

Association News

for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. Nine instructional units to improve the coverage of women's issues in American politics courses will be produced by the project. (Opportunities and support for faculty to attend other workshops on these units have been announced in the Fall, 1982 *NEWS*.)

Name Deletions Down

Finifter expressed satisfaction over the fact that 91 percent of the Program participants complied with the APSA Council policy requiring that they preregister by June 1 or request an exemption if they are from other disciplines. "Participants who fail to pre-register cannot be listed in the Program," Finifter explained. "At the outset, I was apprehensive. But the response has been good." In 1980, 24 percent of the participants failed to pre-register. In 1981, the percentage of deletions decreased to 14.5 percent. In 1982, non-compliance was down to 9 percent. Finifter noted that the Council has increased the pre-registration fee for non-members of the Association to \$50 starting in 1983.

Book Exhibit

One change that was unsatisfactory to APSA members was the shortening of the book exhibit. Although publishers liked the shortened exhibit, many political scientists did not. Kay Lehman Schlozman's comments were typical: "I was disappointed that the book exhibits closed in the middle of Saturday afternoon. . . . I discovered afterward that this situation had been noted in the Program. Still, I did not realize it until too late." In 1983, the book exhibit will run the same length of time as the Annual Meeting, which is three and a half days. □

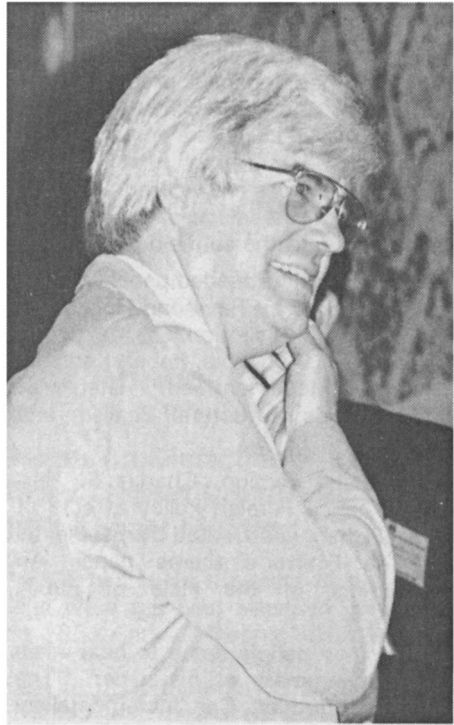
Plenary Sessions Offer Analysis and Humor

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From the state of the policy sciences to the status of Ronald Reagan, the APSA

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At the final plenary session in Denver, Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal* analyzed President Reagan's success with Congress.

Annual Meeting Registration 1967-1982*

1967	2473 (Chicago)
1968	3723 (Washington, D.C.)
1969	4142 (New York)
1970	2397 (Los Angeles)
1971	2732 (Chicago)
1972	3380 (Washington, D.C.)
1973	2312 (New Orleans)
1974	2773 (Chicago)
1975	2478 (San Francisco)
1976	2295 (Chicago)
1977	2624 (Washington, D.C.)
1978	2373 (New York)
1979	2687 (Washington, D.C.)
1980	2745 (Washington, D.C.)
1981	2518 (New York)
1982	2205 (Denver)

*1972-82 figures include exhibitors registered at the meeting, since their fee for booth rental includes the cost of their registration.

plenary sessions at the 1982 Annual Meeting provided the audience with an array of distinguished scholars and insightful commentary.

To honor the work of Harold Lasswell the first session concentrated on the uses of social science and the role of political scientists in the policy sciences and was chaired by Seymour Martin Lipset (Stanford University). Panelists included Herbert A. Simon (Carnegie-Mellon University), Donna Shalala (Hunter College) and Donald E. Stokes (Princeton University).

The second plenary session, chaired by Charles O. Jones (University of Virginia), focused on "Reagan and the '82 Elections." Nelson W. Polsby (University of California, Berkeley), Albert Hunt (*Wall Street Journal*) and Thomas E. Mann (APSA) served as panelists. To the delight of the audience the plenary session participants injected humor as well as cogent analysis into their presentations.

