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**FREUDIANISM: ITS MANIFEST AND LATENT IMPACT ON THE STATE OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

New York University

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FREUDIANISM: ITS MANIFEST AND LATENT IMPACT ON THE STATE
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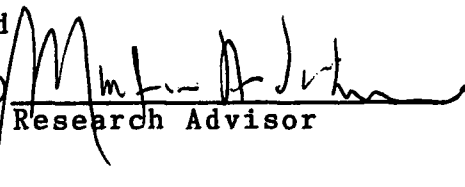
by

Karen Vogel Sunshine

A dissertation in the
Department of Politics
submitted to the faculty of the
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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at
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For my parents Julia and Milton Vogel
and their grandchildren
Kenneth and Sari Sunshine

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: A "TECHNIQUE OF UNSETTLEMENT"

No wonder the ancient cultures of deceit in his technique of unsettlement foresaw the fall of princes, the collapse of their lucrative patterns of frustration.

---W. H. Auden¹

Sigmund Freud, the progenitor of psychoanalysis, died in September 1939 leaving behind him a lifetime of work which has been referred to, among other things, as a theory of the mind, a method of obtaining psychological data, a therapy, a philosophy of life and a body of ethics.² Each of these descriptions is unquestionably an accurate one but probably none better conveys the essence of his manifold legacy than Auden's elegiac observation that Freud's greatest bequest was a "technique of unsettlement" revolutionary in its implications. It is the

¹W. H. Auden, "In Memory of Sigmund Freud," in W. H. Auden: Collected Poems, ed. Edward Mendelson (New York: Random House, 1976), stanza 12, lines 45-48.

²Kenneth E. Appel, "Freud and Psychiatry," in Freud and Contemporary Culture, ed. Iago Galdston (New York: International Universitites Press, Inc., 1957), p. 23.

impact of this inheritance upon American political scientists, that is the extent to which their teaching and research has or has not been affected ("unsettled") by the revolutionary ideas collectively known as Freudianism, that is the subject of inquiry to be investigated in this paper.

(1) A PUZZLE AND A PORTRAIT

The *raison d'être* for such an investigation are twofold and interrelated. The first is to try to answer a rather puzzling question and the second is the desire to add a bit of dimension to the rather sketchy "self-portrait" literature of the discipline.³

A PUZZLE

The initial and hence inspirational force which motivated the present endeavor, was the discovery of two large pieces of a puzzle which clearly did not seem to

³The term puzzle is being used here in the very loosest Kuhnian meaning of the word. Kuhn defines a puzzle as "that special category of problems that can serve to test ingenuity or skill in solution." A paradigm, which contains the rules for puzzle-solving, and "the assured existence of a solution" are the criteria to be met for his classification of a puzzle. It would be putting the cart before the horse to suggest at this point that the paradigm currently used by political scientists is or could be a psychoanalytic one but the reader might keep it in mind. See Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 36-38.

fit. To wit: in 1912 "the literature pertaining to the interrelations between psychoanalysis on the one hand, and mythology, the history of religions, sociology and cognate fields on the other, had become extensive enough to warrant the formation of a new" interdisciplinary "journal, Imago;" in 1930 Freud won the Goethe prize for revolutionizing and enriching the "world of images, of artists, ministers, of historians and educators...;" in 1947 Geza Roheim founded an annual publication entitled Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences in recognition of the contribution that psychoanalytic concepts had made in social science inquiry; and in 1967 Parsons and Shils identified Freud as one "of the great founders of modern social science theory."⁴ In other words, piece one of the puzzle was the existence of an all-pervasive Freudian "climate of opinion" that was so embracing for over half a century that it seemed, as one scholar put it, that "none

⁴Jacob A. Arlow, The Legacy of Sigmund Freud (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1956), p. 96; Paul Mandelstam, "The Freudian Impact Upon Contemporary Political Thinking: An Analysis of the Political Ideas of Sigmund Freud, Arthur Koestler, Erich Fromm, Harold D. Lasswell and Abram Kardiner" (Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1952), p. 1; Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 52; Geza Roheim, ed., Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, 5 vols. (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1947-1958). The title of the latter was changed to The Psychoanalytic Study of Society in 1960.

that 'drew breadth' could escape being affected."⁵

The second piece is the consensus of opinion in the existing literature dealing with Freud's contribution to political science, sparse though it may be, that his theory has penetrated the discipline in only the most limited way and that political scientists have for the most part "escaped" its effects. As the earliest of the three major studies tackling the topic, a Ph.D. dissertation by Paul Mandelstam, so emphatically expressed it

...the psychoanalytic discipline, as constituted at present, can offer to the social scientist and to the political scientist in particular, no common core of well-substantiated knowledge concerning the fundamentals of human nature, and, indeed, concerning the basic questions with which men who have thought seriously about politics have grappled through the ages. The problems, and the basic philosophic positions regarding them, remain substantially the same, and psychoanalysis, as yet, has contributed little, indeed, toward their advance and clarification....although the potential is indeed great, what has been realized to date has been minimal.⁶

This argument however is not (and should not have been in 1952 when it was first made) a terribly convincing one given the "serious influence" that psychoanalysis had already been acknowledged to have had on at least one of the social sciences--anthropology--since the 1940s and its close relationship with another--sociology--which the author himself had pointed out dated back to

⁵Auden, stanza 17, line 68; Iago Galdston, "Freud's Influence in Contemporary Culture," in Galdston, ed., p. 74.

⁶Mandelstam, p. 283.

1912.⁷ In addition, Mandelstam's conclusions are, at least for the purposes of the present analysis, further limited in their utility in that of the four authors discussed in his thesis, only one, Harold D. Lasswell, was a political scientist by vocation.

Almost the same criticisms can be made about Thomas Johnston's study, the second of the three major works on Freud and political science, which virtually echoes, some thirteen years later, Mandelstam's sentiments.⁸ Johnston's Freud and Political Thought is a two-part treatise that deals, in turn, with "Freud's Political Thought" (Part I, pp. 15-78) and "Freudian Political Thought" (Part II, pp. 81-143.) It is obviously in the latter segment that the author attempts to survey the impact that Freudian psychology has had on political theory. Unfortunately, as Hall and Lindzey have pointed out, "his survey is not complete."⁹ It is in fact very far from complete.

Reminiscent of Mandelstam, Johnston's survey includes

⁷Clyde K. Kluckhohn, "The Impact of Freud on Anthropology," in Galdston, ed., p. 66; Mandelstam, p. 1.

⁸Thomas Johnston, Freud and Political Thought (New York: The Citadel Press, 1965).

⁹Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, "The Relevance of Freudian Psychology and Related Viewpoints for the Social Sciences," in The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd ed., vol. 1, eds. Gardner Lindzey and Eliot Aronson (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968), p. 302.

only five political thinkers three of whom, British Marxists Rueben Osborne and Francis Bartlett who argued about whether Freudian and Marxian thought could or could not be reconciled, and Harold D. Lasswell the author of "the first strictly psychological study of politics of importance in modern times" (Psychopathology and Politics, 1930,) can be classified as political scientists.¹⁰

Johnston begins propitiously enough, in a vein similar to Mandelstam, by acknowledging that

the influence of Freud's ideas upon the intellectual milieu of the 20th century in the West, especially in the United States and Great Britain, is important and widespread; Freud's ideas have influenced nearly all of our intellectual endeavors, including political thought,....¹¹

Then, again like Mandelstam, after completing his rather limited survey, the author concludes that "political thinkers are largely unsuccessful in their efforts to develop political ideas that incorporate Freud's thinking...."¹² Johnston neither resolves the discrepancy nor for that matter does he even seem to recognize that there is one. But Paul Roazen, the author of Freud: Political and Social Thought, the last, most pertinent and most

¹⁰Johnston, p. 123. In addition to the efforts of Osborne, Bartlett and Lasswell, the author also briefly examines the work of psychologist Roger Money-Kyrle and sociologist Louis Schneider. See pp. 102-123.

¹¹Ibid., p. 10, cf., Mandelstam, pp. 1-2.

¹²Ibid., p. 143.

poorly organized of the major works on the topic, on the other hand, identifies the problem at the outset.¹³

Beginning in the same mode as the earlier endeavors, he waxes enthusiastically about the founder of psychoanalysis. "In terms of American intellectual history at least," says Roazen, "the impact of Freud is paralleled only by that of Darwin a few generations back. The very intellectual air we breathe has been infused with Freud's categories of thought."¹⁴ Then, having performed this seemingly prescribed ritual of recognition, and before going on to provide an overview of the origins of psychoanalytic concepts and their application, actual and potential, in divers fields such as history, anthropology, religion, economics and of course political science, Roazen puts his finger right on the proverbial button in identifying and explaining the problem. His comments are well worth the repetition and the reading.

The time has come for a clarification of personality theory in the study of politics. Some might suggest that the successfully demonstrated use of an intellectual tool like psychoanalysis might well carry more conviction, and teach more lessons, than any such second-level discussion as this. The accumulation of psychoanalytically informed political studies, and the reformulation of moral theory wherever psychoanalysis proves relevant, might well end whatever skepticism still exists about this approach. And yet...what has been done up to now

¹³Paul Roazen, Freud: Political and Social Thought (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968).

¹⁴Ibid., p. 10.

along these lines has tended to get diffused within political science; the impact of psychoanalysis has been partially hidden though substantial.¹⁵

Thus Roazen solves the seeming paradox or puzzle. The discipline of political science, he posits, has not alone remained unscathed within a ubiquitous climate of Freudianism. It too has absorbed the tenets of psychoanalysis and experienced the impact of Freud's ideas--its just that that impact has been largely "invisible."¹⁶ And invisible, the reader is led to believe, it will remain:

the psychoanalytic tenor of our day is one of those aspects of intellectual history which is as obvious as it is hard to document. The difficulty in objectifying the obvious is notorious; for that which we assume is compelling by its very elusiveness.¹⁷

It would be difficult to argue differently on the basis of Professor Roazen's otherwise illuminating study. The subject is pursued to only a limited degree and even to that extent it apparently eluded him. Any impact that Freudian ideas may have had on political science remain as undocumented, as "invisible," as ever. Roazen does however take his analysis one step further than either Mandelstam or Johnston in attempting to explain "the relatively backward state of the use of psychoanalysis in the study of politics, as opposed to its use in other

¹⁵Ibid., emphasis added.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

disciplines."¹⁸ His explanation, among others, will be presented in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

A PORTRAIT

In the fifteen intervening years since the publication of Roazen's book only a very few works which tend for the most part to focus on Freud's influence on the social sciences in general, and on political science either indirectly or only in passing if at all, have been published.¹⁹ All of this is rather unfortunate. The old adage that if nobody is writing about it it is probably because it is not worth writing about (or words to that effect) does not, in this particular instance, hold true. To the contrary, an examination of the impact of Freudianism on the state of American political science would be well worth the effort expended if it in any way contributes to the discipline's growing, but still wholly inadequate corpus of "self-portrait" literature.

The inadequacy is not completely due to a lack of effort. From Charles E. Merriam's attempt in 1903 to trace the development of American political thought from the Civil War to the turn of the century, to Ada W.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁹For some examples of articles typical of this genre see Jonathan Miller, ed., Freud: The Man, His World, His Influence (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1972).

Finifter's call to political scientists in 1982 "to review where we were and where we might going," there have been those who understood the need to recognize the influential forces which have shaped and given direction to the scope, objectives, methods and approaches of the discipline.²⁰ Nevertheless, more widespread recognition of these forces is sorely needed: it is needed both to provide "a standard whereby political scientists can assure themselves that what they have done, are doing, or plan to do is...of a creditable order of significance," and also so that they can begin to appreciate that what scholars from other disciplines have done, are doing, or plan to do has,

²⁰Ada W. Finifter, ed., Political Science: The State of the Discipline (Washington, D. C.: The American Political Science Association, 1983), p. v; Robert E. Merriam, Introduction to American Political Ideas: Studies in the Development of American Political Thought 1865-1917, by Charles E. Merriam (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), p. vi. Also see William C. Baum et al., "American Political Science before the Mirror: What Our Journals Reveal about the Profession," The Journal of Politics 38 (November 1976):895-917; Gerald De Maio and Harvey W. Kushner "Quantification and Multiple Authorships in Political Science," The Journal of Politics 43 (February 1981):181-193; Samie G. Hajjar, James S. Bowman, and John B. Richard, "A Portrait of the Discipline: The Professional Literature of Political Science in the Seventies," The Political Science Reviewer 5 (Fall 1975):361-382; Evron Kirpatrick, "From Past to Present," in Foundation of Political Science: Research, Methods, and Scope, ed. Donald M. Freeman (New York: The Free Press, 1977); Charles E. Merriam et al., "Progress Report of the Committee on Political Research," The American Political Science Review 17 (May 1923):274-312; Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, The Development of Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism (Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967).

does or might contribute(d) to political knowledge.²¹

It was the objective of partially fulfilling this latter need, that is to enhance the existing reservoir of "self-study" or epistemological literature by examining the ways in which psychoanalytic theory has been and is used as the basis for acquiring and validating political knowledge, that constituted, as indicated earlier, the additional or second impetus to undertake the present investigation.

Such an investigation will include an attempt to determine the extent to which political scientists have in fact assimilated the basic premises of Freudian thought and what affect, if any, this inculcation has had on the kinds of questions that they ask about political phenomena. In short, the objective here is to take a step away from the miasma of indifference and speculation that has persistently engulfed the topic of Freud's contribution to political science by measuring both his "influence" and "impact" on the state of the discipline.

(2) INFLUENCE AND IMPACT

The terms influence and impact may not exactly fit

²¹Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, American Political Science: A Profile of a Discipline (New York: Atherton Press, 1964), p. 64.

into the category of what has been called "convenience" or "junk" words--words "designed to obliterate distinctions"--but they are so "wantonly" or at least so casually used that they might as well be labeled as such.²² While no attempt to provide the definitive word on the subject will be made here, rather than add to the confusion over their meanings and their relationship to one another, certain parameters for their usage in this essay can and will be established.

INFLUENCE

Of the two terms under discussion influence is, by far, the more difficult to define. It was in fact in recognition of this difficulty, that is the recognition that "controversy among social scientists of all disciplines about a 'correct' definition" had been so intense for decades, that led to the creation of the "Albany Symposia on Power and Influence" which met for the first time in 1971.²³ No consensus regarding a definition

²²Christopher Hitchens, "Wanton Acts of Usage: Terrorism: A Cliche in Search of a Meaning," Harper's Magazine, September 1986, p. 69.

²³James T. Tedeschi, "Introduction and Overview," in Perspectives on Social Power, ed. James T. Tedeschi (Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 1-2, and 4. The Albany Symposia was established in an effort to foster "theoretical discussion among sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and social psychologists."

was achieved at its meetings nor, according to The Dictionary of Political Analysis, is one likely to ever be reached.²⁴

All hope, however, is not to be abandoned. An extensive cross-disciplinary survey of some of the normative (deductive and/or nonquantitative) studies, such as Parson's "On the Concept of Influence," and the empirical (inductive and/or experimental) literature, such as the experiments described in Wheeler's Interpersonal Influence, indicates that out of the controversy and confusion, out of the scores and scores of influence theories proffered by myriad scholars from disparate academic disciplines, out of all of the chaos, some order can be discerned.²⁵ There are, to be specific, three important generalizations, of particular utility for the present investigation, that can be formulated:

(1) that there is a narrow category of influence sometimes referred to as "informational" influence; (2) that informational influence can take either a direct or an

²⁴The Dictionary of Political Analysis, 2nd ed., s.v. "Influence." According to this source, it is "because it [influence] describes an enormously diverse variety of political relationships, [that] full consensus on the descriptive and analytical applications of the concept is unlikely."

²⁵Talcott Parsons, "On the Concept of Influence," Public Opinion Quarterly 27 (Spring 1963):37-62; Ladd Wheeler, Interpersonal Influence (Boston, Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970).

indirect form; and, (3) that there are several techniques or methods which can be used to measure both types of informational influence. Each of these formulations will be considered in turn.

(1) INFORMATIONAL INFLUENCE

Influence--of any kind--generally refers to the process of inducing change (or inhibiting undesired change) in an individual's behavior (overt actions and/or covert predispositions, beliefs, etc.;;) and social (or interpersonal) influence more specifically pertains to those changes in behavior brought about by another person or group of people.²⁶ Robert Dahl's famous definition of influence as "a relation among actors in which one actor induces other actors to act in some way they would not otherwise act," frequently used by political scientists, would fall into this rather broad category.²⁷ In fact, it exemplifies the meaning of social influence in that it rather emphatically emphasizes the relation or link between the change in behavior and the influencing agent. As Kelman put it, "the agent is not just transmitting

²⁶Dictionary of Political Analysis; Bertram H. Raven, "The Comparative Analysis of Power Preference," in Tedeschi, ed., p. 173.

²⁷Robert A. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 40.

stimuli or reinforcers but is inducing behavior that is in some way linked to him--that represents him, or is tied to his values, or reflects his expectations."²⁸ When this link does not exist, or when the content of the communication rather than the relationship between the individuals induces the change, then the influence is not so much "social" as it is "informational."²⁹

To be sure the distinction between the two classifications is a fine one and hence cannot always be readily made: social and informational influence do frequently overlap and intertwine. Be that as it may, for purposes of the present analysis, where the objective is to trace not the types, causes or bases of influence but the infusion and impact of Freud's thought, influence will be operationally defined as the cognitive (belief) changes induced by the assimilation of information. Informational influence, like any other type of influence, can take either a direct or indirect line.

(2) DIRECT AND INDIRECT INFLUENCE

In the late 1960s psychologist David Shakow published an article in which he attempted to trace the effect of

²⁸Herbert C. Kelman, "Further Thoughts on the Processes of Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," in Tedeschi, ed., p. 130.

²⁹Ibid.

psychoanalytic ideas on American psychology.³⁰ In the process he discovered what scholars had intuitively known for a long time, which is, that there are "two mutually supporting lines of influence" that "cannot be completely separated."³¹ The first line, direct influence, Shakow suggests, "appears to be that which came along natural professional lines, from sources...immediately related to psychology and psychoanalysis," while the second line, indirect influence, "seems to be that which came predominantly from the surrounding culture, from that part of the Zeitgeist which was itself quietly shaped by Freudianism."³²

Although Shakow never quite comes right out and says so, implicit in his descriptions is the notion that direct influence, originating as it for the most part does in "professional" sources, is a conscious phenomenon, one that is, in other words, more readily perceived by the individual undergoing change than is indirect influence which emanates from the "Zeitgeist"--that invisible but

³⁰David Shakow, "Psychoanalysis and American Psychology," in Clinical-Cognitive Psychology: Models and Integrations, ed. Louis Breger (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 56-79, reprinted in The Freudian Paradigm: Psychoanalysis and Scientific Thought, ed. Md. Mujeeb-ur Rahman (Chicago, Illinois: Nelson-Hall, 1977), pp. 269-293.

³¹Ibid., p. 281.

