

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF
"THE CONTRACT WITH AMERICA"

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By

MATTHEW W. O'BRIEN
Norman, Oklahoma
1997

UMI Number: 9812261

Copyright 1997 by
O'Brien, Matthew W.

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9812261
Copyright 1998, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

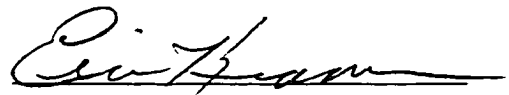
UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

c Copyright by MATTHEW W. O'BRIEN 1997
All Rights Reserved.

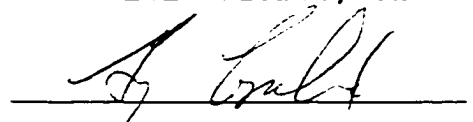
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF
"THE CONTRACT WITH AMERICA"

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

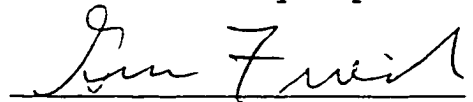
BY



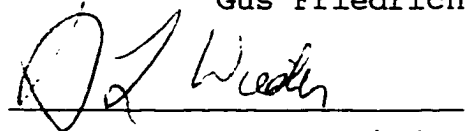
Eric Kramer, Chair



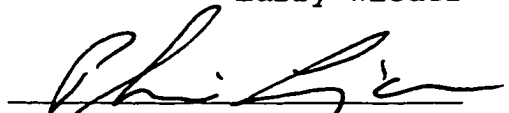
Gary Copeland



Gus Friedrich



Larry Wieder



Phil Lujan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my gratitude to committee members Gary Copeland, John Nussbaum, Gus Friedrich, Larry Wieder, and Phil Lujan. I thank my Committee Chair, Eric Kramer, for his guidance, encouragement, and friendship; and thanks also to Gary, John, Larry, Gus, and Phil for ideas on how to improve this project.

I wish to thank my parents, Marie and Robert O'Brien, for their patience, support, and understanding throughout my graduate career.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval Page	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Introduction Chapter	4
Chapter 2 History and Development of the Contract . .	12
Chapter 3 Language of the Contract	33
Chapter 4 Rhetorical Analysis of the Contract	66
Chapter 5 Conscious Structure of the Contract	122
Chapter 6 Dissertation Conclusion	160
References	178

ABSTRACT

The Contract with America [CWA] was rhetorically analyzed to answer the question of how Ludwig Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Jean Gebser might have reacted to the document based on their philosophies. Wittgenstein's language rule analysis was applied to show that the CWA *pretends* to play by the "rules" of a contract; implies an authentic dialectic between the Democrats and GOP; and that through the use of language, the CWA creates a "common man" image for the GOP. Analysis using Aristotle focused on structure--arguments, arrangement, and proofs. He would likely have concluded that the CWA is "sophistry," and would base this on the Contract's lack of structured arguments and proof. The Contract primarily appeals to ethos (to attack ethical character) and pathos. Gebser's analyses of modes of awareness were used to show that the Contract simultaneously manifests all three modes of consciousness--magic, mythic, and mental. He would likely have concluded that democracy is moving backwards, that is, modes of awareness for democracy are returning to mythic and magic modes and, therefore, mentalism (as Gebser uses it to describe rationality) is lacking in the Contract. Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser's ideas about rhetoric all suggest that democracy is only as good as the degree to which people participate in it and, since there is a lack of participation, democracy will remain image-driven and the country will see more attempts from politicians and parties to deceive the public with rhe-

torical tools such as the "Contract." As television played an important role in the image of the CWA, future studies should explore the mediating effects of television on interpretations of the Contract.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a textual analysis of the Contract with America--a 1994 election platform proposal by the Republican party. I analyze the Contract with America using the methods and writings of Ludwig Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Jean Gebser (discussed below). Chapter 2 of this dissertation is a history surrounding the events leading to the development of the Contract with America. In Chapter 3, I analyze the language of the Contract using the work of Wittgenstein. In Chapter 4, I rhetorically analyze the Contract using the work of Aristotle. Using the work of Jean Gebser, I examine, in Chapter 5, the modes of awareness the Contract focuses on. The dissertation conclusion (Chapter 6) is based on what Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser might conclude after analyzing the Contract.

In 1994, the Republicans took control of both chambers of the U.S. Congress--a feat that last occurred in 1954. Many factors led to the demise of a Democrat-controlled Congress--one of them being bickering within the Democratic party. Democrats were unable to agree and pass legislation; Republicans effectively blocked most of their bills.

Additionally, many Congressional members were found to be lacking in honesty and integrity. Because of scandals, the public faith in Congress greatly diminished. The American public wanted to try something entirely new, since the current system and body governing Congress was not proving

effective.

The Republicans, after studying extensive polling data, fashioned their message to fit the public's agenda. They took to the public their Party's platform for reelection by creating a book called The Contract with America, an atypical party platform containing a ten-plank promise to the public to bring ten bills to a vote in the first 100 days of Congress. Given the Republican's reelection success, people may wonder what role the Contract played in the reelection campaign. Understanding the Contract's role can help voters and scholars better understand present and future campaigns.

I analyzed the Contract's language using Ludwig Wittgenstein's language rules analysis method. Results from the analysis (Chapter 3) suggest that the Contract promotes by using simple, plain language; that is, language that the "common man" could understand. The Contract portrays itself as a dialectic between the Democrats and GOP. By dialectic I am referring Plato's conceptualization of it--competent speakers debating an issue. Finally, the Contract appears to represent a genuine commitment to the American people to support the issues set forth in the Contract since it was "put it in writing."

I used Aristotle's writings from his book the Rhetoric to assess the forms of arguments, the organization of the text and, finally, types of proofs. Results from this anal-

ysis (Chapter 4) show that the Contract is sophistry. The Contract excessively appeals to pathos and ethos (by ad hominem attacks) while providing few structured arguments. Additionally, the Contract treats myths as "facts" to create the illusion that it is argues from "facts."

I used Jean Gebser's theory of cultural time/space awareness to analyze the space/time level of awareness that the Contract communicated. Using Gebser's method (Chapter 5) suggests that the Contract is not a rational document, but one that has messages that are image-driven. Gebser would conclude that the Contract is far from a rational document in how it portrays issues.

Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would all say that the CWA is a propaganda device. Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would conclude that democracy is only as good as the degree people participate in it and, since there is a lack of participation, democracy will remain image driven and the country will see more attempts from politicians and parties to try to deceive the public with rhetorical tools such as a "Contract."

CHAPTER 1

Introduction Chapter

In 1994, the Republican party won control of both chambers of Congress--a feat that last occurred in 1954. Such historical upsets signal a major change in politics. The Republicans now control the country's legislation practices. These practices, the Republicans argued, would be based on an outline of their policies and intentions in a book called the Contract with America.

On September 27, 1994, Republican's unveiled a "contract" with the American people in the form of a book. The book was designed to restore faith in Congress and other governmental institutions. Those signing the "Contract" pledged support for eight Congressional procedural changes and ten proposed bills. The "Contract" served as the GOP election platform, with 367 candidates signing. After the November 8th election, the GOP published the "Contract" in a book called The Contract with America.

One would think that scholars would feel a need to examine the Contract with America for two reasons. First, the Contract is the guiding document for all GOP legislation for the first 100 days of the 105th Congress and beyond. Therefore, one might expect that to better understand the limits and expectations of future legislation, scholars would study it.

We might also expect scholars would study the Contract to better understand the role it played in the last elec-

tion. The GOP's political success should prompt scholars to analyze the role of the Contract in the democratic defeat.

Moreover, the Contract should be analyzed if for no other reason than that it was such a publicized media phenomena. In fact, in a poll taken March 27-29, 53% of the people said they had heard of the Contract with America (Gallup, 1995). Such widespread recognition of the Contract by the public warrants an examination of it.

As a scientist and scholar, I must not engage in general speculation about the Contract. Only through a *rigorous* examination of the Contract can we better understand it. In short, there are clear reasons for examining the Contract.

PROBLEM STATEMENT: The Contract with America has been insufficiently studied.

In fact, no research in the field of communication addresses the Contract. An examination of 5,750 titles listed in Communication Abstracts from January 1994 to August 1997 identified no journal articles, edited book chapters, or books addressing the Contract. Note that Communication Abstracts includes research from over 100 communication sources.

Other disciplines have also failed to rigorously explore the Contract. For instance, to date, there are only two books published that are related to the Contract With America. One is by John Bader (1996) called Taking the Initiative: Leadership Agendas in Congress and the "Contract with America." His work does not directly address the 1994 Con-

tract, but discusses factors influencing the GOP's future strategy. James Gimpel (1996), author of Legislating the Revolution: The Contract with America in Its First 100 Days, discusses the implementation of the Contract in the first 100 days of Congress. Neither Bader nor Gimpel directly address what the Contract is and the purpose it served.

We can conclude that researching the Contract is warranted since few or none have seriously undertaken this task. Yet another reason the Contract should be examined is that Democracy benefits from understanding such highly publicized events. An example of this is the changing of our constitution via constitutional amendments. We change our constitution to accommodate changes in society. As a result, when the public becomes enlightened and understands that changes are necessary, we make changes to best accommodate us. Legislation works in the same way--people become enlightened and demand that Congressional members make changes. As long as the people are informed (which this dissertation can help achieve), democracy can work better, since people are empowered to create change.

When people are not informed, devastating events occur. A classic example is the execution of Socrates. Socrates worked to enlighten the people about the corruption of their political officials and was experiencing success. The governing body tried to stop him by sentencing him to death. Had Socrates further enlightened the populace, the public would likely have ridded Athens of corruption. As a result

of Socrates' early death, public officials did not act in the public's interest. In short, there is adequate justification for researching the Contract.

I will now address how the research herein was undertaken. It is important to note, however, that there is no way to determine how well any methodology will provide insight into a phenomena until that method is applied. When an analysis is complete, one may judge whether the results yield additional insight in understanding the phenomena. The best indicator of whether a method will yield results, therefore, is experience. Additionally, note that there are a plethora of methods from which to choose that could provide insight about a phenomena, although each has inherent limitations. As a result, choosing methods is difficult.

I established the following criteria for deciding which methods to use. First, I decided that no one method would adequately satisfy my curiosity regarding the Contract. The purpose of my dissertation is to enlighten, and so one method may be inadequate. Although one might argue that one method, thoroughly executed, might be more convincing, I believe that since my dissertation is of interest to many other disciplines, a variety of methods might better accommodate different readers. I decided to choose more than one method for this dissertation's analysis to increase the likelihood that a reader would be familiar with a method, and also to establish a sense of reliability via comparative analysis.

A second consideration in choosing a method was to ensure I analyzed the Contract from a variety of perspectives. Since the purpose of this dissertation is to understand the Contract, analyzing it from many different perspectives would help lead to that end. Use of different methods will help show the boundaries of the Contract.

A third criteria for choosing a methodology was that the scholar must bring to bear some of the most reliable thinking of all time. That is, methods which are familiar and which have stood the test of time are preferred.

For this project I chose to use three methodologies to examine the Contract. The first method I chose was based on Ludwig Wittgenstein's writings on language in his book Philosophical Investigations. Wittgenstein focuses on language and how we use it to create understanding. The use of language is important in influencing political outcomes and since the Contract is both a linguistic and political, Wittgenstein's work seems appropriate. Wittgenstein's approach to understanding messages is by looking at language use as a game that is played. This approach has had great heuristic value because it encompasses both structure (rules) and communication spontaneity--an approach which has influenced many scholars including Claude Levi-Strauss and Noam Chomsky.

The second method I chose to analyze the Contract is based on Aristotle's writings in The Rhetoric. Aristotle is widely respected as one of the greatest scholars of all

time. His work encompasses all fields. His theories and beliefs, therefore, are familiar to many. In The Rhetoric, Aristotle explains how one can examine persuasion and judge the validity of messages. Aristotle's widespread popularity may be attributed to his "objectivity." Aristotle, regardless of an argument's source, places arguments under the same scrutiny. Aristotle favors no one. He simply applies his method. This at times may make Aristotle appear cynical, although he is one of the most unbiased researchers that ever lived--he favors no one. As politics requires persuasion, examining the contract via Aristotle's method provides a different perspective from Wittgenstein's language game analysis.

The third method I choose to examine the Contract is contained in the work of Jean Gebser, specifically the book The Ever Present Origin. Gebser's works are only recently being translated into English. Although his work is only recently becoming better known in the United States, he enjoys great popularity in Europe, where some 30 volumes of his work remain in print and are utilized by scholars in many fields over the last 40 years. Gebser believes that over the course of time humans have developed different "modes of awareness." We use many modes of awareness, although some become more dominant than others at different times. Our behavior is dependent on which mode is dominant. Gebser's work, therefore, can help us understand what modes of awareness the Contract promotes and relies upon for its ability to

affect attitudes and behavior. This can help the reader understand how he/she is affected by it. Gebser's work is well substantiated and provides a differing perspective from both Wittgenstein and Aristotle.

In addition to an nontraditional selection of communication methods, readers should note that this dissertation utilizes few "contemporary" communication scholars.

Although Aristotle and Wittgenstein are communication scholars, there are few references to "contemporary" communication scholars--scholars of the last 40 years. Although this may be disturbing to some, there are a number of reasons for this. First, no communication scholars have examined the Contract and, therefore, there are no scholars from which to draw research from. One might argue that sources from communication could have explained Wittgenstein's, Aristotle's and Gebser's methods. As many of the methods are complicated, referring only to the original scholar's text will help reduce the complexity in explaining their beliefs, while helping familiarize the reader with the original works of the scholars. This dissertation purposefully favors primary texts, and a direct analysis of the Contract, rather than a litany of what others in the "popular press" have said about it.

In addition to a lack of contemporary "communication scholars," one might argue that this dissertation does not serve the communication field. Although the field of communication includes many different areas, such as interper-

sonal, organizational, political, instructional, and mass communication, one might argue that a common thread among all of these areas of focus is how communication makes change. This is the focus of this dissertation. Based on Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser, I help the reader understand what these seminal scholars would likely say about the Contract, thus showing the reader what the Contract is and by what means it might induce change.

This dissertation begins by examining the history surrounding the Contract with America. The Contract is then analyzed using Wittgenstein's language game analysis (Chapter 3), Aristotle's Rhetorical analysis (Chapter 4), and Gebser's modes of awareness analysis (Chapter 5). A synthesis of these three scholars is presented in the Dissertation Conclusion (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 2

History and Development of the Contract

Introduction

As with any critical work, I begin by examining what factors allowed events to occur. This chapter is designed to provide the reader with a CWA background. I begin by explaining the history of the 103rd Congress and of the 1992 Presidential elections to help the reader understand the circumstances leading to the development of the CWA. Next, I briefly explain the legislative proposals of the CWA and discuss what legislative proposals from the Contract later became law. In the following three chapters I analyze the CWA using the work of Wittgenstein (Chapter 3), Aristotle (Chapter 4), and Gebser (Chapter 5).

Public outrage, since it is political, often has novel effects on the political agenda. The Contract with America [CWA]--a bold election platform presented by the Republican party during the 1994 election campaign, credited with helping Republicans gain control of both Congressional Chambers, exemplifies political novelty due to a public outcry.

Although pundits and scholars discuss the effects of the CWA, few attempt to explain how the persuasive nature of the CWA helped the GOP secure public support. The purpose of this dissertation is to explain how the CWA worked.

What follows is the history surrounding the events leading to the formation of the CWA--the effects of the 1992

Presidential Election and the performance of the 103rd Congress. Following this account is a description of the major tenets of the CWA.

History

Two events set the stage for the CWA. First, the Republican party lost the presidency--a post held by individual Republicans for the majority of the last 24 years. Controlling the public agenda required the GOP to either regain the presidency or find alternatives to setting their own party agenda. Second, Democrats still controlled both the House and Senate. With a Democratic President in power, Republicans saw themselves losing their agenda setting control. Although it was evident that Republicans blocked or slowed the Democratic agenda, Democrats showed little success even in introducing many of their own legislative ideas. To regain an agenda setting control, Republicans needed to regain control of both Congress and the Presidency.

1992 Presidential Election

A year before the 1992 Presidential Election Campaign had begun, President George Bush seemed poised for an easy reelection campaign, given a high approval rating of 89 percent following the Persian Gulf War (Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993a). Economic decline before the reelection campaign, however, sharply reduced presidential support, with ratings dropping as low as 44 percent (Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993a). Bush never came close to recapturing his earlier rating of public approval.

Bill Clinton ran an effective election campaign. Fund raising endorsements and information dissemination played a large role in his success. He fared well in the presidential primaries, considering that he was not any better known than his rivals, Brown and Tsongas. He scored more primary victories (32) ("National Tally," 1992) than any other Democratic candidate in history and drew a larger percentage (52%) of the nationwide primary votes than any other candidate ("National Tally," 1992). Clinton positioned himself as a centrist on issues appealing to many different constituent groups. However, despite his well-organized campaign, continuing questions concerning his draft status and possible infidelities raised doubt about the governor's election chances.

As the primary season began, only four other Democratic candidates sought the nomination: former Massachusetts Senator Paul E. Tsongas (D-Massachusetts), former California Governor Edmund G. ("Jerry") Brown, and Senators Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Bob Kerrey (D-Nebraska). Clinton, Tsongas, and Brown were the only three candidates active in all primaries. Questions concerning Clinton's character surfaced during the primaries, prompting some to consider entering the primary, although most potential candidates felt it was too late to enter the race.

Voter dissatisfaction with primary party candidates along with a general distrust of Congress paved the way for the Washington outsider, Ross Perot, to run as a third party

candidate. Perot believed that Congressional Republicans and Democrats, by voting for the interests of lobbyists rather than the national interest, lacked the resolve to deal with serious issues facing the nation. Perot caught the attention of many voters by financing his own campaign. With no financial obligations to special interest groups, Perot said he could make decisions in the country's best interest, often stating that if the public wanted something done, they should vote for him; whereas, if they wanted talk and no action, they should vote for either Bush or Clinton.

Initially, Perot fared well in New Jersey and in the key election states of California and Ohio. Early exit polls in June indicated that one-quarter of the Democratic voters in New Jersey, nearly one-third in California, and nearly one-half of the voters in Ohio preferred Perot to Clinton (Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993b). Later polls showed Perot receiving national voter support in the mid-30 percent range (Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993b). Nevertheless, by early July, Perot's popularity waned due to character attacks. By Mid-July, Perot withdrew from the race, although many of his followers continued to support his election platform that he financially backed.

One month before the election Perot reentered the race. Polls showed he still had a strong following. His reentry allowed him to participate in all three presidential debates, which helped him restore some of the credibility he had lost by having withdrawn his candidacy. Although he lost

the presidential race, he commanded respectable popular support, especially for a third party candidate. He received nearly 19% of the popular vote--the third highest number for a third party candidate in history (Brown, 1992).

While Perot tried to regain his following in the last days of the election, Bush and Clinton attacked each other. Clinton took advantage of Bush's campaign difficulties that stemmed from an inability to redefine the Republican agenda in changing times. Opposition to communism and resistance to higher taxes, traditionally central issues for the Republican party, were no longer a problem since the Cold War had ended and Bush promised "no new taxes." Bush countered by attacking Clinton's character, focusing on issues of candidate trust.

Clinton broke new records, showing that major changes were occurring in U.S. politics. He was the first Democrat to be elected President without carrying the state of Texas. Furthermore, since 1952 no Democratic President that lost the New Hampshire primary had become President. He was the first president elected that was born after World War II, and was the first president since Franklin D. Roosevelt who did not serve in the military. Finally, the Clinton/Gore team was the first successful Southern ticket since 1828, proving change in traditional Northern party commitments (Cook, 1992). These changes signaled changing support for the "Grand Old Party" [GOP].

Events of the 103rd Congress

The 103rd Congress brought new hopes of ending political and partisan politics that had plagued the 102nd Congress. Widespread public concern for issues such as health care reform and the economy resulted in major political changes from the 102nd to 103rd Congress. Twenty-four incumbents were replaced with new, younger Congressional members (Kaplan & Mahtesian, 1992). Freshmen now made up 25% of the House and the Senate received 11 new members (Kaplan & Mahtesian, 1992). Also, the new House and Senate set records for the largest number of minorities elected at once (Kaplan & Mahtesian, 1992). Since Democrats controlled both Congress and the White House, the public expected an end to the gridlock.

The number of Democrats so far outnumbered the number of House Republicans that it appeared the House GOP could not slow legislation. GOP legislative control required conservative Democrats in the Senate to join the Republicans and collaborate on legislative voting (Hager, 1993). The rules of the Senate protect minority party rights (Alston, 1993), so if the Senate was to be effective, Minority Senate Leader Bob Dole (R-Kansas) needed to maintain a cohesive party to defeat bills and/or filibuster. A filibuster in the Senate requires 60 votes, and the Democrats only had 57. This meant a filibuster was an option for Republicans to delay or slow legislation, although it was not a popular option with the public who were still angry with the performance of the 102nd Congress.

Some issues candidates promised to address in the new Congress were health care, campaign finance reform, welfare reform, and deficit reduction. Despite high hopes, the 103rd Congress had one of the least productive sessions in history, resulting in a poor public perception of Congress because of intense party bickering.

Much of the partisan politics of the 103rd Congress resulted from agreements made in the 1990 budget. The 1990 Budget Agreement curbed new spending by stipulating that new revenue must support any new spending. Early in the session Democrats failed to persuade a majority in Congress to change the restrictive legislation. Many Democrats of districts economically dependent on military business joined Republican forces, fearing that Democrats would funnel funds from military programs in their districts to social programs with the repeal of the 1990 Budget Agreement. Republicans, encouraged by their success in defeating the overturn of the budget agreement, tried to get a vote on a balanced budget amendment, but Robert C. Byrd (D-West Virginia) filibustered, killing the bill. Since the public supported a balanced budget amendment, the filibuster served to highlight Congressional gridlock.

Besides gridlock, Congressional scandals also contributed to poor Congressional perceptions. Early in the 103rd's session, Rostenkowski (D-Illinois) lost a court battle. He wanted government officials to be charged with contempt for leaking information ("Rostenkowski Loses

Motion on Leaks," 1993) about money he embezzled from the House Post Office. By the end of the year, five others were indicted. Additionally, employees of the House Post Office were indicted for selling drugs ("Rostenkowski Loses Motion on Leaks," 1993).

Meanwhile, 13 women were added to the list of those accusing Senator Bob Packwood (R-Oregon) of sexual misconduct. Congressional members were concerned about the possibility of having public hearings for Packwood. After the Senate's mishandling of the Supreme Court confirmation hearings investigating sexual harassment charges made by Anita Hill against Clarence Thomas, Senate members were concerned that public, sexual harassment hearings, if not handled properly, would further damage the body's image.

In addition to Packwood and Rostenkowski, other members had legal difficulties. Representative Charlie Rose (D-North Carolina) paid a \$12,500 fine to the Justice Department for failing to disclose campaign loans from 1979-85 that totaled more than \$100,000 ("Rep. Rose Agrees to Pay Fine," 1994). Senator Durenberger (R-Minnesota) was re-indicted on charges that he fraudulently billed the Senate for use of a Minneapolis condominium he secretly owned ("Sen. Durenberger," 1994). A grand jury re-indicted him after reexamination of the evidence ("Sen. Durenberger," 1994). Not surprisingly, many senators whom scandal tainted decided to retire (Connolly, 1994a). Early in the second session, 36 House members announced plans to retire or seek

higher office (Palmer & Bowens, 1994)--many because they claimed to have "had enough" of Capitol Hill. Congress's scandals were not, however, solely responsible for members' poor images.

Bobby Ray Inman, for instance, abruptly withdrew his nomination for the position of Secretary of Defense, explaining that he had given 30 years of his life to his country and did not want to subject himself to the costs involved with producing change (Towell, 1994). He was considered a "shoe-in" and, for the most part, a highly respected intelligence officer (Towell, 1994). Most on Capitol Hill had been happy with the President's selection, so Inman's withdrawal furthered public perceptions that the government was not working well.

The public was more concerned, however, that Congress pass reforms, such as campaign financing, promised during many campaigns. Experts testified early in the first session regarding campaign finance reform ("Clinton Will Present," 1993), but legislation was not forthcoming. On May 7, President Clinton and House leaders unveiled a campaign reform plan designed with caps on spending and public funding and limits on contributions from political action committees. GOP Senators threatened a filibuster in the Senate, which threatened the bill's passage (Donovan, 1993a). By the end of May, the excitement for campaign finance reform slowed. Representative Mike Synar (D-Okla-homa), a key player for the campaign spending bill, was

rumored to be dropping the public funding part of the bill because it was too much of a road block to a GOP agreement (Donovan, 1993b). A month later, Senate Democrats passed a sweeping overhaul of the federal campaign finance laws by a vote of 60-38 (Donovan, 1993c). To satisfy the GOP, however, the Democrats abandoned public funding measures and limits on PAC contributions (Donovan, 1993c).

The Senate finally debated and modified the campaign reform bill, resulting in vague language and concessions to prevent a threatened filibuster. The bill made few changes in current rules and some parts of the bill were considered patently unconstitutional (Donovan, 1993d). Because the bill limited campaign contributions, by the end of September Republican Senators blocked campaign finance reform with a filibuster (Donovan, 1994). Despite its role as a promise in most election campaigns, no campaign spending reform legislation appeared.

Health care reform was another election campaign promise. On September 27, Clinton asked Congress to reform health care using his new plan. In the following weeks, he staged events that made it appear that his bill and health care reform had bipartisan support (Rubin & Hook, 1993). Unfortunately, any chance of health care reform died when Republicans defeated the Omnibus Crime bill--Republicans had the power to block any potential legislation. After Republicans fought against the bill, then Senate Majority leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) scrapped his own health

care bill, believing that GOP aggressiveness would make passing a comprehensive health care program not possible (Kuntz, 1994a). Congress adjourned with no progress toward health care reform.

