

per cent more likely to support Bush than either Clinton or Perot.

Social and moral issues mattered a lot for both Clinton and Bush, with a combined effect that is 1.75 times greater than the economy for Clinton and twice as great for Bush. People don't have to believe that an issue is central to the national agenda to use it as a voting cue. Much of the policy voting in 1992 seems to reflect underlying cleavages in the electorate. Clearly, there were fault lines over moral issues separating Clinton and Bush supporters in 1992. Abortion and affirmative action strongly divided supporters of the three candidates. Abortion rights separated Clinton (and Perot) voters from Bush backers. Affirmative action cut differently: Bush (and Perot) voters were aligned against Clinton's coalition. Changing moral standards split Bush and Clinton.

The economy appeared to dwarf moral issues because there were clearer lines of division on economics than on morality. Bush received the support of people who were satisfied with the state of the economy and the country's direction; Clinton and Perot split the disaffected, with the dividing line largely reflecting long-term optimism and the role of the government in moulding the economy. Social and moral issues cut across the three coalitions, so there was a less coherent message coming through.

Moral issues seemed subdued in 1992 because there was neither a straight fight nor a clear consensus on what the government might do on these moral concerns.

Although there are linkages between the two values crises, they are largely independent of each other. The Clinton and Bush votes depended on both moral and economic issues. The communitarian crisis reflects the loss of civility and social capital. It is fuelled by a sense of despair for the future. Yet none of the moral issues are connected to portents of a bleak economic morrow.

Eric Uslaner is Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland at College Park. This is an edited version of a paper presented to the CSD Research Seminar.

Body Politics

by Shoshanna Garfield

To understand terror, one must talk about the body. If one does not, one risks missing an opportunity to explore the crucial role of individual suffering in political aggregates. For example, when exploring the workings of fascist regimes, one can focus on the practice of torture, say in Argentina in the 1970s.

The torture room was the bloody meeting ground between the citizenry and the lethal power of the state; it was the transitional zone between individual and collective, the public and the private. Ownership of the story of torture was the focal struggle: the regime had its interpretation, which buttressed its own rule by decree. Those who suffered torture had inscribed on their bodies an alternative story, which, when publicly validated, would be a strong force in unveiling the illegitimacy of a regime. Indeed, in Argentina, Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, with their demands that the bodies and stories of their children and grandchildren be made public, were a central force in defeating the regime.

Stories are central, in the collective and individual sense: they build our identities and reveal our moralities. Stories are generated through the experience of the body: it is fingers that reach for another out of love or malice, faces that get smashed by fists.

Torture is the opposite of civilization. Genuine civilization requires an assumption of safety; one cannot write poetry if one is starving to death, nor read if one is toppling off a chair. This desire for safety is the essence of body politics. This assumption of safety is exactly what widespread torture and kidnapping prevents, and it does so to the degree of spawning a culture of fear, making fear a constant foundation of everyday life. All energy is diverted into devising ways of avoiding detention. Public life, the economy, the arts: all wither.

It is the consequences of pain that provide a key to understanding the overriding commitment to avoiding pain: pain unravels civilization and the capacity for language in a moment of unendurable anguish; it obliterates one's ability to project oneself onto the world through voice. The political consequences of pain in loss of voice are apparent on the individual level in the confession, and on the collective level in the loss of public voice. At this level, the only voice is that of the regime; the only story is that told by the regime.

A culture of fear is not accidental; it is created. The disappearances in Argentina required massive resource dedication, from staff, to torture implements, to money for electric bills. It also required sophisticated organization within the military, and between the military and groups such as the local police and the judiciary. The system of torture and terror was *produced*. Amnesty International has documented the Argentinean junta's intent, prior to their coup, to perpetrate mass murder.

It is, thus, clear that state terror is not a moment but a system. It is not an unconnected assortment of individual narratives of brutality but a regime of body management, a social system which specialises in the production of suffering. Members of civil society live bathed in terror, in a paradoxical state of denial and knowing, with the compelling yet tacit knowledge of the possibility of imminent pain. Such tacit knowledge is a discourse of silence in which people adjust their lives in minute detail to accommodate the terror, but have no capacity for articulating it. The only voice is that of the regime.

The struggle over stories, especially those about trauma, and the visceral ties of story to identity, body, and morality as related to political functioning and government structure, promise rich veins of future research.

Shoshanna Garfield is a Visiting Research Scholar at CSD. This is an edited version of a paper she presented to the CSD Seminar in November 1995.

CSD Perspectives

a series of pamphlets published by University of Westminster Press

The Betrayal of Bosnia, by Lee Bryant. No. 1 (Autumn 1993). ISBN : 1 85919 035 9. £3.50.

Nations, Nationalism, and the European Citizen, by John Keane. No. 2 (Autumn 1993). ISBN : 1 85919 040 5. £3.50.

Universal Human Rights? The Rhetoric of International Law, by Jeremy Colwill. No. 3 (Autumn 1994). ISBN : 1 85919 040 5. £3.50.

Islam and the Creation of European Identity, by Tomaz Mastnak. No. 4 (Autumn 1994). ISBN : 1 85919 026 X. £3.50.

Uncertainty and Identity: The Enlightenment and its Shadows, by Chris Sparks. No. 5 (Autumn 1994). ISBN : 1 85919 031 6. £3.50.

The Making of a Weak State: The Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1906, by Mehdi Moslem. No. 6 (Summer 1995). ISBN : 1 85919 071 5. £3.50.

The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference: Perspectives on European Integration, by Richard Whitman. No. 7 (Winter 1995). ISBN: 1 85919 002 2. £3.50.

Renewing Local Representative Democracy: Councillors, Communities, Communication, by Keith Taylor. No. 8 (Spring 1996). ISBN: 1 85919 082 0. £3.50.

European Democracy at the Russian Crossroads, by Irene Brennan. No. 9 (Spring 1996). ISBN: 1 85919 077 4. £3.50.

The End of Religion?, by Marcel Gauchet. No. 10 (Spring 1996). ISBN: 185919 072 3. £3.50.

Available from CSD. Cheques should be made payable to 'University of Westminster'.

CSD News

Degree

In April, Richard Whitman was awarded a PhD for his dissertation, *The Construction and Representation of the International Identity of the European Union*.

Inaugural lecture

On Tuesday, 26 November 1996, at 5.00 pm, at the University, Barry Buzan, Professor of International Studies at the University of Westminster, will be giving his inaugural lecture, 'Where we are at the end of the second millenium: a view from International Studies'. This will also be a CSD public lecture. For details, contact Emma Dewhurst on 0171-911-5138.

Events

CSD is organising the following events in the coming months:

24-27 July, jointly with St Antony's College, Oxford, and the United Nations University, the 'UNU Conference on the Changing Nature of Democracy: Challenges to Old and New Democracies. Venue: St Antony's College. For details, contact Ali Tajvidi on 0171-911-5138.

1-4 October: with the Netherlands Institute for International Relations, a conference for young diplomats from Central and Eastern Europe.

18 October, at 6.00 pm, a public lecture, at the University, by Maurizio Passerin d'Entreves, on the subject of Hannah Arendt and the individualist and communitarian conceptions of citizenship. This is part of a two-day symposium, 'Arendt in Our Times'. Unfortunately, the symposium is already full, but, for information about the lecture, please contact Bridget Cotter on 0171-911-5138, or on e-mail: cotterb@westminster.ac.uk.

25 October: at the University, a symposium: 'The Republican Take-over on Capitol Hill'. Papers from, among others: Michael Foley (Aberystwyth); Tony Badger



(Cambridge); John Owens (Westminster); Byron Shafer (Oxford); and a guest speaker from the USA. Details: Dr Owens on 0171-911-5000 x 2159.

Publication

CSD Perspective

The End of Religion?, by Marcel Gauchet. (See box for details.)

Gauchet analyses a key paradox: that, for the last two centuries, religion has relentlessly lost standing in our societies, while, at the same time, for its theoreticians, it has continued to acquire fresh depth and significance in terms of its function at the heart of societies. The more we free ourselves from its hold, the more it appears retrospectively to have been at the core of our collective mechanisms.

CSD Seminar Programme

May

Professor M. Kajitani: Nation and Society in Western Europe and Japan.

Professor Irene Brennan: Human Rights in Russia and EU Policy.

June

Patrick Burke: ENDing the Cold War. *Professor Graeme Duncan*: Thoughts on Multiculturalism.

Julian Kirby: Challenging the System: The Clinton Presidency.