of what we have done in the past, and that we should help public officials participate more effectively; he offered a resolution recommending as high priority the support for the conference. The Executive Director was directed to proceed speedily to look into the possibilities of securing outside support with the understanding that if the money is not forthcoming or if there is a delay, the Association should be prepared to appropriate funds for the conference in an amout up to \$11,200, as requested in the proposal. Unanimously approved.

Waldron suggested that the Council should not meet five times a year, but should have fewer meetings and have four or five day meetings instead of two days. He also feels the Council should examine seriously any decision to meet anywhere but Washington as the Council can be better served by the APSA staff in Washington.

Ranney moved that the next meeting of the Council be on Saturday, April 18, and Sunday, April 19. Unanimously approved.

Merritt moved that the next Council meeting be held in Los Angeles. Motion defeated.

There was discussion of the minutes of the December 4-5 Council meeting. Spiro moved that the word "received" be changed to "accepted" in a sentence in the minutes stating that "The Council received the report of the Committee on Elections." Unanimously approved.

Merritt raised the question of multiple participation of panelists in the program of the Annual Meeting. There was a motion by Ranney that the rule of no double participation, which was adopted at the last Council meeting, should be adhered to *strictly* even with minority groups such as blacks and women,

except that official Association participation should not prohibit someone from giving a paper in another session. Unanimously approved. The minutes of the last Council meeting were approved as amended.

Baker reported for Rourke, Chairman of the Finance Committee. The Committee had a conference call and devoted time to the specific task of proposing a salary scale for the Association office personnel as requested by the last meeting of the Council. The proposed salary scale was approved unanimously. There was discussion of the salary of the Executive Director, and the Finance Committee was instructed to report to the Council at their next meeting with a specific recommendation for the Executive Director's salary.

Lane expressed to the Council his concern about the deficit spending of the Association and the fear that we are living off the prudence of the past and mortgaging the future. After considerable discussion of the financial situation of the Association, Baker moved that the Administrative Committee, meeting jointly with the Finance Committee, study the Association's financial condition and make recommendations to the Council at the April meeting. Approved unanimously.

Frank Sorauf, on behalf of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, moved that:

- 1 The Council re-affirm the high priority of its commitment to the improvement of pre-collegiate education.
- 2 The Council establish a broad and representative Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education.
- 3 This Committee be responsible generally for developing and administering the Association's programs in pre-collegiate education, and more specifically and immediately, that the Committee advise the Office of Education, NSF and CONPASS of goals in teacher training and the development of curricula and materials and on the development of their programs in this area.
- 4 This Committee be urged:
- a) to feel free to withhold the cooperation of the Association from these agencies' program if it finds the constraints too great or if the programs fail to meet its goals.
- b) to put work with these organizations into the broader context of a full scale examination of the entire problem of pre-collegiate education.
- c) to draw on the reports and experience of the recently discharged Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education.

d) to consider the desirability of retaining a member of the discipline in a staff position (any such appointment to be with the advice and consent of the Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education).

The above motion was unahimously approved.

Sorauf also moved that the Council resolves that as a general practice every program advisory committee will, in addition to its annual written report, be expected to make a verbal report to the Council periodically. To initiate this policy, the Council invites the Chairmen of the Congressonal Fellowship Program and the Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the State and Local Government Internship Program to its April meeting, it being understood:

- 1 that the reports will contain statements of the goals of the programs and the extent to which they have been achieved.
- 2 that the reports will contain a programmatic analysis of the budgets and full estimates of expenditures.

The above motion was unanimously approved.

Kirkpatrick reported that the Association is tentatively holding hotel space in both New York and Chicago for the 1971 Annual Meeting and requested that the Council decide on the location of the meeting. Hotel space in Washington is not available in 1971.

Johnson suggested, for 1972, the possibility of bringing the convention to the south, preferably Atlanta, Georgia. Kirkpatrick was asked to determine whether or not we can meet in Atlanta, New Orleans, or any other location in the south.

Kessel made a motion that the 1971 Annual Meeting be held in New York City and that the Executive Director be instructed to report back to the Council on the possibility of holding the 1972 meeting in Atlanta or somewhere else in the South. Vote on Kellel motion to hold the 1971 Annual Meeting in New York: For – Riker, Kessel, Spiro, Merritt; against – Sorauf, Nogee, Kirkpatrick, Lane, Baker, Milburn, Waldron; Johnson abstained from voting. Motion defeated.

