

International Political Science

Peace, Development, Knowledge: Contributions of Political Science

Report on the 1979 Moscow World Congress of the International Political Science Association

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This report culminates almost ten years of organizing and reporting on three world congresses for the IPSA. The XIth World Congress in Moscow was the first held outside the "North-Atlantic triangle" and has been the subject of much comment and controversy both in the discipline and in the media. This report will therefore go somewhat further than its two predecessors in providing more background on the nature and organization of the Congress. While no "official viewpoint" can be given in such a diverse voluntary association as the IPSA, the following facts and comments will attempt to provide sufficient information for the members of the discipline to judge the merits of the various arguments swirling around the ghost of the Moscow Congress.

The Program

Following on recent congresses, the program of the XIth Congress in Moscow was divided into three sections, each having approximately a third of the sessions—the major themes, the research committees, and the special meetings. Themes are organized by the Programme Committee, Research Committee sessions by the committees themselves or a convenor they may name, and the special meetings are proposed and organized by individual scholars who are members of the Association.

It is the determined tradition of IPSA to have the Association itself, and not the host organization or any other group, maintain complete control of the preparation and development of the program. This tradition was maintained in Moscow as in Edinburgh, Montreal, Munich, etc. Once a certain cohesion and overview has been attained by the work of the Committee, scholarly freedom takes over. Each theme convenor who has been selected, each special meeting convenor who has been accepted, and each Research Committee which has been recognized by the Association is left free to develop stimulating sessions within the broad guidelines established by the Programme Committee. These guidelines urge the convenors to leave their sessions open for proposed papers as



The University of Moscow, site of the IPSA XI World Congress. Photo by Karen Foster.

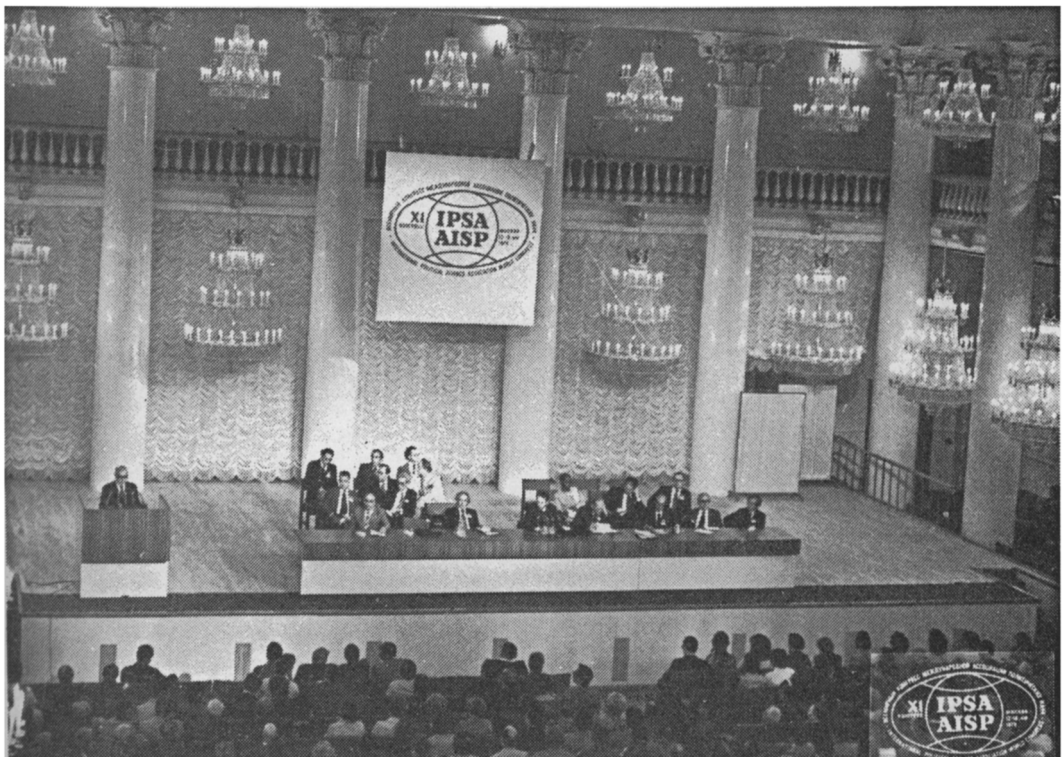
well as invited ones; to try to include a fair distribution with regard to such factors as approach, methodology, subject matter, and age, sex and region of the authors, once academic quality has been given predominance; not to allow more than six participants per session so as to encourage discussion; and not to close down their list of participants too early.