Many election candidates promised tougher laws against crime. Initially there was strong bipartisan support for an Omnibus Anti-Crime bill that authorized billions of dollars to build prisons, provided money to help communities prevent crime, and banned 19 specific assault weapons (Idelson, 1994). Nevertheless, by early June, spending concessions were necessary to maintain bipartisan support (Idelson, 1994). By August, the Omnibus Anti-Crime bill was expected to pass easily but failed, because too many Democrat gun control supporters along with anti-death penalty liberals voted with Republicans to keep the bill from passing (Kuntz, 1994b).

That same month, Democrats passed up the opportunity to pass a bill to restore the savings and loan corporation insurance industry. Democrats believed they could pass the "Resolution Trust Corporation" bill that would make solvent the agency in charge of cleaning up the thrift problems with savings and loans. They decided to delay voting until September, when Congress would reconvene, explaining that more Republicans would then join to support the bill (Taylor, 1993). With the passage of time, many Congressional members were wary of supporting the trust, since it had to be bailed out earlier at a cost of 80 billion dollars. No bill was

passed to restore the trust's solvency.

Problems occurred even with issues that received strong bipartisan support. Both parties, for instance, agreed that the victims and the community of the Los Angeles riots should receive monetary compensation. Due to bipartisan bickering, the Democratic proposal of 1 1/2 billion was reduced to 500 million so that the bill could quickly pass.

Congress had difficulty enacting legislation on which most members agreed. The "General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade" (GATT) was expected to pass through both chambers. When it came to a vote, Senator Ernst Hollings (D-South Carolina) said he would invoke a parliamentary privilege to postpone the GATT vote for at least 45 days, until after the November elections, since GATT was a sensitive issue to the labor groups in his and other Democratic districts (Connolly, 1994b). Congress later passed GATT before Congress' adjournment.

House Republicans spent much of the fall season blocking Democratic initiatives while planning for a future of Congressional majority. They introduced the Republican's national platform: the "Contract with America."

With the introduction of the Contract, Republicans felt obligated to vote against any legislation that the CWA did not support. Democrats and Republicans fell victim to partisan disagreements on health care reform, campaign finance reform, lobbying disclosure, and telecommunications and toxic waste cleanup legislation. Despite Democratic control

of both legislative and executive branches, many bills were abandoned due to GOP road blocks (Cloud, 1994).

The public had high hopes for the 103rd Congress. But scandal and an inability to pass legislation, led to the demise of the Democratically controlled chambers. The Democratic party had difficulty passing legislation and, as a result, Republicans with their Contract promised that votes would be cast on new legislation.

I now briefly explain what the Contract proposes and what proposals became law.

The Contract with America*

On September 27, 1994, the Republican's unveiled something unlike anything previously seen in politics--a "contract" with the American people. The idea for a "Contract" evolved from the House Republican's recognition that America needed to restore its faith in Congress and other governmental institutions. The framers of the "Contract" thought it would restore the relationship between citizens and their elected officials. Those signing the "Contract" pledged support for eight Congressional procedural changes and ten proposed bills. The "Contract" served as the GOP election platform, with 367 candidates signing. After the November 8 election, the GOP published the "Contract" in book form, calling it The Contract with America.

*The information from the following section is taken from the 1994 Republican platform: Contract with America. Refer to References section for a complete citation.

According to the CWA, the idea for the Contract first evolved in February, 1994. During a conference of House Republicans in Salisbury, Maryland, members focused on how to convey the Republican agenda to gain public support. By promoting individual liberty, economic opportunity, personal responsibility through a limited and effective government, high standards of performance, and an America strong enough to defend all citizens against violence at home and abroad, Republican House members created the framework for the development of the CWA.

The CWA vowed that Congress would vote on eight procedural Contract promises on the first day of the 104th Congress. The Contract promised to make laws applying to the rest of the country apply equally to Congressional members; appoint an independent financial auditing firm to reduce waste, fraud, and abuse; cut House committees and staff by one-third; limit the terms of all committee chairs; ban the casting of proxy votes in a committee; require committee meetings to be open to the public; require a three-fifths majority vote to pass a tax increase; and, finally, guarantee an "honest" account of the U.S. federal budget by implementing zero baseline budgeting. Following the passage of the procedural changes, ten bills, designed to restructure America's social and economic condition, would be brought to a vote in the first 100 days of the 104th Session.

The first bill mentioned in the CWA is the "Fiscal Responsibility Act." This bill was developed from the GOP's

contention that Congress spends too much money. The bill, therefore, supports a permanent presidential line item veto to reduce "pork" legislation, establishes a balanced budget amendment to control the deficit, and requires a three-fifths vote in both chambers to raise revenue.

The GOP contends that incarceration has failed as a deterrent to crime because certain Congressional liberals, as members of the bar and the bench, had "declared war on swift and certain punishment" (p. 38, CWA). Therefore, the "Taking Back Our Streets Act" punishes violent offenders by setting mandatory sentences for crimes involving the use of firearms. The bill also authorizes 10.5 billion dollars for state prison construction, allowing for longer prison sentences, as well as makes the criminal appeals process more difficult. Additionally, it allows evidence seized in "good faith" to be used as evidence in court. Finally, it provides 10 billion dollars for local law enforcement communities and requires criminals to make restitution to their victims.

The "Personal Responsibility Act" "overhauls" the American welfare system by reducing government dependence, attacking out-of-wedlock births, requiring welfare recipients to work, and cutting welfare spending. Mothers under the age of 18, 19, or 20 may be prohibited by the states from receiving AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) payments and housing benefits. States may drop any family from AFDC after two years of support. Welfare recip-

ients must work an average of 35 hours a week or enroll in work training programs designed by their state. The bill caps the spending growth of several major welfare programs (AFDC, Supplemental Security Income, and public housing) and consolidates nutrition programs, including food stamps, WIC (Women, Infants, and Children Program) and the school lunch program into one discretionary block grant to states.

The "Family Reinforcement Act" "strengthens" the American family. The bill provides a tax credit of \$5,000 for families adopting a child, increases penalties for child pornography and criminal sexual misconduct involving a minor, and provides a \$500 tax credit for families caring for a dependent elderly parent or grandparent. It improves the privacy rights of families by requiring parental consent for children answering questions regarding participation in federally funded programs and makes state laws regarding visitation and child support enforceable in all states. The bill restricts the use, shipment, or editing of pornographic materials while increasing penalties for those forcing children into child prostitution.

In 1992, the American people received one of the biggest tax increases in history. "The American Dream Restoration Act" provides tax relief to the American family by providing a \$500 per child tax credit to make raising children more affordable. The tax code no longer supports a marriage penalty tax, or one that taxes retirement savings; purchase of a first-owner occupied home; or education expenses at a

postsecondary institution, college, or training institution.

"The National Security Restoration Act" "strengthens" America's security by improving fiscal and structural circumstances in the American Military. If passed, the bill would prohibit the use of military operations placing United States troops under foreign command. To control military spending, "need" is reviewed by a blue-ribbon panel of independent defense experts to assess military readiness, maintenance practices, and general operational needs. Defense funds no longer can be re-allocated to support social programs and can only be reduced from present levels if the reduction directly reduces the deficit. The bill also supports a stronger anti-ballistic missile defense system to defend the United States from ballistic missile attacks. Finally, the bill urges the President to begin NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) partnerships with those countries that show signs of moving to democracy or a free market economy.

The "Senior Citizens' Equity Act" assumes that senior citizens need financial relief. Therefore, it repeals the 1993 tax increase on Social Security benefits for those between the ages of 65 and 69. Additionally, social security earnings allowances are raised threefold to \$30,000, and tax incentives help the elderly buy long term health care insurance to cover medical bills later in life.

The "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act" rolls back

investment taxes that create jobs and modernize factories. The bill clarifies home office deductions and empowers taxpayers to designate part of their tax liability to reduce the national debt. It changes governmental policy by forcing federal agencies to publicly announce the cost of their policies, and requiring Congress to report the cost of mandates it imposes on state and local governments. It reduces the paperwork burden imposed on American business by 5% a year and requires federal agencies to complete regulatory impact analyses.

The "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act" also stimulates investments by providing a 50% capital gains rate cut, prospectively indexes capital gains to account for inflation, and makes provisions to increase the value of investment depreciation to equal the full value of the original investment. Small businesses benefit from increases in the expense level deduction, making home office use more tax deductible. It increases the estate tax exemption from \$600,000 to \$750,000, so small business owners and family farmers can keep their shops and farms in the family. Finally, private property owners would receive up to 10% of the fair market value for their property from any reduction in the value due to the federal government.

The "Common Sense Legal Reform Act" strengthens the American legal system by improving the court system. The loser of a lawsuit must now pay the legal fees of the winning party. It curbs the use of "junk science" by restrict-

ing experts to base their testimony on "scientifically proven" information. Experts may no longer receive a contingency fee for testimony without a judge's authorization. It lowers product prices by curbing abuses in product liability or punitive damage suits while restricting legal blame to only those responsible for direct, rather than indirect, injury.

Finally, the "Citizen's Legislature Act" prevents politicians from maintaining politics as a life time job. It limits Congressional terms by two proposed options. The first plan limits the terms of Representatives to six years and Senators to 12. A second option limits members to 12 years in both chambers. Each option assures the replacement of career legislators with noncareer politicians.

What CWA Planks Became Law*?

The Republican's, as promised, voted on all ten planks in the first 100 days of the 104th Congress. The following are the results of the proposed CWA legislation.

The Republican's revised the House rules to cut committees and staffs, imposing term limits on committee chairpersons, ending proxy voting, and requiring a three-fifths majority vote for tax increases (H Res 6). The line-item veto, proposed in the Contract's "Fiscal Responsibility Act" became law (PL 104-130). The balanced budget amendment did not become law.

*Legislative results taken from Congressional Quarterly Inc. (1996, October 5). Contract with America update, 54, 40, 2838.

Parts of the "Taking Back Our Streets Act" passed. Requiring restitution to victims, modifying the exclusionary rule, increasing grants for prison construction, speeding deportation of criminal aliens, creating block grants to give communities flexibility in using anti-crime funds, and limiting death row appeals all passed (PL 104-132 and PL 104-208; each covered some elements).

The "Personal Responsibility Act" became law, but in a "watered down" form. The new legislation converts welfare programs into block grants to states, ends automatic eligibility for welfare checks, caps welfare spending, requires work after two years of welfare benefits, and imposes a lifetime five-year cap for most welfare benefits (PL 104-193; earlier versions, HR 2491 and HR 4, were vetoed).

Most of the "Family Reinforcement Act" became law. Tax benefits for adoptions (PL 104-188; PL 104-191), increasing penalties for sex crimes against children (PL 104-71), and strengthening enforcement of child support orders (PL 104-193) all became law. The provision requiring parental consent for children participating in surveys (HR 1271) never passed both chambers of Congress.

The "American Dream Restoration Act" became law in a "watered down" form. The new legislation adds a \$500-per-child tax credit, eases the "marriage penalty" for filers of joint tax returns, and expands individual retirement account savings plans (PL 104-188 covers some elements; HR 2491 covering other elements was vetoed).

Although no part of the "National Security Restoration Act" became law, parts of the Senior Citizens' Fairness Act became law. The legislation includes repealing the 1993 increase in Social Security benefits subject to income tax, permitting senior citizens to earn up to \$30,000 a year without losing benefits, and giving tax incentives for buying long-term care insurance (PL 104-121 covers some elements; PL 104-191 covers some elements; HR 2491 covering other elements was vetoed).

Parts of the "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act" became law. Reducing unfundated mandates (PL 104-4) and federal paperwork (PL 104-13); cutting capital gains taxes; allowing for accelerated depreciation of business assets; and creating first-year deductions for small business became law (PL 104-88 covered some elements; HR 2491 was vetoed). Requiring federal agencies to assess risks, using cost benefit analysis, and reimbursing property owners for reductions in value due to regulations did not become law (HR 9, S 291, S 333, S 343).

Of the three main provisions in the "Common Sense Legal Reforms Act" only one became law: making it harder for investors to sue companies (PL 104-67). Both provisions for applying a "loser pays" rule (HR 988) and establishing a national product liability law with limits on punitive damages (HR 956 was vetoed) never became law. Finally, the "Citizens' Legislature Act" never became law (HJ Res 73, SJ Res 21). Roughly half the legislation passed.

CHAPTER 3

Language of the Contract

Introduction

Before analyzing the language of the Contract, I provide a terse history of language to put Ludwig Wittgenstein's approach in perspective. I then discuss Wittgenstein's analytic approach to language and analyze the Contract using his method.

Reflective, critical scholarship, begins with thinking about "thinking," which leads inevitably to thinking about that characteristic behavior that seems to differentiate humans from other animals, such as complex dissociated communication--in a word, language. This is evidenced by Isocrates' claim that people think in words (Golden, Goodwin, & Coleman, 1989; Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956), a claim also suggested by Taoist sages even earlier (Lao-Tzu, 1939). Indeed, the first examples of human speech and writing are about speech and writing. The invention of language is at least as important as the invention of fire. The Ancient Egyptians, Mayans, Greeks, Asian Indians, and Chinese all claimed that the power of speech was a divine gift--a divine aspect of human nature itself (Campbell, 1988; Eliade, 1968). Originally language was seen as the ultimate expression of human power and invention--incantation.

During the romanticization of mimetic philosophy and materialism, language came to be seen by philosophers as merely a medium, a tool that had a representational and ref-

erential relationship with things "out there" (empirical super nature) and things "in here" (mentalism). Language fell victim to the modern metaphysics of the will by which everything, even "thinking," has become merely a medium of will. Everything became emptied of any inherent value (Schopenhauer, 1966). Indeed, under the aegis of some theories, meaning and value ceased to exist. Therefore, the "existential crisis" followed in the wake of will-power-drive and materialization.

In accordance with a modern fashion of metaphysical dualism, language is perceived to be a tool. Nevertheless, with the coming of Edmund Husserl's investigations into language, it has become something much more complex than a system of labels for "internal" and "external" phenomena. Language is seen as a transcendental system of meaning which enables extremely complex cognition and communication to occur (Cassirer, 1944). Simply put, from his studies in mathematics and logic, Husserl realized that there is not a different word for each person, car, tree, triangle, or for each new angle from which people view a person or each new time people see a person. Language is transcendental, functioning at an essential "categorical" level "in principle." Mathematical notation is a prime example. Language is much more than merely a simulacrum or referential copy or labeling system for the world. This is also the case with thinking. Language, Husserl argued, is more than a "dumb" medium. It is protean and inventive (Husserl, 1970).

Ludwig Wittgenstein held similar views. He suggested that language controls what people can perceive and is a game that follows rules, and by understanding the rules we understand the nature of the language game. This chapter examines the language game of the CWA using Wittgenstein's language perspective. I begin with a short biography of Wittgenstein, an explanation of his method for understanding the rules of language use, and, finally, an analysis of the language of the CWA.

Ludwig Wittgenstein was born in Vienna, April 26, 1889. Tutors educated him until the age of fourteen when he attended school in Linz, Austria where he studied mathematics and natural science. He eventually went to Berlin and attended an engineering school, where he became a mechanical engineer. In 1908, he attended the University of Manchester and studied aerodynamic engineering. He made an experimental engine and successfully tested it. In designing propellers for his engine, he found a new interest--mathematics. He sought the help of Gottlob Frege, the founder of modern mathematical logic (Great Books of the Western World, 1990a). Wittgenstein also studied with Bertrand Russell, whose book, the Principal of Mathematics, appeared in 1903 (Russell, 1938). After his studies with Russell, Wittgenstein entered the military in 1916. After the war, he wrote a book called Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus. The Tractatus exhausted his knowledge of philosophy, and so he decided to leave philosophy and look for

another vocation. In 1920, he entered the Teachers Training College in Vienna and, after completing its program, taught elementary school in various small villages. During this time a group called the "Vienna Circle"--which included philosophers, mathematicians, and scientists such as Rudolf Carnap, Carl Hempel, and Herbert Feigl--began using the works of Wittgenstein to develop a new scientific methodology and language. They published a manifesto in 1929 based on Wittgenstein's philosophy of language in the Tractatus that led to contemporary "logical positivism." Logical positivism had three primary ideas. First, biological and physical sciences were considered the same. Therefore, humans followed the same laws as physics. Second, the logical structure of any argument could be stated apart from its content. Finally, they developed the "verifiability principle" which suggests meaning is grounded in experience. Without Wittgenstein's contribution, current logical positivism might not have developed.

In 1929, Wittgenstein returned to philosophy and taught at the University of Cambridge where he became a fellow of Trinity College. In 1939, he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at Cambridge, but with the onset of war left to serve as a porter in Guy's Hospital, London. He later served as a laboratory assistant in the Royal Victoria Infirmary. In 1944, he resumed his lectures and work in philosophy at Cambridge. In 1947, he became disillusioned with the job and left.

After leaving the university, he decided to resume writing. In 1949, he discovered he had cancer but continued to write until his death. His work Philosophical Investigations was published posthumously. His choice of title was a recognition of the contribution and influence that Husserl's two volume work Logical Investigations had had on his career in particular and on the thinking of the "Logical Positivists'" movement overall (Spiegelberg, 1982)*.

Wittgenstein wrote of grave mistakes he had made in his first book, the Tractatus. Philosophical Investigations remains one of the key philosophical works of the 20th Century. Before discussing Wittgenstein's later notions regarding language, we must first understand his earlier philosophy of language.

Logical atomism, which grew out of the work of Bertrand Russell received its most careful support from Wittgenstein who studied under Russell. Wittgenstein's book Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus, published in 1922, used the work of Russell to develop what is now called "picture theory." In the Tractatus, Wittgenstein argues that the ideal language pictured or mirrored the world, just as a map mirrors it. If we wish to know if Washington D.C. is north of New York City, we can find out by referring to a map, since a map in a sense pictures the terrain. It pictures it because there is an identity of structure between the cities on the map and the points on the ground. Therefore, Wittgenstein argues that a perfect language is like a map--it pictures

Husserl began his career with the book Philosophy of Arithmetic in 1891, soon after completing his doctorate in mathematics. This book was critically reviewed by Frege who greatly influenced Wittgenstein as well. Frege's critique of Philosophy of Arithmetic forced Husserl to completely reassess his position vis-a-vis method and logic, inspiring him to write Logical Investigations after eleven years of additional study. Later, in 1900 and 1901, Husserl published the two volumes of Logical Investigations which Felix Kaufmann, one of his students and founding member of the Vienna Circle, took to the circle for scrutiny. Upon the circle's study of the texts, they disbanded, agreeing that his work in the area had already exhausted the logical conclusions available. Wittgenstein, being profoundly influenced by Husserl, returned to Cambridge. Husserl's work continued, however, with the publication of Formal and Transcendental Logic (1929) and many of his students, such as Alexander Pfander, carried on his work with such books as Logic (1921). Bertrand Russell, G. E. Moore, and other British "realists" also concluded that Husserl's work had presented the clearest and most rigorous account of positivism, but had nevertheless taken positivism to its logical conclusions. When Russell was sent to an English prison for his anti-war activities, the only thing he took with him was Husserl's Logical Investigations. Later in life, Husserl lamented the resurgence of the philosophical school of empiricism, saying that, "If positivism means nothing but founding all sciences without any [metaphysical] prejudices whatsoever upon the 'positive,' i.e., upon what is to be grasped at first hand, then it is we [phenomenologists] who are the genuine positivists" (Ideas I:45). Thus, Husserl believed that he was "the last positivist" because metaphysics in his opinion had "gone virulent," leading to the absurdity that since science, mathematics, and knowledge generally are not empirical things, they do not exist (for it makes no sense to ask what colors science or mathematics are or how much they weigh or how long they are . . .). "Empirical science" defines itself out of existence. He insisted to the end that neither theories nor methods are empirical things but instead processes of logically related concepts and observations. Strange as it may seem to a materialist, he argued that one can know logical and mathematical entities and their relationships better (with far greater certainty) than physical ones.

the structure of reality. For every proper name, there is a corresponding entity. For every predicate, there is a corresponding property. The ideal language, therefore, gives us the structure of facts, since facts are composed of objects and their properties. Therefore, in the Tractatus, Wittgenstein believes that analysis of language consists of rewriting sentences of natural languages in such a way that these sentences will exhibit their proper logical form. Once sentences are written in propositions, their meaning will become clear. Therefore, Wittgenstein believes language is something that can be tested as to the degree it is true or false.

The point of Philosophical Investigations is that language is best conceived of as an activity involving the uses of words as tools, but complex tools which are defined by their use. Wittgenstein believes it is misleading and confusing to think of language as made up of words that stand for objects (a departure from the Tractatus), since words are not labels for things. Understanding the uses of words is like understanding the rules of a game. Just as confusion results when a player in a game makes new rules as he or she is going along or misapplies the rules, so too does it cause confusion and perplexity when a user of a language creates new rules, violates old ones, or misconceives of language. To be clear about language, Wittgenstein believes, we must look at its uses.

Wittgenstein believes:

We can . . . think of the whole process of using words . . . as one of those games by means of which children learn their native language. I will call these games "language-games" and will sometimes speak of a primitive language as a "language-game." . . . I shall also call the whole, consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven, the "language-game" (1953, I, 7).

Wittgenstein begins developing this idea by examining an idea St. Augustine makes in his book Confessions:

When they (my elders) named some object, and accordingly moved towards something, I saw this and I grasped that the thing was called by the sound they uttered when they meant to point it out. Their intention was shewn [sic] by their bodily movements, as it were the natural language of all peoples: the expression of the fact, the play of the eyes, the movement of other parts of the body, and the tone of voice which expresses our state of mind in seeking, having, rejecting, or avoiding something. Thus as I heard words repeatedly used in their proper places in various sentences, I gradually learnt to understand what objects they signified; and after I had trained my mouth to form these signs, I used them to express my own desires (Augustine, 1952, I, 8).

Wittgenstein believes that Augustine's conclusions suggest that individual words in a language name objects, and that sentences are combinations of such words. Therefore, every word has a meaning and that meaning is correlated with that particular word. Therefore, according to Augustine, an object has an accompanying word (Wittgenstein, 1953, I, 1).

Wittgenstein also notes that Augustine does not speak of there being any difference between kinds of words. Therefore, Wittgenstein believes that conceptions of language in this way focus on nouns like "table," "chair," "bread," or certain actions of properties; and the remaining words as taking care of themselves (Wittgenstein, 1953, I, 1).

We can see that words do more than just "name" things. Wittgenstein uses the example of masons building to explain this idea. A is building with building stones and B must pass these items to A in the order that A needs them. B can pass blocks, pillars, slabs, or beams. A calls the items out and B passes them to A based on what he has learned. The above scenario might represent Augustine's description of how language works. A closer examination shows problems with Augustine's conception of language.

Wittgenstein notes that one problem with Augustine's explanation of how language works (1953, I, 6) is that Augustine's description of language suggests that we learn what something is called by having someone show us an association with it. For instance, when builder B is hired, builder A points to a slab and says "slab" and builder B knows to associate the word "slab" with that object. This is what Wittgenstein calls ostensive teaching of words. Is there not more to understanding "slab" than just associating it with a picture? Is it the purpose of words to evoke images? How does evoking images, Wittgenstein asks, show us the purpose of a word. If one says "slab" how does he/she

know what to do now?

Imagine a language game in which builder A asks builder B to report on the number of slabs, blocks, or pillars in a pile. Builder B's report might be "5 slabs." What is the difference, Wittgenstein wants to know, in the reporting of "5 slabs" and the order to bring "5 slabs." They are the same words, which Augustine might argue indicates "names for objects." What makes the difference, Wittgenstein argues (I, 20, 21) is that words do not just describe objects, but work together to create purpose. Suppose a foreigner heard the words, "bring me a slab." She/he might think that all the words correspond to the word for "building-stone" in his/her language. If the foreigner were to say "bring me a slab" we might think it odd that he/she pronounces it only as one word.

According to Wittgenstein (1953, I, 22), Frege believed that every assertion contains an assumption. That is, the thing that is asserted really rests on the possibilities found in our language of writing every statement in the following form: "it is asserted that such-and-such is the case." Wittgenstein (1953) believes:

" . . . that such-and such is the case" is not a sentence in our language--so far it is not a *move* in the language-game. And if I write, not "It is asserted that," but "It is asserted: such-and-such is the case, the words "It is asserted" simply becomes superfluous (I, 22).

If most sentences are assertions, commands, or questions,

how many kinds of sentences are there? Wittgenstein argued long before Chomsky that there are countless different combinations (Wittgenstein, 1953, I, 23). The consequences of this are that anything is possible, since rules are human made and nearly everything is language. Language creation is, therefore, not arbitrary--it requires agreement. Therefore, there can be many different language games. One can learn the name for objects in other than the ostensive ways spelled out by Augustine. For instance, Wittgenstein (1953) uses the game of chess to explain how one can learn what a king is from a language-game:

One can also imagine someone's having learnt the game without ever learning or formulating rules. He might have learnt quite simple board-games first, by watching, and have progressed to more and more complicated ones. He too might be given the explanation "this is the king," if, for instance, he were being shewn [sic] chessmen of shape he was not used to. This explanation again only tells him the use of the piece because, as we might say, the place for it was already prepared, or even: we shall only say that it tells him to use, if the place is already prepared. And in this case it is so, not because the person to whom we give the explanation already knows rules, but because in another sense he is already master of the game (I, 31).

Wittgenstein also explains his disagreements with Augustine's description of language by stating (Wittgenstein, 1953, I, 32) that someone coming into a strange country will often learn the language of the people from ostensive defi-

nitions that people give him (Augustine's explanation). They will often have to guess the meaning of these definitions and will guess right or wrong. Wittgenstein (1953) states some of the problems with St. Augustine's conclusions:

And now, I think, we can say: Augustine describes the learning of human language as if the child came into a strange country and did not understand the language of the country; that is, as if it already had a language, only not this one. Or again: as if the child could already think, only not yet speak. And "think" would here mean something like "talk to oneself" (I, 32).