³²Ibid.

prevailing "climate of opinion" described by Auden.³³

For purposes of this paper then, the difference between direct and indirect influence can be made explicit: direct influence refers to the recognition, perception or "generic and impressionistic" feelings, however vague, of a "conscious intellectual debt" owed by American political scientists to Sigmund Freud, and, in contradistinction, indirect influence denotes the unrecognized, unconscious and therefore unacknowledged but nevertheless equally obvious (to an outsider) intellectual debts owed to him.³⁴ The distinction is a highly significant one in that the techniques used to measure conscious and unconscious phenomena such as direct and indirect influence are, inherently, very different.

(3) MEASURES OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT FREUDIAN INFLUENCE

(A) Direct Influence

The consciousness of the individual being directly influenced, that is the awareness that he or she is undergoing cognitive changes as a result of assimilating psychoanalytic information, is immediately suggestive of two reliable (consistent) and valid (actually measures the

³³Auden, stanza 17, line 68.

³⁴Sallie M. Hicks, Theodore A. Coulombis and Eloise M. Forgette, "Influencing the Prince: A Role for Academicians?" Polity 15 (Winter 1982):279.

variable) measuring devices: author citation counts (a search of the literature for references to Freud) and survey questionnaires (which call for explicit acknowledgement of Freud's influence.) These instruments however, as will be seen in Chapter II, can produce somewhat different results and it is for this reason that both were utilized to calculate direct Freudian influence.³⁵

(B) Indirect Influence

Since indirect influence is first and foremost characterized by a lack of awareness on the part of the individual undergoing cognitive change as to whom the intellectual debt is owed, the survey questionnaire (which

³⁵Almost thirty years ago Weston La Barre employed the same techniques in his study of Freud's influence (he intuitively rather than formally defines the term and makes no distinction between the direct and indirect varieties) on anthropologists. His methods included "a resume of official periodicals and texts (a review of the "General" and "Subject" indices of the official organ of the American Anthropological Association (American Anthropologist) and of the standard textbooks in anthropology for entries under "Freud," "Psychoanalysis" and "the like," and "a self-estimate of anthropologists replying to a questionnaire" (a survey of 635 Fellows of the American Anthropological Association.) See Weston La Barre, "The Influence of Freud on Anthropology," The American Imago 15 (Fall 1958):275, 286-287. Using La Barre's methodology as a guide the present analysis includes an examination of the indices of the major political science journals and texts and a survey of a sample of political scientists selected from the membership directory of the American Political Science Association. The only major difference in procedure has been the use of a computer to assist in the search of the journal literature.

demands some degree of conscious recognition of the source of the assimilated information) could not be used for its measurement. However author citation counts (references this time not to Freud but to a scholar who had been directly influenced by him) and citation analysis of a different sort, namely a search of the indices of the major political science journals and textbooks for references to key psychoanalytic concepts (sans any citations of Freud of course,) were used to measure (by necessity in a somewhat roundabout way) the extent to which political scientists had unknowingly climbed aboard the Freudian bandwagon (see Chapter III.)³⁶ Together with

³⁶Some appreciation of the difficulty in identifying "key" psychoanalytic concepts can be had by examining the wide variety of constructs listed in just two studies. In "The Influence of Sigmund Freud upon Sociology in the United States," for example, Ernest W. Burgess found that some sociologists who rejected psychoanalysis had nonetheless been indirectly influenced as a result of the incorporation into sociology's vocabulary of the following concepts: "'inferiority complex,' 'mental conflict,' 'rationalization,' 'repression,' 'sublimation,' and 'transference'." G. David Garson expands the list of important Freudian concepts which he finds "infuses the writings of many political scientists," by including, in addition to repression and sublimation, displacement, identification, regression, catharsis, projection and internalization. It should be made clear that the disparity between Burgess' and Garson's lists probably cannot be attributed solely to their affiliations with different academic disciplines, for other political scientists and other sociologists, too numerous in number to mention here, have identified still other concepts as indicators of Freudian influence. Rather, it seems safe to conclude, that the differences in "selection from within the psychoanalytic literature," are, as Roazen has observed, "arbitrary." Some of the arbitrariness was ultimately removed from the selection procedure used in

the measurements of Freud's direct influence these calculations provided the data base from which an assessment of Freud's manifest and latent impact on the state of the discipline could be made.

MANIFEST AND LATENT IMPACT

In an address on Freud's impact delivered before the Division of Clinical Psychology of the American Psychological Association in August 1956, Gardner Murphy began with a vivid description of the term impact. It is, he said, "one of the finest words in English," an "enormous hammerblow" of a word in that

...the impression is thus correctly given that all flows smoothly until you strike a wall, or a thunder-hole, as they say on the Maine coast, where the dead heave of the wave strikes that which it cannot move; or...an irresistible force strikes an immovable object. This is Freud!³⁷

Impact as conceptualized here, to put it more directly and less eloquently, is a force--generated and

the present analysis by choosing what Freud himself called "the principal constituents" of psychoanalysis. However since many important concepts are subsumed in each of the constituent parts he named (listed in Chapter III), selecting those that are "key" is ultimately always a matter of individual judgment. See Ernest W. Burgess, "The Influence of Sigmund Freud Upon Sociology in the United States," The American Journal of Sociology 45 (November 1939):365; G. David Garson, Handbook of Political Science Methods (Boston, Massachusetts: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1971), p. 21; Roazen, Freud, p. 28.

³⁷Gardner Murphy, "The Current Impact of Freud Upon Psychology," The American Psychologist 11 (December 1956): 663.

propelled by Freudian influence--which is measured by the changes it brings about: changes, to continue the analogy, in a coastline ("the result," says Murphy, "of such successive impacts, of course, is that the coastline of Maine is gradually eroded...") or changes in an academic discipline ("orienting research or thinking in new directions,") says Eulau.³⁸ Whatever the topography, such changes can be either, or both, "latent" and "manifest."

The terms latent and manifest are being used in this paper in much the same way that Sigmund Freud, in his seminal treatise The Interpretation of Dreams, used them to describe dream content.³⁹ That which is readily perceived or obvious (for Freud that would be the "dream-text" or what "we remember when we wake up") is manifest; that which is present but somewhat less obvious (for Freud that would be the "dream-thoughts" or "the thoughts that lay behind the dream") is latent.⁴⁰

One is reminded of Freidrich Heer's analogy or comparison of Freudianism to a quarry--well underground but nevertheless the source of material which when used in

³⁸Murphy, p. 663; Heinz Eulau, "Understanding Political Life in America: The Contribution of Political Science," Social Science Quarterly 57 (June 1976):114.

³⁹Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: Avon Books, 1965).

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 156 and 174.

construction gradually alters the surface of the earth-- and to a volcano erupting far above ground and suddenly transforming everything in its path.⁴¹ Whether the changes are incremental and somewhat hidden (latent) like the former or dramatic and obvious (manifest) like the latter the end result is the same--an "unsettlement," a different milieu. Just how unsettled and different for the discipline of political science will be determined in the pages to follow.

⁴¹Freidrich Heer, "Freud, the Viennese Jew," in Jonathan Miller, ed., p. 2.

CHAPTER II

DIRECT INFLUENCE: "GEMS FROM BOOKS AND TEACHERS"

So I have up and crammed my skull
With gems from books and teachers;
Till now I find that my own thoughts
Are non-existent features.

---Anonymous⁴²

It should be recalled that direct influence, which refers to the conscious assimilation of information--in this instance psychoanalytic information--, can be measured by either citation counts or survey questionnaires. When used in conjunction with one another, as they were in this study, these two techniques constitute an even more powerful quantitative device; a device which provides a more accurate accounting, than any to date, of the intellectual debt that American political scientists are aware that they owe to Sigmund Freud.

(1) CITATION ANALYSIS

The essential characteristics and assumptions of

⁴²"Sad Plight of an Open Mind," stanza 2, lines 5-8, cited in Herman C. Pritchett, The Roosevelt Court: A Study in Judicial Politics and Values 1937-1947 (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1948), p. xvi.

citation analysis were clearly and succinctly summed up by Donald Lutz in a recent article published in The American Political Science Review.⁴³ According to Lutz who used citation counts to measure the influence of European writers on American political thought

a citation is defined as any footnote, direct quote, attributed paraphrasing, or use of a name in exemplifying a concept or position. The primary assumption is that a citation indicates familiarity with the author being cited....we can assume familiarity with the text being cited, whether or not the citation is theoretically serious, or whether or not the author has complete command of the text he is citing. Another advantage is that a citation count need not distinguish between positive and negative citations; to cite another author in order to attack him still shows that the work has been read, and it also shows influence insofar as the cited author's categories of thought are being used. Locke responded negatively to Filmer. Hume responded negatively to Locke....In each case it is reasonable to assume that a negative citation represents as much familiarity as a positive citation with a cited work, and it is this familiarity we are seeking to establish....A weakness of the citation - count method is that it cannot distinguish among citations that represent the borrowing of an idea, the opposition to an idea, or an appeal to authority. An advantage of a citation count is that this inability to distinguish the nature of a citation does not matter if all one is trying to do is systematically establish which...writers were consulted and with what frequency.⁴⁴

Although the use of citations to measure influence may under-standably raise more than a few eyebrows among the uninitiated, the reliability and validity of this technique

⁴³Donald S. Lutz, "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought," The American Political Science Review 78 (March 1984):189-197.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 191.

for measuring such attributes as scientific eminence; the impact of psychology departments; the rating of graduate programs; a journal's importance; scientific productivity; and of course, as Lutz's work cited above suggests, the influence of writers on political thinking, has in fact been very well documented.⁴⁵ Be this as it may, the task of searching the relevant literature for footnote and bibliographical references had, until fairly recently when the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) brought out its citations indices, made this a time-consuming and frequently less than comprehensive technique for such evaluations.

THE SSCI

Today the basic sources of information about who has cited whom in the sciences (physical and social) are two ISI quarterly publications: the Science Citation Index

⁴⁵See for example Miles W. Cox and Viola Catt, "Productivity Ratings of Graduate Programs in Psychology Based on Publication in the Journals of the American Psychological Association," American Psychologist 32 (October 1977): 793-813; Norman S. Endler, J. Philippe Rushton, and Henry L. Roediger III, "Productivity and Scholarly Impact (Citations) of British, Canadian, and U.S. Departments of Psychology (1975)," American Psychologist 33 (December 1978):1064-1082; Roger C. Myers, "Journal Citations and Scientific Eminence in Contemporary Psychology," American Psychologist 25 (November 1970):1041-1048; Nicholas Wade, "Citation Analysis: A New Tool for Science Administrators," Science 188 (May 1975):429-432; and Murray J. White and Geoffrey K. White, "Citation Analysis of Psychology Journals," American Psychologist 32 (May 1977):301-305.

(SCI), an international and multidisciplinary index introduced in 1964 which includes references from approximately 3,000 of the world's most important scientific and technical journals, and its companion the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) which has, since its creation in 1964, indexed article citations drawn from over 1,400 social science and 2,900 natural and physical science journals, as well as from almost 150 of the world's most important social science books.⁴⁶

What makes these indices a researcher's dream is that the data bases from which the volumes are compiled are available in machine-readable form; a computer can now perform the lookups and print out the results thus even further simplifying the searcher's task. This simplified "on line" procedure was utilized in August 1984 to search for references to Sigmund Freud in the Social Science Citation Index the more important of the two indices for purposes of the present inquiry.

The findings show that out of the 816 articles which

⁴⁶In 1978 ISI brought out the Arts & Humanities Citations Index (A&HCI). For a detailed description of the invention of all three indices as well as the history, method and application of citation indexing see Eugene Garfield, Citation Indexing-Its Theory and Application in Science, Technology, and Humanities, with a Foreword by Robert K. Merton (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979).

cited Freud during this twelve year period,⁴⁷ only eleven were published either in political science journals or were written by those clearly identifiable as political scientists but published in the literature outside of the discipline⁴⁸ Furthermore, an examination of the eleven articles which did contain pertinent citations revealed that only one, Strong's "Psychoanalysis as a Vocation: Freud, Politics, and the Heroic," was entirely Freudian in

⁴⁷Although the SSCI was introduced in 1964 and has only been on line since 1972, the twelve year period from 1972 to 1984 that was searched is considered to be a representative sample from which generalizations can be made.

⁴⁸See Philip Abbot, "The Three Families of Thomas Hobbes," The Review of Politics 43 (April 1981):242-258; James W. Clarke and Marcia M. Donovan, "Personal Needs and Political Incentives: Some Observations on Self-Esteem," American Journal of Political Science 24 (August 1980):536-552; Terrence E. Cook, "Political Justifications: The Use of Standards in Political Appeals," The Journal of Politics 42 (May 1980):511-537; Terrence R. Crimmins, "The Sanderson Family and International Relations," Studies in Soviet Thought 21 (March 1980):31-38; Nader Entessar, "Conflict Analysis: A Conceptual Framework," The Indian Political Science Review 15 (July 1981):105-114; Hwa Yol Jung, "Democratic Ontology & Technology: A Critique of C. B. Macpherson," Polity 11 (Winter 1978):247-269; Stephen Levine, "The Role of Fantasy in Political Behavior," Political Science 32 (July 1980):85-100; Michael Parenti, "We Hold These Myths to Be Self-Evident," The Nation, April 1981, pp. 425-429; David C. Rapoport, "Moses, Charisma, and Covenant," Western Political Quarterly 32 (June 1979):123-143; Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, "Personality Development and Political Dissent: A Reassessment of the New Left," Journal of Political and Military Sociology 8 (Fall 1980):191-204; and Tracy B. Strong, "Psychoanalysis as a Vocation: Freud, Politics, and the Heroic," Political Theory 12 (February 1984):51-79.

its orientation⁴⁹

In an effort to both validate these findings and to extend the timebase of the citation analysis back to the emergence of the discipline in the early 1900s, a subsequent and narrower search, that is one restricted solely to papers either presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association (APSA) or published in its journal the American Political Science Review (APSR), was conducted.

THE PROCEEDINGS

The objective of the Cumulative Index to the Proceedings of the American Political Science Association 1904-1910, 1912, 1956-1969, is to permit a number of "systematic access points" into the papers which make up the Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association.⁵⁰ Although these annual meetings began in 1904, the periods covered for the Proceedings and hence the Cumulative Index (1904-1910,

⁴⁹For citation see footnote #47. Freudian influence, of course, is not measured by an article's focus but by its citations. Nevertheless, the overwhelming absence of psychoanalytically informed political writings in the journal literature surveyed by the SSCI does at least make the notion of minimal direct influence, suggested by the paucity of citations, that much more compelling.

⁵⁰Mark Iris, compiler, Cumulative Index to the Proceedings of the American Political Science Association 1904-1910, 1912, 1956-1969 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970), preface, n.p.

1912, 1956-1969), reflect the fact that the "early Proceedings (1904-1913) were printed in book form with only a few papers each year. This practice was ended when printing became too expensive....Unfortunately, the absence of a full-time national office made the accumulation of each year's set of papers difficult, and not until 1956 was this practice initiated." Furthermore, appeals to both libraries and individual scholars were "unsuccessful in filling the 1913-1956 hiatus."⁵¹ In short, the computer generated index to the proceedings of the APSA conferences, which does not go beyond 1969, is far from complete. But it does, nevertheless, provide further evidence in support of the SSCI findings.

Part I of the index, which is arranged according to "key-words," gives only two citations under "Freud," and none for the Freudian concepts of resistance, repression, unconscious, and sex.⁵² Of the fourteen remaining papers which listed key-word references in the index to relevant Freudian concepts and terms an additional seven did cite

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²See Richard L. Schoenwald, "Freud as a Political Thinker," paper presented at the 65th meeting of the American Political Science Association, St. Louis, Mo., 6-9 September 1961; James C. Davies, "Freud's Metapsychology and Some Metahobbesian Political Thoughts," paper presented at the 67th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 4-7 September 1963.

Freud among their sources.⁵³ A subsequent search of articles published in the APSA's journal, the American Political Science Review (APSR) yielded similar results.

THE APSR

Because scholarly reviews and journals (such as the APSR) published by political science associations (such as the APSA) are considered to be the "voices" of American political scientists they constitute "a timely indicator

⁵³The fourteen additional papers were cited under the related key-words of: "psychiatric," "psychiatry," "psychoanalysis," "psychoanalytic," "psychocultural," "psychological," "psychology," "child," "childhood," and "children." Of these, a reference to Freud was made in the following seven: Betty Glad, "The Role of Psychoanalytic Biography in Political Science," paper presented at the 64th meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 2-7 September 1968; Herbert Marcuse, "Obsolescence of Psychoanalysis," paper presented at the 59th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 4-7 September 1963; Alexander Mitscherlich, "Changing Patterns of Political Authority: A Psychiatric Interpretation," paper presented at the 62nd meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 6-10 September 1966; Arnold A. Rogow, "Psychiatry and Political Science: Some Reflections and Prospects," paper presented at the 63rd meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, 5-9 September 1967; Frank X. Steggert, "The Contributions and Uses of Psychology in the Understanding of Administrative Behavior," paper presented at the 61st meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 8-11 September 1965; T. A. Watters, "Identity, Selfhood and Image in Political Life: The Psychiatric Dimension," paper presented at the 64th meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 2-7 September 1968; E. Victor Wolfenstein, "Some Aspects of Crisis Leaders," paper presented at the 62nd meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 6-10 September 1966.

of the flow of intellectual currents in the discipline."⁵⁴ The discipline however is replete with scholarly journals and selecting one from among the many in an effort to trace direct Freudian currents or influence was made easier only by virtue of the fact that the APSR is generally acknowledged to be the discipline's most prestigious journal. Additionally, according to a comparative study of the major association journals of the profession, the APSR is not only the most esteemed professional publication but is also one of the most representative in its coverage of the various fields of political science; it is, in other words, "truly a national journal."⁵⁵ For both of these reasons, then, the results obtained from an examination of the Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review for direct references to Freud can be considered to be a fairly accurate reflection of those that would be found in a journal-wide search of the discipline's association literature.⁵⁶

As indicated earlier the findings from this search

⁵⁴Hajjar, Bowman, and Richard, p. 361.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 378, 380.

⁵⁶Kenneth Janda, ed., Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review: Volumes 1-62: 1906-1968 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1969). This edition is the most current published guide to the Index.

were in keeping with those already reported. Of the 2,822 articles which were published in the Review from its inception in 1906 through its 62nd volume in 1968, not one had "Freud" as a keyword in its title. Nor were there any referenced under the Freudian concepts of resistance, repression, unconscious, or sex.

While an examination of the twelve articles listed in the APSR index under the related key-words of psychology and psychological, and the seven which contained some form of the word "child" in their titles, did yield acknowledgments to Sigmund Freud, these were too few in number to in any way reverse the trend; only five of the nineteen articles referred to Freud.⁵⁷

As significant as this trend may seem to be, (an

⁵⁷See: Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Interaction of Psychological and Sociological Factors in Political Behavior," The American Political Science Review 46 (March 1952):44-65; Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," The American Political Science Review 54 (December 1960):934-943; Harold D. Lasswell, "The Study of the Ill as a Method of Research into Political Personalities," The American Political Science Review 23 (November 1929):996-1001; Charles E. Merriam, "Psychology and Political Science," The American Political Science Review 18 (February 1924):122-125; E. V. Walter, "Power, Civilization and the Psychology of Conscience," The American Political Science Review 53 (September 1959):641-661. Of these, only the Frenkel-Brunswik and Walter essays did more than mention Freud in passing.

unimpressive total of 29 citations have thus far been uncovered,) it should be recalled that for purposes of the present investigation judgments about Freudian influence cannot be made on the basis of journal citations alone; still to be considered are the results of an examination of the major or influential works of the most influential American political scientists for references to Freud.

