



James Madison Award recipient Herbert Simon of Carnegie-Mellon University speaks on "Human Nature in Politics" before a standing-room-only crowd.

the Gabriel A. Almond Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of comparative politics for "Minority Government and Majority Rule," submitted by Stanford University.

Stephen C. Godek, California State University, Long Beach, the William Anderson Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of intergovernmental relations" for "Determinants of Public Interest Cable Communication Policies," submitted by the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Donald A. Downs, University of Notre Dame, the Edward S. Corwin Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of public law" for "Freedom, Community, and the First Amendment: The Skokie Case and the Limits of Speech," submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

Scott Sagan, Council of Foreign Relations, the Helen Dwight Reid Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in

the field of international relations, law and politics" for "Deterrence and Decision: An Historical Critique of Modern Deterrence Theory," submitted by Harvard University.

Larry M. Bartels, University of Rochester, the E. E. Schattschneider Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of American government" for "Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice," submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

Asher Horowitz, Trent University, the Leo Strauss Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of political philosophy" for "Nature and History in the Social and Political Thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau," submitted by the University of Toronto.

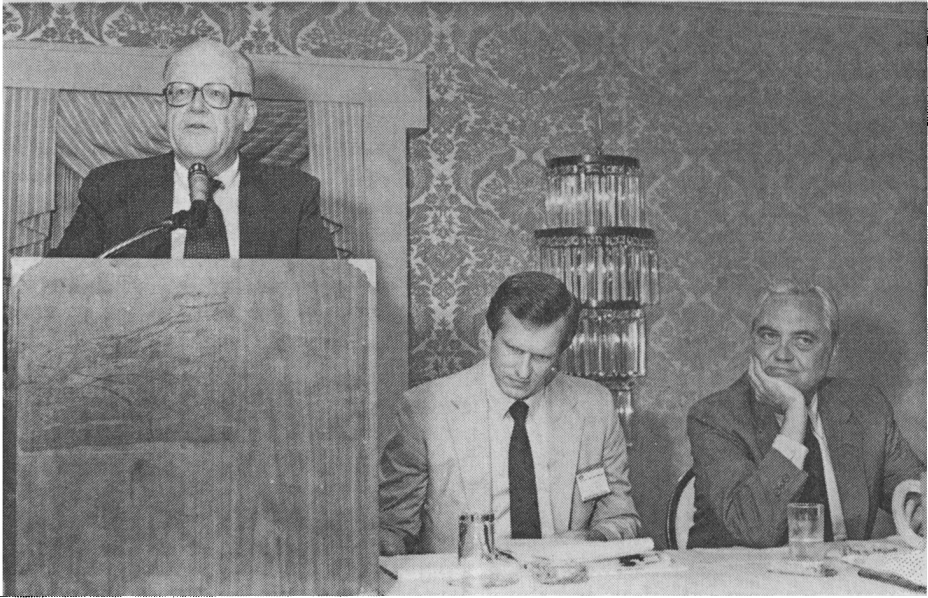
Ronald B. Hoskins, State University of New York, Albany, the Leonard D. White Award "for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of public administration, including broadly related problems of policy formation and administrative theory" for "Within-Year Appropriations Changes in Georgia State Government: The Implications for Budget Theory," submitted by the University of Georgia.

A complete listing of the awards and citations is contained in the *PS* Appendix. □

Presidential Selection Reform Debated at Annual Meeting

Carol Nechemias
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Capitol Campus

"What further reforms, if any, do we need in our presidential selection process, and why?" This was the issue Austin Ranney of the American Enterprise Institute posed to a distinguished panel of participants at the plenary session on Presidential Selection Reform: 1984 and Beyond. As Ranney noted, numerous changes in the rules governing the nomination process have taken place since 1968. While this situation may be glorious for political science (akin, as



Moderator Austin Ranney (left) of the American Enterprise Institute introduces the third plenary session, "Presidential Selection Reform: 1984 and Beyond," as participants William Crotty (middle) of Northwestern University and Republican advisor John P. Sears look on.

Ranney put it, to a "tonsillectomy epidemic for surgeons"), the situation is not so wonderful for politicians who must continually adjust to new rules and regulations. In light of the 1984 Democratic convention's commitment to create yet another commission to look into reforms, the topic seems both timely and timeless.