Given that language is a game, Wittgenstein next discusses the relationship between a name and the thing named. He begins by attacking the traditional notion of "naming" and what it implies (Wittgenstein, I, 39). A word alone, he believes, lacks understanding. For instance, the word "Excalibur" is a proper name. The sword "excalibur" comprises elements made up in a particular way. If the elements are combined differently, the sword does not exist. The correct organization, however, yields a clear meaning such as in "the Excalibur has a sharp blade." This makes sense whether the object is whole or in parts. If, however, the words are broken up so that excalibur has no object, then the sentence becomes senseless. Therefore, there must always be something corresponding to the words of which "excalibur" consists (Wittgenstein, I, 39). A name, therefore, always signifies only what is an element of reality

(Wittgenstein, I, 59)--that is, what cannot be destroyed and what remains the same in all circumstances. Thus, Wittgenstein comes to agree with Husserl that an essential meaning is given in the immanent domain of utterance.

Wittgenstein believes that the meaning of a word, therefore, is its use within the language. No word has a meaning unto itself, but only in relation to other words and similarities it is found within. Wittgenstein departs from his earlier writings by agreeing with Sassure and Husserl that if language were arbitrary and had no meaning, communicating would not be possible for people. Also, he departs in his belief that the meaning of a word is not inherently in the word-thing, but is a consequence of relational phenomena that constitute language-use. Thus, a receiver is required for language to work. People cannot engage in language alone. Language is created between people and uses words that relate to each other in a language system. This gives rise to the idea of a linguistic community. The Contract creates a shared reality by virtue of its being read and discussed. The Contract sets an agenda--the topical reality, even if it cannot predestinate the reader's response.

In concluding that words only partially contribute to understanding, Wittgenstein leaves himself open for criticism. He shows the existence of language-games, but does not explain the essence of language itself. He has not spoken to the general form of propositions and of language. Wittgen-

stein (1953) responds to this by stating that he believes:

"no one thing in common makes us use the same word for all,--but that they are *related* to one another in many different ways. And it is because of this relationship, or these relationships, that we call them all "language" (I, 65).

Wittgenstein believes we need to find those common relationships among "things" (Wittgenstein, I, 66). For instance, if we want to know the language-games of board games, we need to look at board games such as card games. We need to look at typical features of a card game. Then we need to look at other games such as chess, noughts, and crosses, looking for commonalities among the different games. Then we must examine other games such as "ball-games." By doing this, we see a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing. We will find overall similarities and sometimes similarities of detail. Wittgenstein calls these "overlaps" a "family of resemblances," for families have resemblances between members such as build, features, color of eyes, temperament, etc. We can, therefore, explain what the language-games are by saying that these resemblances and similar phenomena are part of a language-game (Wittgenstein, I, 69).

To briefly summarize, Wittgenstein conceptualizes language as a tool box. In a typical tool box there is a hammer, pliers, saw, screwdriver, rule, glue pot, glue, nails, and screws. The functions of words are as diverse as the functions of these objects. Comparing the multiplicity of

tools and language is interesting, yet a problem arises when people conceptualize language as a game. If it is a game, language is used in various ways--suggesting there is no object or essential nature to a word or expression. Therefore, to understand language, Wittgenstein believes people need to consider whether there is anything common to all people. He believes it is necessary to look for similarities in expressions and find their network of similarities. He calls this a "family of resemblances" to characterize the similarities found. Identifying the "family of resemblances" is how one understands the language-games. This is quite a departure from the earlier view he held in the Tractatus that things can be meaningful even if they are not propositions. Additionally, he believes we cannot assign a meaning to a single word, and that meaning is not derived from substance. Therefore, language does not follow the rules of logic.

Wittgenstein is not alone in this belief. G.E. Moore and John L. Austin held similar views. In Sense and Sensibilia (1960), Austin argued that everyday speech is built-up over a long period of time and the occurrence of words and expressions are not merely accidental. The very use of rules establishes them. So language becomes a process of establishing reality. Austin goes on to say that law is an act, but is not substantial. That is, the meaning of words vary greatly depending on how we use them. Many have used and become interested in Wittgenstein's work--Moore and Austin

are just two examples.

Because Wittgenstein's work explains the workings of language, it is not surprising that some communication scholars find his work of interest. For instance, Hopper (1988) considers Wittgenstein one of the "exemplars" in speech and language. Hopper explains how to apply Wittgenstein to conversation analysis. In an article appearing in the Quarterly Journal of Speech, Buttny (1986) argues that Wittgenstein's notion of criteria provides a basis for the development of a distinctly communicative view of meaning. Buttny believes that using the notion of criteria, the language paradigm can explain how message senders apply general rules to a specific context. Like others in the field of communication, I am interested in applying Wittgenstein's work to better understand language-use. An application of Wittgenstein's work to better understand the language of the Contract now follows.

Analysis

This chapter probes, "What are the language rules of the CWA?" This question is answered by examining the "family of resemblances" among conventions. Let us begin by looking at the title of the CWA. First, the title is descriptive. "Contract" and "America" are nouns. The title is not action oriented, but descriptive of the book content. Second, the title is brief and narrow in scope. Its three words make for a focused message.

A "contract" is:

An agreement or covenant between two or more persons in which each party binds himself to do or forebear some act and each acquires the right to what the other promises; a mutual promise upon lawful consideration or case which binds the parties to a performance, a bargain, a compact (Webster, 1979).

A contract is usually written and binding, and this is probably a generally accepted definition of its use, yet other words could have been used instead of "contract"; for instance, the word "promise" as in "Promise with America." Promises, however, can be broken. Why not use "Obligation with America?" Perhaps because "obligation" does not mean people are legally bound in any way, so a person may not elect to follow through with what he or she agreed to do. Why not title the document "Agreement with America"? Agreement denotes a harmonious solution, as if everyone agrees, which the GOP may not wish to promote, since they designed the CWA as an answer to the Democrats. Why not call it "Pledge with America." A pledge, however, is similar to a promise. Candidates often pledge to make changes once elected and later do nothing during their term. One of the last word substitutions is "Guarantee with America." Guarantees, however, are all too common in commercials and sales--an image political parties would wish to avoid.

Contracts can be broken just like promises and obligations, but in the case of the CWA both sides get something: the people get legislation and the politicians get

reelected. With contracts, if one side does not live up to his/her obligation, then built into a contract is the ability to punish the opposing party by withholding something. This is not true of a promise or obligation. In a contract, one can be held accountable and punished.

Part of the advantage of using the word "contract" is that it is consistent with the GOP's image--they usually present themselves as businesspeople. Businesspeople and contracts are related. Businesspeople often "do business" via contracts, and since this is something they frequently use, one might expect the GOP to live up to the CWA as they would any other business contract.

Like "Contract," the word "America" in the CWA title could have been substituted with other terminology. For instance, "Contract with the People." "People," however, denotes an average, thus leaving the type of person to whom it refers unclear. The public would develop many different interpretations from the word "people," which makes for an unfocused message. Another possibility would have been the "Contract with the United States." The "United States" is a state, and political parties would want a contract with a "state" but instead with people who call themselves "Americans." Additionally, "United States" may conjure bad memories for some, since some of the public is questioning the degree to which they are pleased to be part of a united body. Cults and private militia groups frequently exhibit this dissatisfaction. The word "America" conjures up

visions. The national anthem says "America" is the home of the brave and the land of the free. This creates visions of independence, justice, and opportunity. "United States" is mental, meaning it is a rational manifestation. "America" is mythic--that is to say that it embodies emotion (see Chapter 5 for discussion of mental and mythic levels of awareness). So "America" evokes an emotional response that explains its forcefulness and why it is used.

Before discussing planks, it is necessary to examine the use of the word "Act." The Contract calls most bills "Acts" and, therefore, the word "Act" in all ten planks serves a similar purpose: to denote that the plank is a future bill. The word "Act" can suggest that the planks are ready to be made into bills and into law. Using the word "Act" helps foster the impression of having everything planned--that by voting for the Republicans, all the planks will be enacted.

The first plank in the CWA is the "Fiscal Responsibility Act." Both words are nouns so the name is descriptive of what this act entails. "Fiscal" pertains to money, but the use of "responsibility" is emotionally evocative given contemporary cases of irresponsibility--implied as the result of poor Democratic legislation. Bogus lawsuits, credit card debt, and parents not being home to raise children are current examples showing irresponsibility. Therefore, the word "responsibility" is an emotive word for contemporary times. The use of the phrase "Fiscal Responsibility Act" suggests the Contract will help make the government fiscally respon-

sible. With a growing feeling that people need to be more responsible, the phrase has an even greater emotive force. It implies a connection between a liberal trend from 30 years of a Democrat-controlled Congress and their liberal policies to current economic problems. Other words for "responsibility" such as the "Fiscal Liability Act," the "Fiscal Accountability Act," or the "Fiscal Answerable Act," could have been used but "responsibility" currently evokes the most feeling.

The next plank is the "Taking Back Our Streets Act." It could have called it the "Control our Streets Act," which is different from "getting back," which suggests someone has taken something away against another's will. Taking back pits violence against violence. "Taking back" suggests one has had something taken away and that he or she is going to get it back, perhaps by force, but not via a cooperative effort. It implies that "they" took something away and "by God we are going to get it back!" "Taking back" has persuasive force, since it suggests "by any means," which is persuasive to many Americans who feel unsafe in their neighborhoods. Therefore, the use of the word "our" evokes even more emotion since the streets were "ours" but were lost to "them." "Them" are the out-group of evil doers while "we" as group members are righteous. Forcing people to take responsibility may play well to the voting public that was responsible enough to vote.

The entire idea of "taking back" implies a self-right-

teousness that the streets are "ours," not "theirs," but the Contract never tells us whose streets they are. "We" created the streets and then "they" stole them instead of being responsible and industriously creating new ones. This suggests a consistent anti-immigrant campaign also found in other planks such as the "Personal Responsibility Act." From whom are the streets being taken back from? The Contract implies the streets are being "taken back" from crime, but it could also be from minorities, immigrants, homosexuals, or radical feminists. Assuming the Contract is designed to imply it combats crime, it implies that the streets are getting worse, even though census data from the same year in which the Contract was written suggests that crime has substantially decreased. For instance, Criminal victimization rates dropped from 95.2 in 1991 to 91.2 per 1000 in 1992 (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). "Taking Back Our Streets," however, creates the illusion of urgency and thus moral indignation, anger, panic, and fear.

Additionally, "taking back our streets" implies that life was better at an earlier time. The Contract propagates a romantic view that the past was better and that people need to get back to those times; polls, however, show that people believe that times are getting better. A poll in 1949 asked people if they were satisfied with the way life was going for them. Seventy-seven percent responded "yes," 19% said "no," and 4% had no opinion (Gallup, 1949). Respondents who were asked the same question in 1993 answered 82%, 17%,

and 1%, respectively (Gallup, 1993). Therefore, people are more satisfied with their lives now than in the past. It is unclear why the Contract suggests we should go back to earlier times as it provides no explanation.

Next is the "Personal Responsibility Act." This is similar to the "Fiscal Responsibility Act," discussed earlier, in terms of its use of the word "responsibility." It is an emotionally evoking word. "Personal responsibility" evokes even more emotion, implying that people are taking less personal responsibility in their lives now than in the past; which the Contract suggests resulted in increasing numbers of lawsuits and social problems--again, appealing to the "good 'ol days," and the self-sacrifice of the World War II generation.

The next plank is the "Family Reinforcement Act." With divorce at its highest rate ever, the survival of the family is of great concern to conservatives. Given that many experience family difficulties, it holds an emotional meaning to them. The Contract implies that the American family is declining over time. If one is from a broken family, "family" may evoke an affective response. The Contract states that families are an essential "building block" of social structure--one necessary for economic and moral success (although Max Weber showed these two ideas generally overlap in Protestantism).

Working very closely with the word "family" is "reinforcement." Reinforcements are used when something is

threatened to be lost like a bridge or troops in a battle. One sends reinforcements, and if they do not arrive something is lost--here, the family and, our entire social structure. The word "family" coupled with "reinforcement," therefore, is a powerful word combination. Additionally, using "reinforcement" suggests that something is wrong with the family because it needs reinforcement, since the family is in danger of collapse.

The Contract provides no information about the decline of the family. It may be referring to high divorce rates, although most remarry. In fact, 57% of divorced men and women remarry (U.S. National Center of Health Statistics, 1988a), demonstrating that marriage remains a respectable and popular social institution. Marriage must have pleasing qualities or people would not remarry. Again, the Contract suggests that the past was better, but it is unclear what was better in the past.

Who are the enemies of families? Although the CWA does not clearly state it, there are many: divorce, radical viewpoints, liberalism, and relativism. That which is "radical" is defined as anything that "threatens" conservative ideas and/or establishes social structures. Those with "radical" viewpoints, such as homosexuals or radical feminists, are perceived as a threat to the family because they dare to question its values and offer what might be considered competitive (viable) alternatives. There is an implication that if a person does not support the same family issues as

the Contract, then he or she is against the Contract and the family. The message of the plank title is that families need to be strengthened, and this is a consistent theme in society today. This is why the word choice has force.

The next plank is the "American Dream Restoration Act." Typically the American dream is thought to be the two car garage, 2 1/2 children, a permanent job, a house, an education, and an opportunity to "succeed." Nevertheless, depending on one's social and economic status, interpretations vary. The phrase evokes one's conception of what happiness and fairness are in America. "American Dream" coupled with the word "restoration" suggests that the "American Dream" needs work since the Contract says it is decaying.

The use of the word "restoration" evokes a different image than the word "reinforcement," which was used in the "Family Reinforcement Act." "Reinforcing" something is different from "restoring" something. People talk about restoring cars, restoring a home, and if it is a car or a home it needs serious work, since it is collapsing. The American Dream Restoration Act, by using the word "restoration," suggests that much is needed to accomplish the American dream. This is an appeal to a mythical past generated by the GOP. It is a sales pitch--they must convince the readers (the buyer) that something is wrong. Since much restoration is needed and one may have more difficulty achieving the American dream, it makes "restoration" have even

more force.

The next plank is the "National Security Restoration Act." It is unclear what "national security" means to most people. For example, a person could think of President Nixon claiming that his taped conversations should not be made public because they would compromise "national security." At other times, such as during the Persian Gulf war, "national security" likely held a different meaning. So it is difficult to know what "national security" suggests, although it does imply importance. The Contract used the word "restoration," suggesting that national security needs a complete overhaul and that U.S. security is currently being compromised. In short, the nation is insecure, according to the Contract.

The Contract is promulgating a mythical past in which life was better and safer. The rhetoric of "security" is consistency, coherence, and predictability, which is a definition of conservatism. Change equals less security and therefore things were better in the past when people felt the world was more stable. This suggests that change did not occur in the past. Do people feel that war is as much of a problem now as in the past? Now that the Cold War is over, do Americans feel safer? National surveys asking this question in 1989 (cold war era) and 1994 (post-cold war era) suggest that people do feel safer now than before the cold war ended (Gallup 1989a; Gallup 1994a). The phrase "national security restoration" is designed to elicit fear

that wartime situations could return. This is how the plank title gets its force.

The next plank is the "Senior Citizen's Fairness Act." People often think of senior citizens in terms of what they need. They sacrificed and built this country, it is only fair to repay them. The word "fairness" is interesting, in the case of "senior citizens," since the public often feels that senior citizens have a more difficult time with life due to decreased physical mobility and decreasing health. Many people in the U.S. feel that seniors deserve a safe and secure retirement, and that senior citizens are often preyed upon by boiler room scam operations designed to take money from them. People often think of them as taken advantage of, as they are easy prey for thieves, although 20 to 24-year-olds have the highest probability of being violently taken advantage of (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). Additionally, seniors control the largest special interest group: the American Association of Retired Persons, since most of America's wealth is in the hands of seniors. The elderly are not as powerless as the Contract would have us believe.

The public still feels that if somebody does something for us, it is "fair" that the favor is returned. Coupling "fairness" with "senior citizens" evokes a positive change since much of the public, some with aging parents, feels sympathy for the elderly. This plank title gets its power from playing off people's sympathies for the elderly. Mak-

ing life more "fair" for them has appeal.

The next plank is the "Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act." The first thing to note is that the title implies that Democrats have not "created jobs" or "enhanced wages" during the current Congressional session. Let us look first at "job creation." Probably an election has not passed when a candidate did not promise to create more jobs. Government has the power to create more jobs, although this is a paradox: the GOP believes that the private sector, not the government, should create jobs, and it is assumed that the government can create them. The public likes politicians who say they will create more job opportunities and reduce unemployment. This plank could have been called the "Job and Wage Act," but the word "creation" coupled with "job" suggests that life will get better in the future.

The last part of the title, "wage enhancement," describes how new and current jobs will be. Corporate cutbacks and downsizing have recently threatened wages and jobs. Instead of calling it the "Job and Wage Act," the word "enhancement" coupled with the word "wage" sends an ambiguous message. Although the word "enhancement" is unclear, enhancing is usually a positive event. When one "enhances" his or her appearance, or when a neighborhood is "enhanced," the situation improves. Although vague, it does not suggest a negative effect and, therefore, coupling "enhancement" with the words "job and wage" suggests that people's wages and jobs will get "better," perhaps higher. It is interest-

ing that the last part of the plank is not called "Wage Increase." To say that job wages would increase would be inconsistent with traditional conservative values. In fact, it is conservatives that frequently wish to eliminate the minimum wage. Use of the word "enhancement" is vague, and authors of the CWA probably expected the public to interpret that word as meaning "increase." "Enhancement," however, is a code word for hard-core supporters who know what the conscious ambiguity means--no wage increases. "Job Creation" and "Wage Enhancement" are two positive suggestions that evoke emotion and can lead people to believe jobs and wages will improve.

The next plank is the "Common Sense Legal Reforms Act." When people refer to someone as using his or her common sense, what is suggested is something so obvious it needs no explanation. People believe that "common sense" is "common" to all people and therefore the truth is obvious. This is the first part of the title--that anyone can figure it out and that it does not require a genius to know what to do. It also implies that the GOP shares a sense of right with the "common" majority. The rest of the plank title, "Legal Reforms Act," implies that our legal system needs reforming because it is not working and it should. "Legal reforms" coupled with "common sense" suggest that any rational person would agree that these are desirable legal reforms because the changes so obviously reflect good reform.

The next plank is the "Citizen Legislature Act." "Citi-

zen" is an adjective and "legislature" is a noun, making for a descriptive title. Some people feel they have no voice in the Legislature, that elected officials do not represent them, and that special interests are really what is controlling government. Coupling the word "citizen" with "legislature" suggests that citizens will in fact legislate. Having the word "citizen" so close to the word "Legislature" in the same title suggests that officials will better represent citizens in the future. Returning power to citizens is a populist sentiment that plays well to this plank and to the CWA as a whole. The notion that all legislation is in a "contract" helps the public feel better that the Congressional member no longer is making law capriciously, but is accountable to the public--that he or she is really just representing the "folks back home" and nothing more. This provides the illusion that the public has a say in government which explains its appeal given current political malaise.

Conclusion

What are the Rules of the Game?

In looking at the rules for the CWA one must ask, "How did the words have meaning?" There is one language rule and two related themes that foster the reader to interpret a particular meaning from the text.

The first theme is "the GOP is like me." The Contract achieved this by using common language. The GOP did not write the Contract as a lawyer would. They wrote it using

everyday language. The GOP wanted to communicate with the public and, therefore, adjusted the language to their level. The Contract is simple and short, making it easy for anyone to understand. Legal contracts, such as those that General Motors uses, do not look like the Contract the GOP wrote. Corporate America uses contracts that are exacting in language become such precision makes for less confusion and fallibility and more precise accounting. The CWA, however, is not like a legal contract. It is vague. It is the opposite of what a "contract" is supposed to be. Yet putting the CWA in its current form allows readers to feel they are similar to the GOP, making them less fearful of them. The ultimate consequence of this theme is that it changes the reader's interpretation of the Contract so that the Contract begins to take on all the attributes of a real contract. Therefore, it becomes a piece of propaganda--a television prop or drama.

The second theme is that the GOP is in a continual dialectic with the opposition. They argue for many of their ideas by implying that everybody else is at fault and has caused the problems the country now experiences. At the beginning of every chapter the Contract has a section with background. This usually explains the problem; and, if it does not directly accuse some group of being at fault, it is always implied that the GOP members are not at fault.

The book is designed to attack an opposing party, while making it appear as if it is responding to the opposition.

For instance, when discussing the "Personal Responsibility Act," the Contract notes that some would say that the changes would cause hardship for welfare mothers. The Contract makes it appear as if has responded for the opposing force, portraying an authentic dialectic.

Nowhere is this more prominent than in the "Myths Versus Fact" [MVF] section, where CWA provides the argument of the opposing force and provides its own response. The language game is set up to attack the opposing force. People believe in the convention that a "myth" is a "falsity." As a "fact" is something already done, the words suggest that the myth is *really* false and something done and true. Since people believe in this convention, the language game is fixed. In addition, they argue through the issues although the opposing force never has the opportunity to respond. The final impact of this language game is that the audience assumes that the Contract has discussed the issues and provided true information.

The predominant language rule of the Contract is that "all is true because it is in writing and signed it on television!" Although the GOP stages much of it, such as the signing of the CWA, it nonetheless becomes "news" and, therefore, credible. In addition, visual media exploit a visiocentric prejudice in that the viewer believes their own eyes--"as seen on TV!" (Kramer; 1994, 1993a, 1993b). Studies show that United States television news has more credibility than written news because people "saw it with

their own eyes" (Kramer, 1988). Viewers cannot ignore the rules of the television news and video language game. There is a distinct difference between proposing something orally, on television, or in written form.

In the Western tradition, people value the written word. Written text is different from oral discourse since writing requires more precision, often lacks the affect of the spoken word, and is usually associated with analytic precision (Ong, 1982). In fact, since all literate persons can examine the written word, many are reticent to "put it in writing." When someone "puts it in writing," people are more apt to believe them than if they speak it. But Ong's work is dated. If people see something on television "with their own eyes," it has more credibility than the written word (Kramer, 1994, 1993a, 1993b). The signing of the Contract on television and putting it in written form makes the Contract appear "real." The Contract was "put it in writing" and on television, which is important, for parties and candidates are known for saying one thing and doing another.

Putting the Contract in written form and on television is an integration of mythic (television) and perspectival (written) modalities (discussed in Chapter 5) and allows the public to believe in the integrity of (a) the Contract's analysis of the issues and (b) their commitment to carry out the Contract. Events involving the signing of contracts, especially large ones, like the signing of surrender papers, are usually publicly viewed. Publicity is an impor-

tant part of the rules of dramatism. Spoken words are often only effective momentarily; whereas a written document is a permanent statement. The impact of the GOP putting the planks in a "contract" in writing gives it a sense of integrity beyond that of the spoken word.

The Contract uses a natural language game along with creating a sense of a dialectic with the enemy to help the audience relax and trust the proposals of the Contract. The audience might think, that they can trust the Contract because "it talks like us" (natural language game) and we saw the GOP sign the Contract. Therefore, we can hold them accountable with our votes--just as people held Bush accountable when he said "no new taxes." The two ideas "we have discussed the opposing party's concerns" (they engaged in a dialectic) and "we put it in writing," make for an appealing document.

CHAPTER 4

Rhetorical Analysis of the Contract

Introduction

Besides examining the language game of the Contract, it is also interesting to look at a text's forms of argument, types of appeals, and methods of arrangement. No one explored arguments and their effects on persuasion better than Aristotle. Looking at the forms of argument, types of appeals, and their organization can better reveal how the CWA authors have persuaded their readers with their document.

Biography & Method

Aristotle was born in Macedonia, living from 394-322 B.C. At the age of 18, he went to Athens to study under Plato in the Academy. He left Athens for Macedonia to tutor Alexander the Great. After Alexander's accession in 336 B.C., Aristotle returned to Athens and established the Lycaenum which became known as the Peripatetic School. Aristotle enjoyed a friendship with Antipater, who governed Alexander the Great's Greek Athenian party (Great Books of the Western World, 1990b). Following the news of Alexander's death in 323 B.C., the Athenian party revolted against Antipater and Aristotle. Aristotle recalled the fate of Socrates and fled to his mother's property in Chalcis, declaring, "I will not let the Athenians offend twice against philosophy." Aristotle died in Chalcis the next year (Great Books of the Western World, 1990b).

Aristotle began his career following the works of Plato and carrying on his crusade against the sophists. His usual method of analysis was to collect all the sophists' materials and use them to refute their arguments, one by one. This helped discern truth. Aristotle's writing in his book on persuasion, The Rhetoric, is applicable for examining the CWA because he believed that rhetoric was the mirror image of dialectic, and that both dialectic and rhetoric are necessary to understanding truth. Although the strategies of the sophists were effective, Aristotle believed their tactics lacked consistent thinking and instead relied on pleasure, pain, and pathos to persuade. Consequently, they neglected argument and proof--the essence of art.

Aristotle thought that if it were not for an advocate's lack of skill to inform ordinary people, rhetoric was a useful tool to uphold truth and justice, since truth would always triumph. Rhetoric, he believed, was not a failure if all the available means of persuasion were used. Therefore, he defined rhetoric as "the facility of seeing in any situation the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, I, 2, 26). An Aristotelian style of categorization, classification, and description can be used to describe the rhetoric of the CWA.

Before discussing Aristotle's method, it is important to note, that due to the rhetoric of the sophists, Aristotle wanted to develop a method that was unbiased. Regardless of the source of an argument, Aristotle subjected the content

to a consistent criteria described in The Rhetoric. In this way, Aristotle believed he could maintain methodological objectivity.