Before this examination could be conducted two methodological problems obviously had to be resolved: 1) establishing which scholars were and are considered to be the "most" influential, and 2) determining which of their works should be classified as "major."

THE INFLUENTIAL

The findings from three studies were used to obtain a list of sixty-five of the most influential political scientists. The first of these, a reputational study conducted by Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, yielded rankings of political science's "immortals" (the great men who "have made the most significant contributions to the discipline") which were divided into two time periods: "Pre- and Post-1945" (Table 1.)⁵⁸

⁵⁸Somit and Tanenhaus, p. 66.

Table 1. Ranking of Great Men*

Pre-1945		Post-1945	
1	Charles E. Merriam	1	V. O. Key, Jr.
2	Harold D. Lasswell	2	David B. Truman
3	Leonard D. White	3	Hans J. Morgenthau
4	Charles A. Beard	4	Robert A. Dahl
5	Edward S. Corwin	5	Harold D. Lasswell
6	Arthur F. Bentley	6	Herbert A. Simon
7	Woodrow Wilson	7.5	Gabriel A. Almond
8	Pendleton Herring	7.5	David Easton
9	Quincy Wright	9	Leo Strauss
10	Frederic A. Ogg	10	Carl J. Friedrich
11	Frank J. Goodnow	11	Charles S. Hyneman
12.5	Harold J. Laski	12	E. E. Schattschneider
12.5	Arthur N. Holcombe	13.5	Peter H. Odegard
14.5	Francis W. Coker	13.5	Richard C. Snyder
14.5	Carl J. Friedrich	15	Leonard D. White
16	George H. Sabine	17	James M. Burns
17.5	Harold F. Gosnell	17	Karl W. Deutsch
17.5	E. E. Schattschneider	17	Heinz Eulau
		17	Dwight Waldo

*SOURCE: Somit and Tanenhaus, American Political Science, p. 66.

This 1963 study was replicated and updated in 1975-6 by Walter B. Roettger.⁵⁹ Roettger, in his "longitudinal perspective," retained Somit and Tanenhaus' "Pre-1945" category but expanded and divided the ranking of significant contributors to the discipline in the "Post-1945" era into three distinct time frames: 1945-1960, 1960-1970 and 1970-1976 (Table 2.)⁶⁰

⁵⁹Walter B. Roettger, "Strata and Stability: Reputations of American Political Scientists," PS 11 (Winter 1978):6-12.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 9.

Table 2. Ranking of Significant Contributors*

1945-1960		1960-1970		1970-1976	
1	Key	1	Dahl	1	Lowi
2	Lasswell	2	Easton	2	Wildavsky
3	Dahl	3	SRC Group**	3	Dye
4	Easton	4	Deutsch	4	Dahl
5	Morgenthau	5	Almond	5	Huntington
6	Truman	6	Wildavsky	7	SRC Group**
7	Strauss	7	Lowi	7	Verba
8.5	Deutsch	9	Lipset	7	Sharkansky
8.5	Simon	9	Wolin	10.5	Barber,
10.5	Friedrich	9	Huntington		Deutsch, Left
10.5	Schattschneider				Radicals,**
					Riker

*SOURCE: Roettger, "Strata and Stability," p. 9.

**The SRC Group consists of Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes.

***The "Left Radicals" include: Ira Katznelson, Herbert Marcuse, Ralph Miliband, C. Wright Mills, James O'Connor, and, Bertell Ollman.

A comparison of the two tables shows that twelve individuals on Somit and Tanenhaus' rankings of thirty-three influential political scientists (Lasswell, Friedrich, Schattschneider and White are found on both the "Pre-" and "Post-" 1945 lists but are only counted once) also appear on the Roettger table (all eleven in the 1945-1960 category and Gabriel Almond in the 1960-1970 ranking.)⁶¹ In addition, Roettger's ranking includes

⁶¹Roettger notes that these findings indicate remarkably stable perceptions over the thirteen years separating the two surveys and that "this persistence or stability lends credence to the interpretation that the

twenty new "significant contributors" to the discipline: Campbell, Converse, Miller, Stokes [the SRC Group], Wildavsky, Lowi, Lipset, Wolin, Huntington, Dye, Verba, Sharkansky, Barber, Katznelson, Marcuse, Miliband, Mills, O'Connor, Ollman [the last six comprise the "Left Radicals"] and Riker.

The total of fifty-three names which appeared on the combined rankings of the two surveys were included on the present study's list of the sixty-five "most" influential scholars (see Appendix A for a complete alphabetized list.) Eleven of the twelve additional names (Lindblom, Lane, Beer, Ranney, Wahlke, Epstein, Fainsod, Ward, Redford, Pritchett, and Leiserson) came from a ranking of top political scientists by John S. Robey (Table 3) and the last was chosen by the author who, following Robey's lead, included the only name of a recent (1985) APSA president (Richard F. Fenno, Jr.) not found on any of the other lists.⁶²

findings of Somit and Tanenhaus represented '...well-crystallized and stable opinions' rather than '...essentially casual and transient judgments.'" Ibid., p. 8.

⁶²John S. Robey, "Reputations vs Citations: Who Are the Top Scholars in Political Science?" PS 15 (Spring 1982):200.

Table 3. Rank Order of 45 Political Scientists by Numbers of Citations, 1970-79*

Name	# of Citations	Name	# of Citations
1. Lipset (p)**	3425	24. Strauss	556
2. Simon	3425	25. Eulau (p)	516
3. Dahl (p)	2235	26. O'Conner	495
4. Campbell	2184	27. Morgenthau (p)	475
5. Deutsch (p)	1870	28. Truman	436
6. Almond (p)	1799	29. Ranney (p)	386
7. Marcuse	1698	30. Miller (p)	378
8. Easton (p)	1644	31. Schattschneider	370
9. Mills	1616	32. Stokes	362
10. Huntington	1511	33. Wolin	339
11. Lasswell (p)	1410	34. Burns (p)	315
12. Converse	1282	35. Barber	295
13. Key (p)	1110	36. Wahlke (p)	226
14. Lowi	913	37. Epstein (p)	190
15. Lindblom (p)	858	38. Ollman	170
16. Lane (p)	782	39. Fainsod	168
17. Wildavsky	766	40. Ward (p)	137
18. Riker (p-elect)	759	41. Redford (p)	124
19. Dye	709	42. Pritchett (p)	94
20. Friedrich (p)	701	43. Katznelson	81
21. Verba	645	44. Leiserson (p)	51
22. Sharkansky	589	45. Milliband	32
23. Beer (p)	558		

*SOURCE: Robey, "Reputations vs Citations," p. 200.

**APSA presidents are indicated by the designation "(p.)"

It is important to note that Robey, who argues that "an official or scholar within the profession may have a reputation of having made a substantial contribution and yet he or she may have had very little influence in fact," rejected the reputational technique used by Somit, Tanenhaus and Roettger to measure "greatness," and used

citation analysis to "indicate those scholars who have influenced the thinking and work of political scientists the most."⁶³

While the difference in techniques did result in a somewhat different order of ranking of scholars, a comparison of Roettger's ranking by reputation for the period between 1970 and 1976 (Table 2) and Robey's ranking for 1970 to 1979 by citations (Table 3) shows that the scholars selected are identical. In fact, every one of those named in each of Roettger's three time categories turned up on the citation list. The "great" and the "influential" men are apparently one and the same, and thus the list of the sixty-five most influential political scientists ultimately derived from the combined rankings of the three studies was considered to be a reasonably accurate one on which to base an initial search for the discipline's major and most influential works.

MAJOR WORKS AND FINDINGS

It would be useful at this point to recall that informational influence refers, in part, to changes in predispositions, beliefs, and cognitions resulting from written and/or oral communication; that is to say that people conform to or are changed by the influencing person

⁶³Ibid., p. 199.

because he is viewed "as a source of valid information."⁶⁴ That would mean that determining which of the many works cumulatively authored by the sixty-five scholars should be classified as their most significant is of the utmost importance. For it is these major works which will serve, aside from Freud's own writings, as the primary conveyers of Freudian thought (should they contain any) and thereby as the principal transmitters of his influence.

The subjectivity involved in deciding which of an author's books is more important than others was largely reduced by consulting the National Union Catalogue (NUC)⁶⁵. The NUC, "an author and main entry catalog" of primarily books but also monographs, pamphlets, maps, atlases, periodicals, motion pictures, filmstrips and music and phonorecords, includes entries (dating from 1898 through 1982) taken from the Union Catalog card file at the Library of Congress and from the titles reported by other American libraries.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Herbert C. Kelman, "Processes of Opinion Change," Public Opinion Quarterly 25 (Spring 1961):61.

⁶⁵The volumes which comprise the Catalog have been printed by various publishers under several titles. Since most libraries that contain the volumes hold the entire series, it is suggested that those wishing to utilize the work simply check for the reference under the basic and most widely used title of the National Union Catalog.

⁶⁶Eugene P. Sheehy, comp., Guide to Reference Books, 9th ed. (Chicago, Illinois: American Library Association, 1976), p. 10.

These entries, published in hundreds of volumes segregated alphabetically by author's last name as well as by years (pre-1956, 1942-1962, 1963-1967, 1968-1972, 1973-1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982) provided the detailed and highly accurate bibliographical descriptions which were used to compile a complete list of each scholar's publications and to then help determine which five are his most popular or widely read.⁶⁷

Popularity was determined solely on the basis of the number of editions published or times a work had been reprinted. In several instances, as Appendix B indicates, fewer than five of the subject's books had gone into reprint. In those cases where there were more than five or where two or more tied for any of the five places the first five on the compiled list for that author were selected for examination. This procedure yielded a total of 258 major or influential works to be searched.⁶⁸ Of

⁶⁷Ibid. The majority of the sixty-five scholar's being investigated were highly prolific authors. There were, for example, 132 published works listed for Harold J. Laski alone. Thus, in an effort to keep the present investigation within manageable proportions, it was deemed necessary to limit the search for Freudian citations to a sample consisting of the five major works of each. It must be noted that the NUC is somewhat erratic in citing reprints of books that have been published, and possibly reprinted many times, in paperback form. For that reason the sample selected should be considered a representative rather than a definitive one.

⁶⁸This total includes four books jointly authored by two of the sixty-five scholar's: Almond and Verba's The Civic Culture; Dahl and Lindblom's Politics, Economics and

these forty-four books by thirty of the scholars contained explicit references to Sigmund Freud.⁶⁹

CORE WORKS AND FINDINGS

Although the books known to be sources of "valid information" (those written by the sixty-five influential authors for example) are probably the most significant conveyers of Freudian thought they are, of course, not the only important political science works which can and do transmit Freud's influence. For that reason it was deemed necessary to broaden the search by examining the indices of an additional sample of books taken from a bibliographical list of 1545 "highly recommended" or "core" political science titles.

These titles listed under "Political Science" in Books for College Libraries: A Core Collection of 40,000 Titles, (the number of titles actually listed is 38,651,) were compiled by "teaching scholars, specialist librarians, and staff members of several professional associations" who "were invited to check or compile lists of

Welfare; Redford and Truman's Politics and Government in the United States: National, State, and Local Edition; and Campbell and Miller's The Voter Decides (see Bibliography for full citations.)

⁶⁹Appendix B designates the works which contained citations to Freud with the number "1."

books for their specialized subject fields."⁷⁰ These books "were to constitute 'the bare minimum of titles needed to support an average college instructional program of good quality.'"⁷¹

Since the goal of the present study was to survey a combined sample of approximately 500 "influential" and "highly recommended" core books, and since 258 (including the four jointly authored by two of the sixty-five scholars) of the former had already been investigated, 242 of the recommended core works had to be systematically selected (236 were ultimately chosen [see Appendix C]) from the listed titles.⁷²

⁷⁰American Library Association, Books for College Libraries: A Core Collection of 40,000 Titles, 2nd ed. (Chicago, Illinois: American Library Association, 1975), p. viii.

⁷¹Ibid., p. vii.

⁷²123 were selected by sampling every seventh book of the first 861 titles on the list, and 114 were selected by sampling every sixth of the remaining 684. If the sixth or seventh title duplicated one that was chosen in the earlier sample of influential books the next "new" title on the list was used instead. Similarly, foreign titles, directories, and works written up to the early twentieth century such as those by Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Bodin, Machiavelli, Locke, Spinoza, Burke, Rousseau, Bentham, Bagehot, etc. which could not possibly have contained references to Freud and hence would have biased the sample, were removed from consideration. However, post-Freudian works which dealt with the thoughts of these classical scholars such as Thomas Gilby's The Political Thought of Thomas Aquinas (see Bibliography for full citation) were included in the sample. This selection process yielded a total of 236 books which, when added to the 258 influential works, resulted in a sample size of 494. However since many of the works examined were

The indices of these books contained even fewer entries for Freud than did the works of the influential scholars (16.8%.) Out of the sample of 236 books only twenty-nine (12.2%) referred the reader to Freudian citations within the text (Appendix C designates the works with references to Freud.)

Of course, as a recently published study, which sought to determine--also by examining indexed entries--the extent to which FBI abuses were included in a sample of forty-seven college level introductory American politics textbooks, points out, such an examination "leaves open the possibility that poorly indexed books might include additional material...."⁷³ However, in a subsequent defense of this procedure, the author also pointed out that "since the 47 texts averaged about 500 pages apiece it was not feasible to read each and every page" and that anyway "'a check of several texts revealed no substantive references to the FBI that were not indexed.'"⁷⁴

While it was clearly even less feasible to read each and every page of the 494 volumes investigated in the

multivolume editions, the sample size actually exceeded the required number.

⁷³Robert Justin Goldstein, "The FBI and American Politics Textbooks," PS 18 (Spring 1985):238.

⁷⁴Robert Justin Goldstein, "Recording FBI Abuses: Goldstein Responds," PS 18 (Fall 1985):724.

present study, for books in both the "influential" and "core" samples where indices were considered inadequate or, in some instances, where they were nonexistent, a page by page search of the texts for references to Freud was conducted. It would seem reasonable to conclude then that the rather poor showing of citations (a total of 72 of the 497 works consulted [10.4%] contained entries for Freud,) especially since they support the SSCI, Proceedings and APSR findings reported earlier, are fairly accurate.

It would seem equally if not more reasonable, given that citations are an accurate measure of influence and that in all of the literature surveyed in our rather comprehensive search a total of 101 citations were found, to conclude that Freud's direct influence on political science was indeed minimal. However such a conclusion would probably be a bit premature. Even the creator of the science and the social science citation indices, Eugene Garfield, found it necessary to issue a "strong reminder that citation counts cannot be responsibly taken as the controlling basis for appraisals of individual performance," and that "at best, they are ancillary to detailed judgments of informed peers."⁷⁵

In short, in an effort to prevent erroneously rejecting the notion of the existence of direct Freudian

⁷⁵Robert K. Merton, Foreword to Citation Indexing, p. x.

influence on American political scientists, it is necessary to first analyze their "detailed judgments" or opinions. These can best, or at least most economically, be obtained through the use of a survey questionnaire.

(2) SURVEY ANALYSIS

The survey, large-scale questioning (by interview or questionnaire) of respondents for purposes of measuring only conscious motivations such as attributed influence as well as opinions, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, ideals, information, understanding etc., is generally acknowledged to have become the most common or widely used research technique in the social sciences during the post-World War II period.⁷⁶

The increasing use of the survey as a measure of attributed influence is largely explained by its simplicity.⁷⁷ As Somit and Tanenhaus (who in 1963 were the first to use this popular method of inquiry to systematically [rather than intuitively as had been the

⁷⁶Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research (n.p.: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 9; Martin Bulmer, gen. ed., Preface to The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation, by Catherine Marsh, (London, England: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. ix.

⁷⁷James G. March, "An Introduction to the Theory and Measurement of Influence," The American Political Science Review 49 (June 1955):445-446. For an additional discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of survey analysis see Marsh, The Survey Method, pp. 55-56.

practice] explore the beliefs of American political scientists) explained, the opinions of those within the discipline "can be readily ascertained via questionnaire."⁷⁸

With this consideration in mind, a survey questionnaire was mailed to a systematic random sample of 500 members of the American Political Science Association on October 11, 1984 (see Appendix D.)

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The 500 persons polled were drawn from the 8,894 names listed in the APSA's 1983 directory of members.⁷⁹ Using the techniques set forth by Somit and Tanenhaus in their survey of 832 members of the Association as a guideline, the "People in Political Science" sections of the 1983 and 1984 (up to the date of mailing) issues of PS were used to update the mailing addresses, institutions of employment and academic ranks of the members, and then every eighteenth name was selected from the Directory.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Somit and Tannenhaus, Profile, p. 65.

⁷⁹American Political Science Association, The American Political Science Association Membership Directory 1983 (Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, 1983).

⁸⁰Somit and Tanenhaus, Profile, pp. 139-149, appendix A. The authors, who selected every fifth name from the 1961 Directory, report that the responses received were representative of the population being studied. For a description of the two techniques used to test represent-

Since only American political scientists (i.e., those teaching in American colleges and universities) were targeted, where no data about academic degree or where foreign academic affiliations were cited in the bibliographical data, the next name immediately following which met the criteria was chosen. A total of 486 Association members were selected in this way. The last person listed on every fourteenth page beginning on page three (an arbitrary--not random--choice) constituted the additional fourteen people needed to bring the study sample number to 500. None of the ten "pre-test" APSA members who were sent questionnaires on September 11, 1984 nor the one political scientist familiar with the study being conducted whose name came up in the selection process were included in the actual study sample.⁸¹

SAMPLE RESPONSE

Ten of the 500 questionnaires were returned as undeliverable. Of the remaining 490 presumably delivered

ativeness see pp. 140-141.

⁸¹The pretest mailing date was chosen to approximately coincide with the opening Fall semester sessions of the majority of colleges and universities in the United States, when most professors would be there to receive them; and also to allow a full month interval for return and evaluation of the pretest group before mailing to the larger sample without concern that the questionnaires would be received, and possibly be ignored or lost, during the chaos of midterm, final or winter vacation weeks.

questionnaires 263 completed forms were returned by the end of January 1985 when the final coding began. No additional questionnaires were received after this date, but one received before the cutoff date was not usable.⁸² The 53% response rate (263 out of 490 = 53.6%) is virtually identical to that of Somit and Tanenhaus (53%) and to that of Walter B. Roettger (53%) who replicated and extended their study during the winter of 1975-1976.⁸³

FINDINGS

The two page, ten question survey yielded thirty variables (for variables and coding see Appendix E.) Figure 1 contains the response frequencies and percentages for each variable with the exception of "awarding institution."⁸⁴

⁸²The unusable questionnaire consisted of a critique of, and not the answers to, the survey questions.