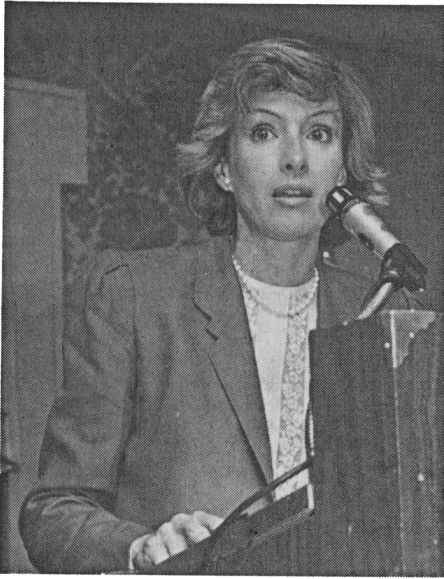
Each of the panel participants—William Crotty of Northwestern University, attorney and Republican advisor John P. Sears, Nelson W. Polsby of the University of California, Berkeley, and Judy Woodruff of the MacNeil/LehrerNewshour—offered strikingly different perspectives on presidential selection reform. According to Crotty, "When you have perfection, why change it?" He noted that the rules worked well this year. The Democrats got what they wanted. They nominated a New Deal/Fair Deal, middle-of-the-road, front-running candidate; they closed the process a little and enhanced the role of the party professionals. Crotty emphasized that the rules, especially the super delegate provisions, gave Mondale his margin of victory over Hart and Jackson.

If the rules worked so well, why, then, the discontent? Crotty addressed this

issue by noting that people lose—in this case Hart and Jackson—and therefore seek to change the rules. But, more importantly, Crotty attributed the dissatisfaction to our expectation that the rules should produce a Superman (or Superwoman), able to resolve all social and economic problems. Because no rules can satisfy this expectation, Crotty concluded that "discontent will always be with us."

Crotty arrayed possible presidential nomination reforms from most radical to least radical. He cited the following measures: a national primary; regional primaries; approval voting; Congressional action to standardize rules for primaries and caucuses; and more party committees. In Crotty's view, national and regional primaries would further weaken political parties; approval voting would assist centrist candidates; and we already have more party committees.

Turning to the Republicans, Crotty asserted that the GOP "glorifies its non-reform." The one reform area discussed at Republican conventions centers on the reallocation of votes so as to favor larger and more moderate states. But, as Crotty



Judy Woodruff of the MacNeil/Lehrer News-hour discusses the role of the media in presidential elections at the third plenary session.

noted, this measure never reaches the floor and the status quo ensures control of the party convention by the conservative wing.

Offering a Republican viewpoint, Sears contended that "this system [of Democratic reforms] has done more to wreck the Democratic party than anything we've [the Republicans have] done." He argued that the Democratic party, formerly a party of great discipline, destroyed itself after 1968. Rule changes led to the nomination of candidates either unrepresentative of the broadness of the Democratic party—a George McGovern—or unknown to the professional politicians—a Jimmy Carter. Sears dismissed Mondale as "perhaps not the best candidate the Democrats could have offered this year."

What's wrong? Sears identified the main culprit as too many primaries, noting that the feverish pace of the state primary elections places a premium on raising money and on courting special interests. As an alternative, Sears suggested reducing the number of primaries and allowing enough time in between for "momentum to come to rest."

Sears also advocated strengthening and returning to prominence a key element in presidential nominations campaigns in 1968 and before: allowing party leaders who personally know the candidates to have an important say in who wins the nomination. Seeking the support of local political figures doesn't cost much and candidates offer more candid explanations of their policy positions to party professionals than they generally offer to the public.

The Democrats got what they wanted.

Sears thus blamed an excessive number of primaries for driving both parties from the center, for producing contests in which most of the people don't like either of the candidates. Nonetheless, Sears felt that the impact of rule changes was far greater for the Democrats than for a small party like the Republicans, where you could "change the rules a lot without changing the results."

Polsby stressed that political parties must be preserved and enjoy a major influence in the presidential nomination process. He set forth three criteria for a balanced nomination process: (1) sufficient participation to inform people conducting the process about the popularity of contending candidates; (2) peer review by colleagues who have information unknown to the public and a sense of whether the candidate "could do the job"; and (3) deliberation, a sorting out of preferences more adequate than one-shot voting. With regard to this last criterion, Polsby pointed out that public choice theory has demonstrated the difficulties involved in determining the preferences of large numbers of people over a wide set of alternatives.

Woodruff shifted attention to the role of the news media, especially television in presidential campaigns. Asserting that the increase in the number of primaries has made the media more influential, Woodruff described television's hunger for drama. TV reporters tend to attach dramatic endings to every story, to pro-

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.