

MINUTES

IPSA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

April 10-11, 1989

Paris

PRESENT: Guillermo O'Donnell (President), Kinhide Mushakoji (Past President), Pierre Allan, Dag Anckar, André-Pierre Donneur, Itzhak Galnoor, Han Sung-Joo, Hu Chi-An, Harold Jacobson, Jean Leca, Gerhard Lehmbruch, Leonardo Morlino, Kenneth Newton, Longin Pastusiak, Carole Pateman, Elisa Reis, Karl-Heinz Röder; Francesco Kjellberg (Secretary General) and Lise Fog (Administrator).

Editors (ex-officio): Serge Hurtig, Jean Laponce, John Meisel, Richard Merritt.

GUESTS: Evelyne Blamont (ISSC), Marcelo Cavarozzi (Argentinian Political Science Association) under item 10, John Edmondson and Lyndon Driscoll (Butterworths) under item 6, Ernesto Ottone (UNESCO), Wei Yung (Taipei) under item 12 (first part).

REGRETS: William Smirnov.

The President called the meeting to order at 2.15 p.m. Monday, April 10, 1989.

1. WORD OF WELCOME

The President welcomed everyone to the meeting and expressed warm words of thanks to the Fondation des Sciences Politiques and Serge Hurtig for the generous support and hospitality, which had made it possible for the Executive to meet in Paris in conjunction with the ECPR joint sessions.

2. APPROVAL OF AGENDA

The proposed agenda was introduced by the President, who suggested that the original items 9 and 10 should be postponed till after the original items 13 and 15. The second day's meeting would thus start with the item on Collective members. On the suggestion of Hu, the President corrected the original phrasing of this item to "Collective members. Membership Taipei Association".

The President proposed to invite the representatives of the publishers of IPSR (Butterworths) to be present under the appropriate item. Likewise, that Marcelo Cavarozzi from the organizing committee for the XV. World Congress, should be invited to take part in the discussion under the appropriate items. He also proposed that Mme E. Blamont (ISSC) and Dr. E. Ottone (UNESCO) be invited to attend the meeting. In addition, he referred a request from Dr. Wei Yung, President of the Taipei Association, to present their case in connection with the item on collective membership.

Hu indicated that he did not have any objections to Dr. Wei presenting his case, provided it would be as representative of "Taipei Association of Political Science of China". Mushakoji was reluctant to make such a requirement, being of the opinion that he should come under the name he wanted to use. Jacobson suggested that Dr. Wei should be invited as president of his association, avoiding the question of any particular name and without anticipating any decision on the matter.

Argentinian Political Science Association in November 1988, concluding as follows: There is a firm commitment by the present Argentinian authorities to support the Congress financially, the Congress organization is well under way, there is a set of possible alternatives for the physical setting of the Congress, and given a reasonably stable political situation, the Argentinian colleagues have all the chances of turning the XV. World congress into a success.

MOTION: That the XV. IPSA World Congress in 1991 be organized in Buenos Aires.

(Leca/Allan)

CARRIED

11. ISSC GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IPSA REPRESENTATION

The Secretary-General reported that, as an alternate to the ISSC, he had attended the Council's General Assembly in December 1988. The report from the representatives, C.Mendes and J.Trent, had not yet been received by the Secretariat and will be circulated when available.

Evelyne Blamont (ISSC) gave a brief report on the proceedings of the General Assembly, pointing to the reelection of C.Mendes as President of the Council, the appointment of a committee on Human Dimension of Global Change to be chaired by Harold Jacobson, and the appointment of a committee on ISSC Future Planning to be chaired by John Trent.

The Secretary-General had asked the President to be released from his position as alternate to the ISSC, due to his many commitments. The information previously received by the President, that the first alternate would automatically become regular de facto member of the General Assembly as a result of the election of C.Mendes to the presidency of ISSC, had proved to be incorrect. (Cfr. item 5.5. of the minutes of the Executive, Sept.2, 1988). The President reported that he had accepted the request of the Secretary-General and had asked Kinhide Mushakoji to act as first alternate to the ISSC.

The meeting was adjourned at 6 p.m. to be reconvened the next day, Tuesday April 11 at 9.30 a.m.

The President called the meeting to order at 9.30 a.m. Tuesday April 11, 1989.