⁸³Walter B. Roettger, "The Discipline: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August-3 September 1978, p. 4.

⁸⁴Since a total of seventy-three academic institutions awarded the "highest degree" to the 263 respondents, the frequencies and percentages were considered too low to be meaningful. See Appendix D for the coding of these schools.

Figure 1. Frequencies / Percentages of Responses*

1. Year of birth: to 1919 - 24/ 9.2%
 1920-1939 - 105/40.2%
 1940-1959 - 132/50.6%
2. Highest degree: Ph.D. - 250/95.4%
 M.A. - 6/ 2.3%
 J.D., L.L.B.
 Dr. Juris, M.A.L.D.) - 5/ 1.9%
3. What is the principal activity of your current position at your institution?
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Administration | <u>29/ 8.2%</u> |
| Teaching | <u>220/62.1%</u> |
| Research | <u>93/26.3%</u> |
| Other | <u>12/ 3.4%</u> |
4. Your primary major field of specialization is:
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| American Government | <u>97/30.7%</u> |
| Comparative Government | <u>47/14.9%</u> |
| International Relations | <u>37/11.7%</u> |
| Political Theory and Methodology | <u>14/ 4.4%</u> |
| Public Administration | <u>33/10.4%</u> |
| Political Philosophy | <u>16/ 5.1%</u> |
| Public Law | <u>24/ 7.6%</u> |
| Political Theory | <u>19/ 6.0%</u> |
| Other | <u>29/ 9.2%</u> |
5. Have you read any of Sigmund Freud's works?
- 219/83.6% Yes
6. Have you had any formal psychoanalytic training or education?
- 10/3.8% Yes
7. Do you believe that Freudian theories and concepts in general have in any way influenced your academic work?
- 138/52.7% Yes

*Where multiple responses were given percentages exceed 100%.

Figure 1 (CONTINUED).

8. Would you characterize this influence as being:

Very important	<u>12/ 8.6%</u>
Somewhat important	<u>68/48.9%</u>
Not too important	<u>59/42.4%</u>

9. In what ways has Freudian thought been important to you?

For an overall understanding of political behavior	<u>94/58.0%</u>
As a didactic tool	<u>40/24.7%</u>
Other	<u>28/17.3%</u>

10. Which, if any, of the following concepts or, as Freud put it, "principal constituents of the theoretical structure of psychoanalysis" have you found to be useful for political analysis and/or teaching?

Resistance and repression	<u>80/30.9%</u>
The unconscious	<u>85/32.8%</u>
The etiological significance of sexual life	<u>28/10.8%</u>
The importance of infantile experience	<u>37/14.3%</u>
Other	<u>29/11.25%</u>

The finding of particular interest for the present analysis is that of the 262 respondents who returned usable questionnaires 138 (52.7%) reported that Freudian theories and concepts had influenced their academic work (see Figure 1, Question 7.) Furthermore, 80 of these (just over 57% of those responding to the question)

indicated that this influence was either "somewhat" or "very" important (see Figure 1, Question 8.) Clearly the percentage of affirmative responses is both considerably higher and stronger than was expected given the limited number of citations to Freud in the literature of the discipline. This apparent discrepancy can best be explained in terms of the limitations inherent in citation and survey research designs.

(3) DISCUSSION

The major limitation of survey design is perhaps the "limitation of the audience," only those who chose to participate expose themselves to the communication, and most of the time they do so only because it is the kind of material with which they agree to begin with.⁸⁵ The audience, in other words, "is usually a highly biased one."⁸⁶

The 52.7% affirmative response rate to Question 7 on the survey is very likely a reflection of such bias: those who recognized Freudian influence in their work may have made the greater effort to fill out and return the questionnaires, and that inflationary factor should be taken into consideration in evaluating the results. But

⁸⁵Carl I. Hoveland, "Reconciling Conflicting Results Derived from Experimental and Survey Studies of Attitude Change," The American Psychologist 14 (January 1959):9.

⁸⁶Ibid.

even when it is, there are a couple of reasons for maintaining that, in this instance at least, the discrepancy in findings is better explained in terms of citation design limitations.

To begin with the survey, in spite of the "audience" factor, is still widely accepted as a valid measure of influence. This would suggest that while the positive response rate may be somewhat exaggerated it is not likely to have been skewed enough to completely account for the huge gap; given the survey results, in other words, the citation counts are suspiciously low. Secondly, although citation analysis is also considered to be a valid measure, it is far more plausible to account for the difference in findings in terms of undercitation rather than overinflation due to a phenomenon known as "obliteration" or the "palimpsestic syndrome."⁸⁷

In the course of this hypothesized obliteration

⁸⁷ Joshua Lederberg, Foreword to Essays of an Information Scientist, by Eugene Garfield, vol. 1, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: ISI Press, 1977), p. xiii; Eugene Garfield, "The 'Obliteration Phenomenon' in Science-and the Advantage of Being Obliterated!" in Essays of an Information Scientist, vol. 2, ed. Eugene Garfield, with a Foreword by Joshua Lederberg, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: ISI Press, 1977), pp. 396-398. According to Garfield, "the term palimpsest refers to a piece of parchment used for manuscript copying more than once-- earlier texts having been erased to make room for some newer work. Thus, like a trace of writing which is rubbed out to make a place for a newer message, certain scientific documents are obliterated in order to make way for citations to more pertinent, less well-known, or more modern papers." See Garfield, "Obliteration," p. 397.

process, which was first described by Robert K. Merton in 1965, the number of explicit references to an original work declines in the papers and books making use of it because the users, and consequently transmitters, of that information "may be so familiar with its origins that they mistakenly assume these to be well-known. Preferring not to insult their readers' knowledgeability, they do not cite the original source or even refer to it."⁸⁸ And so over time the original source is forgotten--obliterated.

Assuming then that Freudian obliteration is altogether possible, perhaps even probable, it would logically follow that the virtual absence of explicit citations to him in the discipline's literature indicates, and as the survey results would then confirm, extensive rather than negligible direct influence--that "under-citation" in this instance is, as it is in the cases of papers on atomic physics which do not cite Einstein and those on mathematics which do not credit Archimedes, "evidence of extraordinary impact."⁸⁹

⁸⁸Merton, Foreword to Citation Indexing, p. ix; Robert K. Merton, On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript, with a Foreword by Catherine Drinker Bowen (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 218-219n.

⁸⁹Lederberg, p. xiv; Garfield, "Obliteration," p. 397.

CHAPTER III

INDIRECT INFLUENCE: "AN UNCONSCIOUS PLAGIARISM"

Now I must apologise [sic] to you, dear Professor [Freud], that in a paper...I committed an unconscious plagiarism.

---Karl Abraham⁹⁰

⁹⁰Karl Abraham, "Letter to Sigmund Freud, December 8, 1913," in A Psycho-Analytic Dialogue: The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham 1907-1926, eds. Hilda C. Abraham and Ernst L. Freud, trans. Bernard Marsh and Hilda C. Abraham (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1965), p. 159. The original draft of Abraham's paper on agoraphobia, entitled "A Constitutional Basis of Locomotor Anxiety," contained remarks on railway phobia which to his "amazement" originated with Freud. Freud, who did not acknowledge Abraham's apology, was nevertheless probably rather sympathetic to his friend's plight in that he too had inadvertently borrowed ideas from another and had found it "truly painful to...renounce [his own] originality." (See Sigmund Freud, Psychopathology of Everyday Life (New York: New American Library, n.d.), pp. 72-73.) Thomas Kuhn reports a similar experience. Finding that both his and Karl Popper's view of science "are very nearly identical," Kuhn concludes that "more than coincidence is presumably responsible for this extensive overlap. Though I had read none of Sir Karl's work before the appearance in 1959 of the English translation of his [1935] [sic]...I had repeatedly heard a number of his main ideas discussed....These circumstances do not permit me to specify an intellectual debt to Sir Karl, but there must be one." (See Thomas S. Kuhn, "Logic of Discovery or Psychology of Research," in Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge, eds. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave (Cambridge,

The palimpsestic syndrome does more than explain the limitations of citation counts as a measure for direct influence and why it is that "as influence becomes deeper, it becomes less readily visible."⁹¹ What it does, in accounting for the obliteration of important concepts and theories by their incorporation into "currently accepted knowledge," is to also explain the creation of a zeitgeist.⁹²

The existence of a Freudian zeitgeist is so widely acknowledged that it can and will, in this paper, be accepted as a given. What then remains to be determined here, is the extent to which American political scientists have unknowingly absorbed and assimilated psychoanalytic ideas from this all-pervasive intellectual milieu -- that is, the extent to which they have been indirectly influenced by Freud's ideas. This determination can be easily made by returning once again to the Proceedings, the American Political Science Review, and the "Major" and "Core" books, this time to search for those who have either used psychoanalytic concepts without acknowledging

London: At the University Press, 1970), p. 1.

⁹¹Merton, Foreword to Citation Indexing, p. ix.

⁹²Ibid.

or giving credit to Sigmund Freud or who have cited one of the important Freudian disseminators.⁹³

(1) THE PRINCIPAL DISSEMINATORS

While there may be many who are considered--or who consider themselves to be--adherents of classical psychoanalytic theory (a subject under investigation in the present paper,) only two of Freud's disciples, Walter Lippmann and Harold D. Lasswell, are readily identifiable as his primary exponents or principle disseminators among political scientists.

WALTER LIPPMANN (1889-1974)

Having taken only one government course, taught by British political scientist Graham Wallas, as an undergraduate student at Harvard University, journalist Walter Lippmann could not technically be called a political scientist.⁹⁴ However each of his ten major books was

⁹³Since the Social Science Citation Index is primarily an author and title index, it could not be used for a comprehensive search for political scientists who have unknowingly used Freudian concepts. Which is to say that the computer search would yield data for only those articles whose primary focus was on the unconscious, resistance, etc. if such keywords had been deemed sufficiently important to have been coded. Thus the results from such a search would have been virtually meaningless.

⁹⁴Under the free elective system that prevailed at Harvard, Lippmann took, in addition to one history and one government course, seven in philosophy, five in language, three in English and comparative literature, and three in

devoted to the subject; indeed, his career has been called the "'most brilliant...ever devoted in America to political writing.'"⁹⁵

His writing strongly reflects both the influence of Wallas' thought, which emphasized social and political change and the role that human nature and motivation play in political life, and the influence of Freud's theory, which lent support to Wallas' notion that political behavior was illogical.⁹⁶

Learning about this support in the "spring and summer" of 1912, while visiting with a friend who was translating Freud's Interpretation of Dreams into English, Lippman wrote to his former teacher in October of that year and asked

are you in your new book making much use of the Freudian psychology? I have been studying it with a great deal of enthusiasm for several months now, and I feel about it as men might have felt about "The Origin of Species." The Freudian psychology is truly "Ailfenpsychologie"--a dynamic conception of the mind....The dream interpretations, the book on wit, the esthetics, the child psychology do for the first time in any psychology I know furnish a picture of

economics. See Ronald Steel, Walter Lippmann and the American Century (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), p. 14.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. xvi. For a list of the major works see page 633 of the Steel biography.

⁹⁶Larry D. Adams, Walter Lippmann (Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers, 1977), p. 22; John Morton Blum, ed., Public Philosophy: Selected Letters of Walter Lippmann (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1985), p. xvii.

human nature in the act, so to speak, of venting and expressing its character. Moreover there is the immense recommendation [sic] that this psychology is receiving a constant clinical test, and is finding so much justification in its results. Its political applications have hardly begun, though there are a few stray articles here and there....⁹⁷

According to Ronald Steel, Lippmann's official biographer, the idea that politics was a system of social interaction and hence had to be subject to the same forces of unreason that governed other social behaviors seemed obvious, and yet no one up to that time (1912) had made the connection.⁹⁸ Thus Lippmann was the first; busily at work on A Preface to Politics (1913), he excitedly "raced through the chapters, injecting Freudian terms into his discussion of politics."⁹⁹ This excitement, if anything, seemed to increase over time prompting Harold J. Laski to observe in 1916 "...I wish Walter Lippmann would forget Freud for a little--just a little."¹⁰⁰ He never did.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL (1902-1978)

⁹⁷Walter Lippmann, "Letters to Graham Wallas, October 30, 1912, and Frederick J. Hoffman, November 18, 1942," see Blum, ed., pp. 13-14, and 429.

⁹⁸Steel, p. 46.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Harold J. Laski, "Letter to Oliver Wendall Holmes," November 20, 1916, in Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski 1916-1935, v. 1, ed. Mark De Wolfe Howe, with a Foreword by Felix Frankfurter (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 36.

Although Lasswell was familiar with Lippmann's work, his "discovery" of Freud dates back to a summer in 1917 or 1918 when he read some of his works which belonged to the uncle, an M.D., with whom he was visiting.¹⁰¹ A decade later, in 1928-1929, while in Berlin on a Social Science Research Council fellowship, Lasswell, still "curious" about psychoanalysis, underwent treatment with Theodor Reik, a "first-generation" Freudian disciple.¹⁰² He returned from that trip in 1930 and published Psychopathology and Politics the first of his many books which employed the "radically different" method, developed by Freud, "of more general application to practical problems of political research and political practice than is usually understood."¹⁰³

While the resistance to this idea was enormous (not one of his articles was published in a political science journal between 1937 and 1950,) and while his treatises on

¹⁰¹Leo Rosten, "Harold Lasswell: A Memoir," in Politics, Personality, and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell, ed. Arnold A. Rogow (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 6. Lasswell reviewed Lippmann's The Phantom Public for the American Journal of Sociology in 1926 (volume 31, pp. 533-535.)

¹⁰²Bruce Lannes Smith, "The Mystifying Intellectual History of Harold D. Lasswell," in Politics, Personality, and Social Science, ed. Rogow, p. 57.

¹⁰³Harold D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. v and 17-18.

the non-rational aspects of political behavior "earned him a reputation for misanthropy that recalls the obloquy heaped on another realist, Machiavelli, four centuries ago," Lasswell's desire and efforts to "illuminate his own discipline with the realities of behavior disclosed by this cognate science" persisted, and for over forty years he remained one of its two principal disseminators of the key Freudian concepts.¹⁰⁴

(2) THE KEY CONCEPTS

Before any search of the literature for signs of indirect influence could be conducted it was first necessary to determine a) which psychoanalytic concepts originated with Freud (classical or orthodox psychoanalysis) as opposed to those which were formulated by his disciples (sometimes called neo-Freudian psychoanalysis) and, b) which of these many "orthodox" concepts should be considered the key constituents of his theory.

Fortunately, Freud helped out on both accounts. In February 1914, "driven by what he considered a threat to

¹⁰⁴"Harold D. Lasswell, Recognized As a Top U.S. Political Scientist," New York Times, 20 December 1978, sec. 2, p. 11; Martin Birnbach, Neo-Freudian Social Philosophy (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 156. Birnbach notes that Lasswell did "abandon" the psychoanalytic approach for almost a decade while he worked on the politics of democracy, however he also observes that later in his career Lasswell once again returned to orthodox psychoanalytic theory (see p. 157.)

his creation," he sat down and wrote "a masterpiece of polemic" against two of his former students, Alfred Adler and Carl Jung, who "had departed on terms he could no longer permit to be theirs."¹⁰⁵

In rejecting what he called their "cool act of usurpation," Freud argued with great passion that

psychoanalysis is my creation; I was for ten years, the only person who concerned himself with it, and all the dissatisfaction which the new doctrine aroused in my contemporaries has been poured forth in the form of criticisms on my head. Although it is long now since I was the only psychoanalyst, I regard myself as justified in maintaining that even to-day [sic] no one can know better than I what psychoanalysis is, how it differs from other ways of investigating the life of the mind, and precisely what should be called psychoanalysis and what would better be described by some other name.¹⁰⁶

Clearly Adlerian theory which denied the unconscious, and Jungian theory which denied the sexuality of libido, and later the theories of still other "apostates," including Ferenczi, Fromm, Horney, Kardiner, Reich, Reik, Rank, tekel, and Sullivan who followed their lead in ignoring or rejecting essential psychoanalytic formulations would, Freud thought, "be better described by some other

¹⁰⁵Philip Rieff, ed., Introduction to The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement: And Other Papers, by Sigmund Freud (New York: Collier Books, 1963), p. 9.

¹⁰⁶Sigmund Freud, "On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement," in The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement: And Other Papers, ed. Philip Rieff, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: Collier Books, 1963, pp. 41-42.

name."¹⁰⁷ Apparently both Adler, who after breaking with Freud called his school "Individual Psychology," and Jung who, in similar circumstances, named his "Analytical Psychology," agreed.¹⁰⁸

The essential formulations or key concepts (to be discussed in Chapter IV) which according to Freud formed "the principal constituents of the theoretical structure of psychoanalysis" and which enables us to distinguish his thoughts from that of the revisionists, were his "theories of resistance and of repression, of the unconscious, of the aetiological significance of sexual life and of the importance of infantile experiences."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Rieff, p. 18. What primarily sets these revisionists, or what some call neo- or post-Freudians, apart from classical Freudian theorists is their shift away from a biological determinism toward a cultural and social determinism. They have also, among other things, desexualized the Oedipus complex, rejected the instinct theory, moved away from exclusive concern with psychopathology, and renounced id-psychology in favor of ego-psychology. See Birnback, pp. 68-69; Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, ed., Psychoanalysis and Social Science, with a Foreword and Introduction by Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 191-192.

¹⁰⁸J. A. C. Brown, Freud and the Post-Freudians (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 1.

¹⁰⁹Sigmund Freud, An Autobiographical Study, trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1952), p. 74. In addition to these "theories," related terms such as psychology, psychoanalysis, id, ego, etc. were also checked for possible citations of Freud.

(3) FINDINGS**THE PROCEEDINGS**

Seven of fourteen papers cited in the Proceedings contained key-word references to either essential or related Freudian concepts and terms without citing Freud as their source.¹¹⁰ However not each one of the seven gave evidence of indirect influence. Two of the four papers which used some form of the term "psychology" in

¹¹⁰The three of the seven articles which contained key-word references to the Freudian concept of infantile (or childhood) experiences are: Edward S. Greenberg, "Black Children and the Political System: A Study of Socialization to Support," paper presented at the 65th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 2-6 September 1969; Reid R. Reading, "Early Political Socialization in Three Cities of Columbia: The Child's View of Political Authority," paper presented at the 65th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 2-6 September 1969; and Judith V. Torney, "Research in the Development of International Orientation During Childhood and Adolescence," paper presented at the 65th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 2-6 September 1969. The remaining four papers examined contained references to some form of the term "psychology"--a related, not a key, Freudian concept. They are: Walter F. Berns, "Precedent, History and Social Psychology as Factors in the Public School," paper presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 5-7 September 1957; Henry S. Kariel, "The Challenge of Psychology to Political Thought," paper presented at the 57th meeting of the American Political Science Association, St. Louis, Mo., 6-9 September 1961; T. W. Milburn, "Psychological Models and Deterrence," paper presented at the 59th meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, N.Y., 4-7 September 1963; and Kalman H. Silvert, "Some Psychocultural Factors in the Politics of Conflict and Conciliation: Setting Up the Problem," paper presented at the 61st meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 8-11 September 1965.

their titles, Milburn's "Psychological Models and Deterrence" and Silvert's "Some Psychocultural Factors in the Politics of Conflict and Conciliation: Setting Up of the Problem" (see footnote #109) contained neither Freudian terminology nor citations of the principal Freudian disseminators. Thus a total of five of the seven papers examined were written by authors indirectly influenced by orthodox psychoanalytic thought.¹¹¹

It is obviously difficult to draw any conclusions based on these findings alone especially since the existing Proceedings papers are so few in number and since they were, for the most part, addresses intended for delivery at APSA conferences rather than for journal publication and hence may not have been fully documented. But it can at least be noted that an analysis of the most prestigious and representative of the discipline's journals, the American Political Science Review, did not yield very different results.