In the session on the uses of social science, Simon raised issues relating to how social scientists can fulfill their social responsibilities. He noted that social science involves creating and validating knowledge but that there is no way of predicting how that knowledge will be used.

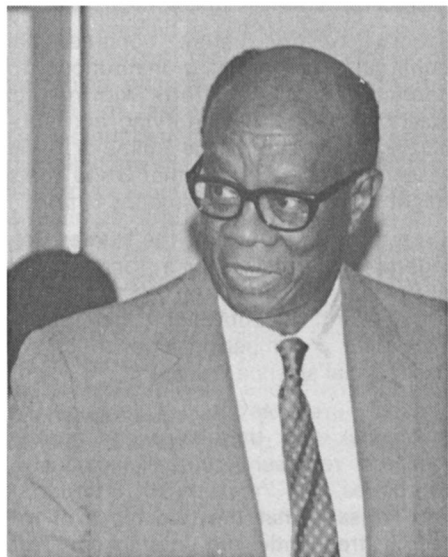
For Simon, the resolution of the quandary lies in a global evaluation of the following question: "Would ignorance have been better?" The Nobel prize winner in economics came down firmly on the side of science, arguing that science "inevitably and unintendedly has brought about an enrichment of moral concerns" by sensitizing social scientists to "consequences of actions we were not sensitive to in the past."

For example, scientists assume deeper and wider responsibilities as the effects of DDT become known and as measures of unemployment and of the level of learning are developed. Simon cautioned, however, against a social science that did not "treat human beings as we know them and adopt our solutions to those conditions."

Stressing modesty in our aspirations, he noted that social scientists should not try



During the Lasswell Symposium, Donna Shalala emphasized the need of social scientists to lobby the federal government.



Earl Lewis (pictured) of Trinity University and Matthew Holden of the University of Virginia were honored for their distinguished contributions to the discipline by APSA's Committee on the Status of Blacks.

to do away with human selfishness any more than physicists tried to do away with gravity. Despite gravity physicists found ways to accomplish their goals—to build airplanes and elevators—and social scientists similarly can develop solutions to problems without resorting to utopian dreams.

Simon expressed optimism that social science knowledge can play a vital role in tackling social problems and that science has promoted progress in a moral as well as a technological sense.

"Born Again" Social Science

Donna Shalala turned attention away from philosophical issues and toward the more immediate task of developing a tough lobby for the social sciences. She described the social sciences as suffering from a "style and attitude" problem: social scientists are the "whipping boys" of government; the Office of Management and Budget regards the social sciences as vulnerable; and the public does not extend to the social sciences the confidence it has in the natural sciences.

The solution is to build an effective lobby for the social sciences by taking the following steps: (1) having distinguished scholars testify before congressional committees; (2) creating institutions to coordinate lobbying efforts with natural scientists; and (3) identifying and publicizing examples of the utility of basic research. Shalala added that white coats might be helpful, if "cosmetics is fate."

On a more serious vein, the Hunter College president called for a "born-again" social science capable of presenting the government, the public, and social scientists with a compelling justification for basic social science research.

Stokes' presentation challenged the traditional view that basic and applied research represent mutually exclusive categories. His "revisionist" interpretation stressed that the two types of research frequently are interlinked. The policy sciences are a case in point.

Stokes traced the "polarized vision" of the relationship between basic and applied research to 19th century Germany's division, in institutional as

well as ideological terms, of science from technology. An alternative research tradition does, however, exist; basic and applied motives are intertwined in the bio-medical sciences and in economics. Scholars like Louis Pasteur and John Maynard Keynes sought to advance basic understanding in order to reduce human misery.

In Stokes' view the encouragement of this type of enterprise, where basic and applied research go hand-in-hand, is vital and can be furthered by: (1) creating institutional bases in academia for joint research, such as management and public policy schools; and (2) more importantly, fostering an intellectual initiative that lays out problems from the perspective of government (*a la* Keynes) or business (as in microeconomics).

