

standards for leadership for the future of the Association. Approved by acclamation.

Resolution Commending the Executive Director and Staff

Cook moved to commend the Executive Director and his staff for distinguished service to the Association. Approved by acclamation.

Samuel H. Barnes, Secretary

APSA 1973 Annual Business Meeting Minutes

Wednesday, September 5, 1973
Jung Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana

President Robert E. Ward opened the Meeting at 4:00 p.m.

Nomination of Candidates

Mr. William J. Keefe, a member of the APSA Nominating Committee, offered the following nominations for the Committee:

President-Elect: Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin.

Vice Presidents: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago; Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University; John C. Wahlke, University of Iowa.

Secretary: Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan.

Treasurer: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh.

Council Members: Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Martin Diamond, Northern Illinois University; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University; Francine F. Rabinovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; S. Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky; Sidney Verba, Harvard University; Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley.

Mr. Donald G. Herzberg offered the following nominations for the Ad Hoc Committee:

President-Elect: Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin.

Vice Presidents: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago; Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University; John C. Wahlke, University of Iowa.

Secretary: Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan.

Treasurer: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh.

Council Members: Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Martin Diamond, Northern Illinois University; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University; Francine F. Rabinovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Tech-

nology; S. Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky; Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley.

Ms. Philippa Strum offered the following nominations for the Caucus for a New Political Science:

President-Elect: Peter Bachrach, Temple University.

Vice President: Dankwart A. Rustow, Graduate Center, City University of New York.

Secretary: Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago.

Treasurer: Milton Kotler, Institute for Policy Studies.

Council Members: Kay Boals, Princeton University; Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Stanley Hoffman, Harvard University; Philip E. Jacob, University of Hawaii; Katherine H. Klotzburger, Chancellor's Office, City University of New York; Charles A. McCoy, Lehigh University; Bertell Ollman, New York University; Philip G. Ryan, American Civil Liberties Union.

Ms. Suzanne Cavanagh offered the following nominations for the Women's Caucus:

Vice President: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago.

Council: Kay Boals, Princeton University; Katherine H. Klotzburger, Chancellor's Office, City University of New York; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; Francine Rabinovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Resolution to Seek Student Representation on APSA's Council and Most Committees

Mr. Christian Bay presented to the Meeting a resolution he had submitted which reads as follows:

WHEREAS: In practice student members of APSA have remained excluded from membership on APSA's Council and most Committees; and

WHEREAS: While the APSA's voting membership last year came within 4% of demanding *constitutional* changes to ensure student membership on the Council, the subsequent deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee on Representation in Office led to an almost entirely vacuous Majority Report, by five votes against one, which in effect urged that no changes even in *policies* be attempted; and

WHEREAS: Existing hierarchies in our universities have led to many abuses of power over students, and often have encouraged sycopancy at the expense of autonomous intellectual development; and

WHEREAS: Our society as a whole badly needs universities that operate as communities of free minds, in established as well as in aspiring scholars; minds dedicated to promote dialectical wisdom as well as empirical

knowledge, if we are to improve the odds for civilized mankind's survival on our fast depleting planet; and

WHEREAS: While the APSA cannot by itself reform the governance of our universities, we can and must by our example and other influence seek to promote good scholarship as well as good academic citizenship, in the service not mainly of careers but of the public good; and as an organization we must practice the ideals of equal respect and power if we want our universities to become less like finishing schools for careers and more like autonomous communities of citizens-scholars;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT:

(1) The Council and Business Meeting request that the next APSA President include one graduate student, who must be acceptable to his or her Departmental peer group, on next year's Nominating Committee, and that ensuing Presidents be asked to do the same.

(2) The Council and Business Meeting request that the next APSA Nominating Committee (and subsequent ones) include at least two graduate student members (each year) among its nominees for seats on the Council. It should be ascertained in advance of nominations that these students have the support of their peer groups in their respective Departments.

(3) The Council and Business Meeting request that the next President include graduate students among his appointees to all APSA Committees, excepting only the various Awards Committees (and, for obvious reasons, the Committee of Department Chairmen).

(4) The Council and Business Meeting affirm as a matter of principle that graduate students ought to be treated as academic citizens entitled to the same respect, autonomy, and real powers as faculty members, in our universities as well as in our Association, and request that our Association's officers and members consistently endeavor to act in the spirit of that principle.