12. COLLECTIVE MEMBERS. MEMBERSHIP TAIPEI ASSOCIATION

Knowing that Han would have to leave the meeting soon and should be given the opportunity to present the invitation by the Korean Association to host an Executive meeting and Round Table in 1990, the President suggested that item 12 should be dealt with in the following way: The representative of the Taiwan Association, Dr. Wei, would be given the opportunity to present his case, to be followed by questions for clarification; the Executive would then move on to the next item on the agenda, returning to item 12 after lunch break. The proposal was accepted by the Executive.

In his statement, Dr. Wei highlighted the various attempts by his Association to become member of IPSA since 1976, commented on the protracted process of evaluation of the application, and indicated the eagerness by Taiwanese political scientists to become affiliated to IPSA through the collective membership of their Association. On behalf of the Association, Dr. Wei declared that he was willing to accept the proposal by President O'Donnell at the Executive meeting in Washington, i.e. that his Association would accept being recognized by IPSA as Chinese Association of Political Science (Taipei), while the name of the Beijing Association would remain unchanged as Chinese Association of Political Science. Dr. Wei ended his presentation by suggesting the possibility of an IPSA conference on

democratization in Taiwan.

A number of questions of clarification were raised by the Executive. The Secretary-General referring to the solutions reached in other international associations, where "Taiwan" or "Taipei" had been attached to the name, asked Dr. Wei why his Association was not willing to accept a similar solution. Other members of the Executive asked the same question. Dr. Wei explained that his Association perceived itself to be the legitimate heir of the original Chinese Political Science Association, established some 50 years ago; furthermore, the associations in Taiwan that had accepted such a solution, were technical associations and did not have the same political connotations as a political science association. In his final remarks Dr. Wei expressed the view that this issue had been handled in a very strange way and that the document ratified by the Executive in 1984, cannot hold water if related to IPSA's own constitution. He had come to this meeting with the mandate to accept President O'Donnell's suggestion for a solution, but was now willing to go a step further and accept that only his Association would add the parenthesis (Taipei) to its name, without asking for a parallel requirement to the Beijing Association. But he stressed the principle of equality, i.e. of being equally eligible to the Executive Committee.

The President thanked Dr. Wei, who then left the meeting. Before moving to the next item on the agenda, the President gave the floor to Han. Han expressed his great concern about this issue and wanted to make a formal proposal before leaving. As premises to the proposal, he made three points: 1. The minimum request of both parties would have to be satisfied; 2. A decision should not be forced on either party against their wish; 3. IPSA's own requirements should be satisfied, viz. it cannot have two associations with the same name. In the attempt to find a fair and balanced solution in a consensual way, he wanted to propose the following name for the Taipei Association: "Chinese (Taipei) Association of Political Science"; he also suggested that this proposal should formally be presented by the most neutral country represented in the Executive, viz. Switzerland (Allan).

The President asked Hu whether this proposal would be acceptable to him. Hu appreciated the spirit in which it had been made, perceiving it as a step towards a solution. However, the fact that Taipei was in parenthesis, made the proposal unacceptable to him and his Association.

The President then moved on to the next item on the agenda.

13. FUTURE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS AND ROUND TABLES

The Secretary-General reported on the proposals for IPSA Round Tables in 1990: 1. From the Polish Political Science Association on "Democratization Processes. East-South Comparisons"; 2. From the Korean Political Science Association on "The State, Politics and Economy: Causal Relations"; 3. From the Australian Political Science association without any specified title. Both the Polish and Korean Political Science Association offered to cover all local costs and the Korean Political Science Association also offered to provide air fares to Executive committee members who will participate either as paper presenters or discussants. Han mentioned that his Association was envisaging the meeting sometime between April and June 1990, but that the dates could be adjusted. In consideration of the importance of having a meeting in Asia and in a conciliatory spirit, Pastusiak in the name of the Polish Association, withdrew the proposal to have a Round Table in Poland in 1990. He expressed the hope that the Executive would accept the proposal to have a Round Table in Poland in 1991. Jacobson mentioned that APSA would like to sponsor an Executive meeting with a Round Table in conjunction with an APSA convention, the dates for it to be negotiated. Mushakoji indicated that the Japanese Political Science Association was still exploring the possibility of organizing a World Congress in 1997.

"normally speaking", taking care of the problems of soft currency countries and the fact that some committees are joint with other international organizations.