Aristotle's method suggests examining "artistic proofs" of the CWA. Aristotle discusses three types of artistic proofs: ethos, pathos, and logos. These, or a combination of them, are used in any argument. An ethical proof involves making an argument based on one's credibility. A written advertisement with a respected individual endorsing soap would be an example of persuasion by ethos. Pathos is a psychological proof that brings the auditor into a state of feeling favorable to the acceptance of the speaker's argument via emotionally laden proofs. An advertisement including the declarative "we are hungry and need food" would be an example of persuasion via pathos. The last type of proof is logos, or logical proof, which makes a case based on the rules of logic. A logical proof uses facts. An advertisement that said "50% of automobile deaths result from drivers not wearing seatbelts" suggests one should wear a seatbelt to avoid death. This is an example of persuasion by logos. This chapter is an examination of how the CWA uses these artistic proofs.

Ethos, pathos and logos are used to make what Aristotle calls a "form of argument." According to Aristotle, appeals can be by example, enthymeme, or maxim. Examples are of two kinds: actual events or fictitious events. Actual events are current events in history and they often carry convic-

tion. Fictitious examples can be a fable, dialogue, or stories, such as Socrates used to explain ideas.

A syllogism results from deductive reasoning. For instance,

All M are P.

All S are M.

then all S are P.

This is a deductive statement. All M are P are the premises, while all S are M is the middle term and all S are P is the conclusion. A better known example is as follows:

All men are mortal (first premise statement)

Socrates is a man (second premise statement)

Socrates is mortal (conclusion)

For a sentence to be syllogistic in structure, it must include both the first and second premise and the conclusion. However, if some premises or conclusions are fallible, in other words, they have a probability of not being true, then the statement is fallible and, therefore, is classified as an enthymeme. In deciding whether something is an enthymeme one must ask whether the premises are fallible or infallible, and whether he or she mistook a probable statement as absolutely true.

A third form of argument is a maxim which is a general statement about human affairs. Maxims generally serve as either a conclusion or a premise of an enthymeme and become complete enthymemes when a reason or conclusion is added to them. A maxim is often a cliché; there is no logical struc-

ture to the maxim--it is often emotionally laden and the premises and conclusion of the argument are one. Consequently, maxims are, Aristotle believes, most effective when persuading people with similar values. Maxims can be powerful, especially when one's value system is consistent with a persuadee's. It serves as a shortcut to persuasion. To review, Aristotle believes in only three forms of argument: by example, maxim, or enthymeme and within each of those forms, different appeals can be used: ethos, pathos, or logos.

A third area worth examining is the structure and organization of the CWA. Aristotle categorized speeches into three types: forensic, a speech utilizing fact finding and usually referring to past events; epideictic, speech used to entertain, usually focusing on the present; and deliberative, speaking focused on the future and on policy creation. Aristotle believed that all three types of speech should follow a similar structure. What follows are many different components that include how to structure an entire speech or argument whether one is discussing the past, present, or future. Components of the structure may or may not be included in the Contract, but will help describe its organization and how well it can persuade.

According to Aristotle, there are four parts of a speech. Two of these, the "statement of fact" and the "proof" section are always necessary. The first section of the speech is the proem section. The proem is the preface of

the speech--one's preliminary thoughts on the subject or topic. The objective of this part of the speech is to dissolve or reduce audience prejudice so they will listen. Explaining away suspicion that the audience has about the topic is one way to dissolve suspicion. When proems are related to the speaker and an adversary, they have as their end to trick the audience into favoring a speaker or adversary; when related to the hearer, they are designed to bring the audience into a state of feeling or to compel their attention; when related to the subject, the goal is to stress its importance to the interests of the hearers.

The next component of the speech is the "statement of facts." When stating the facts, one should be sure to include statements regarding his or her character and depicting his or her character favorably while depicting the characters of his or her opponents unfavorably. One should detail the moral character of the persons acting and show them acting from a conscious moral choice that is either good or bad (although Aristotle did not confuse character with behavior).

A "statement of fact" may be a factual statement of what happened, a discussion of characters, or a history laying out all of the facts. This is similar to Plato's idea of the dialectic: put forth the facts and the truth will emerge.

The third component of a speech is the proof. According to Aristotle, the proofs will make a demonstration in a deliberative speech if they show that consequences will or

will not occur. Additionally, they make a demonstration, if they will not be just if they occur, are not expedient, or not significant. Examples are more suitable to a deliberative type of speaking, whereas enthymemes are more suited to forensic types of speaking, since demonstration is more possible for past fact. Usually, ordinary constructive arguments come first, then refutation. If an adversary's proofs are overwhelming then the obstacles to the auditors accepting his or her proofs must first be removed by refutation.

The last section is the epilogue, comprising four events. A speaker must reinforce favorable attitudes toward him or herself and reinforce unfavorable ones toward opponents. He or she must highlight the facts supporting his or her case and reinforce any feelings the audience may have toward his or her case. Finally, one must review the arguments.

This concludes the four parts of a speech that Aristotle outlines. An analysis of appeals, forms of argument, and organization now follows.

Analysis

The Fiscal Responsibility Act

Let us start by looking at how Aristotle's typology applies to the first plank: the "Fiscal Responsibility Act." It has two objectives. The first is to establish a balanced budget amendment, proposing that government expenditures should not exceed income. The second objective is to

establish a line item veto, which allows the President to approve or veto any part of a bill without rejecting it entirely.

The Contract begins by dispelling prejudice and does this by making statements that most readers would agree with so the reader is less critical of the text. For instance,

Isn't it time we hold Congress accountable for how much they spend and for what? The American people demand responsibility from Congress. The **spending madness** must stop. Our Contract with America begins with fiscal responsibility (p. 23).

Note the appeals to pathos found in the above quotation: "Isn't it time we hold Congress accountable" and "spending madness" appeal to the audience's pathos (note the bold in the quotation above).

The next paragraph is part of what, in Aristotle's terms, would be called the objective. The Contract explains in a very short paragraph the two basic ideas of the plank. The reader is now prepared for the chapter. The Contract begins by dispelling animosity toward itself by stating that 80% of the American people support a balanced budget amendment, that it will not be easy to pass, and that the American government is ready to start doing less of the wrong thing and more of the right thing. This sounds good, although it may be just as likely that 80% of the people do not support cuts in their benefits.

The Contract moves to statements of fact and discusses the character of the participants. It explains that the Dem-

ocratic party's "tax and spend" policies have weakened America. It ends by saying that, with the help of the American people, the country's financial house can be put "in order." Following this, it has more statements of fact and tells more about the Contract and the balanced budget. It makes more appeals to ethos, or character attacks, on Congress since it "has shown itself both unwilling and incapable of balancing the federal budget" (p. 25). This is an attempt to try to win the reader over early in the book.

The Contract implies throughout the chapter that the deficit, a result of not balancing the budget, will ruin the economy of America. This premise may be fallible. In 1945, for instance, the debt accumulated was more than 105% of the Gross National Product, whereas in 1993 it comprised only 22% of the Gross National Product (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 1994). Our country paid off the debt and survived without a balanced budget amendment. The United States may accomplish the same thing over the next 52 years.

Next, the Contract discusses information that could be classified as the "statements of facts" section. The basic proofs for this chapter are that the United States does not have a balanced budget or line item veto. Aristotle's model could be used to classify this as "consequences will occur"--the consequences of fiscal irresponsibility. While the Contract explains the background, most of the proof for the chapter comes from this section. Early in the chapter it discusses the history of the balanced budget and the line

item veto. The balanced budget and the line item veto discussion accounts for one page in the entire book. Then it moves quickly to the MVF section. The persuasive nature of the MVF section is refutational. The chapter ends with five refutational arguments. Aristotle says that if one is fighting an uphill persuasive battle, one needs to put more refutational arguments at the beginning of the speech (or the text) as opposed to the end. The CWA is structured so that the MVF came at the end of the chapter. The GOP's intention is unclear.

What is surprising is that since the Contract supplies primarily background information, one is perhaps less likely to read the text critically and instead read it as historical fact. One expects that later in the chapter the Contract will explain and provide a complete rationale and argument regarding why its proposals are necessary. But it never does. It only includes one page explaining both the line item veto and the balanced budget, and then immediately moves to refutational arguments. So the reader stands a fair chance of never reaching a point where he or she becomes critical of the text, because he or she is expecting proof to come later. Instead, the Contract mixes it with the background. Again, it is unclear what the GOP's intention was, although one could argue that they camouflage or "run interference" for the "proofs" by distracting the reader with historical facts.

This chapter has the potential for persuasion, since the

reader is not reading critically until the MVF section which is designed to reinforce the persuasion. It reinforces by providing rebuttal arguments to prevent future persuasion from taking place. It is an effective rhetorical method. For instance, when the Contract discusses the myths and provides rebuttal arguments for the audience, others will have a difficult time persuading the audience to their side since the audience already has arguments to refute the persuader. This helps to solidify one's arguments over time.

Of the three forms of arguments, maxims are used most. For instance, "The American people demand responsibility from Congress. The spending must stop. Our Contract with America begins with fiscal responsibility" (p. 23). These statements have no supporting material. Maxims are used to introduce a topic and give opinions based on the GOP's value system. They state them as simple facts.

Some enthymemes are found in the chapter, but most are in the MVF section.

Myth: The Balanced Budget Amendment is a superficial gimmick, another means to avoid making real choices about how to balance the budget. Fact: to the contrary, a Balanced Budget Amendment would force lawmakers to make the hard choices. Unable to increase spending today at the expense of future generations, law makers would have little choice but to make definitive fiscal priorities and to make long overdue reforms in federal programs (p. 34).

These statements have a probability of being false. For

instance, the Contract justifies the Balanced Budget Amendment by explaining that if lawmakers were unable to increase spending today, they would have little choice but to make definitive fiscal priorities. It is unclear what effect this would have on the budget. Cutting government could increase unemployment and weaken the economy.

It is also interesting to note the emotionally laden terms in the above quote. The Contract could have said, "The Balanced Budget Amendment is another means to avoid making choices about how to balance the budget" instead of "the Balanced Budget Amendment is a superficial gimmick, another means to avoiding making real choices about how to balance the budget." Frequently, the Contract exploits the emotions of the audience.

In summary, almost nowhere in the chapter are there proofs based on Republican credibility (ethos). The purpose of the Contract seems to be to gain credibility with the public, because Congressional credibility is so low. In fact, polling of the public's perception of ethics and honesty of 26 professions showed that Congressional members came in 25th, just ahead of "car sales agent." Perception of Congressional members' overall honesty has decreased in the last few years from a ranking of 22 in 1992 to 21 and 25 for 1993 and 1994, respectively (CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, 1994b). Ethical appeals are frequently used for ad hominem attacks on opponents.

Pathetic appeals are frequently used and are a subtle

form of persuasion. Most of the time the Contract lacks terseness by including an array of emotionally evocative words. The use of logos and pathos makes for an appealing dialogue since the CWA authors are not forced to rely on their own ethos to persuade their audience.

This chapter includes many aspects that Aristotle states are necessary for a good text arrangement. The Contract dispels prejudice, which is necessary due to hostility and malice toward politicians. The Contract is not clear on what it proposes but moves into statements of fact via an historical overview and includes a few case studies, trying to convince the reader that change is needed. It has one page explaining what it proposes and has an MVF for their epilogue.

The forms of argument used can lead to powerful persuasion. Aristotle says that examples are some of the most powerful forms of persuasion, while maxims can be powerful if the source and receiver have similar values. Both examples and maxims are evident, along with several enthymemes. The arrangement for this chapter provides for a beginning, a middle, and an end. The forms of proof could be appealing, and rely on the exploitation of the audience's emotions and attacks on the ethos of the Democrats, while including some potentially powerful logical appeals.

Take Back Our Streets Act

The "Take Back Our Streets Act" includes many different changes to crime law. It includes proposals for building more prisons, requiring criminals to serve sentences, keep-

ing criminals off the streets, making criminals more accountable, and forcing criminals to pay restitution to victims and the victims' families. The arrangement is similar to that of the previous plank, with one major difference: the CWA authors so detail the plank that they explain the details of the plank as they move through the chapter.

The Contract begins by creating fear--trying to get the audience to feel more comfortable with its views by saying that when children are afraid to go to school, when husbands and wives are afraid to go to grocery stores, and when society is being threatened, the government must be responsible for protecting the streets, schools, and neighborhoods. This plays nicely to the pathos of the audience. The Contract suggests that both adults and children are afraid to be in public. This can scare a reader into believing that change is necessary. It is unclear where the GOP obtained this information, which they present as "fact."

In the preface the Contract attacks the character of lawmakers by explaining that there are too many loopholes in the law and that Washington, as a whole, has not been tough enough on criminals. It moves into statements of fact. One major difference in this chapter, compared with previous chapters, is the Contract uses the word "we" a great deal. As the GOP scares the audience earlier in the chapter, the idea that "we" can overcome this problem is appealing:

We will cut the "pork" in the recently passed crime bill in order to build real prisons, and *we*

will require criminals to serve their sentences, not have them back on the streets to terrorize again and again. And to make criminals more accountable, *we* will force them to pay full restitution to their victims or the victim's families (p. 37).

Note the frequency of the use of "*we*" (in italics) and of emotionally laden words (noted in bold). Combining the idea of a "group power" using the "*we*" and words such as "terrorize" and "victim" makes for a powerful message: "There is a problem with crime, but together *we* can fix it." Removing the "*we*" and the emotionally charged words would make for a bland statement. They are saying "*we*" are law-abiding citizens, while "*they*" are criminal. Additionally, use of such phrases as "pay full restitution" incites anger and a sense of righteous justice, prompting people to think, "at minimum I am entitled to compensation."

The Contract relies on ethos for proof. It should be noted that, for Aristotle, "proof" means a part of speech, not reliable validity. A reason the Contract relies on ethos is that the public has traditionally thought of the GOP as a group that is tough on crime. Therefore, since they have a reputation, they reinforce it.

The chapter then summarizes the plank and provides a history. But before they move to the background the Contract has this statement:

Critics maintain that the measure [Taking Back Our Streets Act] concentrates too much on punishment and not enough on prevention; the way to stop

crime, they argue, is not to keep filling our jails, but to keep at risk youth from going there in the first place (p. 39).

It is interesting that the Contract never addresses this statement--it simply states it as if the opposition's ideas are so ridiculous that it will not make them an issue. By stating the opposition's viewpoint, the Contract outruns potential criticism that it ignores the counter argument. This is an interesting way to acknowledge the existence of an argument without engaging it. But since it has made the counter argument an issue, many readers will expect an answer. The Contract never refutes the statement in the chapter or anywhere else in the Contract.

It is also important to recognize the Contract's theme throughout the chapter: crime is out of control. One should note, however, that at the time of the formation of the CWA, crime dropped substantially, which suggests that it is being better controlled. In 1991, there were 95.2 victimizations per 1000 people, while in 1992 the rate dropped to 91.2 (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). The Contract never mentions improvement, but suggests crime is getting worse.

Forms of argument are generally by example. However, the connection between the example and what it proposes is weak. For instance, the Contract supports the death penalty, but never explains why it is important to deter crime. It says that this plank makes judges instruct juries to avoid any

"influence, sympathy, sentiment, passion, or prejudice or other arbitrary factors" (p. 45), but never explains why any of these changes is important to deterring crime. There are few forms of argument and nothing syllogistic. One might expect that it would explain why its proposals are an improvement, but it never does.

Occasionally the Contract offers an explanation for its proposals, such as when it discusses mandatory minimum sentencing for drug crimes. It states that "Mandatory minimum sentences send a strong and unmistakable message to criminals that they will serve a set minimum sentence if they commit certain violent crimes" (p. 46). It also notes that prosecutors, to extract confessions from low level offenders in exchange for reduced sentences, use mandatory minimum sentences. This is one of the few enthymemes in the chapter whose form of argument is by example. This statement also shows the use of pathos (see bolded words above). The words "strong," "unmistakable," and "violent" are forceful and emotionally evocative words describing how the GOP will deal with criminals.

In summary, most of this chapter contains maxims and the GOP expects the reader to understand and agree with what they are saying with almost no support. It is mainly a history and description of what their plank proposes. The connection between the proposals and how they are beneficial is left to the reader to analyze. The end of the chapter is complete with an MVF section that serves as a refutational

section for the chapter.

This chapter focuses on what consequences will or will not occur, whether consequences will be negative, or if consequences are justified. I believe this chapter is less persuasive than others. The probability of successful persuasion may not be as high as for the first chapter since it is unclear whether or not the reader has a value system similar to the Republicans. If they are similar then the chapter might be effective since, according to Aristotle, not many proofs would be needed--maxims would suffice. If values are dissimilar, then the chapter may not be that persuasive. The persuasion of this chapter relies more on ethos and the Republican's reputation (ethos is never proven) for being harder on crime than Democrats. What is demonstrable by looking at the text is that the Republicans assume that most people already agree with them.

Personal Responsibility Act

The "Personal Responsibility Act" can be summed up in one enthymeme: people try to avoid hardships; placing restrictions on social programs will increase hardships; therefore, people will want to work and get off social programs. This is the theme throughout the chapter--if enough hardships are imposed on people it will provide an incentive for them to enter the work force. This summarizes the philosophy of the Personal Responsibility Act, which is a plank designed to eliminate social programs which according to the Contract will solve out-of-wedlock births, and encour-

age people to become self-sufficient and not seek handouts.

This is an extremely short chapter. It primarily uses maxims as a form of persuasion. The arrangement, however, typically mirrors prior chapters. It begins by dispelling prejudice, explaining that the GOP tried to solve this problem with many bills proposed in the 103rd Congress. They proposed three bills designed to circumvent Lyndon Johnson's social programs, which the GOP believes did not work and have been failing for the last 25 years--making society worse. "If something is not done, the situation will get worse" is the basis for their arguments.

The Contract dispels prejudice and states the objective of the plank, which is to eliminate social programs that cause laziness. It explains the history of the plank, attacks the ethos of the Democrats, and explains that Democrats have perpetuated these programs for years with poor results. The GOP is unclear what constitutes "poor" results. The rest of the chapter describes the plank. There is never any justification for legislation. It is assumed that the reader agrees with the GOP. For instance, to reduce illegitimacy, they contend as follows:

The Bill also includes a number of other provisions to reduce illegitimacy. While AFDC is prohibited to mothers ages 17 and younger who have children out of wedlock, mothers age 18 who give birth to illegitimate children must live at home in order to receive aid unless the mother marries the biological father or marries an individual who legally adopts the child. Mothers already receiv-

ing AFDC will not receive an increase in benefits if additional children are born out of wedlock (p.70-71).

The Contract never explains how that proposal will reduce illegitimacy. A father, for example, may be more apt to leave if a woman demands marriage to collect financial assistance. So with very few exceptions, the entire chapter is maxims. Also note the emotionally laden language above (noted in bold). "Illegitimacy" and "out of wedlock" are words that people fear, since both are frowned upon in society. Neither is desirable; therefore, anything associated with them is undesirable too. The Contract frequently uses emotionally laden language. The chapter offers little in the way of argument. It is strictly description and maxims.

The end of the chapter there is the standard refutational section. This is the only place containing argument. One myth, for example, is that cutting a check to a welfare mother will not deter teen pregnancy. A welfare mother gets \$12,000 a year, a fact the Contract argues is an incentive to stay on social programs. Therefore, if the government cuts funds, people on social programs will not have children anymore. This may be using a logical appeal although it could be fallacious, since other factors such as loneliness or lack of sex education could also be the cause.

Another example of an argument is as follows:

Myth: placing a cap on welfare spending is a **cruel** measure that will **put mothers and kids on the street**. We need more flexibility; every welfare

case is different (p. 76).

The "fact" explains that the Contract's plan is extremely flexible and will save money. The U.S. has spent \$3.5 trillion on anti-poverty programs since the advent of President Johnson's great society in 1965. The plank caps welfare programs and adjusts them for inflation and population. Is capping and adjusting for the population fair? The Contract never addresses the myth that it will put welfare mothers and daughters out on the street. It may be a logical appeal, although completely fallible. The maxim fails to consider whether the public "got their money's worth" and how one would assess "worth."

Additionally, the Contract uses sarcasm to trivialize mothers and children being put on the street (emphasized in bold in above quotation). By using the word "cruel" and the phrase "putting out on the street," the Contract trivializes the seriousness of the statement by implying to the audience how the idea is absurd.

Looking at this chapter through an Aristotelian lens, one might say that whether the CWA can persuade a group depends on the group's value system and how well they make the connection between what they propose, how it is helpful, and to what extent. Since this chapter does not make structured arguments but relies on the reader to make connections via maxims, the effectiveness of the persuasion will depend on the value system of the reader and maybe his or her life predicament.

This chapter, unlike previous ones, spends more time explaining the plank. Despite the lengthy description, Aristotle would not see this as a strong chapter due to a lack of supporting materials. Even a reader who agrees with the GOP's value system may not be as persuaded as if the chapter had included more explanation regarding how these changes would help society. The idea that increasing the amount of hardship by reducing social programs will give people the incentive to work is not clearly supported. To believe and be persuaded, one must accept that argument as a prejudgment or on faith.

Family Reinforcement Act

The "Family Reinforcement Act" provides for more family privacy, child support enforcement, adoption assistance, and assistance for the elderly should they be committed to a nursing home. Additionally, the Act recommends laws stiffening the penalties for child pornography.

This chapter is a mere six pages and is short for many reasons. First, looking at the chapter as a whole, one can readily notice it does not provide any supporting material for the assertions that its recommendations actually benefit families. Second, it is primarily a description of the plank. Third, the Republicans are relying on ethos for proof since they are not known as a party that helps families.

Few would oppose the changes the GOP suggests. Some of these changes include stiffening penalties for child pornography; providing tax credits for adoption; penalizing

"deadbeat dads" who do not pay child support; and changing laws so that if one state finds that a father has to pay child support, it can be enforced in any other state. These seem to be positive types of plans with public appeal. From the GOP's standpoint, supplying proof is probably not necessary. They only describe the plank, one reason accounting for its brevity.

What is interesting about this chapter is the suggestion that families are in trouble. The Contract suggests believes that "The family is at the very heart of society. It is through the family that people learn values like responsibility, morality, commitment, and faith" (p. 79). People generally learn these ideas just as much from peers, teachers, and television (McCroskey, 1986). The Contract suggests that society has deteriorated due to dissolving family values. This assumes that families were once more cohesive--an assertion that is not well supported (Bettmann, 1974). The Contract appeals to the idea of a mythical past when life was better. As it turns out, there is evidence that family values are improving. For instance, people stay in marriages longer now than in the past. In 1970, the average length of marriage was 6.7 years compared with 7.1 years in 1988 (U.S. National Center for Health Statistics of the United States, 1988b). Additionally, indicators show an "improvement," in the public's value system. For instance, when asked the question, "Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve of a hus-

band slapping his wife?" 20% responded "yes" in 1968, while 1985 and 1992 showed 13% and 12%, respectively (Gallup, 1994c, p. 31). It is unclear from where the Contract derives its information.

The Contract primarily uses maxims while relying on ethical credibility as proof. The only time that there is any type of argument is in the MVF section--the refutational part of the chapter. For instance, the Contract's myth offers the following argument:

Giving parents the right to pick and choose what their children study will lead to **chaos in the schools**, which will be forced to try to accommodate individual schedules. Fact: Republicans believe parents know what is best for their children--**not the government**. Schools can accommodate the legitimate needs of students and their parents (p.82-3).

These are maxims. There is no proof that parents know what is "best" for their children. What is "best" for a child is what will best promote his or her development. How do uneducated parents know what education is best for their children? Some parents think that abusing children to discipline them or denying them medical treatment due to religious beliefs is best for them. Parents may not always be the best judges of what is best for their children. Additionally, note the emotionally laden language in the above quotation (noted in bold). Probably the last thing parents want to think about is "chaos in the school" their children attend and that they will not have the "right" to provide

"their" children with the "best" education because they will be "forced" to follow government guidelines. "Not the government" suggests that government needs to "butt out" of people's lives, while "legitimate needs of students" suggests that students have a "right" to be accommodated. These are all pathetic appeals.

One other type of argument CWA employs, noted in the following passage, from the MVF section, is a form of argument by example.

Myth: Democrats, not Republicans, have taken the lead on stricter child support enforcement laws. Fact: while President Clinton waited until June 1994 to unveil his costly one-size-fits-all welfare reform plan, Republicans have long advocated a get tough approach towards parents who evade their responsibility to their children. For instance, on October 25, 1992, President Bush signed a law making it a federal crime for parents who lived in another state to avoid paying child support. During the 103rd Congress, we had a welfare reform plan on the table that included additional tough provisions that crack down on deadbeat parents (p. 83).

The form of appeal is by logos (with no support) and pathos. All other MVF's in the chapter are maxims. The Contract is appealing to words that cause anger such as "deadbeat dads," who often cannot be caught; or "evading their responsibility," which people hate; or "long advocated," which can bring to mind frustration when telling someone "I told you so." Additionally, the Contract uses words suggesting

direction such as "lead," "stricter," or "tough." It is interesting to note that Congress makes legislation and the President signs or vetoes it. If it were not for Democrat-controlled chambers creating legislation, President Bush would not have had the opportunity to sign the bill. The Contract makes it appear as if the GOP was entirely responsible for the passage of the bill. Finally, "crack down on deadbeat parents" uses the notion of rigorous discipline. If something is cracked, it is often destroyed and discarded. "Cracking down" on "deadbeats," an undesirable group of people, destroys the problem.

This plank tries to persuade by exploiting the audience's fears, and fear is persuasive. The Contract first creates an imaginary crisis, then offers a solution for salvation. This probably explains why the chapter is so short. It is simply a description, and most of the description in the plank is short. The Contract left out supporting material in favor of scare tactics designed to instill fear.

The American Dream Restoration Act

The "American Dream Restoration Act" provides for a \$500 family tax credit as well as tax deductible individual retirement accounts and reforms the tax penalty for marriage. This chapter does not have supporting material either. The Contract implies that most people reading it would like to have their taxes cut. So, in essence, this chapter is an "easy sell."