Ms. Clara Penniman, Chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Representation, and speaking for the Association Council, recommended defeat of this Resolution.

Following discussion of the proposed Resolution, Mr. Howard Penniman moved to close debate. The motion to close debate was unanimously approved.

The vote on the Resolution to seek student representation on APSA's Council and most Committees was defeated by a vote of 103 in favor and 224 against.

Resolution on Professional Ethics of Political Scientists in High Office

Mr. H. Mark Roelofs presented to the Meeting a resolution he had submitted which reads as follows:

WHEREAS members of the political science profession have long felt an obligation to make their expert skills and knowledge available by serving the nation as advisers to government or as elected or appointed officials;

And WHEREAS members of the profession serving in high government office are bound even more strictly by the professional and ethical standards binding on all political scientists since their actions are likely to reflect on the integrity of the entire political science profession;

And WHEREAS the Association's Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom has commendably proceeded over the years to develop, case by case, a body of precedents regarding the nature of professional obligations and the limits of ethical conduct incumbent upon political scientists;

And WHEREAS "No one in the profession will seriously challenge . . . that we cannot tolerate unconsented invasions of privacy . . ." (Bernstein Report, proposing creating of a standing committee on Professional Ethics, *PS* Summer 1968, p. 24);

And WHEREAS Dr. Henry Kissinger, Presidential Adviser on National Security Affairs since 1969, has been a prominent member of the political science profession for more than two decades, and recent press reports have included detailed allegations of his involvement in the illegal invasion of privacy of some of his fellow political scientists in public office and other unprofessional and unethical conduct on his part;

RESOLVED that

1. The American Political Science Association requests its Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom

(a) to undertake promptly a review of any of Dr. Kissinger's activities that put into question his professional or ethical conduct as a political scientist,

(b) to afford as part of that review appropriate opportunity for written or oral statements by Dr. Kissinger and by any members of the profession directly affected by the alleged activities, and

(c) to issue a firm condemnation of any activities in violation of standards of professional ethics or academic freedom that may have been found to have occurred.

2. The Mandate of the Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom is hereby enlarged to make possible on future occasions the review of the conduct of a political scientist in high public office, provided:

(a) that the review be limited to such specific aspects of his or her conduct as put into question whether the political scientist in high public office has acted

within the limits of professional and ethical standards binding on political scientists;

(b) that such a review is requested by a majority of the Committee or by the Council, or by any fifty members of the Association, or by the political scientist in high public office himself or herself;

(c) that the Committee afford the individual whose conduct is under review full opportunity to respond to the allegations against him or her; and

(d) that the results of the review be published in the first available issue of *PS* or by other suitable means.

Mr. David Fellman, Chairman of the Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom, made a point of order that the pending resolution is in conflict with the Constitution of the Association and requested the President to rule that the resolution is not in order.

President Ward ruled the resolution out of order on the grounds of its unconstitutionality.

Mr. Roelofs challenged the ruling of the chair. The Meeting voted to uphold the ruling of the chair by a vote of 245 in favor and 106 against.

Resolution to Investigate Aspects of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger's Public Conduct

Mr. Christian Bay had submitted a resolution to the Meeting which reads as follows:

WHEREAS: In our violence-prone social order there is an ominous lack of real accountability on the part of people who serve in high public office, to their own peer groups as well as to the general public; and

WHEREAS: With increasing numbers of specialists in political science and related fields entrusted with positions of public power, and exposed to the many kinds of temptations to abuse public power, professional associations such as ours should seek ways of activating potentially restraining influences on those among our peers who serve in high public office and yet would desire to retain a sense of being members in good standing of their peer groups; and

WHEREAS: Dr. Henry A. Kissinger has been employed by President Richard M. Nixon, as a competent, reputable political scientist, to advise the President on issues of public policy; and it appears that in this office Dr. Kissinger has placed his competency and skills in the service of unethical and criminal abuses of power, by way of

(1) having made himself an accomplice in the terror bombing of Hanoi, Haiphong, and other North Vietnamese cities in November/December 1972, in an apparent attempt by President Nixon to force North Vietnam to concessions beyond the October, 1972 Paris agreements; and

(2) having subsequently made himself an accomplice to similar war crimes in Cambodia, in an apparent attempt on the part

of President Nixon to thwart Prince Norodom Sihanouk's struggle to return to power in his country; and

