

Annual Meeting in Washington to visit with Department officers in the geographic and functional areas of their interest. An announcement and appointment form on the State Department visitation program is on page 355 of this issue of *PS*.

Committee for the Study of Diplomacy

Breakfast Meeting for Political Scientists interested in Diplomacy, 8:00 a.m., Thursday, Sept. 7.

Contact: Smith Simpson, 4124 Downing Street, Annendale, Virginia 22003.

APSA Council Minutes

The first Council meeting of the year was held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., December 10 and 11, 1971.

Present: Chadwick F. Alger, Christian Bay, Samuel D. Cook, Thomas R. Dye, Valerie A. Earle, Heinz Eulau, Richard F. Fenno, Fred I. Greenstein, Robert O. Keohane, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Samuel Krislov, Gerhard Loewenberg, Robert E. Martin, Dwaine Marvick, Donald R. Matthews, Joyce M. Mitchell, Clara Penniman, Nelson W. Polsby, James W. Prothro, Dankwart A. Rustow, Joseph Tanenhaus, Gordon Tullock and Robert E. Ward.

Certification of Election Results

Fred Greenstein, Chairman of the Election Committee, certified to the Executive Director the results of the mail ballot conducted by the American Arbitration Association and certified the election of all officers except Secretary. The problem involved in the election of the Secretary is outlined in the Election Committee report, a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes.

Dye raised a constitutional objection to the failure of the Election Committee to certify his election. He stated that the APSA Constitution (Article 5, Section 1) declares that the nominee receiving the highest ranking in elections of the Association "shall be declared elected"; that there is no provision authorizing the Election Committee to set aside the results of an election; and that the Election Committee is constitutionally obliged to certify his election to the Executive Director. Eulau ruled that the matter of the election of the Secretary of the Association would be taken up at 4 p.m., December 10th.

Approval of Minutes

Ward moved for approval of the minutes of the previous Council meeting and the Annual Business Meeting, subject to such minor corrections as

the Secretary may find necessary. Unanimously approved.

Reports

The Council heard reports from Evron Kirkpatrick, Walter Beach, Mae King and Thomas Mann concerning the various projects and programs of the national office. (This material will be included in the annual Report of the Executive Director which will be published in the Summer issue of *PS*.)

Donald Matthews, Treasurer, reported to the Council that the final deficit for fiscal 1970-71 was \$177,765, and reviewed with the Council the current quarterly financial report.

Nelson Polsby, Editor of the *APSR*, reported to the Council and announced the appointment of five new Associate Editors of the *Review*: Russell D. Murphy, Wesleyan University; Joan M. Nelson, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Michael Shapiro, University of Hawaii; Paul Sniderman, University of Toronto; Stephen V. Stephens, Johns Hopkins University. Krislov moved for approval of appointments as Associate Editors. Unanimously approved. Dwaine Marvick, Chairman of the 1972 Program Committee reported on the work of his Committee in preparing for the 1972 Annual Meeting.

Election of Association Secretary

Suzanne Cavanagh, Pamela Hellert, and Clarice R. Feldman, counsel for the Petitioners, appeared before the Council and presented a written "Petition on Behalf of Judith May and the Women's Caucus for Resolution Ordering Reballoting for Office of APSA Secretary and for Other Relief," a copy of which is attached to the record copy of these minutes. Hellert requested that they be permitted to tape this portion of the Council meeting. Loewenberg moved that the Women's Caucus be given permission to tape the meeting and that the Council request the tapes be turned over to the Association for checking the minutes or whatever purposes the President may wish.

Vote on the Loewenberg motion was:

For: Alger, Bay, Cook, Earle, Fenno, Greenstein, Keohane, Krislov, Loewenberg, Martin, Marvick, Matthews, Mitchell, Penniman, Polsby, Prothro, Rustow, Tanenhaus, Tullock, Ward

No one opposed; Dye, Eulau and Kirkpatrick abstained. Motion approved.

Key portions of the petition include the following: On September 8, 1971, at the annual APSA

Business Meeting nominations for elective office in the APSA were received. Prior to this time, in accord with the constitution and election rules, the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science submitted slates of candidates to the APSA. The candidate for Secretary on the Women's Caucus slate was Professor Judith May; the candidate for secretary on the Caucus for a New Political Science slate was Professor Judith Stiehm.¹ The transcribed minutes of the meeting (taken from the videotapes) reveals, however, that Professor Malecki, speaking for the Caucus for a New Political Caucus (*sic*), corrected the record and indicated that Professor May, rather than Professor Stiehm, was the nominee for the office of APSA Secretary on the Caucus for a New Political Science slate. The representatives of the two caucuses and Professors Stiehm and May thereafter believed in good faith that the matter had been resolved and that Professor May would be listed on the ballot as the candidate for Secretary sponsored by both the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science. . . .