The beginning of the chapter has maxims. For instance,

"Our Contract with America recognizes families for what they are--the basic building block of society" (p. 85). Another example is, "Then we will begin to repeal the marriage tax penalty. The government should reward, not punish those who enter the **sacred bonds** of marriage" (p. 85). Again, it cannot be considered an enthymeme since it lacks the proper structure, although note how it persuades--by pathos. "**Sacred bonds**," "**reward**," and "**punish**" are emotional words (see bolded words in quotation above). The Contract says "we should reward" those married. Why? Although the legislation makes for no difference between the amount of taxes one pays if married or not, these types of statements reveal the Contract's real intention: to force people into marriage because it is "what's right." Words such as "sacred bonds" are attempts to add validity to beliefs by making the reader feel more emotional about the subject, and by implying a divine (absolute) authority. God is on "our" side.

Another example is, "By strengthening families, we strengthen America" (p. 85). How is that done? Is there any relationship between America and families and what does "strengthening" America mean? To "keep it together?" If so, then the "take no prisoners" campaign tactics, which have had divide and conquer overtones ("Willie Horton") contradicts this goal. Most of these statements are based on values, and so the audience's values are key to whether persuasion will be successful. The Contract appeals more to

emotion by talking about "strengthening" the family, instead of providing a structured argument.

This plank is designed to reduce taxes. Whether people want a tax cut is unclear. When the Gallup Poll asked the public how they would favor reducing the deficit, 43% said they would reduce spending, 4% said they would raise taxes, and 50% favored spending cuts and increased taxes (Gallup, 1990). Therefore, the Contract's underlying messages that the public wants a tax break may be fallible. The MVF section, unlike other chapters contains interesting information and addresses myths, as evident in the following example:

Myth: this tax credit is just another attempt by the Republicans to serve the interest of their rich friends. Fact: Ninety percent of the families assisted by the \$500-per-child tax credit would earn less than \$75,000 a year. Families with annual incomes of over \$200,000 are not eligible for a tax credit (p. 88).

This is an attempt to form a partial syllogism, although it is missing the conclusion (which makes it an enthymeme)--that is left for the reader to provide. Also, notice the emotionally laden language: "just," suggesting an insincere attempt; "serve" and "rich," suggesting a specific population is being favored. In fact, one could hardly argue that they are favoring any population when 86.4% of the population earns less than \$75,000 a year (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996). Here, the GOP is eliminating taxes for all. Note

the use of "ninety percent" in the quotation above. Since "ninety percent" is so high, it almost suggests "100%."

Here is another example of the Contract addressing a myth:

Myth: the proposed tax credit would balloon the federal deficit and raise the debt burden on the same children for whom the credit was proposed.

Fact: the tax credit would return at least \$100 billion in tax money to poor and middle class Americans over five years. Republican proposed spending cuts would more than cover the cost to the U.S. Treasury (p. 88).

Both MVFs move toward the structure of a syllogism. They use logos and both use arguments as examples. The appeals to emotion (noted in bold above), such as the federal deficit will "balloon," suggest both excess and chaos; "burden" suggest children will have it more difficult; "at least" and "more than cover" indicate that not achieving the anticipated level is unforeseeable; and "poor," suggests people feel guilt toward whether or not they are poor. If people are poor, they feel the guilt of failure, since they do not have enough; and if people are not poor, they feel guilt because they have at least on the surface, a better quality of life than others.

The following conclusions can be made based on this chapter. Proof is not necessary, since tax cuts "sound" appealing. Most of the voters are tax payers. The poor, who do not pay taxes, have a low voter turnout. The Contract aims this document at "energizing" the base who already

share their values. Additionally, we must ask, "who does the GOP talk to and who is this document meant for?" We can deduce from the analysis that it targets mostly "true believers"--in other words, the GOP. They state what the plank will do, and that most people will support it. Since most people do not like paying taxes, the GOP probably assumes it is an "easy sell."

The National Security Restoration Act

The "National Security Restoration Act" modifies the way the U.S. military system is operated. It restricts U.S. troops from being placed under non-native command and requires a blue ribbon commission to assess military readiness. Any Defense Department cuts must be used to pay the deficit. This Act improves the ballistic missile defense deployment, and suggests to the President that the administration needs to proceed to encourage full NATO partnerships with countries that are striving to embrace democracy.

Unlike other chapters, this chapter's history is more informative about what measures the CWA authors propose. In fact, this chapter has eight pages devoted to the history of national defense. The Contract is arranged in a past, present, and future sequence. The chapter begins with an explanation of what is the primary goal of government. The explanations are mostly maxims. For instance,

But with the end of the Cold War, some have taken to raiding the defense budget to fund social wel-

fare programs and U.N. peacekeeping programs. Our defense forces have been cut so deeply that we risk a return to the "hollow military" of the 1970's. And for the first time in our history, American troops have been placed under U.N. command (p. 91).

First, note that the Contract makes it appear that the public does not support the idea of U.S. troops serving under U.N. command. In fact, 51% of the public thinks it is a bad idea to propose legislation preventing U.S. troops from serving under U.N. command, while 41% favor the idea (Gallup, 1989b). Second, the Contract uses emotionally laden language (noted in bold print in the above quotation). "Raiding" as barbarians do, "cut so deeply" which hurts very much when people cut themselves, and the "hollow military" which suggests a military with no backbone are all designed to worry the reader into accepting the Contract's the suggestions. Finally, "risk" and "for the first time" suggests danger, since people must be risking too much if "it" is happening for "the first time."

The Contract states the objective in the proem section, then dispel prejudice. It moves to statements of fact, explaining some characteristics of the participants. It suggests that the Democrats and the Clinton Administration are responsible for putting our national defense at risk which is an ethical appeal.

The Contract explains what the plank attempts to do. Its proof is generally in the form of an argument that "conse-

quences will be negative unless we take action." It says that 48,000 U.S. personnel serve in unstable regions of the world and that U.S. defense spending is at the lowest percentage of a gross domestic product since World War II--some logical appeals. It is an interesting comparison. It compares the military budget during wartime to a peacetime budget. One would expect that the United States does not budget as much money toward the military during times of peace.

Then the chapter moves into the background of the last few years of our national defense and of our national defense between 1990 and 1991 with the Bush administration's bottom up review. It explains that Clinton decided to undertake his own bottom up review and cut additional spending for forces. Clinton cut the recommendations of the Bush blue ribbon panel by an additional 10%.

Before explaining the specifics of the plank, the chapter discusses criticisms that opponents have of the GOP military plan. The Contract does not, however, give any explanation why it made these charges; therefore, it does not make a "straw man" "argument," because it never answers the critics' concerns. It comprises the form of proof up to this point solely of a series of logically unrelated maxims, as in the following example:

Critics have charged that (1) the win-win strategy is purely military--that is, the Clinton administration has yet to develop a national security strategy encompassing all its concerns and priorities; (2) the proposed force is inadequate. It is

the same force that previous defense department analyses considered appropriate for less demanding strategies . . . (p. 95).

Why do any of the above charges support the Contract's position? They provide no explanation? Up to this point the CWA chapter is a history about defense since 1990, but just description. It does not give any examples showing a need to take action. How did the U.S. overwhelmingly win the Gulf War if funds have been so insufficient and our national security so threatened?

The Contract explains an alternative perspective on defense budgeting. Current military funding is adequate because of the end of the Cold War. The Republicans use the following argument to support a spending increase:

. . . defense spending normally has grown over time relative to the size of the force, however, such a comparison may not be very meaningful. When the normal growth in defense funding per troop is taken into account, it appears that currently planned budgets will begin to fall below the historical trend over the next few years. How well or how poorly the budget fits the force will depend on the impact of a slow down in weapons modernization and on how well efforts to protect readiness are managed (p. 98).

The Contract explains that defense budgets *usually* grow, and that if military growth is stopped, the military will be poorly outfitted compared with that of the past. It does not make a definite claim. The only way to avoid this, according to the Contract is to acquire the latest military hardware.

Note, however, that it is the U.S. build up that promotes advances in technology.

If the budget becomes larger as a part of the gross national product [GNP] over time, eventually it will consume the entire budget. Where is the point of diminishing returns? The Contract provides so little information it is difficult to know. It states that we should increase budgeting, but does not discuss the merits and shortcomings of the other perspectives. It is not clear that its proposals are the best course of action.

Providing the three different scenarios, all of which are plausible, it is not particularly persuasive from the perspective of logic alone. Although the Contract suggests the U.S. needs military growth, readers might find themselves agreeing with some other perspectives because the Contract persuades at face value. The Cold War is over. If there is less of a threat, why is more money needed to protect the country during peacetime? Now that the Cold War is over, the Contract states that funding is inadequate. It would have been more persuasive if the CWA authors had explained their perspective and avoided presenting "good sounding" alternative theories.

The rest of the chapter (that is, the following eight pages) with two exceptions is strictly description of the plank. In one explanation, the authors want to add a blue ribbon panel that is independent of all branches of government. One reason for this is that they believe Clinton's

Blue Ribbon Commission was biased and made a report that contained unrealistic financing goals for maintaining an adequate force. This is an appeal to ethos.

The other exception is a discussion of a need to commit to a strong NATO. In the past, some European countries rejected the ideology of the West; however, they have begun to implement political policies aimed at achieving democracy. Consequently, according to the Contract, the U.S. should try to form more of an alliance with them. This explanation is an enthymeme with a logical appeal.

Overall this chapter's persuasion is weak, because the Contract never clearly explains why the U.S. needs increased defense spending. The end of the chapter contains five lengthy myths. Each attacks the ethos of the President.

Here is one example,

Myth: President Bush used multilateralism and the U.N. to defeat Iraq; President Clinton is simply following that tradition when he uses multilateralism and the U.N. to rescue Haiti and continue the relief operations in Somalia. The Bush administration supported a U.N. based new world order; the Clinton administration is putting that policy into practice. Fact: The Bush administration did not advocate that American forces be placed under U.N. command. The Clinton administration appears to salute the day when American men and women will fight and die, "in the service" of the United Nations. President Clinton has not led great coalitions of countries as did George Bush of desert storm or Dwight Eisenhower of D-Day. Instead, he either asks the U.N. permission first before

defending American interests, or uses its token support to mask the tragic international adventurism of his administration (p. 109).

There are pathetic appeals in the above (note the bold print in quotation above) such as "die in the service of the United Nations." There are also attacks on ethos such as "not led great coalitions" and "asks the U.N. permission first" suggests inexperience, while "masking the tragic international adventurism" suggests a dangerous lack of experience and maturity. These phrases focus the reader's anger at Clinton while making the GOP look favorable. Attacks on ethos occur in every MVF response at the end of the chapter.

Perhaps the Contract appeals to pathos and ethos because it lacks support for what it proposes. The chapter is too balanced about the information it provides and should not have included the other competing theories as to military budgeting; instead, they should have promoted only their own view. The refutation at the end of the chapter is a "last ditch" effort to try to win support. This may explain the lengthy responses, as well as the appeals to ethos and pathos.

Senior Citizen's Fairness Act

The next plank is the "Senior Citizen's Fairness Act." It repeals the 1993 tax increase on Social Security Benefits and raises social security earnings three-fold for those between the ages 65 and 69 so that seniors can continue to

work during retirement. It provides for tax incentives to help older Americans purchase long term care insurance, so they can afford high health care costs that may come in later years.

This chapter is extremely short since it does not take much to convince people that seniors need help. Helping senior citizens is something that is valued in our society. This may be why the background section is so short--only a little over four lines long.

The chapter begins by dispelling suspicion and prejudice. The Contract tries to convince the reader that seniors need a tax break. It provides a quick summary of the background of senior citizen legislation and moves to a summary of why it wishes to propose changes. It primarily appeals to pathos with an example as a form of argument. It explains that the earning limits push millions of seniors out of the work force and that these financial burdens cause many seniors to worry about their long term health care and retirement. The rest of the chapter, except the MVF section, is primarily by maxim and example.

The chapter explains that the earning test for whether one needs social security is his or her current financial standing. Since he or she paid into the system, the Contract argues, he or she should get his or her money back. That is a logical appeal with an example as a form of argument.

The Contract also describes the actors in the various states of feeling (statement of facts section) by showing

how President Clinton increased the taxable income to 85 percent of the Social Security benefits, whereas it was only 50 percent in the past. It discusses the long term health care problem of expense that some elderly incur.

The rest of the chapter, except the MVF section, comprises only three pages, and explains what the act does. This chapter is short on argument. CWA assumes that the elderly need more than what they have, since people often think of them as in need. The MVF section is the larger part of the chapter. It contains some structured arguments, although the Republicans do not always address the myths that they state. Instead of addressing the myth, they present their agenda, as in this example.

Myth: increasing the Social Security earnings limit threshold would allow wealthy seniors to become even more wealthy, while retaining their Social Security benefits. Fact: during the Presidential campaign, even candidate Bill Clinton promised he'd "lift the Social Security earnings test limitation so that older Americans are able to help build our economy and create a better future for all." Republicans believe the earnings penalty **discriminates** against our senior citizens and **hurts** our economy because it prevents us from being able to benefit from the talent of thousands of **experienced professionals**. If the President is **sincere**, he will join our effort to ease this burden on seniors (p. 121-122).

First, note the emotionally laden language (in bold in the above quotation). "Promise" and the Contract's contention

that Clinton broke it evokes emotion, since one should not break his or her promises. "Discriminates" suggests the President is treating seniors unfairly. "Our" makes discriminating against "them" even more personal because "we" are responsible. "Hurts" makes it sound as if the president is physically hurting them which, especially for a defenseless senior, is terrible. "Experienced professionals" suggests that seniors are "state of the art" and that they should be used. Finally, the Contract attacks the ethos of the president by questioning how "sincere" he is.

Second, notice that the Contract never addresses whether it is okay for wealthy seniors to collect Social Security benefits. It explains that people paying into Social Security have the right later to collect it. Moreover, according to the CWA, if seniors do not work, the public will lose valuable knowledge and talents provided by thousands of experienced, senior professionals. The Contract does not address the myth that wealthy senior citizens may become more wealthy, and whether that is fair. It only addresses the consequences for courses of action.

Corporate America does not agree that seniors' experience is important to the workforce. In fact, seniors are often forced to take early retirement and are frequently the first to be laid off (Thomas, 1996), which explains the increase in the number of age discrimination suites.

Most persuasion is by maxim, including the MVF section. As previously mentioned the Contract does not address the

"myths" it puts forth. Here is another example of not addressing a "myth":

Myth: Tinkering with the tax code is no way to provide long term care benefits to the elderly. We need universal health care with long term care benefits. Fact: Placing the entire health care system under the control of politicians as the Clinton's propose would undermine the security of senior citizens who have made responsible financial decisions and taken steps to retain their access to health care. Instead, we need to pass legislation that would help individuals afford long term nursing home and home health insurance coverage-without creating an expensive, government--run program that will bust the budget (p.122-123).

The CWA is do not address the myth, which is that tinkering with the tax code is an ineffective way to cure long-term health ills. Changing the code to include everyone is unfair, because that penalizes the people who already had health care. Instead of addressing the question of whether it helps or hurts, the Contract works toward disseminating other political ideas. Often these ideas are contradictory.

Earlier in the Contract the GOP emphasizes how important the family is because they are the "building blocks of society." Would not families benefit from a universal health care system? If families are the fabric of society, should not the Contract ensure that families are stable by supporting universal health insurance so families can achieve what the Contract states in an earlier plank: "the American

dream"? Whatever the case, the GOP designed the MVF section to voice their agenda which explains why there is little connection between "myths" and "facts." It is persuasion by maxim.

Note the appeal to emotion (in bold above). "Tinkering" with something suggests anything but a full commitment to a thorough examination and solution to a problem. Use of the word "entire" suggests unwarranted risk, while "undermine the security of senior citizens" suggests undoing their efforts, which the Contract implies is unfair since they made "reasonable" financial decisions. It is interesting that the Contract divides seniors into two groups: ones that are responsible and ones that are not. This is inconsistent with the Contract's notion that seniors need help. "Expensive" and "government run" all suggest inefficiency and waste--something the Contract states is bad.

Overall, Aristotle and many others concerned with rhetorical issues would not be pleased with this chapter, since its persuasion focuses on ad hominem attacks and appeals to pathos. Both exploit the audience's emotions--ad hominem attacks that help the audiences become emotional and appeals to pathos by making pleas to the audience that the elderly need help.

The Job and Wage Creation Act

The next plank is the "Job and Wage Creation Act." The Contract suggests that this plank helps small businesses by reducing the amount of bureaucratic red tape. It helps cit-

ies and states by eliminating unfunded mandates that threaten to bankrupt many local communities. It makes sure that the government cannot take private property away without just compensation.

The chapter begins with a proem and statement of facts section. The Contract dispels prejudice, explaining that the public supports its changes. It mainly spends time explaining the characteristics of the participants and the results of its economic plans.

The Contract lists every change proposal with a bullet. It goes through each bullet and includes its proof within each of those modifications. The first bullet talks about a capital gains tax cut that excludes from taxes 50 percent of capital gains income. The Contract states that it will increase investments. The Contract's support is that the Democratic party does not give enough capital gains tax breaks to stimulate investments in small business. This is an ad hominem attack on the credibility of the Democratic party.

This chapter, in terms of its appeals, does one of three things: it does not use any appeals to justify claims or state proposals; attacks the ethos of the opposing party; or uses logos to support arguments. An example of when the Contract provides no support for its claims is the promotion of the "taxpayer debt buy-down." This allows 10 percent of a taxpayer's tax to be applied toward reducing the federal debt. If there is not enough money to run the government,

then Congress will financially cut all areas of government across the board except the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the National Credit Union Administration, and the Resolution Trust Corporation. The Contract provides no arguments as to the pros and cons of making such drastic changes or how those changes will affect the economy.

The Contract does provide proof for its "risk assessment/cost benefit analysis," as evidenced in the following passage:

Congress is never forced to ensure that the benefits of regulation, better health and productivity, outweigh the costs, lost jobs, and lower wages. Nor does Congress pursue integrated health and safety goals. Instead, Congress and federal regulators often attack whatever health risk has caught the public's attention, even if its regulatory solution exacerbates other health risks (p. 131).

The Contract states that U.S. citizens need to ensure that each new regulation is cost effective. It attacks the ethics of the Congress, but does not supply any information on why a risk/cost benefit analysis is better than any other system in use. In nearly every case it expects people to be persuaded by ethical arguments alone.

In the quotation above it explains that regulators and Congress often attack whatever health risk has caught the public's attention (note the bolded words above). How did it catch the public's attention? If the public has a concern, and Congressional members and regulators are servants of

the people, should not Congress and regulators also become concerned? There may be a good reason the public is concerned. Additionally, the entire idea behind the CWA is government accountability and returning power to the people. It appears that the Contract is not designed in returning power to the people or addressing their concerns.

An example of a proposal that uses logos is the "neutral cost recovery." It increases the value of investment depreciating to equal the full value of the original investment. The support for making this change is as follows:

An analysis by the Institute for Policy Innovation projected that the proposal would create 2.7 million jobs, produce an additional 3.5 trillion in economic activity by the year 2000, increase the U.S. gross domestic product by 1 trillion annually, and increase economic activity by 1.8 percent annually (p. 129-130).

So the CWA provides some logical support for the chapter. Unlike other MVF sections, however, it does not address the "myths" it claims exist; its original premise is unsupported by economic information.

It may be true that the modifications the Contract proposes might help employees and small business, but the question is: "Are changes warranted if businesses and employees are doing well now?" Using the data available in 1994, we should note that the employment rate dropped from 7.5% in 1992 to 6.9% in 1993 to 6.1% in 1994 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1995). During this period, employment was at a

low rate and getting lower. Additionally, job satisfaction has shown a marked increase in less than five years. When asked how satisfied one is with his or her job, surveys report that 28% and 61% responded "completely" or "mostly" satisfied in 1989, while in 1994 subjects responded with 39% and 47% for "completely" and "somewhat" satisfied (Gallup, 1989c, 1994d). That is a nine percent increase in less than five years. Although employee satisfaction and unemployment improved, the Contract makes business and employees appear to be in trouble.

In summary, this chapter, unlike the others, does address the myths proposed. Most arguments are maxims. And finally, this chapter is extremely detailed. It has the longest MVF section--about five to six pages in length. Perhaps one reason the MVF section is so lengthy is that other planks, such as the "Personal Responsibility Act," forced the reader to address his or her value systems. People have an easier time understanding and knowing their interests concerning social, rather than, budgetary issues. Therefore, it may be more difficult to know if enacting the Contract's budgetary proposals are consistent with the beliefs of most U.S. citizens. As a result, a more thorough MVF section helps the reader feel that his or her values are consistent with those in the Contract; or the section may confuse the reader, making the GOP look like competent economists. In fact, the entire MVF section does not address any of the opposing arguments against enacting some of these

regulations, which suggests a one-sided persuasive attempt.

The myth and fact section also provides information that appears consistent with anyone's values. For instance,

Myth: cost benefit analysis would cause people to die. Fact: cost benefit analysis would save lives. Cost benefit analysis would allow regulators to optimize the use of their resources. For example, rather than consume 1 billion in resources to save ten lives, cost benefit analysis would inform regulators how to reallocate the same resources to save more than ten lives (p. 139).

Saving lives might be consistent with one's value system. However, it may be the case, for instance, that saving lives only saves the lives of the rich and that might not be consistent with one's values. "Cause people to die" and "would save lives" (see bold in quotation above) increase drama, which is a pathetic appeal.

Many could find the MVF section persuasive since the plank proposals might be consistent with their value system. The length of the MVF section greatly reinforces the chapter's proposals. The chapter is eleven pages long while the MVF section is about six to seven pages. It is the consistency of values with the reader that may give the chapter force. It is a lack of information that might help win the reader over, although there is also the risk that if a person does not share these values there is little logical reason offered that might persuade them to change their mind.

The Common Sense Legal Reform Act

The next plank is the "Common Sense Legal Reform Act."

This plank makes a loser of a court case pay the winner's legal fees, imposes mandatory bounties on lawyers who "abuse" the system, curbs the use of "junk" science in courts, helps lower prices by curbing abuses in products liability suits, stops runaway punitive damages, and directs legal blame at only those responsible for the injury. Unlike other chapters, the Contract introduces problems in the legal system, goes through each proposed legislature change, and (often) provides justification for modifications it wish to makes to the law.

Most of this chapter has ideas that "sound" appealing. For instance, making lawsuits only address the particular injury that a certain organization caused seems reasonable, although most people could not know how the proposed legislation would effect other elements of the justice system. It may do more than just reduce lawsuits--it may make it harder for plaintiffs with justified cases to sue. It requires that new legislation address preemptive effect, retroactive effect, and authorization for punitive suits and applicability to the federal government. Using a checklist, the Contract argues, would result in more thorough law. This is also something most would agree is a good idea.

The Contract beings the chapter with logical types of proof. For instance, it claims President Bush's council on competitiveness found that the dramatic growth in litigation carries high costs for America. It notes that, between 1960-1990 the amount of litigation in this country

increased from 90,000 in 1960 to 250,000 in 1990, and therefore something needs to be done. It moves to maxims with the following passage:

In addition to the shear volume of law suits that filter through the legal system each year are the problems associated with frivolous suits. In many cases, defendants know that the suit would not stand on its own merits, but agree to settle out of court just to avoid the endless and expensive claim and appeal processes (p. 145).

This is another unsubstantiated argument. Also note the appeal to pathos via the word "frivolous," suggesting an unsubstantiated suit, which may cause waste and injustice.

The Contract states that there are too many liability laws. For instance, if a person receives poor instruction on how to use a tool and is injured by it, a person may sue the tool maker instead of suing the instructor. Once the tool company paid the money to the plaintiff, the tool maker would then sue the instructor to get back the amount of money the company was not responsible for. With the new proposal one could only sue for the amount that a company contributed to an injury. The Contract provides no evidence that its proposals makes for a fair system.

The Contract states that attorneys need to be more accountable, that attorneys should offer written statements regarding the duties they performed for their clients and the precise numbers of hours they spent to complete these duties. No support is given that this will make any differ-

ence in accountability.

The Contract states that with a legislative checklist, law will be better. It supports this assertion with an example of a past civil rights case that was thrown out of court when Congress failed to address the issue of retroactivity while writing the legislation. This oversight resulted in many lawsuits in courts, until the Supreme Court finally ruled that it was not retroactive. Therefore, the Contract is supporting the notion of a checklist by the form of an example.

The last modification to law is the elimination of strike law suits. A strike law suit is a law suit filed by class action attorneys for shareholders, whose once attractive stock purchases have failed to live up to their expectations. Here the Contract uses ethical and pathetic appeals to persuade the reader that the attorneys are not interested in benefiting their clients, but are more interested in collecting financial benefit for themselves via fees. For instance, when people lose on investments in stock, they may sue the brokerage firm selling them the stock. The Contract calls this a "strike" case. Since these investment purchases are highly speculative, however, they rarely win the court case--a fact which the Contract says lawyers are fully aware. The lawyers, however, benefit since they receive a fee. The Contract also notes that the number of strike laws suits has tripled. Therefore, it costs companies too much to fight the suits--so they settle out of

court. The GOP sets limits on professional lawyers to five class action suits a year to reduce the number of career class-action court lawyers. It offers no support indicating that the benefits outweigh the costs.

The MVF section addresses almost every change they propose. The explanations in the MVF section are constructed in a fashion that would allow most readers to have an easier time accepting some modifications stated in the Contract, as evidenced in the following example:

Myth: the "loser pays" approach will discourage the poor and other people who cannot afford to pay for all legal fees incurred from coming forward. The threat of losing will intimidate the poor more than it will the wealthy. Fact: the loser pays rule seeks to empower plaintiffs with options to litigate their case as they see fit. No plaintiff will be compelled to bring their case under the federal loser-pays rule. Plaintiffs have the option of bringing cases under state jurisdiction (where the vast majority are not subject to loser pay rules) or federal jurisdiction (where they would be subject to loser pays) (p. 151-152).