(3) having issued deliberately misleading "Peace is at hand" statements on the eve of the 1972 Presidential elections, in an apparent attempt to influence the outcome by fraudulent means; and

(4) having falsely accused North Vietnam's government of being responsible for last November/December's terror bombings in that country, by citing "new demands" from Hanoi in justification, in several statements over TV and radio, while neglecting to point out that Hanoi had remained willing all along to honor the October agreements; and

WHEREAS: Such conduct as has been alleged here, apparently involving war crimes as well as gross public lying, ought to be deemed incompatible with minimum standards of professional conduct for political scientists, even in high office, in a civilized country; and we feel that our Association ought to be actively concerned with trying to help keep our country civilized, or indeed to make it more civilized than it has been in the past;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED THAT The Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom be given a mandate to and requested to undertake a review of aspects of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger's public conduct in his high office; that it invite a statement from him in response to such allegations against his conduct as have been specified; and that it subsequently render a judgment on whether some or all of these allegations are warranted and, if so, on whether these should be sufficient cause for finding aspects of Dr. Kissinger's conduct contrary to traditionally established minimum standards of our professional ethics.

Mr. Bay withdrew his resolution on the grounds that it had become moot, given the vote of the Business Meeting in favor of the chair's ruling on the previous resolution.

Resolution on Campaign Finance and Expenditures

Mr. Manning J. Dauer presented the Meeting with a resolution submitted by himself and others which reads as follows:

The vital questions of political campaign finance and practices have long been matters of professional concern for political scientists. These longstanding concerns have recently become much more urgent as the result of public revelations about the raising and spending of funds and the use of certain unprecedented tactics in the 1972 presidential campaign. We recognize that the Constitution of the American Political Science Association prohibits the Association from adopting resolutions about topics not immediately related to the study of political science or to questions of clear and serious

threats to academic freedom. But we also note the Constitutional stipulation that the Association actively encourages research on "significant contemporary political and social problems and policies." An earlier example of an Association sponsored study under this provision was the Study on Congress. We believe that a new study is now necessary in the field of campaign financing and campaign practices.

American campaign finance and practices are clearly such problems. Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

1. The Executive Director be instructed to seek outside funds for an Association-sponsored study of campaign finance and practices.
2. When the funds are secured, the Council shall establish an American Political Science Association Study of Campaign Finance and Practices with a status similar to the current APSA Study of Congress.
3. After the Council has taken this action, the President shall, with the advice and consent of the Council, appoint a Director for the Study and such other committees and commissions as the Council may deem advisable.
4. The Study shall, in addition to any other documents and publications, issue a report setting forth its evaluation of the nation's present practices, and its analysis of their causes.

Every effort shall be made to call this report to the attention of Congress, state legislatures, the communications media, and other appropriate bodies.

Mr. Avery Leiserson, speaking for the Association Council, recommended defeat of the resolution.

Ms. Montgomery moved an amendment to strike the phrase "campaign financing and campaign practices" wherever it occurs and substitute in its place the phrase "public accountability of executive and legislative officials."

The amendment was defeated by a vote of 35 in favor and 113 against.

Mr. Dankwart Rustow moved to call the previous question. The motion on the previous question passed by a show of hands vote.

The resolution on campaign finance and expenditures was defeated by a vote of 47 in favor and 95 against.

Resolution on Texas Teacher Certification Standards

Mr. Robert Horwitz presented the Meeting with the following resolution which had been submitted by Ellis Sandoz and others:

WHEREAS: The Texas Education Agency adopted, in June 1972, a set of Teachers Certification Standards which require *all* Teacher Education courses to be cast in a

"Competency/Performance Based Teacher Education" (C/PBTE) format, including all courses in political science and other disciplines which are part of any Teacher Education program at the undergraduate or graduate level, and;

WHEREAS: These standards also require approval of outside agencies for substantive, discipline-oriented courses, and;

WHEREAS: Agencies in other states are giving serious consideration to C/PBTE as the single approach to teacher education, now, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Political Science Association at its Annual Meeting views with deep concern any effort to impose a single approach or a single doctrine on those involved with teacher education; be it further

RESOLVED, that the APSA express its long standing commitment to the right of professionally competent instructors to determine the substance of their individual courses and the most appropriate format in which to present the material for these courses; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the APSA urgently requests the Texas Education Agency to reconsider the standards adopted for Teacher Education programs in June, 1972 and, be it finally

RESOLVED, that the President of APSA be directed to communicate the sense of the Association to the appropriate officials in Texas and in other states contemplating the adoption of Competency/Performance Based standards as a single approach to teacher education.