Petitioners request the following relief:

1. An official announcement by the Council that Professor Stiehm was not a candidate for Secretary on the slate of the Caucus for a New Political Science and that the Council regrets any distress the erroneous listing on the ballot may have caused her.
 2. That the Council adopt a resolution that the election for the office of Secretary be voided and a new election held with an explanation for the reballoting. (Petitioners are willing to accept the least expensive mail ballot procedures — i.e., postcards to be sent to a post office box.)
 3. That in accord with the request by Professor Stiehm, the ballots of Professor Stiehm be tabulated in the official vote count as having been cast for Professor May so that the combined total may be more reflective of the combined voting strength of the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science.
- Petitioners agree with Professor Greenstein's statement that it is "of prime importance that the fairness and legitimacy of the Association's

¹ The Caucus for a New Political Science had agreed to support whomever the Women's Caucus sponsored for the office of Secretary. Professor Stiehm was originally nominated by the Women's Caucus as a stand-in for Professor May who was not in attendance and whose views on running for office the Women's Caucus was trying to obtain, the Caucus for a New Political Science was to change the name of their nominee to Professor May. For reasons unclear from the record, they did not do so until the matter reached the floor. But there can be no dispute from the election rules and APSA constitution that they had a right to change the name of their nominee at that time. And it is equally clear that they did so.

elections processes be unquestionable (*sic*)." It is our firm conviction that unless the requests for relief are favorably acted upon, the fairness and legitimacy of the Association's election processes will most certainly be called into question, and while petitioners are loathe to seek redress of this matter in other fora, they may well be forced to do so unless the Executive Council and the APSA as a whole are more responsive to the need for such remedial relief that (*sic*) has been the case so far in this matter.

Professor Greenstein, Chairman of the Election Committee, presented a report from the Committee describing events surrounding the election of Secretary, and making the following recommendations concerning the current dispute:

1. That the Council officially announce that Professor Stiehm was erroneously listed as candidate for Secretary.
2. That the Council express regret about this occurrence.
3. That the Council make an official judgment about the validity of the election for Secretary.
4. The Elections Committee considers it of prime importance that the fairness and legitimacy of the Association's elections process be unquestionable. We feel that while the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science may not have technically followed the necessary steps for presenting Professor May as their joint candidate, the Rules of Procedure are insufficiently clear and that both Caucuses were left with the impression that their intentions would be reflected in the composition of the ballot. Under these circumstances we recommend that the Council conduct a new election for the office of Secretary, if the request is made by any of the three individuals listed as candidates for this office on the 1971 ballot. Any of the three may delegate in writing to some other individual the power to make such a request. If a new election for the office of Secretary were to be conducted, Professor Dye and Professor May would be listed as the sole candidates and the ballot would indicate that Professor May had the endorsement of the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science and Professor Dye the endorsement of the APSA Nominating Committee and the Ad Hoc Committee.
5. The Elections Committee assumes that special efforts will be made to remedy the Rules so that future errors of this sort do not occur.

The Council engaged in an extended discussion of this topic, which included the following observations: Eulau asked if Mrs. Stiehm was currently a

member of the APSA and learned that she was not; Polsby inquired whether holding a new election was the only means of redressing felt grievances and Mrs. Feldman stated it was "the only rational means of remedy"; Tullock observed that rebalotting when the outcome is obvious from the first vote is a waste of members' dues; Bay stated that the Election Committee was not really recommending setting aside an election because no valid election for Secretary has been held; Ward observed that the petitioners did not allege fraud or deceit by anyone, and that Dye's vote exceeded the vote of both candidates combined, and therefore he wondered what the purpose of the petition could be other than punitive; Mrs. Feldman denied intent to punish the Association and stated that their intention was to insure the legitimacy of Association elections; Cook stated that technicalities aside, a new election should be held to insure fairness, justice, and decency.

The President asked Professor Dye to present his views, which included the following:

Earlier I stated rather formally that the APSA Constitution does not authorize the Election Committee or the Council to overturn an election and set aside the judgment of a majority of the membership. My constitutional objection is well-founded and I believe it would be upheld in any court. But I am really more concerned with the values mentioned by Professor Cook — fairness, justice, and decency.

Accepting the outcome of elections is the first principle of representative government. Setting aside the judgment of a majority of the membership of the Association is a very serious action which should not be undertaken unless there is a clear showing of fraud, or a clear showing that some serious injustice would result by allowing the election to stand. But there is no allegation of fraud anywhere in the record. And the election returns reveal that I would have won 4,138 to 2,931 if all of the votes of May and Stiehm are combined. Hence, there is no evidence of any injustice or damage to either of the losing candidates. Conducting a new election would not only waste the dues of the members, but it would force me to run again for an office which I won fairly with the support of an overwhelming majority of the membership.