"Myths" serve to rhetorically soften the reader from exercising a hardened critical eye regarding the CWA proposals. The MVF section is important in concluding this chapter since it gives the reader the appearance of fairness. Many questions are unanswered about how the law will affect plaintiffs and defendants. For instance, if a case needs to be moved from a state to a federal court, must the plaintiff, if he or she loses, pay the lawyers' fees for the

defense? The effects are unclear.

This chapter offers little proof to support arguments, and it never addresses the impact of legislation. Most statements are maxims with no support. The values of the readers are especially critical in determining how they would interpret the chapter. If one dislikes attorneys or believes there are too many frivolous law suits, then he or she might find this chapter appealing.

Citizens' Legislature Act

The "Citizens' Legislature Act" proposes one of two term limits programs to be imposed on Congressional members to eliminate career politicians. Most forms of proof are examples. The Contract begins with a history and moves to statements of fact. One is that 80 percent of Americans favor term limits, and more than 90 percent of the people in the House get reelected. This chapter is short, with three pages of text and one and one-half pages of MVF.

The Contract persuades by attacking the character of Congressional members, suggesting that they cater to special interests, and comparing them to legislators in England's House of Lords (who have life terms). Another argument is that in the past, the first Congress had created the idea that citizens legislate and that the idea of career politicians should be abhorrent to them.

The MVF section contains some logical structure. It does not have many structured arguments, although appeals to logos are evident, as in the following example:

Myth: there is already high turnover in Congress; limiting voter's choice is not needed to change the makeup of Congress. For example, in 1992 alone, 25 percent of the House's membership changed. Fact: The reelection rate for members of Congress averaged over 90 percent for all election cycles in the past two decades. In 1992, it was 93 percent. Members of the leadership have been in office for decades. The average tenure of leadership, committee chairman, and the speaker, majority leader, and whip is 27 years (p. 160).

Many responses in the MVF section provide logos and do not come as a structured argument.

The second of three myths is as follows:

Myth: term limits restrict the choices available to voters. Voters should be able to vote for anybody meeting basic constitutional requirements. Voters can fire their representatives every two years or reelect anyone whom they believe is performing well. Fact: choice is already effectively taken away from many voters by the power of incumbency and the entrenched special interest reinforcing these incumbents. Each member receives nearly 1 million in franked mail, staff salaries and travel expenses every year. In 1992 according to the Heritage Foundation, House challengers raised only 28 cents to every dollar incumbents took in. Term limits would open up the field of candidates, not restrict them. California passed term limits in 1990 for state legislatures, and by the 1992 election had a 40 percent increases [sic] in candidates running for office (p. 160-161).

The Contract provides information but does not address the "myth," which is whether people can vote for whom they wish

to represent them.

Many might find this chapter appealing, because it shows so many examples of abuse within the political system. As a result, one may feel that something needs to be done. One may not agree with the GOP's method, but after reading about abuses one might conclude that although the effects of the proposals are unclear, the proposals do represent a change--for better or for worse.

Analysis of Book Structure

Now let us look at the book as a whole. The book follows Aristotle's recommendations for speech organization. The book begins by stating the objective and by dispelling prejudices people might have for the CWA and the Republican party by noting that the people want them in office as demonstrated by winning most seats in the 1994 Congressional Senate races.

The GOP moves to the facts of the planks, what they propose to do, the time in which they intend to do it, how they intend to do it, and explain the key proposals and characteristics of the participants. Following this are chapters that can be considered the "proof." Although the planks are primarily descriptive--they talk about whether consequences will or will not occur, depending on whether they vote planks into law.

For the epilogue, the Contract uses the same format used in prior chapters and MVF sections for the entire book. The book epilogue is general and serves to reinforce the CWA.

Following this they include Newt Gingrich's speech about the Contract he made November 11, 1994. His words at the end are supposed to serve to inspire the reader. Much of the content appeals to the pathetic--discussions of Nazis, the Great War, his father's role in it and whether our country will survive under the current leadership.

The mirroring of Aristotle's arrangement makes for a clear, easily comprehensible, and complete text.

Conclusion

What would Aristotle think of the CWA? He would probably compare it with a major societal problem of his time: sophistry. Aristotle spent much of his time speaking out against sophistry and promoting ways to defeat its effects.

Recall that during Aristotle's time, sophistry became popular. Greeks needed to argue their cases in court themselves. The sophists taught them how to appeal to the audience's emotions while showing little emphasis on syllogistic or enthematic arguments. This resulted in few structured arguments and excessive appeals to pathos. The outcome, frequently, was injustice.

Aristotle would see the Contract as sophistry for a few reasons. First, he would argue that the Contract primarily appeals to pathos and ethos. Aristotle supported use of dialectic, a method of revealing truth, which primarily used logically derived arguments for support. Although Aristotle might use ethical appeals to promote one's own character, he believed it should rarely be used to attack the character of

another, which is why he would not agree with the ethical appeals used in the Contract--every chapter of the Contract contained ad hominem attacks. Additionally, all chapters contained many appeals to pathos. Appeals to pathos most frequently outnumbered appeals to logos, and in those instances when logos was completely absent, appeals to pathos were excessive. Appeals primarily to ethos and pathos are precisely the essence of sophistry.

Additionally, Aristotle would look at the forms of argument. Although Aristotle often preferred the enthematic or syllogistic argument, he was not opposed to arguments by example. According to Aristotle, arguments using maxims were not helpful in finding truth, for they only serve as conclusions or premises of real arguments and do not contain enough structure by themselves to support a claim. As emphasized in the last chapter, the Contract tries to make itself seem dialectical. Aristotle would note that for a true dialectic, structured arguments are necessary. Therefore, since the Contract lacked the structure required for a dialectic and utilized maxims as its primary form of argument, he would conclude that the Contract is largely sophistic in nature.

What helps sophistry have force, Aristotle would argue, is that it follows a complete form of arrangement. All chapters and the book as a whole closely follow Aristotle's form of speech arrangement. Each chapter and the book itself contains a preface. In the preface the Contract states the

objective of the speech, and tries to dispel prejudice. The chapters usually move to what Aristotle describes as the "statement of facts" section, which explains the characters involved, which, for the Contract, usually consists of Republicans and Democrats and the President of the United States. Chapters then move to the "forms of proof" section that usually explain that if the Contract is not enacted, harmful consequences will occur. Finally, the epilogue for the chapter, that is the MVF section, serves as a conclusion and refutation section. Placing the refutation at the end of the chapter works, because it offers closure; it plants a seed in the readers' minds so that when readers must address these issues at home or work, they already have rebuttal arguments prepared. The MVF section reinforces feelings and attitudes favorable to U.S. citizen readers.

Aristotle would conclude that the Contract is the work of a sophist. He would be concerned with this development. As he believes many ills of society are due to sophistry, Aristotle would look to how he could help diffuse the Contract's effects just as he tried to diffuse the effects of the sophists of his time. Aristotle would argue that a work examining and exposing the CWA as sophistry, such as this dissertation, is scientific in that it attempts objectively to test the propositions put forth to analyze means of persuasion.

CHAPTER 5

Conscious Structure of the CWA

Biography and Method

Jean Gebser was born in Posen, Prussia (currently Poland) in 1905. After schooling, he left for Spain (to flee Nazi aggression), where he held a position as the Republican Minister of Culture. By this time he was already working on a book called Ursprung and Gegenwart, later translated to English as The Ever-Present Origin. He wrote 30 volumes of work and was a lecturer regularly heard on Deutsche Vella Radio and Swiss radio. He occupied a professorship in comparative civilizations at the University of Salzburg and strongly influenced many important artists and thinkers. Gebser had personal acquaintances with, for instance, Pablo Picasso, Walter Adolph Gropius, and Werner Karl Heisenberg.

During Gebser's lifetime, both natural and social sciences were in states of flux. The preface of The Ever-Present Origin explains that Gebser noticed two occurrences that are of particular significance: first, the abandonment of materialistic determinism of a one-sided, mechanistic, causal mode of thought; and second, a manifest "urgency of attempts to discover a universal way of observing things and to overcome the inner division of contemporary man, who, as a result of his one-sided rational orientation, thinks only in dualisms" (p. xviii). Both problems, he believed, dealt with a changing awareness of space and time (Keckeis, 1985).

This is where The Ever-Present Origin's focus lies. The

title, the Ever-Present Origin explains how we mutated from a zero dimensional creature to a multidimensional one without abandoning "previous" modes of awareness. By understanding how the human consciousness has undergone mutations over time, we can better understand our world today (Keckeis, 1985).

Because of his academic training and vast global experience, Gebser recognized that when civilizations one can not always appeal to some ultimate, utilitarian, pragmatic metacriteria to determine which culture is more "correct" or "valid" than another. Gebser took cultural relativism at face value, and by bracketing metaphysical and spiritual criteria that even the anthropologists of his day blindly presupposed, he came to the conclusion that one could not, a priori, based on some grand prejudice (religious, racial, national, technological, or philosophical/epistemological) rank order cultures in terms of truth-value. In short, barring the existence of some super-cultural, ethical, or epistemological "high ground" criteria, one cannot evaluate one culture as "better" or more "moral" or more "valid" than another. Of course ethnocentrists usually presume that the moral and epistemological criteria of their own sociocultural life-world constitute an absolute, transcultural, "natural," "universally valid," "authentic" criteria applicable to all cultures as judge and jury. Being a phenomenologist, Gebser bracketed all meta-criterial claims, primarily because no evidence for the existence of any such

transcendental privilege is available. Besides, following Nietzsche's logic, Gebser recognized that to establish or evince a metacriterial authority, a meta-metacriteria would be presumed ad infinitum. In other words, to distinguish and isolate one singularly authoritative criterion from among all others would presuppose, a priori, a meta-meta criteria. Thus, Gebser, sticking to what is given, and avoiding metaphysical speculation, does not proclaim any single system, such as positivism, to be the "non-plus-ultra" of human development. He, therefore, came to a simple conclusion. There are many cultures. Each presents its own moral and epistemological criteria by which it organizes life. He realized that unless one assumes some pseudo-religious faith in a transcendental truth or reality, there is no metacriteria available to use to judge one culture to be superior to any other. What was available was the self-evident observation of whether a culture is "successful." The success, or vitality of a culture, according to Gebser, is evident by observing whether or not it is ascending (influencing other cultures), declining, or extinct. Extinction means that no one behaviorally manifests a culture's practices or language any longer. Thus, the Toltecs appear to be extinct. Perhaps a few of their words and artistic conventions were assimilated into the Mayan life-style; perhaps also a few religious activities and beliefs; but for the most part, the Toltec world has vanished.

Thus, Gebser confronted cultural relativism before most

scholars did. Furthermore, being a phenomenologist, he sought generalizable characteristics among the vast variability. In the history of cultural anthropology, initially colonially minded travelers believed that all men were created equal by a Christian God and in His image. Today, the pendulum has swung to the "post-modern" extreme by which anthropologists (in an equally ethnocentric fashion) embrace heterogeneity to the point where they see all generalizing as unwarranted privileging of a single cultural form. Already in the 1930's and 1940's, Gebser posited a type of relative relativism. He recognized behavioral heterogeneity on the mass scale of cultural patterning, and he refused to proclaim allegiance to any single set of metacriteria. But, by delineating essentially similar activities that appear from within the cultural repertoire itself (and not "applied" from "outside" or "above"), he believed that he had discovered four or five modes of awareness that could help one better understand life, despite all the heterogeneity. After all, he reasoned, the Bushman, the French Bourgeoisie, the Inca, and the Hindu are all human beings. It is true that they live in vastly differing worlds, but they have some common features. The fact that they create and inhabit vastly complex sign systems that constitute architectural, artistic, religious, scientific, mythological, and cosmological expression proves that they are not another kind of animal, because only humans create such complex systems of signification. But each complex, each cul-

tural style, establishes a way of structuring space, time, and emotion (geist). Through a lifetime of comparative research, Gebser believed that he had delineated four essentially different spatio-temporal worlds that are widely shared and exhibited in cultural and behavioral forms.

The great philosopher Immanuel Kant's conclusions (which Gebser presumes) regarding time and space must be understood to appreciate Gebser's effort. Kant believed that for an empirical object to exist it must have both extension and duration. Both, therefore, are necessary for empirical existence and, therefore, space and time are locked together as one in the phenomenon of an empirical object. In the material (as compared with, for example, the logical) world, time is spatial and space is temporal. Is it possible to think of traveling empirically without thinking of time? Time is a necessary component of distance and distance is a necessary component of time. When a person is traveling from San Francisco to New York, can he or she experience only the distance between the two cities, or in considering this is that person also not experiencing the time it takes to get there? If he or she just thinks of the time it takes to get there, is that person not forcing himself or herself to think of the distance between the cities, and that increased distance means increased time? Time and space are both part of the same phenomena, and the only way they can be separated is by using abstraction, as in a physics problem.

Perceptions of space and time, however, differ from one culture to another. In fact, such fundamental differences may constitute the essence of a culture. Gebser believes that what constitutes the essential differences between cultures may be differences between cultures' kinds of spacio/temporal valences. For instance, South American and American business people often have difficulties negotiating business contracts because of different space/time awareness. American business people have a more constant awareness of time, while South American businesspeople have a more fluctuating time awareness. The result is that when the South American is late for a meeting (from the South American's perspective), which is not atypical in their culture since time is variable, the American, with a very rigid notion of time, believes the South American to be irresponsible for not arriving on time. The South American does not understand the American's irritation. Ethnocentrism is the observation of difference as an ethical judgment and describes the above example.

There are differing modes of spatial awareness too. Vacationing North Americans are often irritated with how little personal space they have around them when conversing with South Americans. South Americans have different proxemic and kinesic judgments and, therefore, the South American is unaware that the North American feels his or her space is being invaded. These different spatial awarenesses are responsible for the particular mood each participant

experiences as they confront each other.

According to Gebser, humans exhibit a variety of time and space distinctions. He shows how time and space have become multidimensional. He uses all modes of expression from ritual to technology and art to show how humans have become more multidimensional with time/space interpretation, and how this affects moods. He notes that all humans have increased in the number of space/time dimensional awarenesses throughout time. Mutation presents a sudden leap rather than a gradual systematic process. Several scholars, including Sir Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford, agree with Gebser that there is evidence of nonlinear, mutational shifts in human culture/communication. Humans first started as single-dimensional creatures (magic man), mutated to two-dimensional creatures (mythic man), and eventually developed into three-dimensional creatures (mental man). Gebser notes that all modes of awareness coexist to varying degrees. It is the difference in emphasis by which humans focus on these modes that make them more predominant.

Humans have moved from a single spatial/temporal awareness to an increased number of dimensions, although it is important to note that previous modes of awareness are not extinct. Gebser explains that man has developed over time--he does not suggest that hierarchical levels of consciousness or an order exist or that one mode of awareness is better than another. Modes of awareness coexist. Humans

developed and over time began to use other modes of awareness that became available to them. Forty-thousand years ago magic man was the only mode of awareness available. As man developed, the number of modes of awareness increased so that, currently, humans have more modes available that can affect their moods. Gebser refers to a "plus" mutation as developing an additional mode of awareness. We can also experience a "minus" mutation where we move to a previous spatial/temporal mode of awareness.

These spatial/temporal mutations, however, have different accompanying effects on human emotion. For instance, mental awareness is associated with fewer affective moods, while mythic and magic awareness is associated with higher degrees of affect. Gebser discusses three types of spatial/time modes of awareness: magic, mythic, and mental. By applying Gebser's space/time paradigm to the messages from the Contract, we can better understand at what mode of awareness the Contract focuses to persuade the public.

What is Magic, Mythic, and Mental Awareness?

What is Magic?

A single dimensional mode of spatial awareness is what Gebser calls "magic." Magic humanity is distinguishable from all other modes of awareness because he/she has only has one dimensional awareness, resulting in a unitized perception of the world. His/her one dimensional world can geometrically be represented as a point since a point is void of linearity. "Magic" comes from a word family that

describes the essential nature of "magic man."

There is a word group correlating among others the words "make," "mechanism," "machine," and "might," which all share a common Indo-European root *mag(h)-*." It is our conjecture that the word "magic," a Greek borrowing of Persian origin, belongs to the same field and thus shares the common root (p. 46).

The more magic man comes to awareness, the more he/she moves to developing an identity by recognizing him/herself as slightly different from other objects. Events, deeds, and associations now begin to appear separate. These points or associations can be interchanged with each other, which means one thing is not any more significant than anything else. All magic man knows is that objects are "different," although they all mean the same thing to him/her, since magic man's single dimensional world does not allow him/her to discriminate.

It is a pure world of meaningful accident; a world in which magic man interrelates all things and persons, but not-yet-centered Ego is dispersed over the world of phenomena. Everything that is still slumbering in the soul is at the outset for magic man reflected mirror-like in the outside world; he experiences this outer world blindly and confusedly, as we experience dream events in sleep. Herein, too, lay the root of plurality of souls, which to magic man was a reality . . . In a sense one may say that in this structure consciousness was not yet *in man* himself, but still resting *in the world* (p. 46).

Magic man's ability to begin to sense self results in him/her standing up to forces of which he/she becomes aware. He/she now understands he/she is different from nature and other phenomena, and therefore, to further explore them, opposes them. For instance, magic man might make a ladder in an attempt to manipulate gravity (nature). He/she strives for independence from nature by exercising his/her will to try to control it. Witchcraft, sorcery, and taboo, for instance, are forms of attempted manipulation, designed to free oneself from the power of nature.

Magic man's attempt to control nature results in his/her turn toward "making" to take further control via technology and extensions of human abilities. For instance, magic man might make a tool, such as an ax, to help him/her control the transcendental power of nature. With an ax, magic man can begin to control nature by cutting trees. Although magic man is ego-less, he/she copes with the world as a group-ego, sustained by his/her clan.

Here, in these attempts to free himself from the grip and spell of nature, which in the beginning he was still fused in unity, magic man begins to struggle for power that has not ceased since; here man becomes the maker. Here, too, lie the roots of that tragic entanglement of fighter and fought: to ward off the animal that threatens him--to give but one example--man disguises himself as that animal; or he makes the animal by drawing its picture, and to that extent gains power over it (p. 46-47).

Gebser gives an example of a drawing to illustrate his point. In the Congo jungle, Pygmies drew a picture of an antelope in the sand before hunting it. Before they left for the hunt, they drew a ray, representing a ray of the sun, piercing the animal's neck. Then as they wait, when the rising sun "strikes" the drawing, the antelope is killed. The hunt thus becomes proforma. The antelope is already dead. They eventually returned with the slain animal with a spear stuck in the same location as in the sand drawing. The ray of the sun is the same as a spear hitting the animal. For magic man, both are the same and interchangeable. The sun's rays magically kill the animal, just as does a spear's sharp point.

From this illustration, Gebser believes we can discern five essential characteristics of magic man. First, magic man is egoless. The responsibility of the kill does not lie with any individual, as such, but with nature. The rays of the sun are a necessary component for the death of the animal. Second, the illustration shows magic man's point-like unity. The sun's ray and a spear are the same and interchangeable. Third, magic man is spaceless and timeless. The point-like unity of magic man prevents perceptions of space and time. In a spaceless and timeless state of awareness, every point, which could represent a thing or action, can be interchanged with any other point, despite where or when they are. One can cast a spell that has instantaneous effects although its target is hundreds of miles away. This

is illustrated in the example of a sun's ray killing the animal. The spear also kills the animal--both are interchangeable, although both are necessary. Fourth, magic man merges with nature. The hunting experience represents this. The entire hunting experience was point-like and unitary. Humans know this because no two things in the story represent a cause-effect relationship. The sun, the arrows, the hunt, drawing, forest, or antelope--nothing represents the kill but all of them together. All parts are necessary for the kill to "magically" happen. All parts lead to a "making of a kill" and are necessary--if one part is left out, the kill will not be possible. This shows that magic man is merged with nature, and is part of it. He/she eats the antelope. He/she is a necessary component to make the kill possible. This shows the degree that magic man is egoless--he/she is just part of the experience, not the cause of it.

The magic world is a world without values and, as such, it is not fragmented causally or morally (there is no concept of good and bad). Everything is equally valuable or significant. Fifth, the hunting experience shows a "magic reaction" which is magic man's reaction to merging with the hunting ritual--the role of a "maker." Magic man's emergence of him/herself in the hunting ritual and designing it to achieve his/her goal shows that magic man is a "maker," showing his/her attempts to triumph over it. He/she breaks some bonds nature has over him/her by making something that will counter nature's power. It is the attempt to control

nature so one is not controlled by it that is indicative of magic man. This attempt at control pervades contemporary society:

In the final analysis, our machines and technology, even our present-day power politics, arise from these magical roots: nature, the surrounding world, other human beings must be ruled so that man is not ruled by them. This fear that man is compelled to rule the outside world--so as not to be ruled by it--is symptomatic of our times. Every individual who fails to realize that he must rule himself falls victim to that drive (p. 51).

Magic man coexists with other modes of awareness and can be found in the past, the present, and will be present in the future.

How is the Contract Magical?

To find out how the Contract is magical, Gebser would ask "How did the Contract 'make'?" We can better understand the "making" process by recalling that magic man represents a "oneness" with nature and an attempt to gain control over it.

So what has merged with nature? To begin, note that the GOP made an agenda via the Contract. Making a "contract" shows the GOP's attempt to control nature. Additionally, the Contract is magical because voting, the Contract, and the GOP are all the same in nature. They "made" these to try to gain control. Voting was created to "make" power by forming a governing body. The Contract was intended to help Republicans gain control of government so they could *make*

law. And finally, the GOP was made (as a collective membership) so that people could have power to influence legislation, resulting in more control regarding how they live their lives. A contract is a written "spell"--an incantation to make a future order. In this way it is like the sand drawing. It is a promise. They "made" all these as an opposing force to the chaotic forces of the political world. A contract is a form of making power civilized.

Civilization fosters control, order, and predictability. The CWA would not be possible if voting or the GOP were missing. All parts are necessary components enmeshed and indistinguishable from each other.

This suggests the concept of interchangeability. Support for the Contract, the GOP, or voting for it all work toward the same end--supporting a promised future. Voting for the GOP, CWA authors would likely argue, is the same as supporting the Contract or the GOP. Supporting the GOP is the same as supporting the Contract or voting for it. Supporting the Contract is the same as supporting the GOP and voting for the GOP. Interchangeability is a characteristic found in magic man. This magic pervades contemporary politics. For instance, a vote for John Glenn is a vote for Bill Clinton (for better or for worse). "Nationalizing" local elections is a magic space and time free process.

It is also interesting to note the lack of a cause-effect relationship. Voting, the GOP and the Contract mean the same thing--support for the Contract, yet there is not a cause-

effect relationship between any of the parts. Voting does not *cause* support for the GOP or the Contract, because voting for the GOP *is* the same as "voting" for the Contract or supporting the GOP. Cause-effect relationships require linear time, which is found in "mental man" (to be discussed later), not magic man. Voting, the GOP, and the Contract are magical. By supporting any one of them, the Contract is "magically" enacted and government improves. The Contract makes "voting" like magic.

One objective of the GOP is to "propose not just to change its policies [government policies], but even more important, to restore the bonds of trust between the people and their elected representatives" (p. 7). The reason for creating the Contract is to make government more accountable. The Contract and accountability, therefore, are the same. If the public should vote the GOP in, then they will live up to their Contract, which magically makes the government accountable. The Contract is a magic document that has the power to hold accountable the members of the U.S. Congress, because of the signing ritual which identifies each as a party to an agreement. A "contract" is a manifestation of will. "I will do such and such." Will is pure magic to make things happen.

The Contract also promises to make for a better future. If the public votes the GOP into office, then the GOP will enact the Contract. If this happens, then government will be working, since gridlock is minimized due to a majority of

the GOP signing the Contract. The "Contract" does not cause "efficient government"--the Contract *is* efficient government. Both are indistinguishable with each other.

The Contract and a better future are magical. They exhibit many characteristics found earlier with voting, the GOP and the Contract. For instance, a better future and the Contract are all interchangeable. They are the same thing.

Recall that Gebser believes that as we move to more dissociated forms of consciousness--that is, from magic to mental, affection decreases. The Contract makes for many magical things: it makes voting for the GOP the same as voting for the Contract; makes politicians more accountable; and makes for a better future. All these attempts to control stem from magic consciousness that Gebser thinks is primarily affectively oriented. The Contract makes people who believe in it (the magic) feel good, certain, secure, as the Contract promises a predictable outcome. Just like holy men who tell us not to be afraid because they tell us what will happen after death, the politician also assures people about the future by creating a "Contract" that provides them salvation. Salvation is highly emotional. Therefore, these underlying messages from the Contract persuade more on an affective, rather than cognitive level.

What is Mythical Man?

Magic structure occurs everywhere. Since magic is timeless, it is prehistory. It occurs before time, and our awareness of it. "Day," "month," or "years" have no meaning

to magic man, because unlike mythic man, he/she is unaware of it. Clock time is an invention. Calendrical time and historical time are magic products. Recall that Gebser believes that modes of awareness coexist. Both magic and mythic modes of awareness were necessary for the awareness of calendrical and historical time--magic to create it; mythic to become aware of it as a story.

It is characteristic of the European [and other cultures] to be dissatisfied with the mere knowledge of a fact or an event; he must also locate them in time or place, since without such location they have no real conceptual value for him (p. 61).

The essential characteristic of mythic man is the emergence of soul, as such (as a separate thing--proto-ego) or looking within oneself, which requires attending to time. We see evidence of an awareness of time when the Babylonians, Chinese, Asian Indian, Jewish, and Egyptian and later Mexican civilizations first begin to develop calendars for their rituals. This is a major step in moving from the timelessness of magic man to becoming aware of self and time. The collective soul disintegrates into individuated souls, to personal responsibility, private ownership, individual civil liberties, and other "new conceptualizations" of humans that come to fruition in the mental world (discussed later).