¹¹¹An analysis of these five articles indicates that the none of the three which used some variation of the term "childhood" in their titles referred to any additional Freudian concepts. Of the two remaining "psychological" papers, Berns' "Precedent, History and Social Psychology as Factors in the Public School" discusses the significance of the sex drive, and Kariel's "The Challenge of Psychology to Political Thought," mentions, in addition to the term psycho-analysis, the key formulations of childhood experiences, the ego and the unconscious.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW

The Cumulative Index to the American Political Science Review, like the Proceedings, contained no references to either Freud or to four of the five "principal constituents" of his theory: resistance, repression, the unconscious, and sex. However, the fifth of Freud's essential formulations, infantile experiences (or the "impressions which date back to earliest childhood,") was the subject of six articles (indexed under the terms "child" and "children") which did not cite him as a source.¹¹²

¹¹²Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, p. 221. The six articles include: Robert Argyll Campbell, "Child Labor Law--District of Columbia," The American Political Science Review 3 (February 1909):56-58; David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," The American Political Science Review 61 (March 1967):25-38; Orrena Louise Evans, "The Children's Code of Ohio," The American Political Science Review 7 (November 1913):647-650; M. Kent Jennings, and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review 62 (March 1968):169-184; W. A. Robinson, "Advisory Referendum in Massachusetts on the Child Labor Amendment," The American Political Science Review 19 (February 1925):69-72; and Roberta S. Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights Into the Political Views of School Children," The American Political Science Review 62 (March 1968):216-226. Several observations about these articles should be made. (1) The three articles which deal with child labor laws, codes and amendments are technical works which may or may not be used as evidence of indirect Freudian influence. That is to say that while the content of these pieces is rather far removed from psychoanalytic interest (and no psychoanalytic terms are used) the subject certainly is not. (2) It should also be pointed out that David Easton, who is also on the list of the 65 most influential political scientists, cited Sigmund Freud in two of his major works, A Framework for Political

Five of the eight additional articles listed under some variation of the term "psychology" also reflect indirect influence in that while they do not make mention of Freud they either use his terminology or cite one of the two principal Freudian disseminators.¹¹³

The three remaining articles contained neither the key concepts nor the citations bringing the total number of APSR articles which showed signs of indirect influence

Analysis and Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (see Appendix B.) While the contention here is that he has been directly and indirectly influenced by Freud--which is less of a contradiction than it would seem to be at first glance in that certain elements of orthodox Freudian theory might not have been recognized as such by Easton--no exception to those who wish to argue differently will be taken. (3) Finally, only one of the six articles, Jennings and Neimi's "The Transmission of Political Values....," contained a reference to a related key term (in this case to "psychoanalysis.")"

¹¹³Floyd H. Allport, "The Psychological Nature of Political Structure," The American Political Science Review 21 (August 1927):611-618; Horace M. Kallen, "Political Science As Psychology," The American Political Science Review 17 (May 1923):181-203; Henry S. Kariel, "The Political Relevance of Behavioral and Existential Psychology," The American Political Science Review 61 (June 1967):334-342; Charles E. Merriam, "The Significance of Psychology for the Study of Politics," The American Political Science Review 18 (August 1924):469-488; L. L. Thurstone, "Round Table on Politics and Psychology: Aspects of Public Opinion," The American Political Science Review 20 (February 1926):126-27; Allport refers to childhood experiences; Kallen mentions Lippmann; Kariel writes about psychoanalysis and cites Lasswell; Merriam discusses psychoanalysis and cites Lasswell; and Thurston cites Lippmann.

to eleven out of a possible fourteen (five of the nineteen referred directly to Freud.)¹¹⁴

Clearly the number of articles demonstrating indirect Freudian influence in the American Political Science Review is only a minute percentage of the total number of articles published in that journal. And even when these eleven are added to the five already found in the Proceedings the total remains unimpressive. However an examination of the "influential" and "core" books did uncover stronger evidence of indirect influence.

MAJOR AND CORE WORKS

Since forty-four out of a total of 254 major or influential works contained explicit references to Sigmund Freud 210 remained to be searched for indications of indirect influence.¹¹⁵ Of these, seventy-five volumes (35.7%) contained either, or both, a discussion of a

¹¹⁴Harold D. Lasswell, "Two Forgotten Studies in Political Psychology," The American Political Science Review 19 (November 1925):707-717; Glendon Schubert, "The 1960 Term of the Supreme Court: A Psychological Analysis," The American Political Science Review 56 (March 1962):90-107; L. L. Thurstone, "The Significance of Psychology for the Study of Government and Certain Specific Problems Involving Both Psychology and Politics," The American Political Science Review 19 (February 1925):110-122. Lasswell, of course, was directly influenced by Freud, and one of Thurstone's articles did indicate indirect influence (see footnote #113).

¹¹⁵These 254 volumes include the four works which were coauthored by two of the top scholars only once.

key concept(s) and references to at least one of the two disseminators.¹¹⁶ An additional 48 core books (23.1%), out of the 207 works analyzed (29 of the total sample of 236 had direct Freudian citations) referred to either a key concept(s), a principal disseminator(s), or both.¹¹⁷

These 123 volumes constitute 29.5% of the 417 books examined.

(4) DISCUSSION

That the books sampled showed considerably stronger indirect influence than the journal articles did was not altogether unexpected for two reasons. First of all journal articles tend to be narrower in scope. Their focus is naturally restricted by space, which means that there is less room for elaboration and digression. More importantly, perhaps, an evaluation of the articles must take into account that the sample examined was a highly biased one; only those articles which were either indexed under Freud's name or under the selected key concepts were analyzed. A larger, more random sample of articles might have yielded different results. For these reasons then

¹¹⁶Appendix B designates which titles, on the list of 65 scholars and their major works, show direct, indirect (by concept and/or by citation,) or no Freudian influence. The findings for the related concept of "psychoanalysis" are reported and included in the analysis.

¹¹⁷See Appendix C for a specific breakdown of the data.

the findings obtained from the book samples can, in this situation at least, be deemed more reliable. Nonetheless, as further interpretation of the data suggests, this measure is still somewhat misleading.

For instance, although 35.7% of the major books which did not explicitly cite Freud were found to reflect his influence indirectly, this percentage climbs slightly to 36.6% (75 out of 205) when the early works, those published prior to or during 1895-96 which could not possibly have contained such influence, are eliminated from consideration.¹¹⁸ Five books, Bentley's The Condition of the Western Farmer (1893,) Goodnow's Municipal Home Rule (1895,) and Wilson's Congressional Government (1885,) Division and Reunion (1893,) and George Washington (1896,) fall into this category.¹¹⁹ The percentage increases to 38.6% (75 out of 194,) when eleven works published between

¹¹⁸There is considerable disagreement among scholars as to when psychoanalytic literature was available and began to be taken seriously in the United States. However since the term itself was not used by Freud until 1896, one year after the publication of his Studies on Hysteria which is "usually regarded as the starting-point of psycho-analysis," any works written by the 65 political scientists (see Appendix A) prior to or at this time could not show any indirect influence. Lucy Freeman, Freud Rediscovered (New York: Arbor House, 1980), p. 30; James Strachey, Introduction to Studies on Hysteria, by Sigmund Freud (New York: Avon Books, 1966), p. xvi. According to Freeman the first mention of Freud's work in the United States was made in a lecture on psychopathology delivered in 1894 by William James (p. 229.)

¹¹⁹See Bibliography for full citations with more recent dates of publication.

1897 and 1914, are removed from the equation.¹²⁰ These eleven include Beard's American Government and Politics (1910;) Coker's "Organismic Theories of the State" (1910) and Readings in Political Philosophy (1914;) Goodnow's Municipal Problems (1897,) Comparative Administrative Law (1903,) City Government in the United States (1904) and Municipal Government (1909;) Merriam's A History of

¹²⁰It was not until Freud delivered a series of lectures at Clark University in the United States (1909,) the American Psychoanalytic Association and the New York Psychoanalytic Society were founded (1911,) and Brill's English translations of Freud's major papers and works, including Studies on Hysteria, The Interpretation of Dreams, The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious, and The Theory of the Neuroses, were published (between 1909 and 1915,) that his views were popularized. The German speaking political scientists on the list of top 65 scholars (Deutsch, Eulau, Friedrich, Morgenthau and Strauss) who could have read such works before they were translated, did not emigrate to the United States until after the end of World War I. In short it would be unlikely that those writing before that war would have been influenced by Freud's thought. In fact, Matthews (see below) maintains that it was not until the First World War that psychiatrists became more receptive to psychoanalytic explanations. See, Steven D. Blum, Walter Lippmann: Cosmopolitanism in the Century of Total War (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984), p.29; A. A. Brill, "The Introduction and Development of Freud's Work in the United States," The American Journal of Sociology 45 (November 1939):323-324; Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, gen. eds., Handbook of Political Science, 8 vols. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975), vol. 1: Political Science Scope and Theory, p. 45; Fred Hamilton Matthews, Jr., "Freud Comes to America: The Influence of Freudian Ideas on American Thought, 1909-1917" (Masters Thesis, University of California, 1955), pp. 49 and 91-104; and John R. Seeley, "The Americanization of the Unconscious," in Psychoanalysis and Social Science, ed. Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962), p. 188.

American Political Theories (1903;) Ogg's The Governments of Europe (1913;) and Wilson's The State (1898) and A History of the American People (1901.)¹²¹

The percentage of core works which contained indirect references to Freudian theories and concepts also increased, but only very slightly from 23.1% to 23.4% (48 out of 205) when two books published between 1897 and 1914 were subtracted from the sample of 207.¹²²

These adjusted figures, which bring the combined indirect influence percentage of the 123 major and core books from 29.5% to 30.8% (123 out of 399,) is probably still on the low side--the very nature of indirect influence would suggest that it is.

Indirect influence is the unconscious assimilation of information from the environment and also, at times, the unconscious transmission of that information to others and from them to still others. For this reason, the attribution of indirect influence to only the political scien-

¹²¹See Bibliography for full citations with more recent publication data.

¹²²William Archibald Dunning, A History of Political Theories: Ancient and Mediaeval (1902) and William Sharp McKechnie, Magna Carta: A Commentary on the Great Charter of King John (1905/6.) None of the core books sampled was published prior to 1895, and two of the works published during the 1897-1914 period did use psychoanalytic terminology. See S. J. Duncan-Clark, The Progressive Movement: Its Principles and Its Programme (1913) and Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (1914.) For full updated citations of the above mentioned titles see the Bibliography.

tists who use Freudian concepts or who refer to Lippmann or Lasswell without also taking into consideration those who might have unknowingly received their psychoanalytic insights from scholars two, three or more times removed from the principal disseminators, could result in a gross underestimation of such influence.

To completely eliminate a miscalulation of this kind would be difficult if not impossible, for that would necessitate having complete knowledge of, as John W. Outland put it, "who reads whom."¹²³ However, while it is not feasible to track down every political scientist who has read or been influenced by those who have read or been influenced by Freud, it is possible to at least put the statistics on indirect influence reported above into some perspective by carrying the analysis just one step further and reexamining the influential and core works for citations of secondary disseminators.

For purposes of this paper a secondary disseminator is one of the 65 scholars or an author of a core work, aside from Lippmann or Lasswell, who has been directly influenced either by Freud or by another political scientist that has.¹²⁴ Thus, both Friedrich who cites

¹²³John W. Outland, "The Decision-Maker and the Scholar: Who Reads Whom," The International Lawyer 4 (October 1970).

¹²⁴Appendix G contains the names of secondary disseminators.

Freud and Strauss who cites Friedrich are secondary disseminators, although only the latter will be considered as having been indirectly influenced.¹²⁵

Using this additional criterion to trace indirect Freudian influence does suggest that it is considerably greater than was originally estimated. For example, when the search was limited to only the citations of key concepts and principal disseminators, 159 (one of which was written by Lippmann) out of a sample of 207 core books were found to contain no evidence of indirect influence.¹²⁶ However the second examination of these 159 works revealed that at least fifty-eight of them did include a citation to one or more of the secondary disseminators bringing the percentage of indirect influence from 23.4% (48 out of 205) to 51.7% (106 out of 205)¹²⁷. Similarly, a reanalysis of the 135 major

¹²⁵It is altogether possible that Strauss was influenced by someone other than Friedrich who also cited Freud, or even that Strauss indicates in one of his works not examined in this study that he himself was directly influenced by Freud. The conclusions reported here are based solely on the approximately 500 books sampled.

¹²⁶Walter Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1955).

¹²⁷These are the adjusted percentages calculated after the two works which could not have contained Freudian references were removed from the sample. For a list of the fifty-seven authors of these fifty-eight books and the secondary disseminator(s) each cited see Appendix H. It should be noted that since the indirect influence statistics for the articles in both the Proceedings and the American Political Science Review have been found to

be less reliable than those of the books, that new percentages based on secondary dissemination were not calculated for these.

works, which initially were evaluated as having no indirect influence, showed that fifty of the 135 contained at least one reference to a secondary disseminator bringing that indirect influence percentage from 38.6% (75 out of 194) to 64.4% (125 out of 194.)¹²⁸

Even when percentages are not calculated the effect of secondary dissemination on indirect influence can be appreciated if one simply takes into account that while nineteen of the thirty-three scholars whose works did not show direct influence were initially found to have been

¹²⁸These percentages have been adjusted to reflect the removal of sixteen books from the sample of 210 major works. Appendix H lists the thirty-five authors of these fifty books and the secondary disseminator(s) cited by each. At least one of these authors, the late Charles S. Hyneman, might have taken exception to having two of his works, Bureaucracy in a Democracy (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), and The Supreme Court on Trial (New York: Atherton Press, 1963), included among this number. Professor Hyneman was not only the author of four books which contained neither references to Freud, a key concept nor a principle disseminator (see Appendix B,) he was also one of the respondents to the survey questionnaire. Since he both affixed an address label and voluntarily signed the questionnaire form it is being assumed that he had no desire to keep his views private and would not have objected to having them reported here. In response to the question regarding the influence of Freudian theories and concepts on his academic work (Question 7) Dr. Hyneman emphatically denied any. "I believe," he remarked, "I have read that everybody who has written anything of serious character in recent years has been influenced by Freud whether he knew it or not. Re this, I believe nothing; nothing that I hear is likely to surprise me."

indirectly influenced by Freud that eight of the remaining fourteen authors also showed such influence when citations of secondary disseminators were taken into account.¹²⁹

It would follow that these numbers would have been greater still had the dissemination of indirect influence through tertiary and quaternary citations also been traced. But even though they were not, and even if the secondary sources had not been calculated, the original empirical findings from the two samples both confirm and suggest what plain common sense has long dictated, which is that the inadvertant transmission and diffusion of classical psychoanalytic theory within the discipline of political science is not only substantial but that it has grown, and in all liklihood will continue to grow, exponentially over the years.

¹²⁹The nineteen scholars originally found to have been indirectly influenced were: Burns, Coker, Eulau, Gosnell, Holcombe, Katznelson, Key, Laski, Leiserson, Lowi, Merriam, Milliband, Odegard, Pritchett, Ranney, Redford, Snyder, Waldo and Ward. After searching for citations to secondary disseminators Epstein, Fainsod, Fenno, Hyneman, Schattschneider, Strauss, White and Wildavsky were also found to have been indirectly influenced. Only Beard, Corwin, Goodnow, O'Connor, Ogg and Wilson of the scholars on the top sixty-five list showed no Freudian influence of any kind in their works. Of these, the ten works written by Goodnow and Wilson were published too early have been so influenced.

CHAPTER IV

MANIFEST AND LATENT IMPACT: JUMPING FROM THE ROOF OF THE FIRESTONE LIBRARY

...there were those on the Princeton faculty at the time [1948] who would have jumped from the roof of the Firestone Library rather than admit that Freud, that dirty old man, had made a contribution to political science.

---Arnold A. Rogow¹³⁰

Freud's influence, as the data indicates, has been so extensive that it would have been surprising, late in the 1940s, to find a large number of political science faculty in any university who had not directly or indirectly undergone some cognitive changes as a result of assimilating psychoanalytic information. However it is useful to keep in mind that since influence is requisite to, and not synonymous with, impact, that these changes in belief did not necessarily translate into changes in behavior: the acquisition of knowledge about psychoanalysis did not mean that it was applied to political thought or research.

¹³⁰Rogow, ed., p. vii.

Certainly those who would have jumped off the roof of the Firestone Library in 1948 would have been more than a bit hasty for even today, forty years later, the extent of Freud's "contribution to political science," his impact--both manifest and latent--has yet to be determined.

Making the determination as to whether or not there have been any changes in the discipline of political science that have resulted from the application or utilization of psychoanalytic theory does require some familiarity with the basic ideas which constitute that theory. As a first step then it is necessary to take another look at the key concepts of Freudianism.

(1) THE KEY CONCEPTS: A SECOND LOOK

The difficulties in trying to succinctly present any of Freud's ideas, let alone his key concepts, without doing grave injustice to them are so well known that virtually every introduction or preface to a work on Freudian psychoanalytic thought makes mention of them. Ernest Jones, the late president of the International Psychoanalytic Association, for instance, criticized the "volumes, such as those by Hitschmann and Barbara Low, which suffer from condensation because of the difficulty of having to compress so much into a small place," and psychologist Calvin S. Hall explained that the reasons why a condensed exposition of Freudianism is so difficult may

be because "his ideas are scattered throughout his writings from the early 1890's to the late 1930's, and one has to read everything he wrote to be sure that no essential point is missed. Moreover,....Freud was continually revising, modifying, and expanding his theories. Some of his early views were discarded and many were reworded."¹³¹ The most notable example of this is perhaps his demotion in status of the concept of the unconscious from "the largest and most important region of the mind [1890-1920]" to "a quality of mental phenomena [post-1920.]"¹³²

These problems are all very real and should be appreciated, however, in spite of the obstacles that stand in the way of a satisfactory synoptic presentation of Freud's views, it possible to at least briefly convey the **essence** of the key psychanalytic concepts which did remain rather stable.

¹³¹Calvin S. Hall, A Primer of Freudian Psychology (New York: New American Library, 1954), p. vii; Ernest Jones, Preface to A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, by Sigmund Freud, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1960), p. 9. Complicating the problems enumerated by Hall even more is the fact that Freud's theory is so tightly integrated that it is almost impossible to discuss or explain one of his concepts without using the terminology of the others.