Moreover, a new election would imply to the membership that indeed some injustice had been done to the petitioners, and the election outcome might be changed by this implication. In my judgment the purpose of this petition is to discredit the Association and to question its legitimacy. By

calling a new election in response to these unsupported demands and threats of law suits, the Council would be playing into the hands of those dissident elements in the Association who have attempted to discredit it over the last three years. There was no defect in the ballot. The vote clearly reveals the preferences of the majority of the membership. At every point in the official record, it is clear that both May and Stiehm were duly nominated under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association, and neither officially withdrew from the election. I believe the Council is morally, as well as constitutionally, obliged to accept the majority judgment of the membership.

Following a conference between representatives of the Council and representatives of the petitioners, the following motion was presented to the Council by Matthews:

The Council considers it of prime importance that the fairness and legitimacy of the Association's elections process be unquestionable. We feel that while the Women's Caucus and the Caucus for a New Political Science may not have technically followed necessary steps for presenting Professor May as their joint candidate, the Rules of Procedure are insufficiently clear and that both Caucuses were left with the impression that their intentions would be reflected in the composition of the ballot. Therefore —

1. The Council recognizes the appropriateness of the Elections Committee recommendation calling for a new election and the moral right of the parties to call for such an election. We therefore appreciate the agreement of the parties not to call for such an election and their acceptance of the election results for Secretary.
2. The Council directs the President and Executive Director to prepare appropriate apologies to the three candidates for Secretary at the last election.
3. The Council hereby establishes an Ad Hoc Electoral Commission to prepare proposed rules for the future conduct of the annual mail ballot election to be presented to the next meeting of this Council for adoption or rejection. The Commission shall consist of seven members, the Chairman of the Rules Committee of the Council (who shall serve as Chairman of the Commission), the three members of the new Election Committee of the Council, and one representative from each of the three groups nominating candidates at the last election. These three members are to be appointed by the President of the APSA after consultation with the groups involved.

An appropriation of \$1,500 is hereby authorized for the Commission.

Motion approved; only Bay opposed; Dye abstained.

Political Science Annual

Cornelius Cotter and John Kessel appeared before the Council and presented a proposal that the Association assume a sponsoring relationship to the *Political Science Annual*. A copy of the proposal is attached to the record copy of these minutes. Kessel stated that this was not a request for Association financial support; that the *Annual* might break even with Association sponsorship. The articles published in the *Annual* are longer than journal articles; they summarize existing literature and research developments in particular subfields of the disciplines. Bay opposed sponsorship because it would "strengthen the existing ruling paradigms of the profession." Eulau moved that the proposal be referred to the Administrative Committee for reporting back to the Council at its next meeting. No objection; motion approved.

Committee on Human Resources

James March, Chairman of the Committee on Human Resources, reported to the Council on the proposed composition and objectives of his Committee. He proposed that the Committee consist essentially of chairmen of subcommittees as follow:

Task Force on Graduate Education
Task Force on Human Resources Information
Task Force on Placement
Task Force on Professional Development
Task Force on Human Resources Utilization
Task Force on Administration

After discussion of the proposed organization of the Committee, Polsby moved that the first and last subcommittees listed be deleted. He expressed the fear that the proliferation of subcommittees would eventually result in added financial claims on the Association. After hearing arguments advanced by Eulau and Kirkpatrick in favor of the retention of the task forces, Polsby announced he would vote against his own motion.

Vote on the Polsby motion was:

For: Rustow

Against: Cook, Dye, Earle, Eulau, Fenno, Greenstein, Kirkpatrick, Krislov, Loewenberg, Marvick, Polsby, Prothro, Tanenhaus, Tullock, Ward

Bay, Keohane, Matthews, Mitchell and Penniman abstained.

Motion defeated: 1 approved, 15 opposed.

Tulloch moved to authorize the Chairman of the Committee to proceed, but combining the Task Force on Human Resources Information and the Task Force on Administration. Motion approved by a voice vote.

Committee on Department Chairmen

Malcolm Jewel, Chairman of the Committee of Department Chairmen, reported to the Council on the activities of his Committee and the recommendation of the Committee for services to departments and a departmental fee. A copy of the Committee report is attached to the record copy of these minutes.

Penniman moved to accept the report and that the Council instruct the Committee to go forward with their plans on an experimental basis. Motion unanimously approved.