Gebser notes that around 650 B.C. people can begin to see evidence of an attention to soul. Works of art before that

time, statutes, for instance, lacked a mouth whereas art after or near this time includes a mouth. The lack of a mouth in art signifies inarticulateness, a characteristic associated with magic. Without a mouth there can be no myth, since a mouth and myths are inseparable. Magic man typically equates breath, sky, and soul, however, around the world.

Gebser uses the word "myth" to describe this mode of awareness. The Greek word "mythos," which originally meant "speech, word, report," is only one aspect of the word mythos.

The corresponding verb for *mythos* is *mythemai*, meaning "to discourse, talk, speak"; its root, *mu-*, means "to sound." But another verb of the same root, *myein*--ambivalent because of the substitution of a short "u"--means "to close," specifically to close the eyes, the mouth, and wounds. From this root we have Sanskrit *mukas* [bar over the "u"] (with long vowel), meaning "mute, silent," and latin *mutus* with the same meaning. It recurs in Greek in the words *mystes*, "the consecrated," and *mysterion*, "mysterium," and later during the Christian era, gave the characteristic stamp to the concept of mysticism: speechless contemplation with closed eyes, that is, eyes turned inward (p. 65).

Both meanings can help people better understand the fundamental structure of mythic man. Both verbs suggest a movement toward contemplation--something void in the world of magic man. Magic man's one dimensional world is incapable of comparison since one dimension does not allow degrees of

difference. Two dimensions are required for awareness of polarity. Mythical man's awareness shows the structure of two-dimensional polarity. Magic man exists in a way that most fits with empiricism. Like an animal, magic man does not plan or dwell on the past. Imagination and memory are temporal modes of dissociation--mythic.

Magical structure is being in the "natural" world. Mythical man attends to the internal world or the soul. Soul is the seat of emotion--its organ is the heart. The soul's symbol is a circle. The circle shows balance and is part of a balanced polarity. Years, seasons, daylight/darkness, or the orbits of planets all follow a cycle.

Mythical structure primarily differs from magical structure in that mythical structure includes imagination. Silence is magic. Silence by itself is a magical spell, while speech by itself is rational babble. Together, they form words and represent collective dreams.

When someone has learned to say "I" to him or herself, he or she is no longer fully emerged in the magical world, but has come to an awareness characteristic of the mythic world. Many ancient writings demonstrate a search for soul. For instance, in Homer's Odyssey, the Greeks, after a long voyage, gained control of Troy; while Odysseus, surviving his shipwreck, meets nausica, and reaffirms his longing for his wife. Tristan, having surmounted many storms at sea finds himself stronger and closer to manhood. In every sea voyage, someone discovers him/herself--voyages are discoveries of

self and provide insight into one's soul. Voyages symbolize looking within. A classic concept is that of "ocean" and what Freud called the "oceanic" sense of soul. People have long perceived that the sea had emotions.

Unlike magic man, mythic man uses symbols to represent ideas or objects, as Gebser explains in the following excerpt:

Here, too, the water-soul symbolism plays a significant part and becomes an expression in myth of the emergent consciousness: Narcissus, whose very name contains a hidden reference to the water element, catches sight of himself in the water's reflection. In mythical terms: he looks into his soul and thereby sees himself, becoming conscious of his own existence. To look into the mirror of the soul is to become conscious; and to apprehend the soul, as mythical man does in the reflection of myth, is nothing less than to become conscious of the self (p. 70).

Mythic man deals in a world of imagery. Myth is images. Image is symbolic and often creates problems with precision. Meaning is possible, although often difficult to prove since multiple meanings are possible. Just as water can take the form of any vessel into which it is poured, people's interpretations can take many different forms as well.

Finally, it is important not to confuse the notion of a "myth" or a falsehood with mythic consciousness. Myths are an integral part of mythic man's world, but must not be confused with mythic consciousness. Remember that mythic con-

sciousness focuses on such characteristics as time, meaning/interpretation, and morality, which are essential to the formation of myths. This can make this chapter's use of the word "myth" confusing. Since both "myth" and "mythic man" are used in this chapter, it is important to note that "mythic man" refers to a mode of awareness, while a "myth" describes a falsehood. The reader should be aware of this distinction throughout this chapter.

How is the Contract Mythic?

To understand how the Contract is mythic Gebser would ask, "How does the Contract express an awareness of time, past, present, future, and emotional issues like morality, ethics, and character?" Recall that for mythic man, truth comes from sacred stories. Here is the story the GOP promotes throughout the CWA and keep in mind that myth is about good and evil:

Once upon a time there was a great country. Life was simple, families ate dinner together, government was small, we all had the same morals and all believed in God. Then, a group called the "Democrats" became a major influential power. They began social programs to help the needy, with good intentions, but the programs utterly failed. They continued promoting increases in the size of government. In doing so they drained the budget and increased the national debt that resulted in compromising our national security. Although the people supported their party for a long time, they finally saw that the Democrat's policies were ruining the country and began supporting the

opposing party. The opposing party came into power as a savior to make government smaller, strengthen families, national security, and reduce the debt. The country lived happily ever after.

Good versus evil, right versus wrong are clear themes throughout the Contract. Probably the most significant expression of this story in the Contract is the GOP's yearning for an emotional rendition of the past, and for past GOP heroes such as Ronald Reagan, Dwight Eisenhower, or Bob Dole. Such people made the past great, and we need to get back to those times, the Contract contends. Those times can save us from the dismal present and disastrous future the Democrats confront us with. For magic man, magic is neither good nor bad--it simply is an expression of will. But mythic man is confronted by an alternative between two different futures. One is good magic and the other is evil magic.

The Contract states that the past was better than the present. Unlike magic man, mythic man can see this balance. The contract contends the U.S. is out of balance, and that returning to earlier times would help citizens return the balance. In looking into balance, one must examine polarity. On one end of the continuum is the past; at the other, the future. This idea was out of magic man's capabilities since he/she was immersed in a world of now--no discrimination was possible.

The idea that the past is better than the present suggests contemplation--a characteristic of mythic man. This contemplation allows us to remember past times and memories

to see if the past, in fact, was better than the present. Nostalgia is mythic and from the perspective of the mental-rational man, it acts to cloud our thinking. At the same time, looking at the past is a particularly mental activity, since people can see themselves as different from nature. They are able to understand the view "our lives" as separate from the lives of others. People can begin to see the emergence of the "I." This too allows for an examination of the past. Looking to the past requires imagination, a thought of, "how good could it be?" Looking to the future requires thinking, as in "how good could the future be?"

The Contract creates an image of the past as representing happiness and security. Remember that mythic man does not think about things rationally, but in terms of imagery. The image of the past may appear appealing, especially since one may recall only the positive images of it. When surveyed and asked to think about whether the past was better than the present (a mythological question), mental man (described next), as noted in Chapter 3, believes the present is better than the past. The impetus for the return to the past is that it is an easy way to attack the present. If nothing were wrong with the present, it would make it difficult for a group to suggest that they should be in power. Gebser would likely say, if the idea were posed to him, that the Contract is mythic because it tries to relive and revive a mythic version of the past that is romantic and good, even "golden." The Contract is argumentative, which

is mental (explained later), but they exploit myths as "evidence" in their attacks. For instance, the Contract says that the economy was better in the past--this is a myth, as proven by mental means [described next]. They promote an image that what they say is true but may be fallible. The Contract supports its new economic plan by using this myth as evidence. The past was better and, therefore, the Contract argues, changes are justified. This is common throughout the CWA. Once the myths are dispelled, there is no "proof" to support most of its claims--it becomes a "fairy tale."

Besides appealing to the mythical world of the past, the Contract makes itself appear sacred. The Contract promotes the image that the GOP is on a crusade. The Contract says the GOP wants to reinvent government, take charge of both houses, and make the country great again. Parts of the Contract even resemble religious artifacts. For example, the "ten planks" are reminiscent of the "Ten Commandments." This is an appeal to the audiences' imagination. They locate the Contract in emotional space by comparing it to the Ten Commandments. Comparison shows mental opposition. This requires contemplation and requires one to look within one's self for answers. The Contract, therefore, represents a balance, for just as the laws of the Ten Commandments were necessary to create order and balance for the world, so too is the CWA necessary to create balance in government and in people's lives. The ten planks represent the notion of the

articulate. It affects a clear and concise description of what it proposes, giving the image that it is a holy thing the GOP is doing--different from anything else ever done; therefore, they answer to a higher source than anyone else: honor and duty. The image is that the Contract is sacred, is mythic, and the emotional inertia of a sacred promise does have force.

The Contract also creates a mental opposition--an "us" verses "them" mentality; that is, if "you" are not with us, you are "against" us. The "take no prisoners" approach of the GOP means they do not want or need the other, which is very mental [to be described next]. In mythic cyclicity, by contrast, night needs and respects day, winter respects summer, good and bad respect each other. Each is always given by implication with the other but the GOP would just like to see (at least in their rhetoric) all liberal Democrats disappear.

Next, note the cover of the CWA book--a large group of people standing on the steps of the Capitol. The CWA, especially as it was presented on television with its publicity and spin, is a political theatre of mythic imagery. The fact that all those people signed an agreement to support the Contract shows a binary opposition of "us versus them" and a balance among the GOP members in agreement, while also demonstrating an imbalance in government as a whole, since not everyone came to sign the Contract. One must search his/her soul. Is he/she "with them" or not? Group identity is a

characteristic of mythic man. The GOP members' ability to separate themselves from other political entities by saying "we" and "our party" is different from "you" allows them to escape the interchangeability noted in the magic world for one of separation and difference. The analyses of these differences, however, are beyond the abilities of mythic consciousness. Making these comparisons requires another dimension, or the development of "mental man."

What is Mental Man?

What constitutes "mental consciousness?" Recall that anything related to, or conforming with humanity, is an expression of psyche or soul and thus represents mythical structure. Anything related to, or conformed to our expression of understanding, such as "seeing" or "conceptualizing" is an expression of mental-rationalism.

Signs of mental man appear in ancient Greek texts. It was not until the Renaissance (about the 1500s), however, that mental man became widespread. Mental man lives in a world of "rationality." Mental man also tries to achieve an understanding of the world by viewing the world as an opposition and then hypertrophically accepting as real only one side, the object. This is different from mythic consciousness since he/she sees the world in a never ending polarity that is cyclical. Gebser presents evidence of mental consciousness development:

. . . the latin notion of *ratio* already gives it its direction. Even in scholastic terminology,

which is derived from Aristotle, man is called an *animal rationale*, an animal with the gift of rationality. And in the word *ratio*--with means "to reckon" as well as "to calculate" in the sense of "to think" and "understand"--we meet up with the principal characteristic of the perspectival [mental] world: directedness and perspectivity, together with--unavoidably--sectorial partitioning (p. 74).

Gebser also explains the derivation of the word "mental."

. . . its original meaning--still preserved in the Sanskrit root *ma-*, with secondary roots such as *man-*, *mat-*, *me-* and *men-*--shows an extraordinary wealth of interrelationships; even more importantly, the words formed from this group all express the specific characteristics of mental structure. And in the second place, this word is the first or initial word of our Occidental culture; it is the first word of the first verse of the first canto of the first major Western utterance (p. 74).

Gebser here is referring to the word *menin*, the opening word of the *Iliad*, which is the word "mental." The Greek word *menis*, meaning "courage" and "wrath" stems from the word *menos*, which means "power," "anger," "resolve," or "courage." It is related to the latin word, *mens*, which has a number of different meanings: "thinking, anger, understanding, deliberation, imagination, mentality, disposition, thought, intent" (p. 74). What is common in these words is an emphasis on directed or discursive thought,

which we can call "thinking." "Thinking" represents a major change in conscious structure. Thinking is directional in the sense of problem solving, while mythic contemplation has no problem to solve. While "thinking" for mythic consciousness was confined to a polar cycle, discursive thought moves beyond the polar cycle, creating and directing the duality while drawing its energy from the ego. Magic man now leaves his/her two dimensional world and steps into a three-dimensional world of space and time. He/she tries to master the complexities of space and time by "thinking." He/she steps out of the limited complimentary and polar two dimensional mythic world and into an alien one where a synthesis of thought must bridge a subject/object dualism. Determinism confronts free will, subjective manipulation of discrete objects.

The essential structure of mental man is one where it is a world of the *human*, where a human is viewed as a measure of all things--he/she therefore must think and direct their thoughts. He/she lives in a material world where he confronts objects outside him/herself. Images from the mythic now are seen as silly, senseless superstition.

Gebser notes that the emergence of mental man first occurred during the times of the Greeks, then reemerged just before the Renaissance.

Three characteristics are evident from the Greek sculpture of the period (we are speaking here chiefly of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.). First there is an awaking sense of the human body

expressed in this sculpture . . . second, there is the so-called archaic smile, a mysterious smile still remote from pain and joy, but reflecting the awakening and dawn of the emergent radiant human countenance. And third, there is the gradual appearance of the free and clear forehead, which, in the earliest sculpture, is covered by artfully painted hair almost down to the eyebrows--a protection, as it were, of the still dreaming forehead . . . But as early as the sixth century. . . the forehead had emerged unrestricted, clear, and awake . . . the temples . . . are no longer protected by the natural fullness of hair (p. 78).

Humans begin to think and decide how to control the world from outside it. One example is the establishment of law. Moses delivers the "Ten Commandments" to the people to follow. In Greece, Lycurgus establishes the laws of Sparta. Later Solon enacts a legal code in Greece. Written law takes total control out of the singular hands of a king. It is "objectified," and "externalized." Judgment can no longer be so fickle without risking the charge of hypocrisy (subjectivism). As a result, a human had to direct and judge for him/herself. This, occurring about 500 B.C., shows a fundamental movement to a mental structure.

Earlier we noted that magic man was a single-dimensional structure, lacking the ideas of space and time, and we symbolized him/her with a point. Mythic man, due to his ability to perceive the cyclical nature of the world, held the circle to be sacred. Mental man can be represented by a triangle, or three-dimensions and this is characteristic of

mental man's abilities to discriminate. A triangle has three points, an object and the other two points, representing an object opposite the subject. Unlike mythical man, who always saw the world in wholes and polar unities, mental man can compare and contrast. Based on this point, Gebser discerns the essential characteristic of mental man:

. . . Having determined the characteristic attribute of the magic structure to be emotion, and the characteristic attribute of the mythical to be imagination, whereby the emotion and attitudes correspond to the magic man's relation to nature, the imaginative attitudes of mythical man to his relation to the psych, we now define *abstraction* as the identifying characteristic of the mental structure. It corresponds to the relation of this structure to man, inasmuch as everything is in relationship to human measuring thought; and this removes man from the impulsive world of emotional, as well as from the imaginistic world of the imagination, replacing them with the world of mental thought which inevitably tends toward abstraction (p. 87).

Now we have "pure" science, "pure" mathematics, "pure" evil, and the like that are transcending absolutes. Either/or perspective is intolerant and exclusive. "I" can only see from my point-of-view. During the 1200s, leading to the renaissance, this view (mental view) reemerged. Numerous works on philosophy developed. Logic reemerged in the works of Hobbes, Descartes, and Machivelli. Their work best expresses the development of the modern ego, power, and politics. Hobbes said, "Thinking is calculations in words,"

while Descartes said, "I think, therefore, I am."

Machivelli wrote about how to manipulate the masses. Political philosophy emerges as a calculation of behavior--the calculus of cost/benefit analysis. J.S. Mill begins writing about the mathematics of political morality. The Benthamites support a notion of utilitarianism--the greatest good for the greatest number. All are manifestations of the "I" or ego and rational reckoning. Mental man, it is important to note, primarily developed in Europe. Gebser believes that some cultures, such as the Chinese, still view the world from a mythic perspective. The Chinese view the world as a unity and harmony, showing a polar world, such as ying and yang, that creates a balanced whole. It is only now people can begin to see signs of an emerging "I" in China, with Chinese demanding human rights, making their desire public with such demonstrations as the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstration. The ultimate result of mental man is that everything becomes a consequence.

How is the Contract Mental?

Gebser, in looking at how the Contract is mental, would note that there is little mental about its content, although the GOP makes the Contract appear mental by presenting it in a pseudo-formal way. The Contract is "in writing" and writing is a linear, syntactic media. This implies mentalism. Remember that being able to understand exhibits a mental mode of consciousness--how one relates in the world, and interpretation from an "I" perspective. The Contract is a

reasoned artifact. It is used in a calculating style to persuade, but the content is pure rhetoric of a mythological nature. As Hobbes and Machivelli make clear, political calculating is purely mental.

The Contract provides the illusion of rationality. It says, "That is why, in this era of official evasion and posturing, we offer instead a detailed agenda of national renewal, a written commitment with no fine print" (p. 7). The Contract, as a contract, promotes that it is not vague or deceptive. In fact, in the quotation above, they explain they have "no fine print" and that it is "detailed." The Contract, however, is just an outline of what they intend to do--it is not specific. They cannot write a bill directly from what is in the book--it lacks detail. The Republicans are saying, "Trust us. We have put it in the form of a Contract so it is precise and is binding." A contract is usually used because there is a lack of trust. And by using the word "contract" boundedness and precision are suggested. Precision suggests a cause-effect relationship: precision causes clarity. To the degree they suggest the Contract is clear, the Contract shows a mental mode of awareness.

Additionally, the idea of clarity suggests comparisons and contrasts. The GOP is challenging the public to compare and contrast the Contract with other promises made by other political organizations and politicians. The GOP has "put it on paper" as a Contract, so that people can decide whether this type of promise to the people is different.

Since it is in the form of a written document, it invites rational/critical scrutiny, although as demonstrated in Chapter 4, its content cannot hold up under scrutiny. The form, however, provides for the illusion of rationality, for who would put something in writing that if scrutinized would be found inadequate? The GOP is risking that the public will not examine the Contract carefully.

The Contract's appearance as being a dialectic is mental. As noted in Chapter 3, the Contract appears as a dialectic. In fact, it has a dialectical structure, although one interest writes both sides--the GOP. They frequently, and in every MVF section, state the other side's argument, then defeat it. Although the Contract has the appearance of fairness and of representing both sides, the opponent is never there to respond. To the extent that it appears to promote a reasoning process, it is mental. The Contract, however, does not seek to present a true dialectic. The reason for this is that (a) there really is not an attempt for a true dialectic using logos, but instead appeals to ethos and pathos; (b) They do not represent the opposing party in a dialectic, despite the fact they appear to provide the opposing party's view.

It is their self-serving (mental) version of the other side. Having the opposite party represented is essential to a dialectic, and the appearance that the CWA is a dialectic suggests mentality. The cause-effect relationship typical of mental man is worth noting. A dialectic causes the truth

to unfold and is a rational outcome. The search for truth is rational and is only found in modes of awareness beyond the mythic. In the mythic world, such as Medieval Europe, method is not necessary because they already know truth. In the mental world truth is a product rendered by method--"I" presumes ignorance. The mythic truth is the story.

The GOP does not seek truth in their ongoing "dialectic" in the Contract. They already know and proclaim truth. A dialectic seeks truth--it does not proclaim it first and then claim it is seeking it. Further, it is important to note that patterns, such as dialectical debates and comparing and contrasting, require the thinking process of mental man. Additionally, the notion of "us" against "them" is mental, as are the effects of that comparison.

The Contract is mental in another way: the GOP's values and solutions contained in the Contract are equally good for all. Nowhere in the Contract does it say that anything proposed could in some way or ways be bad for particular citizens. Often something that is good for one person may not be good for another. For example, cutting social welfare programs is certainly going to make it more difficult for some, but better for others. It is pure abstraction. To calculate, conceptualize, and to design a pattern or framework requires the abstracting abilities of mental man.

The Contract is mental in that it is systematically designed, self-interested, invested in winning and not sharing, and automated. Once the Contract is signed (GOP

wins control of both chambers of Congress) *it* goes into effect--it is disinterested, dissociated, and automatic. The Contract does not apply equally to all, because there are no transcending laws in mental thinking.

Another way the Contract is mental is how it portrays Democrats--"Democrats have caused all of our problems." Throughout the chapters, the Contract frequently criticizes the Democrats. In fact, the entire beginning of the book discusses how the Democrats bicker too much in their own party and have been unable to get legislation passed; and how their legislation has been ineffective and has thus resulted in the current state of the nation, which the Contract suggests is a slow government, an ineffective policy maker, and an enemy of the people. Nowhere in the book does the GOP say it made a mistake or has ever made one. This assessment requires thinking and abstraction. To know if something is "bad" one must know what "good" *could* be. It requires patterns and frameworks to answer the question of "how" life could be. Suggesting the Democrats have "caused" all the problems suggests a cause-effect relationship. Further, this causal assessment suggests oppositional thinking, which is typical of mental man.

Conclusion

What would Gebser say about the Contract? In looking at it, he would say that its persuasion appeals to, and fosters magic and mythic forms of, awareness. There is little mental about the Contract except that it is an instrument devised

and used for ulterior motives. He would likely surmise that the Contract is a pure political calculation. It exploits dramatism for a narrow (mental) goal. The GOP's goal is to gain legislative control of both chambers of Congress, so that ultimately they can control government.

Gebser would also probably say that the Contract is mental because its form is rational. That is to say, the way the GOP structures it and its appearance betrays its calculated interests. Nevertheless, it appeals not to critical thinking but to one's emotional prejudice--to one's mentality. "A Contract is written, binding, and serious." The content of the CWA, however, is not mental--it is mythic. The Contract is image with no rational substance. The Contract treats the myths, such as "the past was better than the present," as mental. It uses myths to justify (mental process) its claims. The conclusions in Chapter 4 support this as well--the Contract had few structured arguments and appealed to the nonrational.

Gebser notes that as we move from earlier modes, such as magic, to mental modes, we become less emotional and more analytical. Findings from Chapter 3 and 4 suggest that the Contract uses less reason and more emotion to persuade. This makes persuasion easier, since magic and mythic man by definition, does not emphasize reasoning. In the mythic world one appeals to great traditional values, where one is not examining those values, but takes them for granted. The mythic world is manifested in the GOP reliving the "golden

age" of heros of a World War II generation--when America was "Great." This element was found in most chapters--the contract appeals to mythic imagery showed in the appeals to maxims. Gebser would likely say that they rationally designed the Contract, overall, to persuade on an emotional level--making people feel good, while having the appearance of being rational (mental). Being "rational" has an important emotional correlate--feeling secure.

The Contract was not designed as something that people could look at and rationally scrutinize. The GOP's designing of the Contract (mental) and appeals to affect (magic and mythic), suggests that the Contract is a calculated rational use of emotion--it is a propaganda tool. They did not intend the Contract to persuade chief executive officers or wealthy Republicans. They intended it to persuade, for instance, the working white, poor. As people in that class often lack education, use of emotional and mythical appeals would prove more effective. CWA authors probably reckoned that few would carefully (critically) study the actual contents, perhaps the media, pundits, or scholars. it is a prop in a larger drama. The manipulative power of the document is part of a larger strategy toward gaining control of both chambers of Congress by appealing to emotion via magic and mythic modes of awareness. The CWA is mental in that the authors calculated what is the best way to gain control of both chambers of Congress: making a "Contract." Gebser would note that the Contract gets its force from mak-

ing it have the appearance of a rational document, while emotional appeals are responsible for persuasion. "Being rational" is actually an emotional valuation. Statistics are most persuasive for those who can least understand them, hence what Max Weber called the "romanticization of numbers." Gebser would say that persuasion at the magic or mythic mode is easier than at the mental level. By making the Contract appear mental, which provides comfort to the public that this "rational" document will succeed, the real persuasion appeals to the emotions of mythic and magic man. This, Gebser would argue, made the work of persuading the masses much easier. It is unlikely that truly rational people would be persuaded by one document. Even GOP sympathizers who are rational would probably be either disappointed in its content or recognize it for what it is: a component of a larger political strategy.

CHAPTER 6

Dissertation Conclusion

Review of Prior Chapter Findings

It is a useful to review what Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would say about the CWA. Wittgenstein would focus on the language rules of the Contract. Although he would note the weak arguments and lack of anything substantive, he would confine his comments to how the GOP plays the language game. Following ideas set forth in Philosophical Investigations, he would conclude that the CWA *pretends* to play by the "rules" of a contract. For instance, the Contract does not reflect the same language as a legal contract and therefore, the Contract is deceptive in attempting to make it appear as one. It is imprecise and vague--two characteristics not found in legal contracts. Further, he would note that the language game of the CWA implies an authentic dialectic between the Democrats and GOP. Although it may appear that the GOP is describing the truth by supplying arguments the opposition *might* use, it is unclear if these arguments are a fair portrayal of the opposition's concerns. Having an independent opposing party is essential for a dialectic. Without an opposing party to argue against, the CWA is far from a dialectic.

Additionally, Wittgenstein would say the language game suggests "the GOP is like me." By using common, everyday language and not writing the Contract as a lawyer would (complex), the CWA is understandable to the "common per-

son." They wanted to communicate with the audience and therefore, adjusted the Contract language to the audience's level. The Contract is simple, short, and vague, making the audience believe they understand it.

Wittgenstein would not stop at just examining the language rules of the Contract. To understand the Contract, he would want to know how the Contract fits within a larger discursive strategy. He would examine the "political rules" too. For instance, since the Contract ends in the first 100 days of the first Congressional session, Wittgenstein would want to know what happens after that? What happens after day 100 and for the 265 remaining days, and the next year before Congressional elections? Is a political rule: "the most important thing is to get into office and worry about the rest later"? He would also want to know if the GOP intends to continue using Contracts, since Newt Gingrich has already suggested a contract for the year 2000. Wittgenstein would begin to look at the "big picture." He would look at the Contract's logic and the GOP's truth claims. He would ask if the GOP is stating facts or if they present what they *wish* were the case. He would want to know if the Contract is a description of what "is" reality (parts of the Contract make this claim), or whether it is speculation. For Wittgenstein, only statements about entities that exist either sensationally or logically are meaningful. Wittgenstein would want to know if the Contract is meaningful by such criteria.