Reagan's Radicalism

The second plenary session focused on the Reagan administration—Reagan's "radicalism," Reagan's success with Congress, Reagan and public opinion, and Reagan and the fall 1982 elections.

Jones began by defining the Reagan administration as radical. As proof, he cited the fundamental restructuring of the policy agenda in Washington. He expressed amazement that Reagan had managed to inspire a national debate over such "boring" topics as federalism and the budget.

Behind these topics lies a fundamental feature of the Reagan administration: a program aimed at elected officials—a demand that "the people's representatives . . . do their job."

In keeping with his view that Reagan is the most radical president since Franklin Roosevelt, Jones characterized the electoral victory achieved by Reagan in 1980 as sweeping: With the loyalty of less than one-fourth of the voters, the president carried 44 states and rolled up the third greatest electoral count in this century.

Polsby immediately challenged the view that something unusual had happened in 1980, arguing that Reagan's victory should be characterized not as a "Mount St. Helens" but rather as a "blip."

He defended this position by citing electoral and public opinion data and noted three facts: First, in Senate races three million more people voted Democratic than Republican (not counting the Louisiana race in which Russell Long ran unopposed). Second, public opinion has not shown much change on issues such as gun control, the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion on which public opinion runs counter to Reagan's positions. Third, people voted against Carter rather than for Reagan. Fourth, party identification has not changed very much. And fifth, a plurality of new voters in 1980 favored the Democrats.

Not only does this not smack of realignment, but it also means that "Ronald Reagan's resources in public opinion are slender." Polsby outlined a "Washington against the country" theme, arguing that while Washington thinks Reagan has tremendous public support, in actuality he does not.

Success with Congress

Taking a different tack Hunt attributed Reagan's success with Congress to (1) the congressional reforms of 10 years ago, (2) the unpopularity of the Carter administration, and (3) the appointment of more capable people compared to Carter.

Hunt especially emphasized that congressional reforms had made it easier for a strong president like Reagan to govern. As an example, he offered the 1981 and 1982 budget cuts and suggested that "powerful committee chairs would never have stood for it." He also noted that the Republicans owed their success largely to the disarray of the Democrats and that they are "blowing their opportunity to broaden their base and become a truly national party."

Yet another factor contributing to Reagan's success with Congress, according to Hunt, has been Reagan's ability—in contrast to that of Carter—to set priorities and avoid "juggling 77 issues at one time."

Regarding the 1982 Congressional elections, Mann raised the question of whether they represent a referendum on

Reagan's presidency. He asserted that Congressional elections are "fundamentally and predominantly local elections," with national conditions and the President's standing having only a marginal effect on electoral outcomes.

National conditions can, however, translate into local voting decisions. Mann offered the example of presidential partisans being discouraged from recruiting candidates and raising funds. Another possibility involves voter turnout, an area that has received insufficient attention from students of congressional elections, according to Mann.

In response to Polsby's presentation, Mann asserted that even if changes in public opinion and party identification were marginal in 1980, the policy consequences were nonetheless substantial. In terms of an overall assessment, Mann described the Reagan administration as having "gotten everything right except its program." The flaws of the Reagan program were: too much of a tax cut, too much defense spending and a failure to grapple with entitlement programs.

A lively debate over several issues ensued, with the audience as well as the panelists participating. Did something unusual happen in 1980? General agreement emerged that the perception of sweeping change rested more on the defeat of seven moderate-to-liberal Democratic senators than on the presidential contest. There was less agreement over whether Reagan had received a mandate, and if so, whether the content of that mandate involved something more than "do something different."

In sum, the plenary sessions provided the audience with an excellent arena for the serious discussion of topics of interest to the profession. Fresh and often contending perspectives were presented. Those looking for a stimulating evening did not go away disappointed. □

McWilliams Prize Goes to Strout; Twelve Other Awards Given

(Editor's Note: At a plenary session held on the first full day of the 1982 Annual Meeting,