Child Care at Annual Meeting

Kirkpatrick presented the Council with proposals received at the National Office for child care services at the Annual Meeting to be held in Washington, D.C. Cook moved that the matter of child care at the 1972 meeting be referred to the Administrative Committee and that the Committee be instructed to report their recommendations to the next meeting of the Council.

Committee Appointments

Eulau requested Council approval of the following appointments to Association committees:

Finance Committee

Donald R. Matthews, Chairman, Brookings Institution

Joseph Tanenhaus, SUNY, Stony Brook
Samuel D. Cook, Duke

Rules Committee

Samuel Krislov, Chairman, Minnesota
Richard F. Fenno, Rochester
Clara Penniman, Wisconsin

Elections Committee

Valerie A. Earle, Chairman, Georgetown
Gerhard Loewenberg, Iowa
Robert E. Martin, Howard

Editorial Board of PS

Martin Landau, CUNY, Chairman
Sidney Wise, Franklin & Marshall

Committee on Undergraduate Education

Vernon Van Dyke, Iowa
Anne Hopkins, Hobart & William Smith
Ruth Jones, Missouri, St. Louis

Committee on the Status of Chicanos

Charles Cotrell, St. Mary's College
F. Chris Garcia, New Mexico
Dwayne Marvick, California, Los Angeles

Committee on Human Resources

Terms expiring December 31, 1974:
James March, Stanford, Chairman
Leon Epstein, Wisconsin
Marian Irish, American
Terms expiring December 31, 1973:
Ralph K. Hutt, Assoc. of State Universities and
Land Grant Colleges
John Wahlke, SUNY, Stony Brook
Terms expiring December 31, 1972:
William Riker, Rochester
Michael Reagan, California, Riverside

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession

Terms expiring December 31, 1974:
Ruth Silva, Chairman, Pennsylvania State
David Truman, Mt. Holyoke
Ruth Weintraub, CUNY, Hunter
Terms expiring December 31, 1973:
Mark Ferber, Santa Clara
Ada Finifter, Michigan State
Betty Zisk, Boston
Terms expiring December 31, 1972:
Sheillah Koeppen, Minnesota
Wilma Krauss, Northern Illinois
Carole Parsons, National Research Council

Committee on Scientific Information Exchange

For a one-year term to replace a member who resigned:

Richard Hofstetter, Ohio State
For the regular three-year appointments:
William S. Livingston, Texas
Robert E. Lane, Yale
Betty Nesvold, San Diego State

Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education

For a one-year term to replace a member who resigned:

F. Chris Garcia, New Mexico
For the regular three-year appointments:
Stephen K. Bailey, Syracuse
Fred I. Greenstein, Wesleyan
Howard Mehlinger, Indiana

Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession

For a one-year term to replace a member who resigned:

Tilden Lemelle, CUNY, Hunter
For the regular three-year appointments:
Charles V. Hamilton, Columbia

William P. Robinson, Sr., Norfolk State
Frank L. Morris, MIT
Lenore Cartwright, Illinois

Committee on Ethics and Academic Freedom

Terms expiring December 31, 1974:
David Fellman, Chairman, Wisconsin
Donald G. Herzberg, Eagleton Institute of Politics
Chester Earle, American
Terms expiring December 31, 1973:
Guenter Lewy, Massachusetts, Amherst
James Carroll, Ohio State
William Gerberding, California, Los Angeles
Terms expiring December 31, 1972:
Theodore Lowi, Chicago
Beverly Cook, Wisconsin, Milwaukee
David Hazel, Ohio Central

Rustow questioned appointments to the Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom and moved that the Council approve all of the committee appointments except that of Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom.

Vote on the Rustow motion was:

For: Bay, Keohane, Krislov, Mitchell, Rustow
Against: Dye, Earle, Eulau, Fenno, Greenstein, Kirkpatrick, Loewenberg, Marvick, Matthews, Penniman, Polsby, Prothro, Tanenhaus, Tullock, Ward

Cook abstained from voting.

Motion defeated: 5 approved, 15 opposed.

Tullock moved that the entire list of committee appointments be approved. Motion was passed by a voice vote. Rustow and Bay abstained.

President-Elect Ward announced to the Council that Lucian Pye of Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been appointed as Program Chairman for the 1973 Annual Meeting.

Thomas R. Dye, Secretary

APSA Committees

The following is a list of Association Committees with members who have been appointed by Presidents of the Association. Members of the Association are invited to correspond with the Chairman of any Committee concerning subjects with which his or her Committee is dealing.

Administrative Committee

One Year Terms

Heinz Eulau, Stanford University, Chairman

Richard Fenno, University of Rochester

Samuel Krislov, University of Minnesota