

Association News

Samuel Haber, of the University of California at Berkeley, to examine "The Progressive Constitutionalism of Conservative Lawyers: 1880-1900."

Morton Keller, of Brandeis University, to study the development of the American polity and public life from 1900 to 1933.

Ithiel de Sola Pool, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to examine the implications of new communications technology for the First Amendment.

Project 87 is funded by grants from the Ford Foundation, the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities. For further information write to Project 87, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

APSA Council Minutes

The Council of the APSA met at the New York Hilton Hotel, August 30, 1978.

Present: Peter Bachrach, Marguerite R. Barnett, Richard A. Brody, Doris A. Graber, Erwin C. Hargrove, Leon D. Epstein, Robert Holt, Charles O. Jones, Joyce K. Kallgren, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Sanford A. Lakoff, Martin Landau, David R. Mayhew, Sarah M. Morehouse, Elinor Ostrom, Robert D. Putnam, Alan Rosenthal, Ellis Sandoz, Donald E. Stokes, Clement E. Vose, James Q. Wilson, Dina A. Zinnes, and Betty H. Zisk.

Approval of Minutes

The minutes of the May meeting of the Council were approved without objection.

Resolution Concerning Site of 1979 Annual Meeting

The Council first considered the following resolution submitted by Professor Philippa Strum:

WHEREAS the Annual Business Meeting of the APSA voted in 1976 that future annual meetings would be held "only in states that have ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution."

WHEREAS the same meeting also voted that "this policy will remain in effect until the Amendment becomes part of the Constitution or the time period for ratification expires."

WHEREAS Article VII of the APSA Constitution declares that "the membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting called resolves policy questions brought to it, and may confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the council."

WHEREAS the Rules of Procedure of the Annual Business Meeting interpret Article VII and IX of the Constitution to require that all resolutions voted on by the Council

be submitted to the Annual Business Meeting regardless of the recommendation on said resolution by the Council.

WHEREAS the Council meeting of May 20-21, 1977 modified the resolution of the 1976 Annual Business Meeting by declaring that Annual Meetings could be held in nonratifying states which "have an equivalent and explicit provision in their state constitution" for an Equal Rights Amendment.

WHEREAS this new policy proposal was not brought before the 1977 Annual Business Meeting for debate and decision, and was not publicly available to the APSA membership until November 1977, two months after the Annual Business Meeting, thus precluding members who are not on the Council from requiring a vote on the proposed policy change.

WHEREAS this modification of the policy of the 1976 Annual Business Meeting is therefore null and void and any attempt to abide by it would be a violation of the APSA Constitution.

WHEREAS there is good reason to believe that an extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA will be made by Congress prior to March 22, 1979.

WHEREAS the Illinois Legislature has not given any indication that it will ratify the ERA prior to the 1979 Annual Business Meeting.

WHEREAS those professional associations and other organizations which have moved their annual conventions from nonratifying states to ratifying states have not been subject to legal actions by the hotels whose contracts were cancelled, and in fact have received cooperation in their move when they negotiated new contracts with hotels in a ratifying state that were part of the same corporation.

WHEREAS waiting until Congress extends the deadline for ratification of the ERA risks the possibility of a hasty and poorly planned meeting in inadequate facilities, or even the cancellation of the 1979 meeting.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that in order to comply with the policy of the APSA that it shall not meet in unratified states, without inconveniencing the membership, the APSA shall not hold its 1979 meeting in Chicago, and shall negotiate a new contract with an appropriate hotel in a ratified state.

The President and Executive Director reviewed the previous actions taken by the Council and Business Meeting regarding ERA.

Ostrom moved that a representative of the Women's Caucus be invited to speak to the Council on this resolution. Sandoz moved an amendment that a time limit of ten minutes be set for the Women's Caucus representative to speak. The Sandoz amendment failed by a show

of hands vote. The Ostrom motion passed without objection.

Following discussion of the resolution, including comments by Karen O'Connor, legal counsel for the Women's Caucus; Catherine Mack, legal counsel for the Association; William Hall, General Manager of the Palmer House; John Santo, Director of Sales for the Palmer House, the Council went into closed session to hear the views of the Association's legal counsel.

Bachrach moved that the Council recommend to the Business Meeting adoption of the Strum resolution.