One innovation was with regard to the composition of the Programme Committee. The IPSA president is automatically the chairman of the Committee and selects its members. For previous Congresses it had consisted of a small selection of the IPSA Executive Committee members. Karl Deutsch (Harvard and Berlin) decided to broaden this by creating a Programme Advisory Committee composed of both Executive Committee members and other leading scholars, with Richard Merritt (Illinois) as Programme Chairman (organizer), while Professor Deutsch remained as Chairman of the Committee. It is expected this is part of a continuing opening of IPSA whereby the President and Executive Committee will entrust the running of the Congress to leading scholars with whom they are used to working closely, so the Executive Committee can get on with the business of running the Association and developing the discipline around the world. The Moscow Advisory Programme Committee consisted of: Professors K. Deutsch, S. Rokkan, M. Dogan, R. Wildenmann, V. Semenov, R. Rose, D. Horowitz, A. Lijphart, D. Sidjanski, P. C.

Ludz, H. Aiker, J. Laponce, C. Mendes, G. Shakhnazarov, M. Merle, A. Bibic, N. Bose, M. Bouzidi, R. Merritt, and J. Trent.

The three major themes dealt with "Peace, Development and Knowledge." Introductory guideline papers by the theme convenors, published in the IPSA newsletter, *Participation* (Vol. 2, No. 3 and Vol. 3, No. 1), indicated the objectives of the themes and the major areas in which it was hoped research and debate would be presented.

Professors Hayward R. Aiker (MIT) and Georgii Shakhnazarov (Institute for State and Law) and Marcel Merle (Paris 1) presented Theme 1, "The Politics of Peace." Building on previous discussions on international relations at world congresses, the aim this time was to present theoretical and empirical research on the objective political conditions for peaceful relations between and within states. There was a hope the papers would concentrate more on practical conditions of peace in prevailing historical conditions rather than projects of eternal peace. What, for instance, are the state and prospects of a stable detente, of limiting the arms race, of deepening understanding and trust? Rather than just managing conflict, are there steps to consensus development or is this precluded by ideological struggle? Fundamental to peace is a better knowledge of the conceptions that are held of peaceful coexistence, what they assume and what they entail. Another basic area of study has to do with the roots or causes of



The opening session of the IPSA XI World Congress in Moscow, USSR.

peace and war dealing with internal interests and stereotypes, the inequalities of states, and global contexts of both insecurity and organization. Discussion between the advocates of different scientific approaches to the roots of peace and war would help to "accumulate mutually shared knowledge that transcends biases associated with parochial vantage points."

Professor Nirmal Bose (Calcutta) outlined a number of considerations for Theme II, "The Politics of Development and System Change," which was designed specifically to assure cross-fertilization between "developmental studies" which concentrate on the Third World, and the more recent tendency to apply both the questions and the techniques of this field to the study of historical transformations of all societies. Clarification of concepts and terminology is a first problem in a domain in which we study not only factors fomenting change and development but also the ensuing problems and their solutions. It is also recognized that these studies are suffused with values or with value-based concepts such as planning, participation, stability, nationalism and interests, and these values must be explicated and analyzed. Theories of developmental stages and Western and Marxist models need to be examined in particular historical contexts as do evaluations of system potential for adapting to change. How can we better elaborate the factors of development and transformation including the international milieu, economic conditions, popular

support, social mobilization and the role of elites and agents of change? In the more concrete present circumstances, we require research reports on the interaction between such elements as participation, centralization, planning, communications, foreign aid and transnational corporations on the one hand, the various power constellations, on the other hand, and their combined effect on conflict and consensus alignments.