Aristotle focuses on structure--arguments, arrangement, and proofs. He would say, "the CWA is sophistry," which for Aristotle equals deception. He would base this on the lack of structured arguments and proof presented by the document. In fact, the Contract primarily appeals to ethos and pathos. It appeals to ethos by attacking the character of others to make the GOP appear more trustworthy. It appeals to pathos via excessive emotionally laden words or phrases. The way these appeals work is at the heart of sophistry--avoiding the truth, although ethical and pathetic appeals can also be used by honorable people trying desperately to convince people of the truth. For Aristotle, the real danger is the lack of authentic opposition. The document is one-sided so that its claims cannot be tested and shown to be false by the opposition. Aristotle, however, would not stop there. He would want to show the dangers of sophistry by positing its possible outcomes. In his time, this included grave social injustices. Thucydides' record of Pericles' speech on those killed in the first year of the Athenian war was moving. More than 1/4 of the population died in the first year of battle. Hobbes, who translated Thucydides, believed that the demise of truth led to the end of Ancient Athens, and with it, came war. Aristotle might suggest that the lack of truth allows injustice and will, if effective in proving its worth to the public, lead us in a direction and away from true democratic discourse and down the same path of anarchy as witnessed in Aristotle's time.

Gebser would say that the Contract manifests all three modes of consciousness--magic, mythic, and mental--simultaneously, and that democracy is moving backwards, that is, modes of awareness for democracy are returning to mythic and magic modes. Historically, shamans, wizards, and gods first ruled. They were magical. Rule was divine. During the move from magic to mythic modes, people were not gods, but were kings by divine right. Only heirs could be king. With the onset of mental man, such as in ancient Greek society, anyone could be a senator (except women or slaves). Democracy is mental. It is individual people having individual rights and recourse under an agreement. Mental modes are totally arbitrary--anyone can grow up to be president. We rationally elect an individual to represent us on the basis of testing some preestablished criteria of merit against the characteristics of a candidate. Elections using mental modes suggest rationality and critical thinking in making one's decision--Gebser would argue this is not happening in the CWA context. People do not take an appropriately active role in democracy. Democracy has been less mental and more mythic than in previous years. For instance, a look at voter turnout percentages shows voter turnout has decreased with every election (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). Though voter turnout increased slightly in 1992, the number dropped again in 1996 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995). One might argue, however, that we are becoming more rational by deciding NOT to vote because we are disillusioned by televi-

sions mythic image of candidates and politics. Additionally, more people receive their political information from television than from other more mental mediums (Diamond & Bates, 1988). In the modern world, Gebser argues, people become more obsessed with time and feel they have less of it to read; that is, television becomes an alternative to save time, e.g., one can eat and watch television concurrently, thus saving time. We are in an "age of the sound bite," where television brings fragments of reality. These fragments, or sound bites, are maxims. To support his contention that democracy has become more mythic and less mental, he might refer to the picture on the front of the CWA text, showing all signers and a big contract, while standing on the steps of the Capitol with American flags flying. This is what democracy is now--image, myth, and theatre.

If Gebser were alive to see current political campaigns on television, he would argue that images are not a propositional medium. Written works have the potential to be mental. Since the information is written down, one may spend time examining it. Writing has a grammatical structure closely correlated with the structure of logic. Television images have no logic, as such. Additionally, writing requires awareness of time and space, since it must have a beginning and an end. Although the topic of another dissertation, Gebser would not leave out a discussion of the impact of television in affecting perceptions of the CWA. He would say that television is a fundamentally different

medium than print. Television is mythic. It promotes image and imagination. Unlike print, it does not allow any time to examine it and is therefore not mental. Instead of taking the time to be mental, people's awareness is mythic. For instance, in the above example with the signing of the Contract on the Capitol, just from looking at the images it "looks good." One might think, "the Contract is good, because the government will be accountable, and we have it in writing." There is no time to evaluate and question, and very little propositional information is provided. Additionally, the images and drama of television do not make for propositional arguments--a staple of mental man. Imagery and drama stress the affective. The only "truths" derived from images are that the GOP believes they are right and that they want to win control of Congress.

Moreover, Gebser would say that the image, or the mythic, are being exploited by the mental. The "proofs" the Contract offers, such as the past was better than the present, are images--stories. This is the Contract's support (mental) for change. This is a rational tactic to make mythology look mental.

Study Limitations

This study is limited in scope. No doubt television was a large part of the GOP campaign. There are really two Contracts: the video version portrayed on television and the written one. One could argue that the video version has been the most influential of the two. In this sense, the written

version actually functions as a supplement to the video version for making it "readily" available in part supports the video version as more "real," "serious," and "credible." Unfortunately, the analysis must be limited to the written text only. This severely restricts making conclusions regarding what the Contract is and how it can persuade. The Contract is not just a written text, but also the sum of its media exposure. In fact, for most people, this duality is apparent but not evident. That is, the exposure of the "real" Contract is not how it manifested in society, but rather the Contract for many people *is* a televisual phenomenon *only*. Television mediates the outcomes of a written Contract. Therefore, absolute claims regarding what the Contract is, overall, cannot be made. This study, however, explains what the written text is and how it persuades. As for what the Contract is overall and the role it played in the 1994 Congressional elections--that is another study that would have to take into account the intermediated and intertextual nature of the overall phenomenon called "the Contract with America."

Another limitation to this study is the selection of methods. The scholars were chosen because they are widely accepted as among the greatest critics of all time, and because their methods were diverse. The rationale of using such diverse methods was that if all scholars came to the same conclusion using such different methods, then the conclusions are probably valid. The methods were diverse in the

hope of complementing each other's weaknesses. For instance, one weakness of Wittgenstein's language game analysis is that it cannot analyze magical and mythical modes of awareness. Wittgenstein would say that the magic and mythic do not "say" anything and that therefore, the language cannot be analyzed. Aristotle focuses on the mental and some mythic phenomena. Gebser examines all three. Of course, as Gebser is broad in scope, he lacks some of the precision and focus of Aristotle's and Wittgenstein's methods. All three methods, it is hoped, lead to a balanced critique of the CWA.

Despite this, some might argue that other methods might yield better results. For instance, using Foucault's "rules of grammar" might have helped better understand the limitations of how the CWA could persuade. One might argue that assuming a "critical theory" approach might have been more fruitful in helping create change in our political system.

Future Extensions of this Study

Extensions of this study should examine the rhetoric of promise keeping and making, as well as the effects of media in shaping the CWA. How did televisual media affect the public? As the Contract was a manifestation of all these, this study's findings can address some of these questions.

The "Contract," the GOP would have us believe, is a promise. For that reason, it is billed as our salvation. The precise reason they needed a "Contract" is that promises no longer had force--political groups and representatives made

promises they never kept. They needed a new rhetoric to lead the public to believe promises have value. The idea of a "contract" was the answer. To give promises back their value they made "promise" take on the meaning of "accountability" and "recourse," which is convincing because it is mental. This rhetoric works because so much of the public feels that they have been lied to, hence the high degree of discussions about election cynicism--that is, each party accusing the other of fostering wide spread cynicism among the people.

The rhetoric of a promise made verbally (not necessarily recorded) has less force than one made in print (recorded). Since the recorded written promise can be examined, one feels as if he or she has recourse if the GOP does not execute the Contract. Putting the GOP's platform into a "contract" suggests it is a legally binding *public* agreement. Examinations of the rhetoric of promises would be helpful in understanding how a promise gets its force. What are the limits of its rhetoric? Does promise keeping and making have force in today's society and why? As political malaise has increased over the years and with a growing dissatisfaction in government, what rhetorically is required for a promise to have force? What is more persuasive: making or not making promises?

Extensions of this study should explore the mediating effects of television on interpretations of the Contract. This study is limited in scope--it is a textual analysis of the written Contract only; therefore, the effects of tele-

vision promotion of the Contract are unclear. As noted earlier, television is a notably different medium than a written text and it is therefore likely that people receiving information about the Contract from television will not experience it in the same ways as those receiving information only from the written Contract.

In this technological age of virtual reality, scientists and philosophers wonder if a time will come when we cannot tell the real from the unreal--fact from fantasy. With modern technological advancement in special effects, such as in the movie, the Lost World, dinosaurs look real when they are not. The question of being able to distinguish the real from the unreal has pitted what are called "modernists" against "postmodernists."

The "modernist" is the "objective" person. Recall the discussion of Descartes making a "Cartesian split" by separating the subjective from the objective world. Descartes believed that the world played tricks on our perception. He uses as an example his sight of an oar in water viewed from inside a boat--the oar appears split, but Descartes knows it is not. Therefore, he said the subject (observer) and the object (observee) are often different. He believed we must attend only to the object and suppress the reckless nature of human perception. The "objective" person turns him/herself into an instrument of reality. The objective is unmoved and merely reflects. From Descartes' experience with the oar, modernists conclude that there is a single reality

independent of all subjects (us) and finding it could be difficult, since it would require means that the modernists believed would suspend the influences of the subjective by focusing on logic and methodology. Modernists such as Rudolf Carnap, Herbert Feigl, Gustav Bergmann, Carl Hempel, or Otto Neurath believed, as did Descartes, that senses could not be used to know reality. Therefore, modernists concluded that logic was independent of subjectivism, and that people could portray reality without bias. The modernists believed that methods are not empirical things but instead are logical relations that interconnect. Perceptions are highly selective forms of systematic generalizations of data. Since methods are not extended things, such as weight or color, they offer us an opportunity to escape from the fallacies of direct personal (empirical) experience that is demonstrably fallacious. For instance, using Descartes' experience with the oar, a modernist would say that by using logic we know the oar cannot be both split and not split. If one pulls the oar, the boat still moves (a method designed to test), and so a person knows the oar is not split, and that the objective reality is true. The subjective reality is distorted. Here, a method was invented to test reality, since people hold their senses suspect. Through the mediation of logic, the modernists believe, method will render truth.

Postmodernists agree with modernists, but want to know how method renders truth unless (a) one has some method to

test the method being used to test for truth or (b) knows the "absolute truth." Even if one uses another method to test the validity of a method, the postmodernists argue, how does one know that the method used to test the validity of the previous method is valid? One is caught in a logical, infinite regression. Additionally, one is also confused regarding which to trust and when to trust them.

Modernists explain that others obtain similar results and thus confirm their findings. This still does not answer the question. How do they know they have finally found truth? Consensus can be "incorrect," as when Columbus was the only believer that the world was round. Postmodernists believe it is not possible to know that one has finally found truth. No matter how many methods are used, they would argue that the method does not discover data, but rather generates it. For instance, one can generate data by creating operational definitions, and truth becomes a product of the instrument. If one scores a 130 on an intelligence quiz (IQ test), then his or her intelligence becomes the product of the test. If one answers the questions, one way he or she has a 130 IQ. If he or she answers differently, then his or her IQ might yield a different score and is a product of the way he or she answered those particular questions. Does an IQ occur naturally in nature? No, it is an operationalized construct--created. Finding truth means finding what it is in its natural state. The IQ test, postmodernists would argue, measures intelligence by generating more data,

instead of observing what occurs naturally--the "raw data."

Therefore, postmodernists believe that no method can be found to know reality. They believe that there is an order to the universe, and that what people sense is not reality, but instead a pattern they "think" they see. What a piece of art, literature, drama, or myth means is only what the viewer thinks it does.

One question modernists and postmodernists would battle over is whether the Contract has a truth. Modernists would believe that a truth does exist and that people can be objective and find the truth. Postmodernists would say that since the content of television is unreal, one cannot prove the nonexistence of it. They believe that much of the information we receive today is neither real nor unreal but "virtual," which is an antonym to "actual." For instance, the "Deep Space Nine" space station in Star Trek, Deep Space Nine never existed. One cannot visit it. They are purely virtual (not actual) reality. Before Neil Postman, Gebser would suggest that politics is moving away from democratic behavior that presumes critical communicating--thinking skills, to mythical stories of salvation and deliverance that refer to nothing beyond themselves. Postmodernists would also argue that writing is also a catalyst for imagination and virtual realities--that the Federalist Papers are no more "real" or unreal than a television political campaign advertisement.

When people watch television, they expect drama and a

land of make believe. Modernists would argue that a viewer can be objective since he or she knows television is "make-believe." Postmodernists would argue that viewers have nothing as a referent to compare what is on television to decide whether it is the truth--that is, the missing "difference" between Princess Diana the media icon and the "real" Princess Diana. How does one determine if a myth is true or false or the degree to which it is accurate? Just as the Contract is mythic, Postmodernists would argue that television, since it is not real, is ineffective for the mental, but well suited for mythic awareness. Since both are unreal, one cannot support claims of truth.

This may explain the high degree of political malaise we currently experience--nothing is believable anymore since most of the political campaign information is mythical. Most public information is disseminated via television, and as such, whether the source believes it or not, backfires because the viewers expect it to be dramatic and unreal since it was "made up." This may also explain the explosion in conspiracy mania. Even if it appears on television, some do not believe their eyes (Kramer, 1994, 1993a, 1993b). As political information has moved more from written works to television, one could wonder whether increases in the dissemination of political information via television are responsible for the disbelief of political information, and whether they result in an increase in political malaise.

Final Thoughts

To conclude, Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would say two things. First, that the Contract is not worth the paper its written on. In fact, it is worse than nothing--it is an attempt to deliberately misinform. It has almost no support, and abuses the audience's ethos and pathos. They would say the GOP created the Contract banking on people not reading it, and using the televisual referent of the Contract, that is, "It's REAL--As Seen on TV." The GOP hoped the public would interpret the Contract as similar to the conventions of what a contract really is, for if people took more interest in government and read the CWA, they might see it for what it is.

The second concern Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would have is, "What is the future of democracy?" To answer this, Aristotle, being a student of Plato, might use Plato's distinction of "evil" and "noble" love, and the rhetoric of salvation. Evil love, as described in Plato's Gorgious, is false rhetoric. An "evil lover" uses flowery speech, and makes others dependent on him/herself for salvation. "Noble love," as described in Plato's Phaderus, is true rhetoric--that of a statesperson. He/she tells the truth and gives people the information they need to make independent judgments and to save themselves. He/she does not want to serve, but does so because his/her conscience forces him/her to.

The Contract appears as an instrument of salvation and fosters dependency. The Contract will save us from the Democrats, a poor economy, a disintegrating family, a weak

national defense, etc. Why does salvation have its force? Salvation is key to all they discuss--it is all part of a master plan--that is, a plan to save others, at the cost of making them dependent.

Nietzsche, in his book, Genealogy of Morals, discusses salvation. Nietzsche asks "why does religion exist?" He concludes that the weak, to control the strong, invented religion. When one is not a member of a religion, then he or she is condemned by God for not loving. The nonbeliever, however, is strong because he or she is subservient to no one. When people become Christians, Nietzsche believes, they become one at a price--the price of becoming weak. They are now subservient to God and if they do not love God, then God condemns them. Nietzsche says people's relationship with God is a paradox. God is the only one that can help people, but they may suffer God's wrath nonetheless--it is God's choice. Therefore, Nietzsche believes that people need salvation from God, and not the devil, since God will ultimately decide their fate. The result of becoming weak is that evil people are strong.

Nietzsche disliked democracy for similar reasons he disliked God--it weakens a person's power. Everyone has the same amount of power in a democracy. People's fate is not with themselves, but with their representative. The Contract uses the same rhetoric to control people as would a Christian God--"Only I can save you."

The Contract follows the rhetoric of the evil lover--

only it can help us. We are dependent on them for fixing today's problems. Clinton cannot help us; the Democrats cannot help us. They are the problem. The Contract is the only "truth sayers." The rhetoric the Contract uses makes it appear as a noble lover. The Contract is written to "speak the truth." The GOP implies they can be trusted since they "put it in writing." Justice will be done since the Contract, not the GOP, will be responsible for change. These all make the GOP appear noble, although they are really evil, because they insist on being saviors instead of liberators. The democrats, by the way, do the same thing--they say they can save us too. So Aristotle, Wittgenstein, and Gebser would be concerned (as would Neil Postman, and many other contemporaries about the state of current United States democratic institutions) about the predominance of evil love in politics today.

Our current political system is quite a departure from that of the ancient Greeks. One primary difference between our system and that of the Greeks is that the Greeks had serious debates, especially on decisions with profound consequences, such as war. Thucydides is best known for his works outlining the political debates and events leading to the Peloponnesian war. Chapter 3, Book I, of his accounts, outlines the debates of the Congress of the Peloponnesian Confederacy at Lacedaemon. These debates demonstrate people's involvement in politics. His accounts clearly show the highly articulate practice of the Athenians during

debate. People, although represented, took part in politics. They saved themselves by doing so. Today is different. Unlike the Greeks, Congressional debate is now televised and political malaise is at an all time high. Who is to blame? The evil lover, the public for a lack of participation, or both? In either case, all the scholars used in this paper would come to the same conclusion.

Wittgenstein, Aristotle, and Gebser would likely say that democracy is only as good as the degree to which people participate in it. Until people actively participate in the decisions of their government, the substance of democracy will remain mythic, public dissatisfaction with government will continue, and people will see more attempts to try to deceive the public with such rhetorical tools as a "Contract."

REFERENCES

- Alston, C. (1993, February 6). Republicans face long odds in protecting senate clout. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(6), 247.
- Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC). Rhetoric. In The Great books (ed.) P. Goetz (Vol. 8, pp.593-680). (Trans. W. Roberts). Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
- Augustine, S. (1952). Confessions. NY: Pocketbook.
- Austin, J. (1962). Sense and sensibilia. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bader, J. (1996). Taking the initiative: Leadership agendas in Congress and the "Contract with America." Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Series title: American governance and public policy.
- Bettmann, O. (1974). The Good old days--They were terrible. New York: Random House.
- Buttny, R. (1986). The ascription of meaning: A Wittgensteinian perspective, Quarterly Journal of Speech, 72(3), 261-273.
- Brown, N. (1992, November 7). Voters looking for change turn to new generation. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 50(44), 3547.
- Campbell, J. (1988). The power of myth. NY: Doubleday Publishing.
- Cassirer, E. (1944). An essay on man. CT: Yale University Press.
- Clinton will present economic agenda. (1993, February 13). Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(7), 295.
- Cloud, D. S. (1994, October 8). End of session marked by

- partisan stalemate. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(39), 2847-2849.
- Communication Abstracts (1994-1997, vol 16-20). Temple University, School of Communications and Theater. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Congressional Quarterly Inc. (1993a). Congress and the nation, 48, 17. Washington D.C.: Author.
- Congressional Quarterly Inc. (1993b). Congress and the nation, 48, 25. Washington D.C.: Author.
- Congressional Quarterly Inc. (1996, October 5). Contract with America update, 54, 40, 2838.
- Connolly, C. (1994a, April 23). Campaign '94: A volatile season as voter discontent lingers. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(16), 937-940.
- Connolly, C. (1994b, October 1). Legislation goes overboard as members eye the exits. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(38), 2753.
- Cook, R. (1992, November 7). Clinton picks the GOP lock on electoral college. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 50(44), 3548.
- Diamond E. & Bates, S. (1988). The spot. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Donovan, B. (1993a, May 8). Clinton offers details of plan; big test is GOP senate unity. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(19), 1121.
- Donovan, B. (1993b, May 29). Synar crosses the line. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(22), 1339.
- Donovan, B. (1993c, June 19). Senate passes campaign finance by gutting public funding. Congressional

- Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(25), 1533.
- Donovan, B. (1993d, August 14). Constitutional doubts bedevil hasty campaign finance bill. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(33), 2215.
- Donovan, B. (1994, September 24). Republicans plan filibusters, imperiling senate schedule. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(37), 2655.
- Eliade, M. (1968). Myth and reality. NY: Harper Collins.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1995, 3/27-29/95). The Gallup poll. Survey: GO: 22-50001-014.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1994a, 7/15-17/94). The Gallup/CNN/USA Today Poll. Survey: GO22-00807-016.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1994b, 9/23-25/94). CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll. Survey: GO 22-0087-024.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1994c). The Gallup poll public opinion. p. 31. Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1994d, 6/25-28/94). The Gallup poll. Survey: GO 22-00807-011.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1993, 12/4-6). The Gallup poll. Survey: GO422024.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1990, 5/17-20). The Gallup Poll. Survey: GO: 922010.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1989a, 5/4-7/89). The Gallup Poll. Survey: GO89134.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1989b, 11/28-28; 12/2-5/94). Gallup/CNN/USA Today Poll. Survey # GO22-50001-002; 22-50001-003.
- Gallup, G. Jr. (1989c, 7/18-21/89). The Gallup Poll. Survey: GO 89136.
- Gallup, G. (1949, 12/10-15). The Gallup Poll. Question 6A,

Survey: 434-K.

Gebser, J. (1985). The Ever-present Origin (N. Barstad, & A. Mickunas, Trans.). Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Gimpel, J. (1996). Legislating the revolution: The Contract with America in its first 100 days. Allyn and Bacon: Boston, Mass.

Gingrich, N. (1994). Contract with America. New York: Times Books.

Golden, J., Goodwin, F. & Coleman, W. (1989). The Rhetoric of western thought (4th ed.). Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company.

Great Books of the Western World (1990a, 55, 313).

Philosophy and Religion. Biographical note. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

Great Books of the Western World (1990b, 8, v-vi).

Aristotle. Biographical note. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

Hager, G. (1993, January 23). GOP ready to fight Clinton over economic policy. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(4), 170.

Hopper, R. (1988). Speech, for instance: The exemplar in studies of conversation, Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 7(1), 47-63.

Husserl, E. (1970). Logical investigations. New York: Humanities Press.

Husserl, E. (1970). The crisis of European sciences and transcendental phenomenology. Evanston, IL: Northwest University Press.

Husserl, E. (1969). Formal and transcendental logic. The

- Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Husserl, E. (1931). Ideas: General introduction to pure phenomenology. London: Allen & Urwin.
- Idelson, H. (1994, June 4). Fight over crime bill now turns to money. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(22), 1454.
- Kaplan, D. & Mahtesian, C. (1992, November 7). Election's wave of diversity spares many incumbents. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 50(44), 3570-3576.
- Keckeis, J. (1985). In memoriam Jean Gebser. IN The ever present origin (pp. xvii-xxi). (N. Barstad, & A. Mickunas, Trans.). Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Kramer, E. (1988). Television criticism and the problem of ground: Interpretation after deconstruction. Dissertation. Ohio University.
- Kramer, E. (1993a). The origins of television as civilization expression. In K. Haworth, J. Deely & T. Prewitt (Eds.), Sources in Semiotics (Vol. XI, pp. 28-37). New York: Up in America.
- Kramer, E. (1993b). Mass media and democracy. In J. Murphy & D. Peck (Eds.), Open institutions: The Hope for democracy (pp. 77-98). Westport Conn.: Praeger.
- Kramer, E. (1994). Making love alone: Videocentrism and the case of modern pornography. In K. Callaghan (Eds.), Ideals of femine beauty: Philosophical, social, and cultural dimensions (pp. 79-98). Westport Conn.: Greenwood.
- Kuntz, P. (1994a, August 27). Hard-fought crime bill battle

- spoils field for health care. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(34), 2485.
- Kuntz, P. (1994b, August 13). Democrats' defeat raises specter of gridlock. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(32), 2311.
- Lao-Tzu (1939). Laotzu's Tao and Wu-Wei: A new translation by Bhikshu Wai-Tao and Dwight Goddard. Interpretive essays by Henri Borel. Outline of Taoist philosophy and religion by De. Kiang Kang-Hu. Vermont: Tetford.
- McCroskey, J, Richmond, V., & Stewart, R. (1986). One on one: The foundations of interpersonal communication. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- National Tally. (1992, May 30). Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 50(21), 1553.
- Ong, W. J. (1982). Orality & literacy: The technologizing of the word. New York: Routledge.
- Palmer, E. J. & Bowens, G. J. (1994, January 29). Edwards, Ford and Hughes join democratic exodus. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(4), 190.
- Rep. Rose agrees to pay fine in civil lawsuit over loans. (1994, October 29). Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(42), 3087.
- Rubin, A. J. & Hook, J. (1993, September 25). Clinton sets health agenda: security for everyone. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(38), 2551.
- Russell, B. (1938). Principles of mathematics. NY: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Sapir, E. (1949). Writing in language, culture, and personality. California: Univerisity of California

Press.

Sen. Durenberger re-indicted. (1994, February 26).

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(8), 459.

Spiegelberg, H. (1984). The phenomenological movement: A historical introduction (3rd.). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Taylor, A. (1993, August 7). Democrats vow to return RTC in September. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(32), 2147.

Thomas, P. (1996, August 29). Restructurings generate rash of age-bias suits. The Wall street journal (p. B1).

Towell, P. (1994, January 22). Inman's abrupt withdrawal astonishes capital. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 52(3), 126.

Rostenkowski loses motion on leaks. (1993, February 13). Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 51(7), 304.

Schopenhauer (1966). The world as will and representation Vol I & II. NY. Dover Publishing.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1992). Current population reports, p. 287.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1995). Current population reports. p20-453 & p20-466.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1996). Current population reports. p. 60-189.

U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1992). Criminal victimization rates.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1995). Employment and earnings, monthly, Bulletin 2307.

U.S. National Center for Health Statistics of the United

- States (1988a). Advance data from vital statistics of the United States. No. 194.
- U.S. National Center for Health Statistics of the United States (1988b). Vital statistics of the United States.
- U.S. Office of Management and Budget. (1994, annual). Budget of the United States government.
- Webster, N. (1979). Webster's new twentieth century dictionary of the English language (2nd eds.). United States: Simon and Schuster.
- Whore, B. (1956). Language, thought, and reality. Boston: MIT press.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1922). Tractatus Logico-philosophicus. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Wittgenstein, L. (1953). Philosophical investigations (G. Anscombe, R. Rhees, & G. H. von Wright, Eds.) (Trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 1956). Oxford Press.