¹³²Calvin S.Hall, A Primer, p. 54.

RESISTANCE

Although Freud later amplified his conception of "resistance to analysis" to include "ego-resistance," "repression-resistance," "resistance in dream-interpretation" and "resistance of the unconscious," his original definition of the concept as "a psychological force in... patients which was opposed to...pathogenic ideas becoming conscious" did not have to be fundamentally revised.¹³³ But from the outset this conceptualization of resistance as the censorship of ideas was suggestive of something more. "I recognized," Freud wrote in 1895, "a universal characteristic of such ideas: they were all of a distressing nature, calculated to arouse the affects of shame, of self-reproach and of psychical pain, and the feeling of being harmed; they were all of a kind that one would prefer not to have experienced, that one would rather forget. From all this there arose, as it were automatically, the thought of defense."¹³⁴

The defense, or "pathogenic process which is demon-

¹³³Nandor Fodor and Frank Gaynor, eds., Freud: Dictionary of Psychoanalysis, with a Preface by Theodor Reik (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1958), pp. 134-136; Freud and Breuer, p. 313.

¹³⁴Freud and Breuer, p. 313.

strated by the resistances," Freud later wrote, "we call REPRESSION."¹³⁵

REPRESSION

The concept of repression first appeared in Breuer and Freud's paper entitled "Preliminary Communication" which was written in 1893 (posthumously published in 1940) and published in 1895 as Chapter I, "On the Psychological Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena: Preliminary Communication," of their Studies on Hysteria.¹³⁶ In this

¹³⁵Sigmund Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1960), p. 304. The terms "defence" and "repression" were, during the early years, used interchangeably by Freud. By 1906 the latter term had replaced the former. See James Strachey, "Editor's Note," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XIV, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 144.

¹³⁶ James Strachey actually traces the origin of the term back to the early nineteenth-century psychologist Herbart and notes that while Freud claimed that the theory was his own that he may have learned about it through his teacher Meynert who was an admirer of Herbart (an example of indirect influence perhaps.) See Strachey, "Editor's Note," Vol. XIV, p. 143. Bruno Bettelheim, who believes that "the English translations of Freud's writings are seriously defective in important respects," contends that Freud used the German term "Verdrangung" which should not be translated to mean repression. "The German word," he argues, "implies an inner urge," while "'repression'...indicates that something has been pushed under something else, and...does not carry the connotation of referring to an inner process." See Bruno Bettelheim, Freud and Man's Soul (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), pp. vii and 93. The more commonly used term and meaning is acceptable for the purposes of the present analysis since it is likely to be the one with which political scientists are most

work the term was defined as the intentional inhibition and suppression from conscious thought of things which the patient wished to forget.¹³⁷ This definition, like that of resistance, remained essentially intact; in 1915 he stated in his essay, "Repression," that "the essence of repression lies simply in turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious."¹³⁸

familiar.

¹³⁷Freud and Breuer, pp. 44-45. Although he uses the word "intentional" in the definition, Freud later states that repression is an unconscious process, one which is "accomplished without the cognizance of the ego," for one of two reasons: either a memory is itself painful or it is associated with something which is. "For example," says Hall, "a person may forget the name of an acquaintance with whom he has had a painful encounter. Or he may forget the name because it is connected with something painful. In either case, the anti-cathexes [inhibiting forces] serve the purpose of protecting the person from discomfort and anxiety. All of which means that it is easier to forget an appointment with the dentist than it is to forget a date to go dancing." See Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, pp. 304-305; Calvin S. Hall, A Primer, p. 51.

¹³⁸Sigmund Freud, "Repression," The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XIV, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 147. While the essence of the concept changed little over time the theory did become more sophisticated. For instance, Freud expanded his conception to include two forms of repression: (1) primal repression, or the repression of instincts which have never been conscious, and (2) repression proper, which forces a dangerous idea from consciousness. He also identified different mechanisms of the process of repression and different mechanisms of forming substitutions. Freud offers one example of these mechanisms, taken from the field of anxiety hysteria, whereby an emotional cathexis (an accumulation of mental energy) for one object (a feared father) was repressed and another object (an animal) was substituted. For a more comprehensive

The simplicity of the definition should not belie the importance of the concept. Freud maintained that repression was the "foundation-stone" of the understanding of the neuroses.¹³⁹ Neuroses results, he explained, when a repressed impulse finds circuitous means of discharge and substitutive gratification. This "understanding" revolutionized the task of therapy. "Its aim was no longer to 'abreact' [to relive an original experience in one's imagination] an affect [an emotion attached to an idea] which had got on the wrong lines but to uncover repressions...."¹⁴⁰ Not only was the task of therapy changed so too was its name. With the recognition of the importance of repression Freud no longer called his "method of investigation and treatment catharsis but psychoanalysis."¹⁴¹ Repression then became the "centre" of psychoanalytic theory, and it was possible, according to Freud, to put all the other elements of the theory into relation with it.¹⁴² Nowhere was this made more clear

discussion see "Repression," pp. 153-155.

¹³⁹Freud, An Autobiographical Study, p. 55.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 55-56.

¹⁴¹Ibid. p. 56.

¹⁴²Ibid.

than in "the very great extent" to which repression was correlated with the unconscious.¹⁴³

THE UNCONSCIOUS

The notion of the unconscious predates Freud, at least implicitly, by many centuries. Lancelot Law Whyte, whose The Unconscious Before Freud remains the definitive work on the subject, dates the earliest speculations about unconscious mental processes back to ancient times: "all the greatest human documents, such as the Old and New Testaments and the writings of Plato, Dante, Cervantes, and Shakespeare, reveal this understanding."¹⁴⁴ In modern Europe, the development of the concept had been going on for approximately two hundred years before Freud ever put pen to paper; even Von Hartmann's massive 1100 page treatise, Philosophy of the Unconscious, had been published by 1868 (when Freud was twelve years old,) and by 1870-1880 the conception was a "European commonplace."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³Freud, "Repression," pp. 147-148.

¹⁴⁴Lancelot Law Whyte, The Unconscious Before Freud, with an Introduction by Arthur Koestler (London, England: Julian Friedmann Publishers, 1979), p. 77.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 164. Whyte contends that the term "unconscious mind" was post-Cartesian, entering European thought sometime around 1680 because by then it was "an unavoidable inference from experience." See pp. 28, 63-64 and 82. But although the discovery of the phenomenon was not his, Freud was the first to make the unconscious the

Freud, who had read neither Von Hartmann nor, he claimed much of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, or Dostoevsky, whose popular works reflected the prevailing interest in the unconscious, seems to have come to his unique understanding of the unconscious quite independently through, as noted earlier, the notion of repression.¹⁴⁶ In the opening paragraph of the "The Unconscious," a paper published in 1915, Freud explains the relation between the two concepts.

We have learnt from psycho-analysis that the essence of the process of repression lies, not in putting an end to, in annihilating, the idea which represents an instinct, but in preventing it from becoming conscious. When this happens we say of the idea that it is in a state of being 'unconscious', and we can produce good evidence to show that even when it is unconscious it can produce effects, even including some which finally reach consciousness. Everything that is repressed must remain unconscious; but let us state at the very outset that the repressed does not

center of a psychological system. See Erich Fromm, Greatness and Limitations of Freud's Thought (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980), p. 23.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 165. When a passage in Schopenhauer's World as Will and Idea that contained a description which completely matched Freud's conception of repression was pointed out to him, Freud claimed indebtedness "for having made a discovery to not being a wide reader," and, he went on to note, that in his later years he deliberately avoided reading Nietzsche so as "not to be hampered in working out the impressions received in psychoanalysis by any sort of expectation derived from without." See Freud, "On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement," p. 50. It has been argued however that Freud's denial of Nietzsche's influence did not convince anyone and that "Freud handled the matter of intellectual influence or indebtedness variously...." See E. James Lieberman, Acts of Will: The Life and Work of Otto Rank (New York: The Free Press, 1985), p. 100.

cover everything that is unconscious. The unconscious has the wider compass: the repressed is a part of the unconscious.¹⁴⁷

The other part of the unconscious, the "latent" unconscious, consisted of psychical acts (ideas, memories etc.) which were without much resistance and hence were more easily than the "repressed" unconscious "capable of being conscious."¹⁴⁸ Freud called this part of his construct the preconscious.

Needless to say the recognition that "descriptively" there were two kinds of unconscious, just like the realizations that "dynamically" there was only one kind (the repressed unconscious) and that each of these kinds could be topographically located in different psychical "systems" (the systems Ucs., and Pcs.,) was a long time in coming.¹⁴⁹ Even so, by 1921 Freud found that these

¹⁴⁷Sigmund Freud, "The Unconscious," The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XIV, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 166.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 172-173.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 172-176. For an excellent source of the history of the development of the unconscious see James Strachey, Introduction to The Ego and the Id, by Sigmund Freud, translated by Joan Riviere, revised and edited by James Strachey (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1962), pp. ix-xvii. Even the idea of the unconscious, Strachey notes in a different introduction to one of Freud's works, was not immediately adopted by Freud. See James Strachey, "Editor's Note," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XIV, ed. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 162. When he did adopt the idea, the unconscious was discussed in a purely

distinctions were "inadequate" and "insufficient" from a structural point of view and his conception of the unconscious was modified yet again¹⁵⁰. What did not change however was its connection with the sexual.

THE AETIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SEXUAL LIFE

Sexuality, which he defined as "obtaining pleasure from zones of the body" (a broader construct than that of the genital,) is one of the most important and controversial of Freud's concepts and also one, as noted above, which is closely linked with his conception of the

descriptive sense as consisting of "unknown" ideas or things of which an individual was not aware. See Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, p. 567. When the process of repression was discovered a more dynamic meaning of the term came into being. In its systematic sense a psychical act was said to belong to the system Ucs. if it was repressed, or, if the resistance was removed, to the system Pcs., and then possibly, at that point, into awareness and the system Cs.

¹⁵⁰Realizing that a part of the ego (which is not repressed) may be Ucs. his original structural conception of the unconscious (a repressed force trying to achieve consciousness) opposed by the ego (a repressing force) could no longer be considered valid and Freud introduced new terminology (the id [a region of the mind containing everything "that is present at birth...above all...the instincts,] the ego [which evolved from the id and which "acts as an intermediary between the id and the external world,"] and the super-ego [a "special agency" in which "parental influence is prolonged]) to help clarify the structure of mental functioning. See Sigmund Freud, An Outline of Psycho-Analysis, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 2-3. These entities, according to Strachey, clarified but did not fundamentally change Freud's views. See Strachey, Introduction to The Ego and the Id, p. xiii.

unconscious.¹⁵¹ The link however is not primarily that of "pleasure" but rather of displeasure and pathology. As he explained in a paper on the aetiology (causes or origins)

151 Freud, An Outline of Psychoanalysis, p. 9. The importance of the concept has been recognized not only by scholars, who have called Freud's most important work on the subject--Three Essays [or Contributions] on the Theory of Sexuality--"major," and "momentous and original," but probably also by Freud who updated and submitted them, over a twenty year period, to more revisions than any of his other writings except, possibly, The Interpretation of Dreams. Be this as it may, the controversy engendered by Freud's views on sexuality, particularly childhood sexuality, was enormous. "Respectable" people simply could not accept the idea that children were sexual beings. Even his colleagues, Jung, Adler and Rank, among others, could not accept the centrality of sex as the basis of psychanalytic theory. Apparently none of this really surprised Freud. He anticipated, Stafford-Clark states, that his Three Essays would be "resisted, denied and distorted, no matter what he did to convey them lucidly, cogently and explicitly," and later, in his A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, acknowledged the fact that society had indeed branded his revelations on sexuality as "aesthetically offensive, morally reprehensible, or dangerous." The reader should keep in mind however that not all of his revelations on the subject were found to be that disconcerting. His essay on the "The Transformations of Puberty (in Three Contributions, pp. 66-86) which deals with "normal" development, was, for example, widely accepted. Nevertheless, as the discussion in the present paper indicates, it is the linkage of infantile sexuality with the development of pathological and not normal behavior that was identified by Freud as one of his key concepts. See Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis, p. 27; Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, Introduction to Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, by Sigmund Freud, trans. A. A. Brill, Forewords by James J. Putnam and A. A. Brill (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.), pp. v-vi; David Stafford-Clark, What Freud Really Said (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 105; James Strachey, "Editor's Note," in The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. VII, ed. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1953), p. 126.

of hysteria presented, on April 21, 1896, before the Society for Psychiatry and Neurology, the origins of hysteria can always be traced to sexual experiences which are traumatic, that is to events which produce such a high amount of disgust or fear, that they are invariably repressed or "thrust out of consciousness."¹⁵² Thus, he continued, "as its first conclusion, analysis has arrived at the proposition that hysterical symptoms are derivatives of memories which are operating unconsciously."¹⁵³ Moreover, he told his audience, these repressed sexual memories, which are bound to be pathogenic, can be traced back to the period of earliest childhood--to infantile sexual experiences.¹⁵⁴

THE IMPORTANCE OF INFANTILE EXPERIENCES

By the time Freud collaborated with Breuer (1893-1895) on the first of his major works, Studies on Hysteria, he had already recognized that the importance of

¹⁵²Sigmund Freud, "The Aetiology of Hysteria," reprinted in Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory, Appendix B (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 267-268 and 279-280.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 280. This psychical explanation succeeded Freud's first attempts, during the early 1890s, to causally link neuroses and sexuality in physiological and chemical terms. See Strachey, "Editor's Note," Vol. VII, pp. 126-128.

¹⁵⁴Freud, "The Aetiology of Hysteria," pp. 270-289.

infantile experiences was their potential pathological effects later in life. "Quite frequently," he wrote, "it is some event in childhood that sets up a more or less severe symptom ["nueralgias," "anaesthesias," "contractures," "paralyses," "hysterical attacks," "epileptoid convulsions," "petit mal," "tic," "chronic vomiting," "anorexia," "disturbance of vision," etc.] which persists during the years that follow.¹⁵⁵ A few years later (1896) he discovered that not only the symptoms of hysteria but also those of the neurosis of obsessions, and possibly also the various forms of chronic paranoia and other functional psychoses were caused by infantile sexual experiences.¹⁵⁶

Although he eventually realized that these experiences took various forms (see for example "On the Sexual Theories of Children, 1907,) up until 1897 he vehemently

¹⁵⁵Freud and Breuer, p. 38.

¹⁵⁶Freud, "The Aetiology of Hysteria," p. 288. For a succinct discussion of the psychogenesis of perversions see Freud's "Summary" in Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex, pp. 87-98. Those interested in following the development of Freud's thought should note that it was the understanding of the connection between childhood experiences and later psychopathology that led Freud to discover the importance of dreams, which contain "material from childhood at their command" that "is for the most part blotted out by gaps in our conscious faculty of memory...." See Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, p. 50; Sigmund Freud, New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, trans. and ed. James Stachey (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 28.

argued that they essentially were of a singular nature, that is the external interference or stimulation of the child by an adult or, in a word, seduction.¹⁵⁷ At that point, September 21, 1897, he wrote to Wilhelm Fleiss and confided a "great secret" that had, for a few months, been slowly dawning on him--he no longer believed in the seduction theory.¹⁵⁸ Somewhat later he elaborated on this theory change:

I was at last obliged to recognize that these scenes of seduction had never taken place, and that they were only phantasies which my patients had made up or which I myself had perhaps forced upon them, I was for some time completely at a loss....When I had

¹⁵⁷Sigmund Freud, "On the Sexual Theories of Children," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. IX, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1959), pp. 209-226. In this paper Freud argues that "children produce many incorrect ideas [about sex and procreation] in order to contradict older and better knowledge which has become unconscious and is repressed." The seduction theory had been formulated on the basis of statements made to Freud by his patients. In his autobiography Freud reports that "the majority of my patients reproduced from their childhood scenes in which they were sexually seduced by some grown-up person. With female patients the part of the seducer was almost always assigned to their father. I believed these stories, and consequently supposed that I had discovered the roots of the subsequent neurosis in these experiences of sexual seduction in childhood. My confidence was strengthened by a few cases in which relations of this kind with a father, uncle, or elder brother had continued up to an age at which memory was to be trusted." See Freud, An Autobiographical Study, pp. 62-63.

¹⁵⁸Sigmund Freud, "Letter to Wilhelm Fleiss, September 21, 1897," in The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904, trans. and ed. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 264.

pulled myself together, I was able to draw the right conclusions from my discovery: namely, that the neurotic symptoms were not related directly to actual events but to phantasies embodying wishes, and that as far as the neurosis was concerned, psychical reality was of more importance than material reality. I do not believe even now that I forced the seduction-phantasies upon my patients, that I 'suggested' them. I had in fact stumbled for the first time upon the **Oedipus complex**, which was later to assume such an overwhelming importance, but which I did not recognize as yet in its disguise of phantasy. Moreover, seduction during childhood retained a certain share, though a humbler one, in the aetiology of neuroses. But the seducers turned out as a rule to have been older children.¹⁵⁹

With the discovery of the Oedipus complex and its explicit notions of spontaneous infantile sexuality and the power of internal fantasy, Freud's understanding of both the aetiological significance of sexual life and the importance of infantile experiences (two tightly integrat-

¹⁵⁹Freud, An Autobiographical Study, pp. 63-64. In a very convincing and controversial work Masson has recently argued that Freud's abandonment of the seduction theory was a "failure in courage." Freud, he maintains, did not change his beliefs because they were wrong but because they had become a liability. It was the reactions of his peers, his ostracism from the Vienna medical society, and not the lies of his patients that led him to publicly retract his findings in 1905. For an intriguing look into the reaction of the psychoanalytic community to Masson's ideas see Janet Malcolm's In the Freud Archives (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.) Krüll has apparently come up with a more altruistic but, according to Elms, less convincing reason for Freud's revisions. She hypothesizes that he changed his theory to protect the memory of his father who had recently died and who had seduced Freud in childhood. See Alan C. Elms, review of Freud and His Father, by Marianne Krüll, in Psychology Today, August 1986, pp. 70-71; Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. xxiii-13.

ed key concepts) was virtually complete and by 1907-1908 the psycho-analytic movement was born.¹⁶⁰

(2) MANIFEST AND LATENT IMPACT

The key concepts espoused by Freud and the members of the newly formed psychoanalytic movement (including Abraham, Adler, Binswanger, Brill, Deutsch (Adolf), Eitingon, Hitschmann, Federn, Ferenczi, Frey, Jones, Jung, Meisl, Rank Stekel, Sadger and Tausk, among others) would seem, even at first glance, to have varying degrees of utility for political scientists.¹⁶¹

It would appear for example that of the five "principal constituents" or concepts identified by Freud that that of resistance--with its focus on the clinical relationship between patients (which attempt to protect themselves from distressing, pathogenic ideas) and

¹⁶⁰Masson, Assault on Truth, p. 12; Strachey, "Editor's Note," Vol. VII, p. 128. That Freud believed that he finally understood the aetiology of neuroses does not negate Masson's contention that the seduction theory was suppressed. Nor did his belief prevent him from changing his mind in the 1920s. At that time, Freeman reports, Freud discovered the aggressive instinct and admitted that he had been wrong about the Oedipus complex as the source of neurosis. It was the pre-Oedipal period (birth to age four) which he then claimed set the stage for neurosis. See Freeman, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶¹Rank dated the beginning of the psychoanalytic movement to the Fall of 1907 when Freud dissolved his Wednesday Psychological Society (his "little society,") which had been meeting since 1902, in order to create a more formal organization (the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society.) By 1910 the new establishment had twenty-four members, twice the number of the little society. See Lieberman, pp. 67-94, 96 and 122.

analysts (which try to bring such hidden recollections into awareness)--would probably have the least applicability to political thought.¹⁶² Similarly the key concept of sexuality, which was viewed as the basis of neuroses, would, because of its etiological significance, seem to have limited utility for most students of politics.