A motion was made to hold the 1971 Annual Meeting in Chicago. For – Kessel, Merritt, Nogee, Sorauf, Kirkpatrick, Lane, Baker, Milburn, Waldron; against – Riker, Spiro. Johnson abstained. Motion passed. Professor Lane stated that several mem-

bers voting for Chicago, including himself, felt that the genuine loss in patronizing a city so blemished in its record of police behavior was counterbalanced by considerations of equity in affording the membership of the midwest region easier access every few years to the Annual Meeting.

There was a brief discussion on the matter of development and publication of syllabi by members of the profession on various areas of the discipline. Lane moved that the proposal by Sage Publications to undertake a series of publications on syllabi be referred to the Administrative Committee; motion was tabled. Lane moved the proposal of Philip Brenner, that he develop and publish syllabi in *PS* be referred to the Editorial Board of *PS*. The motion was approved; Spiro and Sorauf opposed; Waldron abstained.

Deutsch raised the question of establishing a Committee on Departmental Chairmen. Kirkpatrick summarized a letter from Charles Press on this subject. A motion was made by Milburn to refer this letter to the Administrative Committee for their recommendations and authorize the Adminisrative Committee to take such action as it feels necessary to implement. Motion was defeated. Merritt moved to refer the Press letter to the Committee on Program Planning and Review and instruct the committee to report on this issue at the April Council meeting. For – Baker, Lane, Milburn, Johnson; against – Spiro, Nogee, Sorauf, Kessel; Waldron abstained. Deutsch broke the tie by voting for the motion; motion approved.

Deutsch then raised the question of the creation of a Committee on the status of Mexican-Americans in the Profession. Sorauf moved for the establishment of a small, temporary, preparatory committee to consider the possible creation of such a committee by the April meeting of the Council, at which time the question will be the first substantive item on the agenda of the Council. Unanimously approved. The national office was instructed to invite representatives who can speak on the matter of Mexican-Americans to attend the next Council meeting.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

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The **Third Council meeting** of the year was held in the San Francisco Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California, **April 18 and 19, 1970.** 

Present:

Gordon E. Baker, Karl W. Deutsch, Thomas R. Dye, Samuel P. Huntington, Henry S. Kariel, John H. Kessel, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert E. Lane, Herbert McClosky, Grant McConnell, Richard L. Merritt, Josephine F. Milburn, Joseph L. Nogee, A.F.K. Organski, Jewel L. Prestage, Austin Ranney, William H. Riker, Francis E. Rourke, Robert H. Salisbury, Allan P. Sindler, Frank J. Sorauf, Herbert J. Spiro, Robert E. Ward, and Frederick Wirt

Presiding: Karl W. Deutsch, President

There was discussion of the minutes of the January 15 and 16 Council meeting. Milburn asked that a note be included in the minutes acknowledging the reception held for Council members the evening of January 14 by colleges and universities in the Boston area and expressing appreciation of the Council to the participating colleges and universities. It was moved and seconded that the minutes be approved as amended. Unanimously approved.

As agreed at the last meeting of the Council, the first substantive item on the agenda was consideration of establishing a Committee on the Status of Mexican-Americans in the Profession. Grant McConnell, Chairman of the ad hoc committee appointed for this purpose, reported for the committee and proposed a motion that the APSA establish a Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession; that the Council appropriate sufficient funds to meet the costs of three meetings of the Committee on Chicanos, after which the Committee would be expected to present its own budget proposal to the Council.

Sindler commented that he felt the motion brought up a major policy question regarding comparable groups in the Association – the problem of whether the Council wished to establish separate committees and programs for each group, such as, for example, Puerto Ricans, Oriental Americans, Latin Americans, American Indians, Slavic peoples, etc., and suggested that perhaps a single over-all committee on the minority groups should be formed having subcommittees on specific groups.

McConnell asked for comments from Ralph Guzman, University of California, Santa Cruz, and Thomas V. Garcia, U.S. Civil Service Commission, members of the ad hoc committee who had been invited to attend the Council meeting to speak on the matter of Mexican-Americans in the political science profession. Both Guzman and Garcia spoke for the creation of a Committee on the Status of Chicanos.

Huntington stated that he thought the Association would be more effective in promoting research on disadvanaged minority groups if the Council would come up with a program to deal with the problem of all of these groups within the Association. He favored establishing a general committee on minority groups and referring the immediate problem to the Committee on Program Planning and Review so that this committee could come back to the Council with a recommendation on how to deal with the whole range of minority group problems.

