

PS Appendix

APSA Council Minutes

Editor's Note: The minutes following are subject to Council approval at its next meeting, August 27, 1986, in Washington, D.C.

The Council met in the Circle Room of the Dupont Plaza Hotel, Washington, D.C. on April 18, 1986, at 9:30 a.m. Present: Brian Barry, F. Chris Garcia, Samuel P. Huntington, Helen Ingram, William R. Keech, John W. Kingdon, Stephen D. Krasner, Theodore J. Lowi, Paula D. McClain, Thomas E. Mann, Dale Rogers Marshall, Donald Matthews, J. Donald Moon, Karen O'Connor, Victor A. Olorunsola, Norman J. Ornstein, Benjamin I. Page, Carole Pateman, Samuel C. Patterson, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Bruce M. Russett, Kenneth Shepsle, Myron Weiner, Aaron Wildavsky (presiding), Nancy H. Zingale. Staff: R. Hauck, S. Mann, C. Rudder, J. Walen.

President's Report

President Aaron Wildavsky reported on the initiatives he has taken during his presidency: (1) to make public administration specialists more comfortable with the Association; (2) to increase services for retired political scientists; (3) to launch a capital fundraising drive to enhance the future financial capability of the Association; and (4) to highlight the teaching function of political scientists.

Administrative Committee Minutes

Council Action: The Council took no exception to the March 7 minutes of the Administrative Committee.

Committee Appointments

Council Action: The Council approved the Council committee appointments, with Robert Jervis of Columbia University as program chair, submitted by President-Elect Huntington.

The theme of the 1987 annual meeting will be Constitutions and Constitutionalism. Each section chair has been asked to include one or two panels which deal with this theme.

Huntington and Jervis are exploring the possibility of publishing a book of papers prepared for the theme panels.

Budget

Treasurer Helen Ingram reported that the financial condition of the Association remains healthy, with a small surplus anticipated for the fifth consecutive year. The cumulative surplus during this period was over \$300,000. Increased revenues from membership, grant overhead, dividends and interest, and rent were key to this success. Individual membership dues have not been increased since 1981 and annual meeting registration fees have remained the same since 1979.

The Council reviewed the 1986-87 budget proposed by the Administrative Committee. This proposed budget calls for a 3.1% increase in income (to \$1,533,253) and a 4.1% increase in expenditures (to \$1,532,318) producing an essentially balanced budget. The budget included a number of increased expenditures for FY 1986-87:

- 1) \$5,000 for *PS*, to change the design of the magazine in order to improve its attractiveness and readability;
- 2) \$3,500 for the *NEWS for Teachers of Political Science*, to change the format from a newspaper to an 8½ X 11 self-cover magazine/newsletter (beginning with the first issue in 1987, pending a reader survey and Education Committee review);
- 3) \$4,000 to increase the stipends of the Black and Chicano/Latino Graduate Fellows from \$5,000 to \$6,000;
- 4) \$2,000 for membership dues in the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History;
- 5) \$800 to increase our membership dues in the National Humanities Alliance from \$1,200 to \$2,000;
- 6) \$3,000 to increase the budget for the Small Grants Program from \$12,000 to \$15,000;

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- 7) \$5,500 for a 1% discretionary merit increase in staff salaries beyond the 4% cost-of-living adjustment;
- 8) \$2,000 to conduct and analyze a survey of retired political scientists.

Council Action: The Council unanimously approved the proposed budget for the 1986-87 fiscal year.

Membership

During the discussion of the budget, Mann pointed out that while membership has increased modestly during the last several years, only about 40% of political science faculty are members of APSA. A staff memo will be prepared for the August Council meeting which describes the extent and nature of non-membership in the Association among political science Ph.D.s and offers proposals for increasing membership.

Life Membership Dues

The Council reviewed the Administrative Committee's recommendation that a proposed constitutional amendment that deletes the phrase "or in installments spread over not more than ten years," in Article 3, Section 2 of the APSA Constitution that presently reads:

Life Members. Any person paying dues of a life member in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association and thereafter be exempt from further dues.