These impressions are, in fact, well supported by the empirical data. Appendices B (65 Scholars and Book Titles) and C (Core Books,) which contain notations for the key concepts cited in each of the 494 works examined, do indicate that the concept of resistance is the least cited of the five (zero citations,) followed, in order from least to most, by repression (five citations,) sexuality (six citations,) infantile (or childhood) experiences (thirteen citations) and the unconscious (twenty-four citations.)

The responses to Question 10 of the survey questionnaire (see Appendix D) yielded a slightly different ranking, with the concept of sexuality rather than resistance being the least frequently cited as "useful for political analysis and/or teaching" (see Table 4.)

¹⁶²Freud and Breuer, p. 313.

The difference in rankings can be explained, at least in part, by an error in the design of the survey instrument. Question 10, which lists the five key concepts, combines the concepts of resistance and repression making it impossible to determine the salience of each from this

Table 4. Frequencies and Percentages of Key Concepts Cited in Survey Questionnaire

Concept	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Resistance/Repression	80	30.9	62.5
Unconscious	85	32.8	66.4
Sexuality	28	10.8	21.9
Infantile Experiences	37	14.3	28.9
Other	29	11.2	22.7
Total Responses	<u>259</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>202.3</u>

134 Missing Cases
128 Valid Cases

measure alone.¹⁶³ However both logic and the values obtained from the major and core works for these two concepts strongly supports the position that the high frequency obtained in the survey (a count of 80) was for the less clinically oriented of the two concepts--repression. Assuming that this is so the five principal constituents of Freud's theory can then be ranked from

¹⁶³It should also be noted that although the respondents who gave multiple responses to the question were asked to rank them in order of importance, those who did so were too few in number to be statistically meaningful.

least to most useful (for purposes of political analysis), as follows: resistance, sexuality, infantile experiences, repression and the unconscious.

The determination of the order of usefulness of the key concepts is more important than might be expected in that the utility of a concept and the obvious effects that it is likely to have had on thinking and research are positively correlated. In other words, the higher the rank the more manifest its impact.

MANIFEST IMPACT

Impact, as indicated in Chapter I of this essay, refers to, and is measured by, the changes or reorientation in new directions that a concept brings about in thinking and research; and manifest impact refers to those changes which are most readily perceived. Having established a hierarchy of utility for the key concepts it can now be hypothesized that if any of them have had an overt impact on the discipline of political science it would most likely to have been that of repression and certainly that of the unconscious.

(A) MANIFEST IMPACT: REPRESSION

Repression, for Freud, may have been primarily regarded as an internal psychical process by which painful ideas and memories (largely sexual in nature) enter into a

state of unconsciousness; but it was also conceptualized, in a broader and more politically relevant sense, as an external societal pressure to sublimate the sexual and, he later added, aggressive instincts. This in fact was the central theme of one of the last of his major writings, Civilization and Its Discontents (1930,) in which he argued that

...most important of all, it is impossible to overlook the extent to which civilization is built up upon a renunciation of instinct, how much it presupposes precisely the non-satisfaction (by suppression, repression or some other means?) of powerful instincts. This 'cultural frustration' dominates the large field of social relationships between human beings. As we already know, it is the cause of the hostility against which all civilizations have to struggle....It is not easy to understand how it can become possible to deprive an instinct of satisfaction. Nor is doing so without danger.¹⁶⁴

What Freud is clearly suggesting here is that political conflict is endemic and hence irremediable.¹⁶⁵ This was not a new idea for him. In the 1927 precursor to this work on civilization, Freud expressed his views even more explicitly: every individual is an enemy of civiliza-

¹⁶⁴Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1961), p. 44. Earlier in this work Freud defines the word civilization as "the whole sum of the achievements and the regulations which distinguish our lives from those of our animal ancestors and which serve two purposes--namely to protect men against nature and to adjust their mutual relations," p. 36.

¹⁶⁵James Strachey, Introduction to Civilization and Its Discontents, by Sigmund Freud (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1961), p. 6.

tion; civilization has to be defended against the individual; these problems are inherent in the nature of civilization itself.¹⁶⁶ And again in its successor, his famous response to Einstein's query "Why War?" (1932,) he proclaimed that "there is no use in trying to get rid of men's aggressive inclinations."¹⁶⁷ Freud, by this time, could only prophesize a future that held more and more repression and unhappiness.¹⁶⁸

These sentiments were obviously diametrically opposed to the Marxist vision of social evolution and Freud knew it.¹⁶⁹ So too did a number of political theorists who

¹⁶⁶Sigmund Freud, The Future of an Illusion, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 6-7.

¹⁶⁷Sigmund Freud [and Albert Einstein], "Why War?" in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XXII, ed. and trans. James Strachey (London, England: The Hogarth Press, 1964), p. 211.

¹⁶⁸Hall and Lindzey, p. 302.

¹⁶⁹In 1927 Freud was unwilling to pass judgment on "the great experiment in civilization that is now in progress in the vast country that stretches between Europe and Asia," but three years later he openly declared that while he was not concerned with the economics of Communism that he recognized "that the psychological premisses on which the system is based are an untenable illusion" because "aggressiveness was not created by property." See Freud, The Future of an Illusion, p. 9; Civilization and Its Discontents, p. 60 (see also pp. 59, 62 and 90.) This latter assertion was repeated in Freud's response to Einstein in 1932 (see "Why War?" pp. 211-212.) Robinson states that Freud was also fully aware that his disagreement with Wilhelm Reich was of an ideological nature. See Paul A. Robinson, The Freudian Left: Wilhelm Reich, Geza Roheim, Herbert Marcuse (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969), p. 36.

quickly seized the opportunity to use Freudian psychology "to rectify the psychological naivete of Marxism."¹⁷⁰

Those who sought to rectify or "reconstitute" Marxism, the so-called "Frankfurt or critical Marxists" of the 1920s and later the cultural revolutionaries (the New Left) of the 1960s, argued that both the failure of Soviet Marxism to liberate people from repression and the failure of Marxism to appeal to the proletarian masses in Western industrial countries was due to its "failure to take account of the psychological factors underpinning the revolutionary process....It failed to take account of the fact that besides economic exploitation and political oppression, the masses under class society were also the victims of specific forms of oppression on the psychological level, from which any true revolution could and must provide liberation."¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰Hall and Lindzey, p. 302.

¹⁷¹Bruce Brown, Marx, Freud, and the Critique of Everyday Life: Toward A Permanent Cultural Revolution (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp. 17-18, and 19. The Frankfurt Marxists Brown refers to are Theodor Adorno, Jurgen Habermas, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse. Bunzel, who has called Marxism the "antonym of Freudianism," explains that "Marx and Freud represent two exclusive varieties of determinism, namely, economic and psychological....Thus for contemporary Marxists...politics is determined by class interests and the class organization of society. For the Freudians politics is a repercussion of emotions." John H. Bunzel, Anti-Politics in America: Reflections on the Anti-Political Temper and Its Distortions of the Democratic Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), pp. 198-199.

In this sense then, it was argued, the 1917 revolution in Russia was not a "true" one. The Bolsheviks had abandoned the concept of alienation, developed by the young Marx, in favor of economic determinism, and the Soviet masses remained as atomized, as unaware of their subjective needs and interests, as repressed as ever.¹⁷² In fact, Marxist ideology, in recognizing only economic needs actually legitimized the repression of extra-economic demands on the part of the masses: Marxism, in effect, had become "an almost perfect instrument of repression."¹⁷³

It was largely in an effort to expose and eliminate this "deficiency" in classical Marxism that the early generation of cultural Marxists turned to and embraced Freudian psychoanalysis with its radical critique of the alienated society and its revelations of "the underlying realities of socioeconomic and psychosexual repression."¹⁷⁴ And thus it was, through their expositions and

¹⁷²Bruce Brown, pp. 15-22.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 42. Ironically by the 1930s Freud, as has been noted, had come to believe that while the aggressive or destructive instinct was in fact immutable that the function of psychoanalysis was to bring about an accommodation to the existing repressive social order. The newer generation of critical Marxists then was forced to turn away from him and to the postwar "radical" psychoanalysts such as Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm and Siegfried Bernfeld who held that a repressive system was not inevitable. Still later, after World War II, there

was an attempt on the part of Herbert Marcuse and Reimut Reiche (among others) to resurrect the original radical Freudo-Marxist themes and reject those of the revisionist left psychoanalysts. To what degree they were successful in their attempts remains largely unresolved. For example, Glen and Kunnes, who argue that "most therapists have shown that their main identification is with the system" and that "they accept being used by the system to oppress and control masses of working and poor people," have nevertheless noted that their position evolved somewhat during the early 1970s in that they came to "understand the importance of the "radical therapy." See Brown, pp. 46-65; Michael Glenn and Richard Kunnes, Repression or Revolution? Therapy in the United States Today (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), pp. vii-ix.

those of the succeeding generations of "Freudo-Marxists," that the concept of repression not only infiltrated but had a manifest impact upon political thought.

That it did so is evidenced by the fact that two of the scholars on the list of the sixty-five most influential political scientists (see Appendix A,) Herbert Marcuse and Bertell Ollman, have written rather extensively, albeit from somewhat different perspectives, on the subject.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵Although it was anticipated that the two principal disseminators of Freudian thought within in the discipline would have had something to say about this concept neither Lasswell or Lippmann seemed to appreciate its significance. Only one of the five of Lasswell's major works examined for this study (Psychopathology and Politics) contains any direct reference to repression (he also cites the term in his World Politics and Personal Insecurity,) and Lippmann's writings only allude to it in passing. His observations that "repression is an insignificant part of its [government's] work" and that "its use is a confession of ignorance," would suggest however that his views were similar to those held at the same time by Freud (1912-13.) And, like Freud, he latter came to realize that even democratic systems rest on repression or "the manufacture

of consent, and the manipulation of the masses." See Harold D. Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 27, 78, 170ff, and 196; Walter Lippman, A Preface to Politics (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1913), p. 301; Roazen, "Walter Lippmann's Stature," p. 10.

Marcuse adheres to the orthodox Freudian position of later years that repression is an inevitable part of the social order. His opening words in the Preface to Eros and Civilization make his position clear. "The very idea of a non-repressive civilization, conceived as a real possibility of the established civilization at the present stage," he argues, "appears frivolous."¹⁷⁶ As Matthews reports, Marcuse considered the Neo-Freudian's, who maintained that conflict and repression are not basic, to be "optimistic, moralizing revisionists, who have discarded Freud's tragic sense of reality."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud (New York: Random House, 1955), p. vii.

¹⁷⁷F. H. Matthews, "The Americanization of Sigmund Freud: Adaptions of Psychoanalysis Before 1917," Journal of American Studies 1 (April 1967):61. Marcuse may have had contempt for the Neo-Freudian position but he too elaborated upon or "modified" Freud's analysis in arguing that modern society suffered from "surplus repression" arising from its institutions of domination. Surplus repression, or "the restrictions necessitated by social domination" which he distinguished from (basic) repression or the "'modifications' of the instincts necessary for the perpetuation of the human race," could, through a process he called "nonrepressive sublimation," transform the sexual drive into a cultural drive. See Eros and Civilization, pp. 32 and 154; Robert W. Marks, The Meaning of Marcuse (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970), p. 11.

Be that as it may, some of the Neo-Freudian notions about repression have also impinged upon political thought largely through the efforts, as suggested above, of Bertell Ollman. Finding that Marxist writers have underplayed the psychological dimensions of class consciousness and that Marx erred in leaping from "the workers' conditions of life to class consciousness in a single bound," Ollman, just as Reich (a Neo-Freudian) and other postwar critical Marxists have attempts to "redress the imbalance," in part, by expanding upon his notion of repression.¹⁷⁸ Although he doesn't believe that Reich's thesis is "wholly adequate," Ollman does concur with his position that class consciousness must be understood as a problem of sexual repression--that when workers are less repressed "a major impediment which interferes with [their] rationally coming to grips with their condition will be weakened or removed."¹⁷⁹ Unlike Marcuse (a critic of Reich,) Ollman does not agree with Freud's position that repression is the *sine qua non* of civilized life and the precondition for social order; like Reich he

¹⁷⁸Ollman, "Toward Class Consciousness Next Time: Marx and the Working Class," in Bertell Ollman, Social and Sexual Revolution: Essays on Marx and Reich (Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press, 1979), pp. 5-6.

¹⁷⁹Ollman, "Reply to Mussachia's Critique of 'Social and Sexual Revolution'," in Social and Sexual Revolution, p. 214.

sees it as functioning to secure a specific social order--"the existing class structure."¹⁸⁰

Both views of repression and its role in political life, the pessimistic view that repression will increase until an ultimate crisis is reached and the optimistic view that repression can be eased and crisis avoided, are a part of the ongoing dialogue among American political scientists and have had an especially strong impact on those interested in the nature of political change.¹⁸¹

The impact of the concept is evidenced in still another way. Freud, as has been noted, believed that repression is both the "foundation-stone" of the understanding of the neuroses of individuals and also the basis for civilization. Holding that the two, individual and civilization, were in fact analogous, Freud logically raised a question--one which he felt that he could "hardly evade: if the development of civilization has such a far-reaching similarity to the development of the individual and if it employs the same methods, may we not," he queried, "be justified in reaching the diagnosis that, under the influence of cultural urges, some civilizations, or some epochs of civilization--possibly

¹⁸⁰Ollman, "Social and Sexual Revolution," in Social and Sexual Revolution, pp. 165-167.

¹⁸¹ Garson, p. 24.

the whole of mankind--have become 'neurotic'?"¹⁸² An attempt to carry the concepts of psychoanalysis over to the cultural community and to try to make such a diagnosis might be difficult but it was neither "absurd" nor "doomed to be fruitless," in fact, he argued, it could lead to "therapeutic recommendations" of such "great practical interest" that "we may expect that one day someone will venture to embark upon a pathology of cultural communities."¹⁸³

More than one "someone" did so venture and probably alot sooner than Freud had expected. In 1930, the same year that Freud wrote about the potential applicability of psychoanalytic concepts such as repression in explaining collective neuroses, Harold D. Lasswell observed that the cleavage which supposedly separates the study of the individual from the study of society is a "fictitious" one: "there is," he claimed, "no cleavage."¹⁸⁴ A few years later (1934) he diagnosed the American neurosis:

¹⁸²Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, p. 91. It should be stressed that linking individual emotions with social structures and vice versa, which is, according to de Saussure, the main object of psychoanalytic theory, was a new standpoint--one which set off a "great revolution" and gave "greater unity to the different disciplines studying man." Raymond de Saussure, "Psychoanalysis and History," in Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, Vol. 2, p. 10.

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, p. 240.

Evidence is accumulating that mental disorders are quite differently distributed from one civilization to another, and that each culture tends to produce characteristic tensions within the personalities subjected to it. The abundance of schizophrenia, a disorder of adolescence, in the United States suggests that the problem of becoming adult is much complicated by some of the adaptive formations built up in early life....a great burden of repression and adaptation is put on the child; hence we are justified in expecting a relatively large incidence of neurosis, psychosis, [and] psychopathic personality formation....The upshot of the foregoing discussion is that increasing external and domestic insecurity will head the United States along the road of rigid centralization, revolutionary upheavals, and international war, unless the emotional tensions of the nation are handled with skill, luck, and persistence. A sound political psychiatry is of particular importance to the United States, if the recurring sources of insecurity within our culture have been rightly diagnosed.¹⁸⁵

According to Gregory Zilboorg, who contends that Freud's new analogy or parallel between the individual and the social was either misunderstood or misconceived, diagnoses of the Lasswellian sort are abundant.¹⁸⁶ Based on Freud's claim, he remonstrates, "many practical people at once proceeded to make all sorts of diagnoses on all sorts of communities, nations, and states--and if you can diagnose a pathological condition, you may even be able to treat it and, who knows, cure it! It is thus that a variety of "cures" were formulated, to cure nations of

¹⁸⁵Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity, pp. 175-176.

¹⁸⁶Gregory Zilboorg, Sigmund Freud: His Exploration of the Mind of Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 109.

anti-Semitism, of communism, of fascism, of radical attitudes. In short, a vitiation of the psychoanalytic was introduced, and it was a vitiation traceable directly to [Freud]...."187

Whether or not such diagnoses are a perversion of psychoanalytic thinking (Zilboorg does not make it very clear why he thinks that they are) is irrelevant here in that their very existence demonstrates that Freud's concept of repression had a manifest impact. To an even larger extent so did his concept of the unconscious.

(B) MANIFEST IMPACT: THE UNCONSCIOUS

As indicted earlier in this chapter, over a period of approximately thirty years (1890-1920) Freud gradually demoted the status of his concept of the unconscious from "the largest and most important region of the mind" to simply "a quality of mental phenomena." There is however no indication at all that political scientists made the transition with him. In fact, quite to the contrary, by the time that Freud was finished modifying his construct

187Ibid. Unfortunately Zilboorg does not indicate who these "many practical people" were. It was thus impossible to calculate how many of them were political scientists by vocation or to verify how many of them realized that the concept underlying their assumptions was that of repression. Recognition however is a prerequisite of influence and not impact.

in 1921 by introducing new terms (id, ego and superego as opposed to simply conscious and unconscious) to help clarify the structure of mental functioning, political scientists were just beginning to recognize how important the notion of the unconscious was in explaining political phenomena.

This recognition dates back to World War I and the greater appreciation of the "unknown" emotional factors that may play a role in any political conflict. To be sure there were political theorists such as Hobbes (1588-1679,) who had recognized centuries earlier that man is a self-centered and competitive beast, nevertheless up until 1914 it was the tenets of the Enlightenment, which centered around a profound faith in progress, the common man and especially, reason, that prevailed.¹⁸⁸ Early 20th

¹⁸⁸The reader will undoubtedly recall Hobbes' famous description of man's life as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." Yet in spite of the fact that he believed that men were impelled by their passions, Hobbes also held that they were guided by their reason. In this respect he was not too different from the Enlightenment thinkers. See Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, p. 66; Thomas Hobbes, "Leviathan," in Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present, 4th ed., ed. William Ebenstein (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 374. Friedrich claims that the nineteenth century view of the common man consists of three parts: they get all the facts, reach sensible conclusions based on these facts and, in reaching these conclusions, they do not need the help of "experts." Clearly faith in the common man and the belief in reason and progress were closely connected. See Carl J. Friedrich, The New Image of the Common Man (Boston, Massachusetts: The Beacon Press, 1950), pp. 5-6.

century notions of both liberalism and democracy, shaped and given voice by the "Age of Reason" writers (from Locke [1632-1704] to Condorcet [1743-1794],) were, in effect, largely the product of what some have since called the "facile and overly optimistic assumptions" inherited from this rationalist past.¹⁸⁹

These notions even managed to weather the storm of the nineteenth century romantic movement which stood in direct opposition to Enlightenment beliefs. Kant, Schopenhaur, Nietzsche, Marx, Darwin, Kierkegaard and Bergson, among other "Romantics," all proffered a radically different view; they, like Freud, portrayed man as an irrational actor in an irrational world.¹⁹⁰ What set Freud apart from the others was that while they had come to this conclusion intuitively (the Greeks, who also believed it, came to it deductively) he had come to it empirically; Freud was the first to demonstrate the unconscious motivations guiding man's behavior--and in

¹⁸⁹Peter J. Gay, "The Enlightenment In the History of Political Theory," Political Science Quarterly 69 (September 1954):374-377; John H. Schaar, Loyalty in America (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1957), p. 117.