Wilson moved a substitute resolution that the Council recommends to the 1978 Annual Business Meeting that, as a substitute for the above resolution, it transmit to the membership for voting, by means of a secret mail ballot, the following motion:

Moved: that the membership of the APSA instructs its officers to (vote for ONE):

- Hold the 1979 Annual Meeting in Chicago as now planned, *or*
- Hold the 1979 Annual Meeting in a city whose state legislature has ratified the federal ERA or in the District of Columbia.

and (vote for ONE):

- Hold subsequent meetings (after 1979) of the APSA in cities convenient on ordinary grounds, without regard to whether the legislatures of those states have ratified the federal ERA or in the District of Columbia, *or*
- not hold subsequent meetings (after 1979) of the APSA in cities of states whose legislatures have not ratified the federal ERA while such ratification is pending.

Resolved, the Council authorizes the expenditure of funds to carry out a timely mail ballot.

After extensive discussion of the proposed resolutions, Epstein called the question. The vote on calling the question on the Wilson substitute motion was approved without objection. The vote on the Wilson substitute motion was approved by a voice vote.

Barnett moved that the Council not take a position on the merits of the points at issue. The motion was approved by a voice vote.

Resolution Concerning the Participation of the APSA in the IPSA Congress in Moscow in 1979

Professor Seymour Martin Lipset submitted the following resolution to the Council:

"The international academic community has become increasingly concerned about the violations of human rights and academic freedom in the Soviet Union, particularly as they have affected the rights to emigrate, freely travel abroad for scholarly purposes,

scholarly access to foreign materials, as well as the restrictions placed on the freedom to do research of Soviet scholars who have voiced disagreements with these policies. This concern has been recently manifest in the United States by committees of the National Academy of Sciences and concerned scientists and scholars who have both publicly protested these violations and have called on scholars to desist from visiting the Soviet Union. A number of groups of American scientists have called off participation in meetings there. In this context, it seems inappropriate for the International Political Science Association to hold its next World Congress in Moscow in the Summer of 1979.

"The American Political Science Association, therefore, withdraws its participation in the Congress and instructs its representatives on the Council and Executive Committee of the IPSA to propose to these bodies that the IPSA change the site of the 1979 Congress."

Professor Irving Louis Horowitz spoke to the Council concerning the proposed resolution and, on behalf of the sponsor, offered an amendment to change the second paragraph of the resolution to read:

The American Political Science Association, therefore, withdraws its participation in the Congress and instructs its representatives on the Council and Executive Committee of the IPSA to propose to these bodies that the IPSA in all future meetings take into consideration such indicators as:

- a. whether or not a national political science association exists in the host country;
- b. free access by delegates to host nation of IPSA meeting;
- c. due process of law, broadly defined;
- d. free flow of information in host country.

Professor Karl Deutsch, President of IPSA, and Professor Richard Merritt, Program Chairman of the 1979 World Congress, spoke to the Council in opposition to the proposed resolution.

Professor Gabriel Almond proposed a substitute resolution that:

(1) The American Political Science Association strongly supports the statement of the Executive Council of the International Political Science Association issued August 26, 1978, at its meeting in Rio de Janeiro which seeks to assure freedom of access to the IPSA Congress to be held in Moscow in 1979.

(2) The APSA adopts the guidelines on the "Free Circulation of Scientists" issued by the International Congress of Scientific Unions. (See pamphlet *Advice to Organizers of International Scientific Meetings*, ICSU Secretariat, pp. 4, 5).

(3) The APSA affirms that it would be consistent with these guidelines to request if

it so chose a change of site from Moscow for the 1979 IPSA meeting, in the case of the denial of visas to bona fide political scientists as Israeli geneticists were denied visas to attend the August 1978 meeting of the International Genetics Congress in Moscow.

(4) In the light of this situation, the Association authorizes its Council to take appropriate action in the event of violations of these guidelines or IPSA guidelines in the course of the coming year.

(5) The Association authorizes its incoming President to appoint an information committee on the free circulation of scientists to apprise the membership on the implementation of these guidelines in the course of the coming year.

Zisk moved that the Council recommend to the Business Meeting that it accept as a substitute to the Lipset resolution the resolution of Professor Almond.

Lakoff moved an amendment to add the preamble:

The international academic community has become increasingly concerned about the violations of human rights and academic freedom in the Soviet Union, particularly as they have affected the rights to emigrate, freely travel abroad for scholarly purposes, scholarly access to foreign materials, as well as the restrictions placed on the freedom to do research of Soviet scholars who have voiced disagreements with these policies. This concern has been recently manifest in the United States by committees of the National Academy of Sciences and concerned scientists and scholars who have both publicly protested these violations and have called on scholars to desist from visiting the Soviet Union. A number of groups of American scientists have called off participation in meetings there.

In view of these developments:

The Lakoff amendment was accepted.

