

Proposed Resolutions

Submitted by Dankwart A. Rustow, et al.

Whereas it is a major purpose of this Association to promote the scientific understanding of politics by Americans;

Whereas such understanding is furthered both by theoretical study and by practical experience and participation;

Whereas such understanding is needed more than ever in time of national crisis; and **Whereas** Princeton University has taken the lead in instituting a two-week suspension of regular classes before the national elections in the fall of 1970 to enable its students and staff to gain such experience and engage in such participation:

Resolved

- 1) that this Association commends Princeton University's example;
- 2) that the Association urges each Department of Political Science in the United States to use its influence to have its college or university enact a similar policy in the form of a suspension of regular classes either in the two weeks, or else during the four Mondays and Fridays, immediately preceding the national election of November 1970;
- 3) that the Association urges all its members to help implement any programs adopted in the spirit of article (2) and specifically, through provision of information, conduct of workshops, and in other ways, to facilitate and make more effective the participation by graduate and undergraduate students in campaigns on behalf of candidates of their individual choice as a means of their further education in the science of politics;
- 4) that the Association urges each Department of Political Science, whether or not at an institution that will have adopted a program in the spirit of article 2, to institute during the fall term of 1970 and of succeeding election years a practical workshop or workshops in electoral politics for undergraduate and graduate students and with full academic credit under appropriate curriculum regulations.
- 5) that staff at the Association's headquarters prepare suitable teaching materials to be distributed at cost, for use in such workshops;
- 6) that the President of the Association communicate the above commendation to the President of Princeton University.

Submitted by Daniel Henning

A Resolution for the Involvement of Political Science in Environment Issues

Whereas leading ecologists throughout the world are predicting imminent environmental crises in the near future.

Whereas the problems and complexity of human values and behavior with the resulting political and government decisions can produce the destruction or conservation of survival and quality of the environment for man and other forms of life.

Whereas the profession of political science has been generally insensitive to the environmental responsibility of man and to the growing political and social force of the environmental issue.

It is hereby resolved:

That APSA establish an Environmental Committee to study and implement various ways and means for involving the teaching and researching of environmental topics among its members.

That individual members of the APSA give serious consideration to their professional and personal responsibilities for environmental quality and survival on a vocational and avocational basis.

Association News

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Submitted by Sanford Levinson

Resolved, That the Congressional Fellowship Program be terminated at the earliest possible date consistent with fulfilling currently existing legal obligations.

Statement:

The Congressional Fellowship Program, financed by the Ford Foundation and administered by the American Political Association, is dubious for two, analytically separate, kinds of reasons. The first is both more obvious and less important, dealing with the political implications of the Program. That is, as in any "internship" program, the Fellow is not simply an observer, but rather an aide to the Representative or Senator to which he is attached. By what criteria are Senators and Representatives entitled to the presumably valuable assistance of professional political scientists? If the answer be that participation is necessary in order to understand the functioning of Congress, then why does not the Association sponsor (and secure financing for) similar kinds of participant-observation in other political organizations ranging from the Black Panthers to the American Legion? Surely we should recognize that applying free help to Congressmen is no more "value-free" than would be the provision of interns to the above organizations. If we are going to continue to have internship programs, then at least let us debate what organizations we wish to supply aid to, and why.

The above, however, is only a secondary reason to oppose the Program. Much more important is the recognition of the role of the Program in encouraging the study of certain kinds of political activity through the provision of special incentives and benefits. To be blunt, I would argue that the Program encourages ever more study of an institution – Congress – about which we have sufficient knowledge relative to other kinds of unexamined political activity. Such activity includes not only recognized political groups like those mentioned in the first paragraph, but also the vast "private governments" which play such an important role in our political life. General Motors, for example, has a Gross Corporate Product which would place it high in the realm of the world's major powers if GM were formally recognized as a state; indeed, it has more overseas employees than does the United States State Department. Yet we have almost no serious studies of the politics of General Motors, either of the internal struggles for power or of the external consequences of corporate decisions.

The marginal utility of the next study of Congress, I submit, is much less than the utility of a study of the politics of General Motors or, indeed, of the Ford Foundation itself which so generously finances the Congressional Fellow Program. It is simple inertia at best, or ideological blindness at worst, which keeps us injecting ever more resources into the study of Congress. The American Political Science Association, therefore, should recognize that, whatever good may have been served in the past by the Program, in the present its continuation would be a grave mis-allocation of scarce resources and that it should be terminated.

Submitted by David Kettler

Resolved, That the Council of the American Political Science Association is instructed to make available to the Caucus for a New Political Science ten panels at the 1971 meetings and at subsequent meetings until and unless it shall be determined by the membership that the Caucus no longer represents an important intellectual development within the discipline.

That, criteria and procedures for allocation of panels to such other groups as may claim them shall be drawn up by the Council, drawing on the ad hoc decisions which made it possible for the Association to act wisely in this matter during the past three years.

Statement:

At its meeting of December 4-5, 1969, the Council of the American Political Science Association 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." This resolution, if implemented, would liquidate the policy which has given some panels to several groups during the past three years.

A comparison between the official program for 1967 and the program projected for 1971 by the new program chairman will bear witness to the contributions which have already been made to this Association by the sorts of activities which are now to be proscribed. Large areas of inquiry pioneered by the Caucus for a New Political Science will now be addressed by regular panels. But the innovative process which is given such recognition is now to be halted.

However benign or liberal those who will exercise the "direct control and supervision" no such policy can compensate for the loss of a distinctive forum – especially when even benign and liberal administrators of the official persuasion have repeatedly shown their inability to understand what the Caucus is all about. This is clear in David Easton's presidential address in 1969 and it is clear in a civil and conciliatory letter to the Caucus from the Program Chairman for 1971. The Caucus is considered a "political viewpoint group . . . interested in research with more direct policy relevance, discussions and evaluations of public policy and intense self-

analysis and criticism of the discipline" rather than "scholarly research."

The Caucus is no more (and also no less) a "political viewpoint group" than the Board of Editors of the *American Political Science Review* or the Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The scholarly work of political scientists has political significance; the political work of political scientists, in turn, may have scholarly significance. The question is whether that significance will be acknowledged and brought under conscious control.

The Caucus has often focused on "policy issues", but it has done this in considerable measure in order to reveal the inconsequence of the theories which inform official scholarly research. It seeks to foster more adequate theory, to bring about better scholarly research.

Scholarly establishments normally impose their own conceptions of appropriateness through their control over the agencies which set standards of "professionalism" and "scholarship." In addition to textbooks, journals, and examinations, such agencies include the programs at professional meetings. The group which dominated the American Political Science Association finds that the resistance taking shape around the Caucus for a New Political Science is gaining in strength and coherence. The action of the Council counters this development because the scholarly and organizational activity connected with the panels made available to the Caucus has been an important instrument for its gains.

At the Caucus panels, crucial issues overlooked by the official political science have been raised and approaches rejected by the official political science have been explored. An alternate paradigm of our discipline is in formation – one that will be able to comprehend the massive pains and troubles which appear as incidental "policy issues" to the official political science. This process serves the ultimate objectives which professedly unite us in the American Political Science Association. It must not be crippled or blocked by an abuse of official powers.