Lehmbruch raised the question of what the support of the members to particular RC and SG actually would imply, since quite a few of them were based on cooptation. He also expressed the view that any funding from the Association should be a supplement to what the RC and SG would raise themselves. Pateman asked why it could not be made into a requirement that all members of the RC and SG become members of IPSA. Both Laponce and Pastusiak argued against this, because of the problems for colleagues in soft currency countries. Merritt advocated a formula for support in which the Association matched the contributions from the members of the RC and SG. Several raised the question of the extent to which the representatives of RC and SG should be regular members of the IPSA Council. The Secretary-General voiced the opinion that the simplest way of dealing with the financial question would be to base the contribution on the recorded joint membership of the RC/SG and IPSA, limiting the number of contributions to a maximum of two for a total of US\$ 5. This would seem to be the most practical solution at least for those committees/groups that have a "membership", while the question of financing would be irrelevant for those that did not have a regular membership. A system tied to the actual membership of the RC and SG, would have the additional benefit of increasing the individual membership of the Association, since they would presumably put some pressure on their members to become members of IPSA.

Various options and ideas were ventilated. The President summarized the discussion, pointing out that there seem to be further points to be clarified before a final decision can be taken. He therefore suggested that the issue be postponed to the Executive meeting in Oslo, inviting the Executive to send suggestions and proposals to the Chair of the Commission.

The meeting was adjourned at 1.00 p.m. and reconvened at 2.00 p.m.. Han, Leca, Newton had then left the meeting.

12. COLLECTIVE MEMBERS. MEMBERSHIP TAIPEI ASSOCIATION (continued)

The President reopened the discussion on the issue of the membership of the Taipei Association, emphasizing the importance of reaching a decision. Hu wanted to make the following statement (later delivered in a written form to the Secretariat with the request of including it in the minutes; this has been done as an exceptional case):

"Having listened carefully and patiently to my Taiwan colleague's presentation, I have the following remarks to make:

- 1). My Taiwan colleague wanted to keep the present name for his Association, i.e. the Chinese Political Science Association, which is identical to my Association. In order to differentiate these two organizations, Taiwan is ready to put in parenthesis Taipei after the nomenclature, as a concession. Here I would like to make a clarification, though I don't mean to complicate the issue. CAPS was first established more than 50 years ago in mainland China, and one of its founders, Professor Qian Duanshen, honorary president of my Association, is still alive at 92 years of age. CAPS suspended only temporarily its activities during the 10 catastrophe years (1966-76) and started again in 1980. This being the case, the Taipei Association is indeed not in a position to claim that they are the legitimate successor to CAPS. Rather they have stolen the nomenclature while they were in exile in Taiwan.

Taipei's proposal to put Taipei in parenthesis after CAPS might be o.k. in English and French, but the Chinese language has its own logic. If you put the parenthesis in this case, it would mean that there is one China in Beijing and another in Taipei. It is tantamount to giving the impression that it would exist two Chinas in this organization. I believe that

all my distinguished colleagues in the Executive Committee would not like to see it happen, because it certainly hurts the feeling of my people and because it also contradicts the stand of IPSA itself in its own 1984 Florence resolution.

- 2). I have before me the April 8, 1989 issue of China Daily, an English language newspaper published in Beijing that carries a news item about the Taipei gymnastics team going to mainland China for competition. Taipei has agreed to use the English name of "Chinese Taipei". Here I quote: (In a compressed version: A Taipei Gymnastics team would be competing in an Asian Junior Championship in Beijing in a few weeks. According to the agreement, the team would be competing provided it would use the English name of "Chinese Taipei" and the customary Chinese name of "Zhonghua Taipei" on official occasions. Copy of the article in extenso is attached to the minutes.)

I would like, therefore, to put forward a compromise proposal that the Taipei Association changes its name in English to Chinese Taipei Association of Political Science.

- 3). I am very grateful to my Korean colleague for his good will in presenting his proposal with the view of solving the issue. His proposed nomenclature of "Chinese (Taipei) Association of Political Science" is very close to my proposal. Only if we could delete the parenthesis, I'll be very happy to accept it.

Mr. President, there is an encouraging sign of a movement forward on this issue, but since we are not able so far to reach an agreement on it at the moment, I would propose either to delete item 12 from the agenda or postpone the decision till the time is ripe. After all, we are political scientists and naturally we are realists. The reality is that there is only one China and that Taiwan is part of it. We Chinese are very patient people. Let us have a bit more patience so as to see things working out in such a way that will be satisfactory to us all. And it is hardly necessary to say that I am more than sure that this Committee is not going to make any decision that would hurt the feelings of one fourth of humanity."

Hu made the following statement:

The President indicated that the name proposed by Hu was not acceptable to the other party, who insisted on keeping the parenthesis. He emphasized again that IPSA is an academic institution with the following implications for the case at issue: 1. In making a decision, IPSA is not taking a position on the political issue of China/ Taiwan; 2. IPSA is subject to the rules imbedded in its constitution and bylaws, the Executive having to abide by them. Any decision has to take into account both these parameters.

Mushakoji wanted to make three points for a constructive solution: 1. There has been no obstruction to the application by the Taipei Association. The fact that a national association, China, had applied, had led to the need for a "parallel" solution, viz. to consider the two applications together. He was sorry that this had led the Taipei Association into difficulties and felt that it was now necessary to be as effective and practical as possible; 2. Nobody likes a "Two China" formula and the Executive should be very careful not to create such a formula; 3. Mainland China represents the majority of the territory; his realistic assessment of the situation was therefore that there is a national and a regional association. Taipei, however, cannot accept this reality, and there are therefore two realities. He was in favour of Han's proposal, which would be to ask for concessions from both sides.

(Merritt left the meeting). The Secretary-General pointed out that the clause in the agreement ratified at the Executive meeting in Florence, April 1984, giving the Beijing Association an exclusive right to be represented in the Executive Committee and explicitly excluding the Taiwan Association from the Executive, was unconstitutional. Under the present IPSA constitution, no collective member can have such an exclusive right and no collective member can be excluded from the Executive.

After a prolonged discussion in which most of the Executive Committee members participated, the President summarized the debate: 1. There was a wide consensus that the solution should not have

any implications for the "One China" formula; 2. At the Florence meeting in 1984, the decision to accept the Taipei Association as a collective member, was made contingent on certain conditions, which were partly unconstitutional. Furthermore, these conditions required the consent of the parties and their explicit ratification. Since no such ratification by Taiwan has ever been received, the decision made in Florence was not juridically perfected; 3. Consequently, the only issue that remained was the name under which the Taiwan association would be admitted to IPSA; such name was needed for properly differentiating, in the orbit of IPSA's activities, both Associations.

The following proposal was put forward by Pateman and Galnoor:

- "1. IPSA Executive Committee notes that both parties mentioned their preference for the "One China" principle.
2. Under Article 8 of IPSA constitution and following the Florence decision of April 4, 1984, IPSA Executive Committee notifies the Chinese Association of Political Science (Taipei) of its admission to IPSA.
3. It is understood that the title used above (paragraph 2) is used for identification purposes and for IPSA's own uses, in its two official languages - English and French."

MOTION: That the Pateman/Galnoor proposal be accepted.

Resolution adopted with 10 votes for, 1 against (Hu), 4 abstentions (Allan, Donneur, Mushakoji, Pastusiak).

Hu made the following statement:

"I regret deeply to note that this Committee should have, in such rush manner, taken a decision which is a violation of the 1984 Florence resolution of the IPSA Executive Committee and seriously damaged the prestige of this prestigious organization. That is the reason why I have voted against it. What we have done here is tantamount to imposing a decision on a member of the Executive Committee of IPSA; thus, it has set a very bad precedent. My Association will neither accept nor recognize it, till the parenthesis is deleted from the nomenclature of the Taipei Association. I reserve the right to make further representation."

The President added the following comments: The motives behind the resolution were to make a decision that took into account the preference of all parties involved for the "One China" formula. The letter to Taipei would contain the following points: 1. A reference to article 8 of IPSA constitution, last part, i.e. "it may admit one or more of the groups as collective members". 2. As an Association IPSA can only refer itself to its own rules and regulations. 3. The name now adopted is exclusively for IPSA to be able to make the necessary distinction between the two Associations; the resolution is for this specific purpose and refers only to the use of the name in English and French.

The President concluded by expressing the hope that the motives behind the resolution would be understood and accepted by Hu and his colleagues in the Chinese Political Science Association.

16. REPORT ON THE "STATUS OF WOMEN IN IPSA"

Pateman introduced her report, indicating that the status of women in IPSA be considered together with the work by the Committee for Young Scholars. She stressed that the problem of women was more serious and harder to tackle than the problem of young scholars. The issue of women's representation in IPSA had several related aspects: 1. Participation of women in the Council and