The substitute motion as amended was approved by a voice vote. Lakoff moved that the Council recommend to the Business Meeting approval of this resolution. The motion was approved by a voice vote.

Constitutional Amendment on Election of the President-Elect

Epstein, for the Task Force on the Future of the Association, presented the Council with the following proposed constitutional amendment:

To amend Article V, Section 1

(1) in the second sentence, substitute *post-marked* for "returned" (thus allowing the Executive Director to count ballots post-marked within 30 days of distribution).

(2) add to second sentence the underlined words—

; each contested election, *except as speci-*

fied below for the President-Elect, shall be determined by a plurality. . . .

(3) add after the end of the second sentence the following sentences:

If no nominee for President-Elect should receive at least fifty (50) percent of the votes cast for that office when there are three or more nominees, the Executive Director shall prepare a second set of mail ballots listing only the two nominees with the most first-ballot votes so that the membership can elect one or the other by a majority of the total vote cast. The Executive Director shall distribute the second set of ballots within twenty (20) days of the certification of the first-ballot results and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he or she shall count only ballots postmarked within thirty (30) days following distribution.

Mayhew suggested an alternative method, that if there are three or more candidates for the office of President-Elect, the Executive Director shall prepare the ballots for that office so as to allow voters to rank candidates in order of preference.

Epstein moved that the proposed constitutional amendment be referred back to the Task Force for further consideration of alternative methods of voting. The motion was approved without objection.

Resolution Concerning Academic Appointment Procedures at the University of Maryland

The Council considered the following resolution received from Professor Frank Fischer:

Be it resolved that the American Political Science Association examine the evident introduction of politicians and political criteria into the process by which Professor Bertell Ollman was hired and then rejected as Chair of the Department of Government at the University of Maryland. We urge that the Association's Committee on Academic Freedom investigate this incident with the aim of taking appropriate action against the offending institution.

Vose offered a substitute resolution that:

WHEREAS there have been charges that improper political pressures have resulted in violation of academic rights and freedom in the matter of an appointment to the position of Chair of the Department of Government of the University of Maryland,

BE IT RESOLVED that the Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom be instructed, if Professor Ollman wishes it to do so, to investigate the facts, on its own or in conjunction with any investigation by Committee A of the AAUP as will be most effective, and take appropriate action.

Vost moved that the Council recommend that the Business Meeting approve the substitute

motion. The motion was approved without objection.

Committee Appointments

The President-Elect presented the Council with his proposed committee appointments (as printed in this issue of *PS*). President Wahlke moved that the Council stagger three-year terms for the Research Support Committee. President Wahlke's motion was approved without objection. Brody moved that President-Elect Epstein's committee appointments be approved. Landau moved an amendment to the motion to authorize the President-Elect to appoint replacements for anyone who declined an invitation to serve on a committee. Brody accepted the amendment. The motion, as amended, was approved without objection.

Proposal for Refereed Papers

The President-Elect reported to the Council that in May, the Council adopted a motion that "the President-Elect propose, at the September meeting of the Council, the means by which Program Committees, beginning in 1980, may provide a limited number of panels, in selected sections, for which papers are chosen by refereeing of submitted work."

Epstein submitted the following proposal in response:

As soon as possible after the appointment of the Program Committee and in time for notation in the Spring *PS* list of program sections, the Program chairperson should determine, after consultation with relevant section chairpersons, which section or sections will include, for one or more panels per section, papers chosen from those competitively submitted. The deadline for submission should be set early enough, probably in September, in the year preceding the annual meeting in order to allow time for refereeing of papers before 1 December when, under previously established Council rules, commitments may be made to paper-givers (although they may also be made later, for refereed papers as for others).

Refereeing of submitted papers should roughly follow the practice of scholarly journals. Except for papers that the chairperson finds plainly unsuitable for his or her section, and perhaps for any scholarly program, each paper should be evaluated by at least two referees (one of whom may be the section chairperson). Anonymity of author and referees should be observed. Generally two positive recommendations should be necessary, though not always sufficient, for acceptance, and the section chairperson may want to consult a third or a fourth referee when the first two referees disagree. The section chairperson must have discretion in deciding among positively recommended papers since there may not be enough allotted panels to accommodate all acceptable submissions. Any unscheduled acceptable paper may be passed along to the

corresponding section chairperson on the following year's Program Committee with the understanding that the previously-obtained referees' judgments might or might not suffice when the paper is considered along with new submissions.

The proposal was approved without objection.