Prestage mentioned that if the Committee on the Status of Women and the Committee on the Status of Blacks had had a combined task in one committee on minority groups it would have been a very tragic situation because of the differences in their basic problems. She felt that since the problems faced by Chicanos are so different from those faced by blacks and women that a separate appropriation should be made for a Committee on the Status of Chicanos. These various committees could then come up with preliminary work which could be integrated into a committee on the status of minority groups.

Salisbury stated that since the Council is not yet in the position to deal with the problems of minority groups as a whole, the recommendations of the ad hoc committee should be adopted with the hope that in the long run the committee dealing with the problems of Chicanos and those dealing with other minority groups could be consolidated.

McConnell said that the ad hoc committee was sensitive to Association problems and had attempted to consider the potential costs in making recommendations. He then mentioned four points the Council should consider in weighing its decision:

- 1 The scale of the problem: approximately 8 to 10 million Chicano people, among whom only two or three hold Ph.D.'s in political science.
- 2 The parochialism of most Americans regarding the situation in Southwestern United States.
- 3 The development of Chicano study programs in various schools, in recognition of the inadequacies of political science and other disciplines.
- 4 The fact that the next Association meeting will be held in Los Angeles where there are large numbers of Chicanos.

Ranney stated that in creating the Committee on Blacks and the Committee on Women, the Council had responded to pressures brought upon it by specific groups who were not in a position to bring pressure upon the Council, but who nonetheless deserve consideration. He recommended that the Council establish an organization to look into the problems of all kinds of disadvantaged groups.

Merritt made a substitute motion to the McConnell motion that the Council establish a Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession, as proposed by the ad hoc committee report; and refer to the Committee on Program Review and Planning the problem of establishing long-range practices for integrating minority group problems. Vote on the Merritt substitute motion was:

#### For

Baker, Deutsch, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Prestage, Riker, Rourke, Salisbury, Wirt. Total – 11

#### Against

Dye, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, Organski, Ranney, Sindler, Spiro, Ward. Total – 12.

### Motion defeated.

Kariel moved 1) that the recommendations of the ad hoc committee be referred to the Committee on Program Planning and Review; 2) that the proposed Committee on the Status of Chicanos be established and authorized funds for three meetings; 3) that the Program Planning and Review Committee be requested by the Council to devise a general framework for Association handling of minority group problems; 4) that this motion not be interpreted as instructing the Committee on Program Planning and Review to alter, abolish, or consolidate the Committee on the Status of Blacks or the Committee on the Status of Women in establishing any new committee on minority problems.

Motion carried. For – 19; Against – 2 (Merritt, McConnell)

McConnell completed his report by recommending that a Chicano be made Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Chicanos. President Deutsch agreed to take up the matter of the chairmanship and membership of the committee in consultation with McConnell and others at a later date.

Deutsch reported to the Council for the Administrative Committee.

Ranney moved that the Council adopt the Administrative Committee's recommendation that, in approving any new Association program or activity requiring expenditure of funds, the Council shall indicate either 1) new sources of financial support from outside of the Association for such programs or activities, or 2) existing programs or activities which are to be curtailed or eliminated to provide the requisite financial support. Nothing in this statement of policy shall preclude the Council from approving new Association activities or programs contingent upon the availability of new funds to support them.

Nogee proposed an amendment that if the resolution is adopted it be prefaced by an exact statement and specific figures on the financial condition of the Association, so that the Association membership will understand the rationale and purpose of the resolution. Professor Ranney accepted this amendment.

Prestage opposed the Ranney motion.because it appeared to give preference to existing programs over new programs. New programs would be placed at a disadvantage because they would have to designate sources of support while old programs would not.

Riker also opposed the motion, and in doing so, urged that the Council continue its deficit financing until the Association's endowment fund was used up. He stated that it was not the purpose of the Association to accumulate funds but rather to advance the discipline, and that the existence of the endowment fund creates conflict over its use.

Lane cited the advantages of the endowment fund in giving the Association a small (approximately \$80,000 per year) investment income. This income gives the Association some flexibility in dealing with Association problems and makes the Association less dependent on outside foundations and government agencies. Lane favored the Ranney motion although admitting it was only a very fragile restraint upon the Council. However, the motion would suggest to groups within the Association that they consider the impact of their requests on the overall financial position of the Association.

Vote on the Ranney motion was:

### For

Baker, Dye, Huntington, Kariel, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, Lane, McClosky, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Nogee, Organski, Ranney, Rourke, Sindler, Sorauf,

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Ward, Wirt. Total - 19.

## Against

Prestage, Riker, Salisbury, Spiro. Total - 4.

Motion carried.

