

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

the most "unrestrictive and indeterminate" clauses in the Constitution. In First Amendment free-speech and free-expression cases, particularly with regard to "prior restraint" (e.g., barring a newspaper in advance from publishing a story), the Burger Court has yet to stray significantly from the principles of the Warren Court.

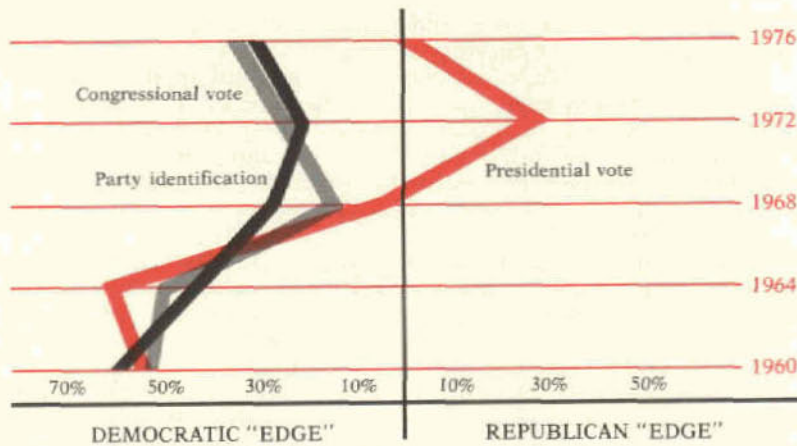
In sum, Steamer concludes, the Court appears likely to "retain the best" of the Warren years (while eschewing some of "the old pitfalls"): a penchant for insubstantial cases and a blurred conception of the line between legislative and judicial functions.

The Democrats' Two-Party System

"The Democrats Have Their Own Two-Party System" by Everett Carl Ladd, in *Fortune* (Oct. 1977), 541 N. Fairbanks Ct., Chicago, Ill. 60611.

On election day 1976, the Democrats acquired a 149-seat margin over the Republicans in the House and held on to 68 percent of the seats in the 50 state legislatures. But on the same day, Democrat Jimmy Carter barely scraped by (with 50.1 percent of the vote) in the race for the White House.

Since World War II, the Democrats have won only four of eight presidential battles—three of them narrowly. The reason the otherwise predominant Democratic party repeatedly fails to walk off with the high-



Adapted, with permission, from Fortune.

Big-city white Catholics have begun to vote one way in presidential elections and another way in other elections, despite their heavy Democratic Party identification. For example, in 1972, 30 percent more white Catholics identified themselves as Democrats than as Republicans; the same lead held in congressional voting. However, the Republican presidential candidate received about 25 percent more white Catholic votes than the Democratic nominee.

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est office in the land, says Ladd, a political scientist at the University of Connecticut, is that there are not one but two types of liberalism in America today, and the Democrats, "to their joy and sorrow," embody both of them.

New Deal "bread and butter" liberalism, Ladd believes, is by now so ingrained that it wins votes from conservatives and liberals alike in congressional and state elections. But a "New Liberalism" has emerged in the past 20 years among a small but influential group of well-to-do, college-educated professionals who question the old economic and moral values. They reject equality of opportunity in favor of equality of result, writes Ladd, and take a libertarian stand on abortion, drugs, sexuality, and race.

New Liberals have a greater impact on the presidential race than on local contests. Because of their access to money and media, they help choose the Democratic nominee and shape his campaign. But because they are detached from the mainstream liberalism of the middle and lower classes, they taint the nominee's positions with unwanted controversy. New Liberalism, argues Ladd, was responsible for McGovern's nomination and defeat in 1972; it increased Carter's vulnerability in 1976. (Carter received 37 percent of the votes of self-styled conservatives; Democrats running for state legislatures in the same year received 54 percent of those votes.)

The Democratic Party will be torn by an ever widening breach between Old and New Liberals, Ladd predicts. Dissenting "policy intellectuals" see no place to go outside the Democratic camp; neither do the Old Democrats, under pressure from blue-collar workers who no longer see themselves as the principal beneficiaries of Democratic domestic spending programs.

The King's English

"Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century" by John H. Fisher, in *Speculum* (Oct. 1977), 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Students of politics are careful to note the influence of cultural change on government; but the operations of government may have an equally important impact on language and culture. A case in point, says Fisher, a professor of English at the University of Tennessee, is the re-emergence of Standard Written English as an official language in the 15th century.

Despite the upper-class preference for French after the 1066 Norman invasion, "English" was still spoken by ordinary folk in Britain. Until 1400, however, all official correspondence was written in French or Latin; schools did not abandon these languages as vehicles for classroom instruction until the 16th century; and Parliament's business was conducted in French until about 1360. In short, a spoken, colloquial English, with pronunciation and spelling varying by locale, existed alongside two highly structured administrative languages.