IPSA Contributions

The Executive Director informed the Council of a letter from Serge Hurtig concerning a recommendation of IPSA's Council that each national association recommend to its individual members that they pay an optional contribution of approximately one dollar to IPSA.

Sandoz moved that this be referred to the Task Force on the Future of the Association for study and subsequent report to the Council. The motion was approved by a voice vote.

Report of the Treasurer

Zinnes presented the Council with her Treasurer's Report, which is printed in the Fall issue of *PS*.

Report of the Managing Editor

Jones presented the Council with his Managing Editor's Report, which is printed in the Fall issue of *PS*.

Report of the Program Committee

Ostrom presented the Council with copies of the Final Program for the 1978 Annual Meeting. A report from the 1978 Program Committee will appear in the Spring *PS*.

Report of the Task Force on the Future of the Association

Austin Ranney reported to the Council the following actions of the Task Force:

Succession to the Executive Directorship of the Association

MOVED . . . that the Task Force on the Future of the Association

(1) review the nature of the position of Executive Director, the qualities and skills to be sought in a new appointee to that position, and the terms and conditions of employment most likely to attract such an appointee to it;

(2) examine the various alternative procedures by which such a new appointee should be recruited; and

(3) make recommendations on these matters to the Council at its May 1979 meeting if possible, but in no event later than the August-September 1979 meeting of the Council.

NOTES

1. Retirement of the Executive Director will occur during the last year of his current appointment, July 1, 1981-June 30, 1982.
2. By agreement with the Council, several times reconfirmed in recent years, he will take the sabbatical leave to which he is entitled during that year.
3. A successor must therefore assume responsibilities beginning July 1, 1981.
4. The proposed motion envisions the following time-table for providing for orderly succession in the management of the Association:
9/1968-5/1/1979 (8/1979 at latest): Task Force study of guidelines and procedures for recruitment.
5/1979 (8-9/1979 at latest): Council decision on procedures, initiation of search process.
5/1979 (or 8-9/1979) 5 or 8/1980): Active search, selection, appointment.
7/1/1981: Installation of new Executive Director.

Putnam moved that item (3) of the Task Force motion be amended to read: make recommendations on these matters to the Council at its May 1979 meeting. The amendment was approved without objection.

Brody moved that the Task Force recommendation be accepted as amended. The motion was approved without objection.

Publications:

Ranney reported to the Council on the Task Force's review of APSA publications policy and their recommendations:

(1) That the Council establish, for a period of three years, a five-member Committee on Publications, to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Council, one of the members to be designated as chair by the President. We propose that the Committee be funded by a grant of \$4,000 from the Trust and Development Fund, and we recommend that the Council make such a request.

(2) That as one of its first activities, the Committee on Publications, in consultation with the Executive Director and the Managing Editor of the APSR, explore with the editors of the major regional and specialized journals the possibilities for coordinating and centralizing the production and distribution of the journals and for establishing other forms of cooperation.

Sandoz moved adoption of the recommendations. The motion was approved by a voice vote.

Project 87

Ranney reported to the Council that the first

grants given by Project 87 have been made and will soon be announced; that an opening conference has been set for mid-September in Philadelphia; that the financial situation of the Project is still somewhat "up in the air."

Black Graduate Fellowship Program

Maurice Woodard presented the Council with a status report of the funded and non-funded fellows from 1970-1978. (A copy of the report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.)

Educational Policy and Programs Committee

William Havard reported to the Council that all actions being taken by the Committee were continuations of proposals which have already been approved by the Council.

Professional Development Committee

Thomas Mann reported to the Council on the actions of the Professional Development Committee. The report of the Committee, which was written by its Chair, Jack Walker, is printed in the Fall issue of *PS*.

Oral History Project

The Executive Director and Sheila Mann reported to the Council on a proposal requesting funding for the Oral History Project, which had been prepared for submission to Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society, and to the Rockefeller Foundation, and requested authorization to submit the proposals. The authorization was approved without objection.

Commendation of President Wahlke

Lakoff moved that the Council express its warm appreciation to President Wahlke for his physical endurance, his excellent taste in shirts, and for all other aspects of his imaginative, tactful, and skilled stewardship of APSA affairs during his term in office. The motion was approved by acclamation.

1978 Annual Business Meeting Minutes

New York Hilton Hotel
New York, New York
Saturday, September 2, 1978

President Wahlke called the Meeting to order at 4:30 p.m. and announced that no Constitutional amendments had been submitted.

Nomination of Candidates

Professor William Livingston offered the following nominations for the APSA Nominating Committee:

President-Elect: Warren E. Miller
Vice Presidents: Samuel DuBois Cook