The Administrative Committee further recommended that the amendment not be submitted to the membership until other business (contested elections, resolutions) requires a mail ballot.

Council Action: Ornstein moved that the Constitution be further amended to give the Council full authority to set life member dues. The motion was seconded and approved unanimously. The Council then agreed to submit these constitutional changes to the membership whenever other business requires a mail ballot.

The amended constitutional provisions (Article 3, Sections 1 and 2) would read as follows:

1. *Annual Members.* Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of individual dues except life membership shall be set by the Council provided that no change in dues shall go into effect

unless ratified by a mail referendum of the membership.

2. *Life Members.* Any person paying dues of a life member in a lump sum shall become a Life Member of this Association and thereafter be exempt from further dues. The dues for a life member shall be fixed by the Council.

It was also suggested during discussion of the amendment that when dues are raised again, a new category for "contributing member" or "patron" might be established.

Capital Fundraising Campaign

Wildavsky reported on his initiative to launch a long-term capital fundraising campaign for the Association. Council members urged that the campaign be kept alive for an extended period of time.

Ad Hoc Committee on Retired Political Scientists

Wildavsky and Hauck reported on the activities of the newly formed Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Retired Political Scientists, composed of David Adamany (chair), James Fesler, Jane Highsaw, Roland Pennock and Austin Ranney. The committee is conducting a survey of retired members of the profession and will report to the Council in August.

Proposal for a Joint ASPA/APSA Volume on "Public Administration: The State of the Field"

Wildavsky discussed the genesis of the proposal for a joint ASPA/APSA volume on "Public Administration: The State of the Field," to be edited by himself and Naomi B. Lynn, president of the American Society for Public Administration. The Council discussed the content of the proposed volume, noting the importance of including chapters central to political science, and the appropriate publishing arrangement, expressing a strong preference for working with a commercial publisher or university press over in-house publication.

Council Action: Lowi moved to accept the proposal in the spirit of the Council discussion. The motion was seconded and approved by voice vote.

Report of the Trust and Development Fund Board of Trustees Regarding Investment in South Africa

Ingram reported on the last two meetings of the Trust and Development Fund Board of Trustees, which responded to the Council's

August resolution on investment in South Africa.

The Council agreed with the Administrative Committee in commending the Board, both for its efforts to respond in good faith to the Council's August resolution and to meet its fiduciary responsibilities. O'Connor urged that in the case of the mutual fund that misled the Board about its policies toward investment in South Africa, a copy of the Association's response be sent to the Securities and Exchange Commission.

The Council also agreed with the Administrative Committee not to adopt the resolutions on South Africa submitted by John Ehrenberg (on divestment) and Sandy Maisel (on the TIAA/CREF Project), but to formulate a positive policy regarding South Africa which is best suited to the scholarly character of the Association.

The Council reviewed a proposal drafted by Lowi of the Administrative Committee for taking the offensive on *apartheid*. After considerable discussion, Lowi and Zingale were asked to rewrite part of the proposal during the luncheon break to incorporate Council suggestions. Later in the Council meeting, the revisions were discussed and in a series of votes, further suggestions by Huntington, Pateman and Weiner were incorporated.

The policy statement, as revised and adopted by the Council, is as follows:

The Council has reviewed the deliberations and actions of the APSA Trust and Development Fund Trustees pursuant to the Council Resolution on Apartheid adopted August 28, 1985, and is in substantial agreement with the Trustees on the following points:

1. There is a conflict between adherence to the anti-apartheid resolution and the fiduciary obligation of the Trustees.
 - a. The dismal record of the Association's previous efforts to build its own portfolio confirms that a deliberate return to such a policy, for whatever reasons, would violate fiduciary obligations to avoid deliberately taking undue risk.
 - b. The proven superiority of investing in mutual funds coupled with the indirectness of the relationship between APSA and the companies whose stock is purchased by the mutual funds renders unrealistic and reduces to an ineffectual symbolic gesture a policy of complete or substantial divestment in mutual funds that own some stock in companies not in compliance with Sullivan principles.
2. The Trustees have gone about as far as

they can go with the following actions:

- a. Writing to each mutual fund to urge them to purge their portfolios of companies not in substantial compliance with Sullivan principles;
- b. Investing new resources and reinvesting proceeds from sales of existing holdings in mutual funds with the best combination of return/risk record and adherence to Sullivan principles;
- c. Withholding investment in international mutual funds which, despite their better record of return, either disregard Sullivan principles or do not provide dependable data regarding compliance on the companies whose stock they own.

The Council commends the Trustees for conscientious good faith effort and expresses its awareness that the third action identified above is already pushing the boundary of fiduciary responsibility about as far as it can possibly be pushed. At the same time, the Trustees should continue to explore and experiment with investment alternatives because fiduciary obligation is not the only obligation of trustees. Respectability is another obligation; it is obvious that our Trust and Development Fund should not invest in legal gambling and prostitution even if these companies turned out to be the very best and safest investments. Since South Africa is disreputable, future Trust Fund investments must be governed accordingly.

The Council also recognizes that far more should and can be done by the Association. In the first place, neither the Association nor the Council has any direct authority over the Trust and Development Fund. Any policies we adopt regarding the Fund and its Trustees are purely advisory. In the second place, it is now clear from the diverse experiences of the universities in the United States that we will make little progress toward substantial influence on South Africa as long as the terms of discourse are defined narrowly as a question of whether or not to divest. Divestment is at best an indirect technique where we are merely demanding that the actions of others, albeit major employers, change in order to change the policies of the South African government. While the Association and its Council should do what we can through the threat of divestment, other methods are available to us as a major national learned society with a special concern for the problem at hand, and there must be approaches that are a good deal more direct than lobbying multinational corporations.

To focus upon those problems in South Africa

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about which political scientists have special expertise, we recommend:

1. That the Association establish a fellowship program for graduate and undergraduate studies in political science in the United States that would contribute to peaceful transition toward genuine democracy in South Africa, to be made available to South African undergraduate and graduate students who have been victimized and isolated by *apartheid*;
2. Explore putting Project '87 on a permanent status as an institution for the encouragement and dissemination of comparative constitutional research or in other ways develop and foster programs of research and publication in comparative constitutional and electoral experiences, within the context of international conditions;
3. To these ends the Association should:
 - a) seek foundation and university financial support;
 - b) establish a mechanism for identifying and selecting students and researchers working in these areas;
 - c) appropriate \$5,000 to begin immediate implementation of these proposals.

If the APSA has been remiss, it is not because we have failed to divest but because we have failed to make *apartheid* an opportunity for civic education. There is no better time for this than during the period of our observance of the American Constitutional Bicentennial. Some of the time and money spent on celebrating our past should be directed toward the South African future and, through that, the reaffirmation of the best of the American Constitution and of American political science.

Accuracy in Academia

In response to an initiative taken by the Association's Committee on Professional Ethics, Rights and Freedoms and to a resolution submitted by John Ehrenberg dealing with Accuracy in Academia, the Council adopted a shortened version of the Committee's language and endorsed two additional statements: the November 15, 1985 Joint Statement on Accuracy in Academia, signed by the major higher education associations, and the March 26, 1986 statement of academic freedom and civil liberties principles, prepared by members of the academic community who serve on the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee:

APSA Statement on Accuracy in Academia

On behalf of our members, whose research and teaching addresses political subjects

which are inherently controversial matters, and some of whom have been singled out for attack by "Accuracy in Academia," we affirm that the Association continues to encourage freedom of speech, including vigorous debate within the classroom, and the publication of various views and interpretations of empirical research findings. We conclude that the intervention of outside organizations, whether government or private agencies, can only inhibit the search for truth. The Association condemns any efforts to enforce ideological conformity on our profession and our discipline in particular. Such efforts will not deter us from continuing our commitment freely to pursue research, publications and teaching no matter whose views and interests our findings may offend. We will defend our members under attack, and we appeal to responsible academic authorities to combat unwarranted interference in our work by the staff or those affiliated with "Accuracy in Academia." We are happy to associate ourselves with the "Joint Statement on Accuracy in Academia" signed by the ACE, AAUP and other higher education associations, and the "Statement of Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties Principles," prepared by members of the academic community who serve on the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee, both of which follow.

Joint Statement on Accuracy in Academia

We are concerned about the threat to academic freedom from a new organization called "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA), which was formed by "Accuracy in Media" to "combat the dissemination of misinformation." AIA encourages students in classrooms to record professors' statements and send them to AIA, which will determine whether they are correct. AIA says that it will ask the professors to acknowledge alleged errors and will publicize the professors' names and "incorrect" statements.

We believe such activities pose serious dangers for the following reasons:

- The classroom is a place of learning where the professor serves as intellectual guide, and all are encouraged to seek and express the truth as they see it. The presence in the classroom of monitors for an outside organization, will have a chilling effect on the academic freedom of both students and faculty members. Students may be discouraged from testing their ideas and professors may hesitate before presenting new or possibly controversial theories that would stimulate robust intellectual discussion.
- The call is for accuracy in academia, but the goal of AIA is conformity with their particular views and is therefore clearly inimical to the principle of free expression of views by

all members of the academic community.

- AIA claims that it can assess the correctness of what is said in the classroom. We believe the quality of academic performance is best judged through peer evaluation by skilled professionals. Chief executive officers and governing boards are responsible for ensuring both accountability and academic integrity while safeguarding the university from undue outside influence.

We encourage colleges and universities to resist this assault on institutional integrity by reaffirming established practices for insuring professional responsibility and academic freedom. We encourage government officials to continue their respect for the academic autonomy which has enabled colleges and universities to serve impartially the public interest. We encourage the public to continue its support for the tradition of academic freedom essential to a democratic, diverse, and free society.

The undersigned support the attached Joint Statement on Accuracy in Academia. Many associations also have issued or plan to issue separate statements on this matter. We encourage our colleagues in higher education and others concerned with the welfare of the academy to join with us in defense of academic freedom.

Robert H. Atwell, American Council on Education

Ernst Benjamin, American Association of University Professors

Robert L. Clodius, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges

Robert L. Gale, Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges

Sister Alice Gallin, Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities

Jim Harrison, Association of Urban Universities

Jules B. LaPidus, Council of Graduate Schools

Rev. William C. McInnes, S.J., Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities

John D. Phillips, National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities

Tom Swan, United States Student Association

Statement of Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties Principles, prepared by members of the academic community who serve on the ACLU's Academic Freedom Committee

1. Freedom of inquiry and freedom to express ideas and concepts are fundamental to the concept of academic freedom. The essence of university teaching is to expose students to the knowledge and ideas that pro-

fessors deem will further students' education. While classroom debate between teacher and student should be encouraged, professors have no duty to present views which give equal credence or weight to opposing viewpoints. Professors, like others, may be subjected to criticism, but the nature of the criticism must be intellectually related to the classwork, not conform to any given ideological standard established by an outside pressure group.

2. Freedom of speech protects the right of any outside group to criticize the teaching or writing of any academic and to publish and distribute these criticisms as they please.

3. Freedom of speech also permits any outside group to try to persuade students that they have been misled and to provide them with materials designed to influence their opinions.

4. However, the protection of academic freedom requires that university administrators must resist political pressure from outsiders and must respond to internal criticism only as provided by the institutions' rules for insuring against misuse of the classroom.

5. Though students may criticize their professors' teaching, and may freely communicate their criticisms, students who hire themselves to monitor their professors' classes are not properly discharging their responsibilities as members of an academic community. Universities should make efforts to counsel such students that while vigorous debate—in and outside the classroom—on a professor's statements is part of free expression and educational freedom, enrollments purely for the purpose of "monitoring" for outside groups does not serve an educational purpose; to the contrary, it is a form of political pressure inconsistent with the principles of academic freedom.

New Organized Sections

Council Action: The Council approved the petitions of five new groups to become Organized Sections of the Association. They are: Political Methodology, Religion and Politics, Politics and Life Sciences, Urban Politics and Applied Political Science.

Summer Institutes for Black Students

Mann reported that the Association had received a grant from the Ford Foundation, making it possible to hold a Summer Institute in Political Science for Black Undergraduates at Louisiana State University and Southern University in the summer of 1986 and 1987.

APSA Publications List

International Political Science

The Council reviewed the report of Harold Jacobson, who is the program chair for the 1988 IPSA World Congress to be held in Washington, D.C. The theme of the congress will be "Toward a Global Political Science"; a tentative structure and a list of convenors and co-convenors for the major panels were presented in the written report. Mann reported on three key elements of the Congress: hotel arrangements, fundraising and visas.

Huntington reported on the IREX-sponsored exchange between APSA and the Soviet Political Science Association.

It was noted that the Chinese had cancelled their 1986 exchange visit to the United States because of budgetary reasons and Hauck is seeking financial support from USIA, the Asia Foundation, to support the travel of the Chinese delegation which was scheduled to visit the United States in August, 1986.

1986 Program

Mann reported that the preliminary program for the meeting is now almost complete and will be in the mail in May to members. There are 482 panels scheduled, including 235 arranged by the program committee.

Council Action: The Council approved the rules for the annual business meeting and Association elections, with the appropriate date changes.

Managing Editor of the *Review*

Samuel C. Patterson, managing editor of the *Review*, reported that the move of the editorial offices from the University of Iowa to Ohio State University had begun and the transition should be completed smoothly by summer. The Council applauded him for the appearance and content of his first issue, the March 1986 *Review*.

Project '87

In addition to the on-going publications and programs to commemorate the Bicentennial of the Constitution, S. Mann reported on new grants from the Mellon and Hewlett Foundations for the James Madison Fellowship Program, which involves outstanding high school teachers of American history and government in seminars at research universities to prepare them to return to their schools and communities to organize study groups, provide information, and lead discussions about Constitutional principles and practices.

S. Mann also described the poster exhibit

project, accompanied by a "User's Guide," whose development has been funded by contributions from corporations and individuals. The Council was asked to approve the allocation of \$60,000 to underwrite the initial printing, which would be repaid from the sale of exhibits and grant funds.

Council Action: The Council agreed to allocate \$60,000 for the poster exhibit project, which would be repaid from exhibit sales and grant funds.

Other Business

Mann reported briefly on COSSA, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Humanities Alliance, and the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History.

Wildavsky proposed to the Council that he would nominate Suzanne Berger, with John Ferejohn as alternate, to replace Charles O. Jones, the APSA representative, on the Social Science Research Council.

Council Action: The Council approved Berger as the APSA representative to SSRC with Ferejohn as alternate.

1986 Nominating Committee

The Council noted the report of Nelson W. Polsby, chair of the 1986 Nominating Committee, which has proposed a slate for 1986-87 headed by Kenneth Waltz as President-Elect.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

APSA Publications List

PERIODICALS

The American Political Science Review. Quarterly journal of scholarly articles and book reviews in political science. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$20 per copy; \$80 per volume.

PS. Quarterly journal of Association news and articles of professional concern. Included in APSA membership. Back issues: \$5 per copy; \$20 per volume. (\$6 for the spring issue containing the preliminary program.)

The NEWS for Teachers of Political Science. Quarterly newspaper on education and the curriculum. Included in APSA membership. \$7 annual subscription fee for non-APSA members.