Mr. Horwitz asked unanimous support for this resolution. President Ward asked if there was any opposition to unanimous consent to the resolution. There was no objection; the resolution was approved by unanimous consent.

Certification of Nominees by the Election Committee

Ms. Ruth Silva, Chairperson of the Election Committee, certified the following candidates named by the Nominating Committee:

President-Elect: Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin.

Vice Presidents: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago; Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University; John C. Wahlke, University of Iowa.

Secretary: Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan.

Treasurer: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh.

Council: Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Martin Diamond, Northern Illinois University; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University; Francine F. Rabin-

ovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; S. Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky; Sidney Verba, Harvard University; Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley.

Ms. Silva certified the following candidates named by the Ad Hoc Committee:

President-Elect: Austin Ranney, University of Wisconsin.

Vice Presidents: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago; John C. Wahlke, University of Iowa.

Secretary: Samuel H. Barnes, University of Michigan.

Treasurer: Charles O. Jones, University of Pittsburgh.

Council: Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Martin Diamond, Northern Illinois University; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; S. Sidney Ulmer, University of Kentucky; Aaron Wildavsky, University of California, Berkeley.

The following Ad Hoc Committee candidates were certified pending candidate consent:

Vice President: Paul L. Puryear, Florida State University.

Council: Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University; Francine F. Rabinovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Sidney Verba, Harvard University.

Ms. Silva certified the following candidates named by the Caucus for a New Political Science:

President-Elect: Peter Bachrach, Temple University.

Vice President: Dankwart A. Rustow, Graduate Center, City University of New York.

Secretary: Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago.

Treasurer: Milton Kotler, Institute for Policy Studies.

Council: Kay Boals, Princeton University; Lucius J. Barker, Washington University, St. Louis; Stanley Hoffman, Harvard University; Philip E. Jacob, University of Hawaii; Katherine H. Klotzburger, Chancellor's Office, City University of New York; Charles A. McCoy, Lehigh University; Bertell Ollman, New York University; Philip G. Ryan, American Civil Liberties Union.

Ms. Silva certified the following candidates named by the Women's Caucus:

Council: Kay Boals, Princeton University; Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; Katherine H. Klotzburger, Chancellor's Office, City University of New York.

The following Women's Caucus candidates were certified pending candidate consent:

Vice President: Suzanne Hoerber Rudolph, University of Chicago.

Council: Francine F. Rabinovitz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

A motion was made to adjourn the Business Meeting of the 69th American Political Science Association Meeting and was approved by a voice vote.

The meeting was adjourned.

Samuel H. Barnes, Secretary

APSA Committees

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

1. Award Committees

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award

John C. Wahlke, Iowa, Chairman
G. Bingham Powell, Rochester
Ellis Sandoz, East Texas State

Gladys M. Kammerer Award

Bertram Gross, Hunter College, Chairman
Jack Dennis, Wisconsin, Madison
Philip S. Kronenberg, Indiana

E. E. Schattschneider Award

Robert H. Salisbury, Washington, St. Louis, Chairman
William Keech, North Carolina
Gerlad Pomper, Rutgers

Helen Dwight Reid Award

Manfred Halpern, Princeton, Chairman
Vincent Davis, Kentucky
Annette Baker Fox, Columbia

Edward S. Corwin Award

Walter Berns, Toronto, Chairman
Twiley W. Barker, Illinois, Chicago Circle
Kenneth N. Vines, SUNY, Buffalo

Leonard D. White Award

Charles R. Adrian, California, Berkeley, Chairman
Robert T. Golembiewski, Georgia
Ann Ruth Willner, Kansas

Pi Sigma Alpha Award

Hayward R. Aiker, Jr., M.I.T., Chairman
Werner J. Feld, Louisiana State, New Orleans
Ralph M. Goldman, San Francisco State

2. Constitutional Committee

Nominating Committee

Terms expiring December 31, 1975:
Martin Landau, California, Berkeley
Walter Murphy, Princeton
Frank Sorauf, Minnesota

Terms expiring December 31, 1974:
Inis L. Claude, Virginia
Barbara Hinckley, Wisconsin
Warren E. Miller, Michigan