nounce that "This means that Mondale is closer to victory," and so on.

According to Woodruff, closer scrutiny by the press—there were as many reporters in New Hampshire in 1984 as there were at the 1980 conventions—has generated greater candidate suspicion of and hostility toward the press. Candidates increasingly are closing off their campaigns to the press and seeking greater control over appearances and events. Overall, candidates are finding new ways to deny the press access.

Responding to questions from the audience, the panelists delved into several areas of controversy. Crotty described reforms, raised by the Jackson and Hart candidacies, likely to be considered by the Fairness Commission. These included a close look at rules that discriminate against minor candidates and minority representation: problems associated with party caucuses, front loading, high thresholds, winner-take-all districts, add-on delegates, and greater national standardization of procedures. All of this reminded Crotty of the original intent of the McGovern-Fraser Commission.

Ranney suggested that losing parties might "be required to select presidential candidates no later than July 1 of the following year." This individual could then speak officially for the opposition party. As Ranney noted, however, he was not going to "lose any sleep over it [this idea] being adopted."

The question of whether different rules would have produced different candidates and different victories evoked considerable discussion. Polsby contended that if primaries had been less important, Edmund Muskie would have secured the 1972 Democratic nomination and defeated Richard Nixon. Sears speculated that a different system would have denied the 1976 Democratic nomination to Carter, and that "whoever would have been nominated would have been elected and would now be in the final year of his second term." Ranney summarized these positions by noting that the rules are not neutral regarding the chances of various types of candidates—dark horses, front runners, consensus candidates, and so on.

An even more speculative issue involved the linkage between presidential nomination systems and the caliber of the candidates they produce. Ranney pointed out that throughout American history we have been poorly and erratically served by whatever system was in place. Truman and Dewey were, after all, results of the old system, and both candidates were intensely unpopular. Whether we are getting presidents of high quality, whether the present system serves us better or worse than other systems, poses a virtually unresolvable issue.

If the rules worked so well, why, then, the discontent?

The plenary session closed with a brief discussion of the 1988 election. Sears asserted that social scientists will come to regard 1988 as a watershed election. With both parties lacking incumbents, he speculated that (1) more people will vote; (2) that the conservative wing of the Republican party will be split, with the results difficult to predict; and (3) that the Hart candidacy has paved the way for younger politicians in the Democratic party who will eschew, at least prior to the nomination, the courtship of special interest groups. □

Lasswell Symposium Analyzes Political Language

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Because they shared a deep interest in the relationship between political language and political reality, this year's Lasswell symposium sought to honor not only Lasswell but also Orwell.

The symposium chair, John S. Nelson of the University of Iowa, pointed out that Lasswell's work does more than just direct attention toward creating a language useful for the study of politics.

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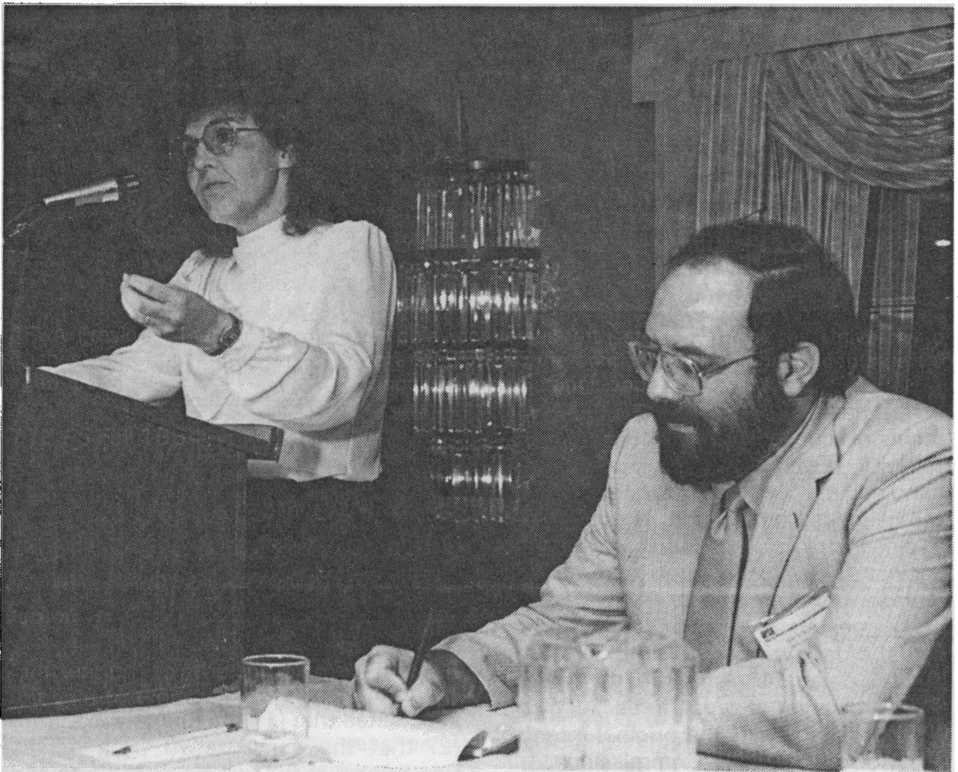