Aaron Wildavsky, Chairman of the Constitutional Revision Committee, reported to the Council on the proposed revised constitution of the Association. Wildavsky stated that his committee felt the proposed constitution was more democratic and more representative than the current constitution. More democratic, he said, by fixing most of the power in an elected Assembly and more representative by having a large Assembly. He defended a 45-member Assembly on the grounds that it would give a greater feeling of representation and participation for the diverse interests which make up the membership of the Association.

Huntington requested that, since the Council members had just received copies of the latest version of the proposed new constitution and had not had time to go over it closely, a discussion be held on the constitution at this meeting, but that voting on it not be held until the next meeting of the Council. Ranney stated that the proposed new constitution would be presented to the Association under the amendment provisions of the existing constitution.

Council discussion centered about the following items in the proposed constitution:

- 1 the size of the Assembly;
- 2 the provision for three year (in contrast to two year) terms for Assembly members;
- 3 the failure of the proposed constitution to set forth the size and terms of the executive committee:
- 4 the open membership provision (in contrast to membership on the basis of professional qualifications);
- 5 the absence of a provision calling for mailed ballots when a minority at a business meeting exceeds 40 percent.

The Council expressed generally favorable sentiments regarding the Wildavsky draft, but postponed final Council action until the June meeting.

Wildavsky stated that he would poll members of his Committee to obtain their reaction to the suggesions by Council members. He expressed the hope that the Council would endorse the constitution prepared by the Committee on Constitutional Revision, but he indicated the Committee would present its constitution to the Association whether or not it was endorsed by the Council.

Kenneth Prewitt, a member of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange, reported to the Council in the absence of Chairman Carl Beck on the proposal of the Committee on Scientific Information Exchange prepared for submission to the National Science Foundation. The Council unanimously approved the proposal and directed the Committee and the Association staff to proceed in submitting the proposal to the NSF.

Lane reported to the Council on the first meeting of the Committee on Under-Graduate Instruction and requested that the Council authorize the Committee on Under-graduate Instruction to seek funds to develop a program to improve undergraduate instruction in political science, to receive funds given to the Association for this purpose, and to assist the Executive Director in employing personnel to effect these purposes. The aims of this Committee are outlined in the Report of the Committee on Undergraduate Instruction. The motion was unanimously approved.

The Council, as part of the report of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, received oral reports from Charles B. Hagan, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on State and Local Government Internship Program, and from William J. Keefe, Chairman of the Advisory Committee for the Congressional Fellowship Program, on their respective programs.

Francis E. Rourke, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported to the Council for his committee. In response to the request of the Council for a recommendation on a salary increase for the Executive Director, the committee proposed that he be given a 6% increase retroactive to January 1, 1970, and an additional 6% increase to become effective on January 1, 1971. It was unanimously approved. Ranney noted that this action was only a cost of living increase and urged the Committee on Finance to make a complete evaluation of the salary of the Executive Director.

Considerable discussion arose in response to the decisions of the Committee on Finance 1) to sell off stock in companies with certain defense contracts; 2) to vote a proxy in favor of a specific group of candidates for the Board of Directors of General

Motors Corporation; and 3) to issue a press release on this and other matters relating to the Association investment policy.

McClosky stated that these decisions by the Treasurer and the Committee on Finance raised serious constitutional questions for the Association which ought to be brought before the Council. Sindler stated that if policy statements similar to those made by the Committee on Finance were introduced as resolutions at an annual business meeting they would be ruled out of order as unconstitutional. Riker asserted that voting for Betty Furness is a very political decision which should have been presented to the Council for action. Prestage stated that neutrality in stock ownership was impossible and urged the Council to support the decisions of the Finance Committee. Salisbury urged the Council to leave decisions on investment policy to the Finance Committee. Kariel expressed his agreement with the Committee's decisions and asserted that opposition was generated by disagreement with these decisions.

McClosky moved that all proposals for the investment or re-investment of Association funds, or for the voting of Association stock, for any reasons other than financial security and return on investment should be referred to the Council for decision. The vote was:

### For

Dye, Huntington, Kirkpatrick, McClosky, Nogee, Organski, Ranney, Riker, Sindler, Spiro, Ward. Total – 11.

## Against

Baker, Deutsch, Kariel, Kessel, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Rourke, Salisbury, Sorauf, Wirt. Total – 12.

The motion was defeated.

Kessel moved to confirm the present instructions to the Committee on Finance (see minutes of Council meeting, June 9 and 10, 1969), but to instruct the Committee on Finance that no press releases should be issued on its decisions and that it should not vote in proxy battles. The vote was:

### For

Baker, Deutsch, Dye, Kessel, Kirkpatrick, McConnell, Merritt, Milburn, Prestage, Ranney, Riker, Rourke, Salisbury, Sorauf, Wirt. Total 15.