Theme III, "Cumulative Growth in Political Science Since 1949," was introduced by Professors V. S. Semenov (Moscow) and Peter Christian Ludz (Munich). It is a new departure to reserve one section of the program for an analysis of the state of the discipline. The theme asked: what have we learned about politics and what tools have we developed for learning since the Second World War—a period that coincides fairly well with the 30th anniversary of the founding of IPSA in 1949. During this time, did we accumulate new political generalizations (laws) or forms of understanding to add to the already existing stock? Such questions should be seen in the light of evolving classical democratic and Marxist-Leninist concepts, the historical circumstances of the epoch and the real political conditions in various countries. Particularly important has been the spread of empirical studies of non-formal and sociological aspects of political life in the West and the question is raised as to whether, in comparison with Marxist approaches, they have neglected the theoretical,



IPSA Executive Committee members, 1979-82. Bottom, L to R: C. A. Perumal, India; Adolf Bibic, Yugoslavia; Kinhide Mushakoji, Japan; Karl Deutsch, U.S.; Candido Mendes, Brazil; John Trent, Canada; John Meisel, Canada. Top, L to R: Richard Merritt, U.S.; Asher Arian, Israel; Francesco Kjellberg, Norway; Stefano Passigli, Italy; Daniel Frei, Switzerland; Julio Portillo, Venezuela; Ergun Ozbudun, Turkey; Dieter Senghaas, Federal Republic of Germany; Georgii Shakhazarov, USSR; Jerzy Wiatr, Poland; William Smirnov, USSR; Jack Hayward, United Kingdom; Jean-Pierre Gaboury, Canada; Serge Hurtig, France.

historical and ethical foundations of political inquiry? Predominant trends of the past three decades have been: the integral approach to analysis through systems theory; the immense development of data banks and information systems; a renewal of comparative studies at both the macro and micro levels; and the recent efforts in forecasting and modelling based, in part, on borrowings from mathematics and cybernetics. These trends should be analyzed to see what new knowledge they have furnished us about political institutions and about political economy. We may ask at the same time, whether there have been modifications in the use of political knowledge and, indeed, whether the discipline itself is in danger of being politicized?

Each theme had eight subsections (with two sessions each), plus, as another innovation to the program, a section of submitted papers for contributions dealing with the theme but not fitting naturally under any of the formalized subject areas. The 17 research committees each organized two sessions and the seven study groups and the 39 special meetings were accorded one session each. With a maximum of six participants and an average of three papers per session, there was a potential of more than 400 reports.

Copies of the complete program are available from the IPSA Secretariat: Mme. Liette Boucher, International Political Science Associa-

tion, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada, K1N 6N5, as are copies of individual papers and microfiche sets of Congress papers at a cost of \$85 to members.

Attendance

The Moscow Congress was the largest to date in IPSA's history. Approximately 1,100 had attended the Congresses in Montreal and Edinburgh. The Moscow Congress was attended by 1,466 persons from 53 countries (in addition to 201 spouses and children, the youngest being four months old. Early politicization!). Of the total number of participants, 260 came from the USSR, an average of 50 from other East European countries (Poland, Germany DDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia: total of 350); 240 from West Europe (U.K., Italy, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Austria, Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland); 51 from Canada; 229 from the U.S., 154 from Australasia (Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Greece, Thailand, Hong Kong, India, Singapore, Israel, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, Pakistan); 10 from Africa; 68 from Latin America; and one from the Middle East.

Attendance at the Congress broken down by countries: Algeria 2, Argentina 3, Australia 6, Austria 1, Belgium 15, Brazil 11, Cameroon 1,



L to R: Georgii Shakhnazarov, President, Soviet Political Science Association; Petr N. Fedoseiev, Soviet Academy of Sciences; Jean Laponce, University of British Columbia, Canada, and former President, IPSA; Nirmal Bose, University of Calcutta, India; Richard L. Merritt, University of Illinois, Urbana, U.S., and XI World Congress Program Chairperson; Karl Deutsch, Harvard University and Berlin Institute of Comparative Social Research and IPSA President; Yudim Semenov, USSR; Candido Mendes, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrucao, Brazil.

Bulgaria 50, Canada 51, Chile 1, Cuba 2, Czechoslovakia 50, Denmark 12, Finland 20, France 42, Germany (East) 50, Germany (West) 64, Greece 4, Hong Kong 1, Hungary 50, India 32, Indonesia 1, Ireland 3, Israel 29, Italy 12, Japan 30, Jordan 1, South Korea 21, Ivory Coast 1, Luxembourg 2, Malaysia 1, Mexico 47, Netherlands 32, New Zealand 2, Nigeria 4, Norway 21, Poland 50, Philippines 1, Pakistan 1, Romania 50, Spain 34, Singapore 1, Sweden 37, Switzerland 11, Sierra Leone 1, Thailand 2, Turkey 22, U.K. 34, USSR 260, USA 229, Venezuela 5, Vietnam 2, Yugoslavia 50.

Participants in the XIth World Congress Moscow. Pre-registered delegates from countries other than the USSR and Eastern Europe by age group:

18-24:	6
25-29:	64
30-34:	169
35-39:	210
40-44:	170
45-49:	121
50-54:	94
55-59:	68
60-64:	44
65- :	17
No answer:	152
TOTAL:	1,120

Organization

In August 1978 the Executive Committee of the IPSA published a statement responding to



L to R: Mark Garrison, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy, Moscow; Mrs. Garrison and Gerald Wright, National Science Foundation, at a reception at Spaso House, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, during the IPSA Congress.

the question of whether it was appropriate to hold the 1979 World Congress in Moscow. The statement read in part:

“The fundamental reasons for not changing our decision are derived from a principle.

“The nature of the IPSA, as that of any international scholarly association, is to serve all national and regional political science associations. Our common endeavour is to develop the comparative search for knowledge and the communication of what we learn. The International Association cannot obey or follow any group or grouping of political scientists. We must continually seek to learn from the scholarship of others and not close doors to this process of intersocietal learning. . . .

“At the time of our invitation to hold the World Congress in Moscow, the International Association sought and received assurance from our Soviet colleagues that we would be able to accomplish our scholarly objectives in the same manner as at past Congresses. We, as an Association, have continually taken a strong position that we must be assured of freedom of access to the Congress for all bona fide political scientists and that there must be the normal freedom of speech, debate and communication associated with our Congresses.”

(For the complete text, see *Participation*, Vol. 3, No. 2.)

The major questions are: Was the faith of the Association in adhering to this basic principle justified? Why?

Freedom of Access and Communication

The figures above indicate that more people than ever attended the Congress from a wide diversity of countries. Visas, including tourist travel visas, were finally offered to all those who requested them and about whom the IPSA



L to R: W. V. Smirnov, Secretary, Soviet Political Science Association, and John Trent, IPSA General Secretary.

had advance knowledge. This included two large delegations from Israel and South Korea, two countries with which the USSR does not have diplomatic relations.

The success of this operation, however, indicates that international associations must be increasingly mature and sophisticated in their activities. For instance, as a basic condition, it is unreasonable to undertake major projects that go against foreign policy trends. Also, while it was important to have had "written assurances" from the beginning and, at the end, the will and unanimity to threaten the canceling of the Congress, there were not the only ingredients of success. As the textbooks we write inform us, we found that difficulties in international relations are as often results of misunderstandings, communications barriers, lack of on-the-spot verifications, and stereotype reactions as they are of willful malevolence. To surmount these difficulties requires planning, clear objectives, access to high-level decision makers, contingency preparation, rapid and multiple communications links between key actors and a reserve budget to make these operable. Even more fundamental in the case of international scientific undertakings are personal acquaintances built up over a series of years which produce a sense of trust based on common objectives.

In the specific case of the Congress, this type of commitment led to a willingness to warn rather than threaten, to communicate misgivings rather than retaliate, to delay rather than act precipitously, to seek private consensus rather than public conflict. Without such conditions how would the Soviet Organization Committee have overcome pressures from North Korea and the PLO, USSR foreign visa traditions, and various bureaucratic problems. How would the Western organizers have held at bay the intervention of numerous interest groups and political entities which wanted to halt the Congress or influence participants.

At the Congress, we had only one complaint of an inability to express opinions, despite contentious topics on human rights, the Helsinki



L to R: Young Ho Lee, Ewha Woman's University, Korea; Robert A. Dahl, Yale University, U.S.; and John Meisel, Queen's University, Canada.

agreement, the development of Marxist theory and ethnicity and politics. How much real communication was there? There seemed to be a general consensus from East and West, North and South that "the Congress was much better than we expected it to be..." Some might consider this a rather backhand compliment but when we look at the stark reality of holding a world political science conference in Moscow just 15 years after the Cuban Crisis, a realist would say it was the most to be hoped for. No one has a complete overview of the Congress, but the reports I received indicated that participants found more than 50 percent of their sessions to have contained good scholarly communications between East and West. There were also comments that communication was better because the quality of papers and sessions were improved as a result of the rigorous preparation of the program. As at most conferences, however, the long-term basis of communication results from contacts established between scholars. There was uniform praise for the opportunities to meet Soviet scholars not only at sessions but also at the specially arranged visits to more than 20 Moscow research institutes.

The Lerner Case

One example of blocked access was the case of Alexander Lerner, a noted Soviet cyberneticist and a Moscow "refusednik." As usual the media was happy to play up the singular case. Along with numerous other program changes and



L to R: Iza Laponce, University of British Columbia, Canada, and Serge Hurtig, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, France, and Editor, International Political Science Abstracts, at the luncheon for journal editors.

additions, Professor Lerner was invited in the last months before the Congress to participate as a discussant in a session of Professor Hayward Alker's Research Committee on Quantitative and Mathematical Approaches to Politics. His name was included in the copy of the program sent to Moscow for printing. The Soviet Organizing Committee took Dr. Lerner out of the program and did not accept his registration or attendance at the Congress, stating they were not obliged to do so as he was not a political scientist and had not been invited by his national political science association.

Those are the facts. Judgment of the motivations and conflicting actions must be left to each individual. Although considerable external pressures were brought to bear on the Association to include Lerner in the program, these were refused. The final decision was made on the basis that it would be *reverse* discrimination on the Association's part to exclude a man who was eminently qualified for a session that was to discuss his own work and who, although not popular in his own country, had no criminal charges against him. In any case, final decisions are made by session convenors and the Programme Chairman simply includes them in the program.

The Soviets were forced to believe that Lerner had been inserted in the program at the last minute to embarrass them. Moreover, they believed this could not be done because of an agreement between the IPSA and the Soviet hosts that they would handle all the Soviet and Eastern registrations to overcome money exchange problems. They did not recognize the



L to R: John Trent, University of Ottawa and IPSA Secretary General, and Robert C. Gray, Franklin & Marshall College, U.S.

IPSA practice which separates the program and registration functions to such a degree that the one hand often does not know what the other is doing. But this was only the tip of the iceberg. What we were really up against was a straightforward confrontation between the Western, liberal, individualist tradition and the Russian, socialist, collectivist tradition. It should be noted that both of these are strongly-held cultural beliefs and not simply political reactions. Westerners thought Lerner was being refused his individual rights as a scholar. The Soviet perspective was that Lerner had earned the opprobrium of his own state and his own scientific societies and the Political Science Association could not go over their heads and accept Lerner without risking its own credibility. In Russian tradition, an individual's place in the collectivity is very much part of his personal value. It would be difficult not to recognize the reality of these two traditions even if you do not accept the premises of one or the other. Even after three and four hour negotiating sessions most nights of the Congress, the IPSA and Soviet Committee representatives, while coming to a deeper appreciation of each other's views, ended up agreeing to disagree, with the IPSA maintaining its invitation and the Soviets refusing entry.

The IPSA as an *international* association remains with the quandary: how much can an international body interfere in the affairs of its members? How much can a member intervene in the accepted scholarly procedures of an international association? Needless to say a committee has been struck.

As one French professor wrote in *Le Monde*, "We must begin by convincing our scholars to go abroad to defend their ideas. The future of our culture cannot simply be promoted in our own educational establishments. It is also developed in international arenas where competing countries do not hesitate to send their heavyweights in large numbers." A political scientist at the American embassy in Moscow agreed. "The Russians sent their best. I would like to have seen more of ours—if we want real communication."

As an addendum to the Lerner case, we may point out that many Congress participants visited freely with "refusedniks" and "dissidents" and even held sessions in their apartments—something that would not have happened without the Congress. As a case in point, the day after the Congress, Professor Irwin Cutler, a McGill law professor and international defender of Sharansky who attached himself to the Congress at the last moment, was thrown out of the country by the Soviet authorities because he went beyond the normally authorized 30-kilometer limit around Moscow. For the USSR authorities, it was an excuse to get rid of a nuisance and for Professor Cutler an opportunity to get international exposure for his cause.

Book Exhibit

Generally speaking, the Soviet Organizing Com-

mittee followed the book exhibit proposal of the IPSA, although at a rather late date. The problem is that having moved congresses out of Europe and North America, there is some difficulty and/or lack of interest in having commercial publishers mount book displays. The IPSA proposal to ask national associations to provide national book displays based on a quota system but open to association selection or publisher selection, was a result of our consultations with publishers and their preferences. Some associations considered this a form of censorship. The IPSA disagrees. More negotiations will have to be held between member associations and the IPSA to iron out differences.

Meeting Rooms

Some participants felt the Soviet organizers chose to place the contentious sessions in inordinately small rooms. Such is not the case. The room distribution followed IPSA traditions—but therein lies a problem that we recognize. Theme sessions, often less popular than special meetings, are placed in the rooms with translation facilities, which are normally the larger auditoriums. This is done to give preference to the Program Committee's work but also because no rational, objective choice for the limited space could be made between all the Research Committees, study groups, and special meetings without raising jealousies and accusations. We continue to seek a solution to our quandary. . . .

Hosting and Financing

All agreed that the Soviet Organization Committee went out of its way to be gracious and painstaking hosts. The opening and closing ceremonies in the famous Hall of Columns and the brilliant opening concert "with a cast of hundreds," and several receptions for all delegates were lavish affairs. Guides, translators, helpers, cars and busses abounded. We understand more than 400,000 roubles were spent. The tours after the Congress were stimulating—if sometimes difficult.

Elections

Elections to the Executive Committee were held during the Congress for the term 1979-1982:

President: Candido Mendes, Brazil. Past-President: Karl Deutsch, USA. 1st Vice President: Georgii Shakhnazarov, USSR. Vice-Presidents: Daniel Frei, Switzerland; Serge Hurtig, France; Richard Merritt, USA; Jerzy Wiatr, Poland; Kinhide Mushakoji, Japan. Members: Asher Arian (Israel); Adolf Bibic, Yugoslavia; Jack Hayward, U.K.; Francesco Kjellberg, Norway; John Meisel, Canada; Ergun Ozbudun, Turkey; Stefano Passigli, Italy; C. A. Perumal, India; Julio Portillo, Venezuela; Dieter Senghaas, Germany. Secretary-General: John E. Trent, Canada. Associate Secretary-General: Jean-Pierre Gaboury, Canada.

Comments of the President

The President, Professor Candido Mendes, would like to improve the international representation of the IPSA. An effort should be made to bring other areas like the Middle East, Africa, and Asia while maintaining the European and North American base of the Association. The IPSA should also be more involved in international bodies like UNESCO and regional social science organizations.

IPSA Secretariat

It was unanimously approved that the IPSA secretariat remain in Ottawa (Canada) for the next three years. Professor Trent was reappointed to the position of Secretary-General.

Professor Trent made a specific proposal to the Executive Committee to re-establish the position of Associate-Secretary-General on a permanent basis as the operation of the IPSA is becoming too onerous for any one academic. Professor Jean-Pierre Gaboury, University of Ottawa, was named Associate-Secretary-General with specific responsibilities for editing *Participation* and coordinating the general organization of the next World Congress, plus other specific duties as may be delegated by the President and approved by the Executive Committee.

New Research Committees

Four study groups have applied for, and been accorded, research committee status. They are: Research Committee on Asian Political Studies,



L to R: Ruth Deutsch; Karl Deutsch, IPSA President; and John Trent, IPSA General Secretary, at the closing ceremony of the XI World Congress.

Research Committee on Sex Roles and Politics,
Research Committee on Political Finance and
Political Corruption, and Research Committee
on Political Education.

New Collective Members

As the IPSA is receiving applications from
associations to become IPSA collective mem-
bers, it was decided to create an Admission
Committee.

Now Available:

IPSA PUBLICATIONS

International Political Science Enters the 1980s

Volume I: Abstracts of the papers from Western and Third World countries presented at the XI World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Moscow, USSR, August 12 through 18, 1979. Edited by Richard L. Merritt. \$6.00, prepaid.

Volume II: Papers from socialist countries will appear later.

Peace, Development, Knowledge: Contributions of political science.

Proceedings in microfiche with index of approximately 400 papers presented at the XI IPSA World Congress, Moscow, USSR, August 12 through 18, 1979. English and French texts (approximately 90 percent English), \$85 for IPSA members, \$100 for non-members, prepaid.

(Also still available: the microfiche proceedings of the X World Congress in Edinburgh, 1976, \$68 members, \$85 non-members, prepaid.)

International Political Science Review

The new official quarterly journal of the International Political Science Association devoted to the creation and dissemination between countries of rigorous political inquiry. Included as a part of IPSA membership. Annual cost: \$17.50 individual, prepaid; \$33 institutions.

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