Jean Bethke Elshtain of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, discusses the relationship between political language and reality, as moderator John S. Nelson of the University of Iowa listens.

Like Orwell, Lasswell's writings show a sensitivity to political myths and to the darker side of language and politics, pernicious deceptions that twist the deepest realities. Orwell himself, in Nelson's view, "stands as a mythic figure, assimilated to *1984* just as Homer virtually has become a character in *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey.*" As the archetype of fortitude and strength, Orwell's work stands as an indictment of the failure to face facts.

In light of their similar concerns, Nelson charged the plenary session participants to explain what kinds of relationships exist between the work of Lasswell and Orwell. The panel participants, Murray Edelman of the University of Wisconsin, Jean Bethke Elshtain of the University of Massachusetts, and Hanna Pitkin of the University of California, Berkeley, offered varying analyses. For the most part, Edelman emphasized commonalities, asserting that Lasswell and Orwell gave us an intellectual tradition in which language is the key creator of the social world people experience. Both men focused on the potentialities of the human mind, how political language reflects and distorts reality. For Edelman, a key point involves how political language "constrains rather than frees thought."

Edelman proceeded to identify several striking features of political language. First, he argued that political language is dynamic in the sense that the public is bombarded with news—constant threats and constant reassurances. A second characteristic involves banality, the kind of highly predictable, highly stylized language that is epitomized by the justifications which politicians offer for larger arms budgets. Such language has a dulling—a reassuring effect, like "responsive readings in church."

A final feature involves the way political

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language "constructs the people who use it." In contrast to the language of the arts, where there is a wide choice of language forms, political language contains only a "small set of stock texts." Phrases like "poverty is the fault of the poor"; or the language of promises about future benefits, peace, and prosperity frequently evoke set texts, even if present realities involve military drafts and cuts in social spending.

Edelman also pointed to how political language undermines its own premises, often inverting value hierarchies in the proccess. As examples he cited the notion of waging war as a means of achieving peace, utilizing capital punishment to curb violence, and denying benefits to the indigent in the name of encouraging self-reliance. Political language negates itself, especially through the use of qualifying adverbs and adjectives such as "essential" or "true." As Edelman noted, "those arguing for true freedom are invariably arguing for restraints on freedom."

Elshtain pointed to the recognition common to Orwell and Lasswell that there are forces in the world that undermine democracy by narrowing our language. In *1984,* Newspeak narrowed the range of thought by stripping ambiguity or meanings from words and by reducing the number of words in society's vocabulary. The perfection of language would mark the completion of the revolution: it would be impossible to think a "wrongful" thought because there would be no words in which to express it.

Lasswell and Orwell both saw the specter of continuous war—of an armed peace—as a force leading to the debasement of language. War is used to mobilize the population (with the exception of the lowest strata), and among the casualties are truth and ambiguity. The enemy is portrayed as abstractly and absolutely as possible. What Elshtain called thinking "warfully" becomes a dominant feature of the society.

According to Orwell, war previously had operated as a sure safeguard of sanity, a means of preventing ruling classes from totally ignoring facts and accurate perceptions of the world. But he warns us that the nature of war can change: that continuous war, where achieving either victory or suffering defeat is unlikely, transforms the situation, rendering any recognition of palpable facts unnecessary.