# Against

Kariel, Sindler, Total 2.

Huntington, McClosky, Nogee, Organski and Spiro abstained from voting.

The motion passed.

Rourke, on behalf of the Committee on Finance, stated that the Committee will not issue press releases and will not vote the General Motors proxy as planned.

The Committee on Finance advised the Council of the need to prepare a constitutional amendment to enable the Council to raise membership dues, in the event the proposed revised constitution is not adopted. The Council agreed that this amendment should be prepared.

The Committee on Finance recommended that institutional membership dues of the Association be set at \$35 per year was unanimously approved. The payment of dues will include receiving the two journals of the Association, the *Review* and *PS*.

The Finance Committee was instructed by the Council to prepare for consideration at the next meeting a dues structure based on ability to pay and suggestions for a letter of assessment to be sent to the membership.

The Finance Committee was also instructed to bring to the June meeting a tentative budget for the next fiscal year.

Paul Puryear, Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, reported to the Council on behalf of his committee. The Committee recommended that the Council appropriate up to \$10,000 to defray the expense of tuition and fees for fellows of the fellowship program for black graduate students awarded stipends who do not receive funds for this purpose from other sources (i.e., tuition grants from the universities of their choice). It was unanimously agreed that the Council should accept the principle that where it is necessary to pay tuition fees so that the black fellows can attend the university of their choice, the Association should be prepared to pay the tuition for the current fiscal year. It was also agreed that the national office would bring to the attention of the funded and honorary fellows the names of those institutions which indicated a willingness and ability to waive tuition and/or fees.

The Committee on the Status of the Blacks requested that the number of awards under the fellowship program should be increased by five in each of the next three years until the maximum of twenty fellowships are available. The Council unanimously endorsed this program in principle if the

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funds can be obtained. The national office was instructed to develop a proposal to foundations, in cooperation with the Chairman of the Committee on the Status of Blacks, and to report to the next meeting of the Council with this proposal.

The Committee on the Status of Blacks also recommended that the graduate stipend be increased by 5% per annum to adjust for the increased cost of living. Following discussion on this point, Prestage moved that the Council accept the principle of adjusting fellowships in future years in consideration of the cost of living and other considerations of need and policy. Motion unanimously approved.

The Council discussed the recommendation by the Committee on the Status of Blacks that blacks be represented on all APSA committees. There was a lengthy discussion on the appointing process and the basis for composition of APSA committees. Prestage spoke about the question of black representation on committees and stated that because black people are on committees does not mean black interests are being represented.

There was a motion that the Program Planning and Review Committee be expanded by not more than two and that new members of the Committee may or may not be members of the Council. Merritt moved that this motion be put on the agenda for the June meeting of the Council. Prestage proposed that the Merritt motion be expanded to include all other recommendations made by the Committee on the Status of Blacks in their report to the Council. Merritt accepted the Prestage amendment. Motion was approved.

There was discussion of a proposal submitted by the Administrative Committee and for which funds were available to the Association. Under this proposal, the Association, in cooperation with the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, would conduct a Congressional Summer Intern Project during the summer of 1970 for a select group of U.S. and Canadian undergraduate and graduate students. These students would 1) undertake, as individuals, research for members of the House and Senate on defense and foreign policy issues; and, 2) study, as a group, legislative processes related to these policy areas.

Salisbury questioned the desirability of having the Association co-sponsor a program with a specific institution. Kariel and Sorauf pointed out that the program had not been reviewed or discussed with the Program Planning and Review Committee.

Deutsch and McClosky spoke in favor of the motion. A motion to table was approved 7-5 by the Council.

Frank Sorauf, Chairman of the Committee on Program Planning and Review, reported to the Council on the questions referred to the Committee regarding employment and placement in the profession. A detailed review of the Committee's inquiry and recommendations on the questions are contained in its report attached to the record copy of these minutes. Sorauf also distributed copies of a preliminary study on employment trends in the profession prepared by the national office and based in part on a questionnaire developed by the Committee.

The Council endorsed in principle the recommendation of the Committee that it is the professional obligation of all political science departments to list vacancies for which they are recruiting in the APSA Personnel Service Newsletter and/or the Convention Placement Service. The Committee was instructed to report to the June Council meeting on possible ways of implementing this recommended procedure.

The Council adjourned at 4:45 p.m. to meet again at 8:00 p.m., Sunday, June 14th, in Washington, D.C.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary