

sitting under his desk stamping newspapers with a stamp that had no ink.

Also in Row "T" sometimes sits the Prophet, his thin body melting into the chair, gray hair on chin and wearing a black calf-length outer-garment fashionable over a hundred years ago. Occasionally Mr. Vandyke Beard will glance over and smile at me, blushing slightly. I have noticed astride two chains pulled together a gentleman with poor eyesight wearing a shade on his forehead and dark sunglasses with white handkerchiefs stuffed along the shanks.

Is there a Dante Gabriel Rossetti sitting here today searching for "stunning words"? Or a Coventry Patmore stopping his cataloging to write poetry? Who can say? But as things are going in the world nowadays, I sometimes dream of men in dark suits, shades over their eyes, milling ominously about. The Library becomes, in my dream, a haunt for touts, bookies, and racetrack enthusiasts.

(1967)

Wilson's spent now from Lasswell

## The Drift of Behaviorism

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND POLITICS, by Harold D. Lasswell, New York: Compass Books, 1961. Paperback, \$1.65.

Reviewed by Francis G. Wilson, Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois.

Mr. Lasswell's *Psychopathology* was first published in 1930. It has since been republished page for page in *The Political Works of Harold D. Lasswell* in 1961. This current edition has the same pagination as the original work, except that "After Thoughts: Thirty Years Later" has been added. The long "After Thought" is a Political Testament, but it is no more lucid on what the author really wants than is much of his other writing. Careful students of Lasswell's work, like Bernard Crick in his *The American Science of Politics* and Robert Horwitz in Herbert J. Storing's *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics*, have observed a changing formulation of the terminology and issues of Lasswell's political science. a system of changes so rapid, indeed, that a new set of categories is often proposed before the old one has been embodied in any serious empirical research. One is tempted to suggest that the motto of his efforts is not unlike the Swiss auctioneer of women's clothes I once heard whose favorite claim for a female garment was that it would *épater la bourgeoisie*. Lasswell has jolted all sorts of political scientists, and the question now must arise: What is the permanent impact of his writing? What has he been driving at all these years?

The *Psychopathology* was undoubtedly a daring, pioneer work. It has been pondered by many a college student, and many a faculty member in the field of politics has learned just about all his psychopathology and Freudian political thought from this book. In this way, it can claim some of the qualities of a classic in the field, though the original perceptive mind in these *New Aspects of Politics* was probably Charles E. Merriam, who was in his way one of the most imaginative of men in his chair of political science. Freud has become old-hat by this time, and we have moved on to other psychological theories about the nature of the political process. Walton Hamilton once talked of Merriam as an entrepreneur of research, a man who was directing the young men he brought to

Chicago into the emergent areas he could discern, and for whom he would get research grants from the Social Science Research Council, which he had indeed conceived and brought into being. The men Merriam made were the "Chicago School," and surely Lasswell has become through the years one of the most influential of those who have carried in turn the Merriam torch of the new political science.

Let us consider briefly but more pointedly the subject-matter of the *Psychopathology*. The book opens with a defense of psychiatric life histories as a means of penetrating the personality systems of people who are concerned with politics. It proceeds to an explanation of the Freudian system, and especially the free-fantasy method of the analytic couch, as alternative to the traditional systems of rational inquiry into the issues of political science. Lasswell develops a set of criteria of political types, such as agitators, administrators, theorists, and others, in various combinations, relying particularly on Spranger and Weber. Following this, the Freudian theories of personality development are sketched, and then the life histories of different kinds of political personality are written at length. The role of political convictions, their embodiment in personality characteristics, the politics of prevention, and the prolonged interview and its objectification are explained. The final chapter considers "the state as a manifold of events." Surely, there is nothing traditional about these chapters developed under the touch of the talents which all have recognized Lasswell to possess.

"The distinctive mark of the *homo politicus*," said Lasswell, "is the rationalization of the displacement in terms of public interests. Political types may be distinguished according to the specialized or the composite character of the functions which they perform and which they are desirous of performing. There are political agitators, administrators, theorists, and various combinations thereof. . . . The hallmark of the agitator is the high value which he places on the response of the public. As a class the agitators are strongly narcissistic types. . . . As a group the administrators are distinguished by the value which they place upon the co-ordination of effort in continuing activity. . . . [and] their effects are displaced on less remote and abstract objects. . . . The psychological method

was also employed to discover the significance of political convictions. . . . and they symbolize a host of private motives. . . . Political movements derive their vitality from the displacement of private effects upon public objects. The affects which are organized in the family are redistributed upon various social objects such as the state. . . . Political symbols are particularly adapted to serve as targets for displaced affect because of their ambiguity of reference, in relation to individual experiences, and because of their general circulation. . . . When the state is seen as a manifold of events. . . . the theoretical foundation is laid for both the intensive and the distributive inquiry upon which the politics of prevention can be built."