Pitkin's analysis delineated three ways of thinking about language. First, she criticized Lasswell's scientific perspective, his goal of perfecting a language useful to social science. This goal involved paring away meanings from words, creating "valueless" concepts that could be utilized to classify, describe, and analyze. This led Lasswell to discount terms like freedom and independence as propaganda. According to Pitkin, this approach to language was "hopelessly wrong-headed."

A second perspective on language involves rhetoric, where language is viewed as a weapon in the struggle for dominance. The basic goal is to manipulate, to engage in propaganda, and to do it better than your opponent. No objective nature or neutrality exists. All is political fiction.

Arguing that the scientific and rhetorical approaches to language will "annihilate life forms on earth," Pitkin outlined a third view—Orwell's view—of language as a medium in which human beings develop, discover themselves, the principles by which they live, and their relationships to others.

According to Pitkin, Orwell did not want a value-free political science but "cared about communicating objective truth." Although Orwell agreed that language manipulates the masses, that systems are founded on a system of lying, he nonetheless challenged people to think and speak for themselves, to avoid cliches and stock phrases—to let the meaning choose the word.

Pitkin asserted that Orwell, by injecting himself in the narrative, produced veracity rather than bias. Orwell allowed us to judge and embraced much as "real" that Lasswell dismissed as preferences and value judgments. For Orwell, injustices, judgments, and acknowledgements of commitments are tangible.

Members of the audience questioned

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whether all "rhetoric" was by definition "bad," whether some distinction might be made between simple and sophisticated rhetoric. Edelman responded that no neat distinction exists between rhetoric and the third approach to language, that the two categories perhaps blur into one another.

Other questions involved the role of the audience in narratives where the author serves as a witness. Pitkin described the situation as analogous to a hit-and-run accident, with the audience at the scene of the crime. She also raised the question of whether Orwell's fiction is politically useful, since, unlike his nonfiction and autobiographical works, it leaves its audience paralyzed.

Other queries focused on just what makes President Reagan the "great communicator." According to Elshtain, Reagan appears to be speaking common sense, but what he does is draw us away from reality. She emphasized the President's use of homey examples to distance us from complex situations and his setting up of heroes and exemplars of the American spirit. She drew attention to a weakness of American journalism: the tendency simply to report rhetoric rather than engage in any analysis of it.

Hanna Pitkin of the University of California, Berkeley, addresses the Lasswell Symposium audience on Lasswell and Orwell.

Edelman agreed that President Reagan uses examples—as do professors—to "evoke a particular kind of world." If the speaker is skillful, we become a part of that world, we experience it. In that sense, the term "great communicator" can best be understood.

Edelman added that "Reagan had a great insight: It's absolutely unnecessary to be consistent." The President can run up deficits while supporting a constitutional amendment to require balanced budgets. With respect to this point, Edelman drew a distinction between changing one's mind with the times and contradicting yourself on the same day, noting that the former is more acceptable to our morality. Edelman concluded that the problem with Reagan—and with us—is simply that consistency doesn't matter. □

Gwendolen Carter Honored by APSA

Gwendolen Carter, professor of political science at Indiana University (Bloomington) and a preeminent scholar of international relations and world politics with particular emphasis on Southern Africa, was honored at the APSA annual meeting with both a roundtable and a reception.

The Roundtable on Gwendolen Carter's Contributions to the Discipline included Gabriel Almond (Stanford University), Ruth Berins Collier (University of California, Berkeley), Fred Hayward (University of Wisconsin), Sheridan Johns (Duke University), Thomas Karis (CUNY, Graduate School), Patrick O'Meara (Indiana University), Richard Sklar (University of California, Los Angeles), and Crawford Young (University of Wisconsin).

Carter received her Ph.D. from Radcliffe College, Harvard University, in 1938. Her professional career has spanned teaching assignments at McMaster University in Ontario, Wellesley, Smith, Tufts, University of Massachusetts, Yale, and Northwestern. Her books on African politics include *The Politics of Inequality: South Africa Since 1948, British Commonwealth and International*

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