THESE QUOTATIONS form the core of the author's summarization of the work, but the "After Thoughts" carry the discussion much further, admitting that many of the psychological devices of 1930 are subject to correction. Lasswell's formalization of categories is much more developed than in earlier work. Considering the systems of categorization of values, and the basic components of action (symbol, sign, and movements and materials) he brings together some of the latest of the vast system of this Aesopian language, devoted in form at least to the preservation of democracy and freedom. But one wishes the author would say what he really does want, and not leave the skeptical reader with the uncomfortable feeling that democracy and freedom are point by point just what Lasswell and the "psychoanalytoocracy" want. For they know what the personality ought to be, and what a man ought to be when they are willing to let him off the couch, but they are not willing to say in simple language what it is really they have in mind as the psychoscientific utopia of tomorrow. Lasswellism is perhaps just another of many scientific utopian schemes, all of which point out the way for man to become happy: unfrustrated, well-developed, and emancipated from the traditional values of religion and the historic morality of civilized man. In the large dialectic between the interviewer and the participant, everything one says, or even does inadvertently, is given a classification and a name either not known or not intended by the person who is being observed by the "trusted" analyst. The interviewers are the students of the power-centered personality in politics. They are engaged in controlling conduct by "micro-slicing the

social process into more and more cross-sections, each of which can become the site of deliberate manipulative intervention." (p. 307)

Somehow civil liberty, even a theory of free action by the human will, fade away, in the light of such a statement as follows: "Unconscious components of personality can become allies in the process whereby the human potential of a given social context is brought to a high level of realization. Persons on good terms with their entire personality structure can benefit from 'partial regressions' that bring new form-potentialities to completion." (p. 312) When the psychiatrist suppresses in the name of his "myth," who can argue the First Amendment? Alas, in our day "reality" is becoming just what the psychologist says it is: a whole nation shows its schizophrenia by fearing Communism. Mere freedom is not enough, for we must have "quality competition" from those who "recommend the best facts and the most thoughtful interpretations available in the body politic" at a given moment. Businessmen seem especially prone to less than the best. (p. 316)

Those like Horwitz, who have sought for Lasswell's truth behind his Aesopian language, say what he wants is no less than to be the Master Propagandist of our society. With the aid of men like Crick and Horwitz, however, we yet escape the compound of Marx, Vehlen, and Freud that shapes his kingdom of darkness. Long ago Lasswell seems to have deserted politics for an impatient ideology of "socialized Freudianism"; he accepts temporary psychiatric dictatorship as necessary, and the social scientist must rule before he knows. The social scientist is proposed as a new kind of cadre man. But if Lasswell can be a totalitarian, why cannot the conservative as well? Or, it may be argued that the demands of the personality engineers have made necessary the conservative defense of Tradition, that is, the historic set of values that have produced democracy and the climate of freedom in which its enemies also thrive.

If one leaves the old political science for the new, the criteria all come from the outside: Marx, Freud, atheism (God is a symbol), the new psychology, and the struggle of groups where no common good is to be found. Neither the political is studied directly, nor is it the criterion for the relevant in the new politics. Perhaps we may still think that the "developmental construct" of Lasswell is not in-

evitable. The hope of the future is that we may yet avoid falling into his hands, and that our youth will have enough sense not to be corrupted by his like. Or, as a student of Lasswell said of him: "He is the modern Genghis Khan leading his destroying Mongol horde of personality engineers through the Great Tradition."

## Johnny's Antiseptic World

WHAT IVAN KNOWS THAT JOHNNY DOESN'T, by Arthur S. Trace, Jr.  
Random House, \$3.95.

Reviewed by William Morrison.

IVAN KNOWS a great deal; if he doesn't, it is not the fault of either his curriculum or his textbooks. Johnny doesn't know as much as he should, or could, because of an anemic curriculum and textbooks that lack competent scholarship.

Curriculum and textbooks in the fields of the teaching of reading, literature, foreign languages, history, and geography form the basis of Dr. Trace's study. With the exception of foreign languages, the author gives an extensive listing of the names of texts used in each subject area. There is a representative sampling of quotes from American and Soviet readers, from Soviet foreign language books, and American geographies. Evidence abounds that Ivan receives a truly basic education. There is equal evidence that Johnny, in far too many instances, receives a program that seems deliberately rigged to impoverish his mind. While the author "recognizes fully the many virtues of the American school system," he is well aware that the curriculum and textbooks of American schools tragically underestimate the importance of *ideas*, and that grave shortcoming seriously handicaps our ability to meet the Communists in that area.

Vivid contrasts between the two school programs fill the pages. Thoroughness of presentation and coverage of subject-matter in Soviet schools is readily evident. Sketchiness is all too often a pitiful characteristic of American education in both presentation and coverage. This contrast is particularly sharp in the chapter on the teaching of reading and in the one following on literature.



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