¹⁹⁰Galdston, ed., p. 83; Erich Fromm, Sigmund Freud's Mission: An Analysis of His Personality and Influence (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), p. 116; Alan C. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science: An Introduction to the Methodology of Political Inquiry (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1981), p. 200.

doing so he delivered the fatal blow against rationalism.¹⁹¹ He proved that reality could be "the symbolic, conventional, representation of another reality standing

¹⁹¹Rationalism, in its most common sense meaning of the term, implies deliberate or conscious calculation and action--an action is only rational "to the extent that it is 'correctly' designed to maximize goal achievement, given the goal in question and the real world as it exists." Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics, and Welfare (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1953), p. 38. Also see Steven J. Brams, Rational Politics: Decisions, Games, and Strategy (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1985; Roger Hilsman, Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 144. Definitions for the terms "reason," "rational," "rationality," etc. abound. For a good discussion of the inherent difficulties and controversy surrounding this topic see Theodor Mischel, "Concerning Rational Behaviour and Psychoanalytic Explanation," in Freud: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Richard Wollheim (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974), pp. 322-331. For a more contemporary report on the subject of procedural or bounded rationality and global or substantive rationality, as well as an analysis of the role of the rationality principle in recent political science research, see Herbert A. Simon, "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science," The American Political Science Review 79 (June 1985):293-304. Fromm explains that Freud was an heir to, and created a synthesis between, rationalism and romanticism. Like the romanticists he tried to penetrate the sphere of the non-rational and like the rationalists he had a passionate desire to understand "reality." Peter Gay in fact has called Freud "the greatest child of the Enlightenment which our century has known," and Mills go so far as to say that the major function of psychoanalytic therapy was to give "reason its chance to work freely in the course of an individual's life." Fromm, Mission, pp. 115-116; Galdston, pp. 82-83; Gay, p. 27; C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 166.

behind it, which itself was but a symbol for something else, and so on ad infinitum."¹⁹²

Freud's rediscovery of the autonomy of "dark and evil forces," of antisocial and destructive drives, of man's hidden propensity for hostility, aggression and cruelty, had come at an auspicious time for explaining the violence of World War I.¹⁹³ Scholars eager to comprehend the

¹⁹²Galdston, p. 83. The connection between the irrational and the unconscious should be made explicit: Freud's theory of the unconscious is "the science of the irrational," and this science, according to Fromm, is "the most creative and radical of Freud's achievements." See Erich Fromm, The Crisis of Psychoanalysis: Essays on Freud, Marx and Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 16. Like the term rationalism, irrationalism is used so loosely that it is difficult to define; but generally, as Beer suggests, the meaning is taken to mean "the influence of emotion on human conduct." See Samuel H. Beer, The City of Reason (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1949), p. 7.

¹⁹³Hans J. Morgenthau, Scientific Man vs. Power Politics (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 205; Frederick L. Schuman, The Commonwealth of Man: An Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 79. The reader should be aware that Freud held two views of aggression. Early in his career he stated that civilization's repression of unconscious impulses led to aggressive behavior and later on he argued that such behavior was a biologically rooted instinct. It is the latter conception that Morgenthau and Schuman are referring to. See Maurice L. Farber, "Psychoanalytic Hypotheses in the Study of War," Journal of Social Issues 11 (No. 1 1955):29-30. It is also significant that while Freud may have rediscovered the importance of the unconscious the English political thinker Graham Wallas had, by 1908, already laid the groundwork by refuting rationalism and intellectualism and emphasizing unconscious attitudes. Bryder contends that Wallas was ignorant of Freud's work when he wrote his major work, Human Nature in Politics and that Freud never played a major role in his political psychological ideas. Tom Bryder, "Political Psychology in

Western Europe," in Political Psychology, ed. Margaret G. Hermann (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1986), p. 450; Isaak, p. 201; Graham T. Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, with an Introduction by A. L. Rowse (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1962).

causes behind such wide-scale destruction began to accept the connection between the unconscious, irrational behavior and war. The guns of August 1914 had finally blown the century of optimism sky-high and from that point on the Freudian concept of the unconscious spread rapidly into the social sciences.¹⁹⁴ In one of them, political science, "the main question," Lasswell tells us, now "began to be how public order is attainable when the basic nature of man is hag-ridden with lust and animus."¹⁹⁵

This "main" question was a composite one, one that was quickly subdivided and took many forms. How can peace be achieved? How can war be avoided? And, more fundamentally, how, given man's domination by unconscious forces, is democracy possible? After all, one of the major premises of the democratic ideal is the rationality of the

¹⁹⁴Karl Lowenstein, Max Weber's Political Ideas in the Perspective of Our Time, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (Amherst, Massachusetts: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1966), p. 7; Edward A. Purcell, Jr., The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism & the Problem of Value (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1973), p. 99; David B. Truman, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), pp. 217-218.

¹⁹⁵Harold D. Lasswell, "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking on the Social Sciences," in The State of the Social Sciences: Papers Presented at the 25th Anniversary of the Social Science Research Building, The University of Chicago, November 10-12, 1955, ed. Leonard Dupee White (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 92.

citizen. It is his "reason, supported and disciplined by the web of constitutional and institutional arrangements in society," that is held to be the "positive force leading to the peaceful resolution of difficult and divisive issues."¹⁹⁶ But if the citizen is an irrational animal who could neither know nor achieve what is in his best interest, if the bonds that hold men together are only "myths grounded in emotions," then the possibility of public discussion aimed at ameliorating a political or social problem becomes unlikely if not impossible.¹⁹⁷ In

¹⁹⁶Bunzel, p. 203.

¹⁹⁷Bunzel, p. 200; Dahl and Lindblom, pp. 120-121; C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 300-301. Although Bunzel believes that Freud's contribution to political understanding has been immeasurable, he does not agree with "those who, for one reason or another, look upon politics in a democratic society with hostility or contempt, or both." See pp. 3 and 194-196. Dahl and Lindblom set down some of the current conceptions (stemming from Freud's discoveries) of man which explain why his capacity for rational political action is thought, by some, to be so limited. Man, they say, "is autistic; he distorts reality to suit inner needs and then makes his distorted picture of reality the premise of his actions. He is compulsive. He projects his own motives and reality views on others; represses powerful and urgent wants deep into the unconscious for fear of penalties from conscience or the responses of others, only to have his repressed wants unrecognizably displaced on other goals; acquires and displays exaggerated fears; expresses hatreds and resentments coming from long-buried events; rationalizes all his actions; and throws a veil of hypocrisy and dishonesty not only over his outer behavior in order to deceive others but even over his innermost wishes in order to deceive himself. This," the authors add, "is a harsh, grotesque picture, a caricature, but let it stand as a warning not to romanticize man's capacity for rational social action" (see p. 60.)

short, the acceptance of the "unconscious" was, and is, the acceptance of a powerful and deadly critique of liberal democratic government--government of and by a "free" people.¹⁹⁸

That there was considerable acceptance and that it came about largely through the writings of the two principal disseminators of Freudiana in the United States, Lippmann and Lasswell, is a matter of record.¹⁹⁹

Lippmann had concluded from the time he first learned of Freud's ideas that the best democratic political system would be one in which the few led the many for "no democrat may assume...that the people are dear good souls, fully competent for their task."²⁰⁰ The statesman's function, it followed, "consists in giving the people not

¹⁹⁸Purcell, p. 101.

¹⁹⁹Social theorists, such as Gabriel Tarde and Gustave Le Bon, in Europe had been questioning the possibility of democratic government since the 1890s, and not too much later so did Walter Lippmann's teacher the English political theorist Graham Wallas. There was however a vast difference between the impact these scholars had in the United States and the impact of Lippmann and Lasswell. The difference, according to Purcell, is that the latter "raised especially disturbing and perplexing questions because they represented the new scientific approach to the social process. Their work had been based on observations of the actual operations of American government, and their theories were among the most sophisticated of the new social sciences." See Purcell, pp. 99-100 and p. 114.

²⁰⁰Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, p. 302.

what they want but what they will learn to want."²⁰¹ Furthermore, the failure to recognize that "a mass cannot govern" could, he warned, lead to dire consequences:

Where mass opinion dominates the government, there is a morbid derangement of the true functions of power. The derangement brings about the enfeeblement, verging on paralysis, of the capacity to govern. This breakdown in the constitutional order is the cause of the precipitate and catastrophic decline of Western society. It may, if it cannot be arrested and reversed, bring about the fall of the West.²⁰²

Lippmann's message that democracy was a hollow ideal was clearly presented, well-received and very effective; it was perhaps, as John Dewey admitted in 1922, "'the most effective indictment of democracy as currently conceived ever penned.'"²⁰³

Lasswell's position that political behavior is irrational and that democracy is, ex hypothesi, impossible so closely parallels Lippmann's sentiments that it is

²⁰¹Walter Lippmann, A Preface to Morals (Boston Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1929), p. 283.

²⁰²Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy, pp. 14-15. Lippmann's views, summarized above, evolved over a long period of time. Friedrich notes that in spite of Lippmann's awareness that the common man was irrational that early in his career he continued to believe in, and to appeal to, whatever was rational in the citizen. "But the response was discouraging. Again and again he found himself confronted with irrational responses, prejudices which no appeal to the mind seemed capable of dislodging. So Lippmann turned against the rational common man." See Friedrich, The New Image of the Common Man, p. 82.

²⁰³Purcell, pp. 105 and 107.

difficult at times to distinguish between them.²⁰⁴ Each has a strong elitist bias and both of them stress the concept of the unconscious as the implicit motivation underlying political behavior.²⁰⁵ The unique contribution made by Lasswell however is that his work transcends

²⁰⁴Birnbach, pp. 156 and 162. Although Lasswell did not cite any of Lippmann's works in the five major books of his which were examined for the present study, he was, as noted in Chapter III, influenced by the latter's ideas (according to the definition used in the present analysis) in that he reviewed Lippmann's The Phantom Public.

²⁰⁵To be sure there are differences as well as similarities that can be found in the work of the two principal disseminators. The majority of Lippmann's writings center primarily around collective behavior, he focuses on the "public" (see Essays in the Public Philosophy, An Inquiry into the Principles of The Good Society (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1937); The Phantom Public: A Sequel to "Public Opinion" (New York: Macmillan, 1930); Public Opinion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961)) while Lasswell, who has written on mass behavior (see Democracy through Public Opinion (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1941; Public Opinion in War and Peace [with Howard H. Cummings] (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1943); Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide [edited with Ralph D. Casey and Bruce Lannes] (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946)) also emphasizes both the individual and his personality in explaining political behavior (see National Security and Individual Freedom (New York: McGraw Hill, 1950); Power and Personality (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1976); World Politics and Personal Insecurity) and the role of political elites (see Politics: Who Gets What, When, How (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1958); The Comparative Study of Elites: An Introduction and Bibliography [with Daniel Lerner and C. Easton Rothwell] (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952); World Revolutionary Elites: Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements [with Daniel Lerner] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Institute of Technology Press, 1965.))

theory; he actually applied psychoanalytic methodology (namely the prolonged or insight interview and free-fantasy techniques) in an attempt to uncover the unconscious factors which explain the political actor's actions.²⁰⁶ In Psychopathology and Politics, for example, Lasswell used both methods to show how private or unconscious motives are displaced onto public objects and then rationalized in terms of the public interest (his famous p)d)r=P "general formula.")²⁰⁷

Psychopathology and Politics, a book that "has achieved the status of a classic not just in the field of political psychodynamics but in the entire corpus of twentieth-century political science literature," obviously went a long way in diffusing the idea of irrational, unconscious, political behavior throughout the disci-

²⁰⁶Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, pp. 28-37. Lasswell has commented that Freud's "most abiding contribution" to the social sciences has been his "observational standpoint," that is his technique known as the insight interview. See Harold D. Lasswell, "The Contributions of Freud's Insight Interview to the Social Sciences," The American Journal of Sociology 45 (November 1939):375-390.

²⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 74-77. The private motive, "p," in the formula refers to "a repressed [unconscious] and powerful hatred of authority" which the individual transfers (displaces from the original object--most likely his father) onto government (a public object) and then justifies (rationalizes) his behavior (running for political office or becoming a revolutionary) as being in the public interest ("the merciless exploitation of the toolless proletariat by the capitalists may be the rational justification of the attitude taken up by the individual toward capitalism.")

pline.²⁰⁸ Largely due to the proselytising efforts of Lasswell, and also Lippmann, Freud's word had been spread and the political science literature reflects it.

The literature is replete with examples: it has been claimed, for example, that due to unconscious factors citizens as voters "do not much measure up to the standards of rationality;" that public opinion poll takers "must try to recognize both conscious and unconscious dissembling by...informants;" that government decision-makers "are in realms profoundly and continuously dependent upon personal judgment and conscious or unconscious political preference;" that the administrator is "limited by his unconscious skills, habits, and reflexes," that in many cases he "cannot explain why he behaves in a particular way--or if he does explain the explanation is simply a rationalization of the real unconscious motivations," and that "theories of organization and management are now being reconstucted to accommodate these aspects; and so on."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸Arnold A. Rogow, "Toward a Psychiatry of Politics," in Politics, Personality, and Social Science, ed. Rogow, p. 126.

²⁰⁹William H. Riker, The Study of Local Politics: A Manual, with a Foreword by Rhoten A. Smith (New York: Rand om House, 1959), p. 78; Herman Miles Somers, "The President, the Congress, and the Federal Government Service," in The Federal Government Service, 2nd ed., ed. Wallace S. Sayre (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 80; Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making

Processes in Administrative Organization, 3rd ed., with a Foreword by Chester I. Barnard (New York: The Free Press, 1976), p. 241; Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithbury, and Victor A. Thompson, Public Administration (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 58; Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 103. Needless to say there are those that would argue otherwise, but the fact that they find it necessary to do so indicates that the concept has had an impact on their thinking.

Be it from the perspective of the diversity of fields of inquiry affected, the number of citations to it in the literature (more than other key concept), or the high percentage (66%) of those responding to the survey questionnaire who attested to its utility (see Figure 1,) the impact of Freud's conception of the unconscious was, as Lasswell concluded, "prodigious;" it had "permeated our way of looking at people and societies."²¹⁰

LATENT IMPACT

The success of the concept of the unconscious was truly "overwhelming;" as an explicator it revolutionized political thinking and research and because it did its impact is clearly identifiable as "manifest."²¹¹ The same can not be said for the remaining three key concepts whose impact, being far less profound, or at least not nearly so visible in the changes that they have brought about (fewer

²¹⁰Harold D. Lasswell, "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking," p. 92.

²¹¹Ibid.

citations in the literature and lower percentages of affirmative utility responses on the survey questionnaire) is called "latent."

(A) LATENT IMPACT: THE IMPORTANCE OF INFANTILE EXPERIENCES

The key concept of infantile or childhood experiences (Freud used the terms interchangeably,) as the middle ranked concept according to the citations counts and survey responses, straddles the line of classification falling somewhere between the two categories of manifest and latent impact. That it does so probably reflects the dichotomous nature of Freud's conception--that of "normal" childhood development and development which later leads to psychopathology. Freud, as a therapist, naturally stressed the importance of the latter and it, as will be seen, seemed to have much less political applicability.

For the most part then the literature in the discipline of political science reveals an absence of interest in the subject: even Lippmann mentions the early experiences of the adult only in passing.²¹² Lasswell, on the

²¹²In his Public Opinion for example, Lippmann notes that the experiences of childhood, among other things, led men in the decade before 1789 to accept their states and its symbols rather than that of the confederation. He then refers the reader to the literature of psychoanalysis which he claims is "rich in suggestive hypothesis" [sic] concerning the nature of trust and how it is acquired especially in childhood (see pp. 217 and 223.)

other hand, was one of the few as well as one of the first to recognize its importance for political explanation. In his general formula $p \} d \} r = P$, which describes the developmental history of political man, for example, he explains that the "p," or private motive," impelling political activity is a hatred of authority which can be traced back to the father, the "family constellation and the early self."²¹³ Lasswell makes it a point to note that early psychological structures "continue to function within the personality long after the epochs of infancy and childhood have been chronologically left behind."²¹⁴ All of this is simply a restatement of Freud's observation that "the child is psychologically father to the adult and that the events of his first years are of paramount importance for his whole later life."²¹⁵

²¹³Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, pp. 74-75.

²¹⁴Ibid., p. 75. Lasswell elaborates on the subject of the "persistence of childhood predispositions" in his article "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking," (see pp. 90-91.)

²¹⁵Freud, An Outline of Psycho-analysis, p. 44. The idea of the child as father to the man was not original to Freud. Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Mill and others, all made the same observation much earlier and Freud was aware that they had. Freud only claimed that he had empirically documented the claims of his predecessors. "Analytic experience," he wrote, "has convinced us of the complete truth" of such assertions. Neither was the connection between childhood experiences and later political behavior original to Lasswell (consider Plato's proposal that in order to establish a prosperous polity (republic) the state must take over the rearing of children.) However unlike Lasswell, as Roazen has indicated, while political

theorists (Locke and Mill are used as examples) recognized that this was so, they went "on to discuss adult life as if the the child did not still persist in all of us." See Freud, An Outline of Psycho-Analysis, p. 44; Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What What He Does (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 251; Plato, The Republic of Plato, trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford, with an Introduction and Notes by Francis MacDonald Cornford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 262-263; Roazen, Freud: Political and Social Thought, p. 42.

Some subsequent thinkers took up where Lasswell left off. Not only, they claimed, could adult political participation (running for political office or becoming an anarchist, fascist or democrat) be explained in terms of infantile experiences, as Lasswell had shown, so too could a wide variety of political orientations which contribute to political legitimacy, stability and change (by the end of childhood "most of the basic orientations and knowledge about the political world...are acquired and or developed as far as they are likely to be;" "it is during childhood that we may look for some of the basic commitments about a political system....;") international hostilities ("the psychoanalytic approach to war [is] concerned with the individual and his motives, particularly those pervasive ones developed early in life...;" "a government decision-maker" may respond "aggressively to an international event because of internal psychological pressures toward aggression having their root in childhood experiences;") and national character ("hypotheses inspired by Freud...

concentrated the attention of field workers upon the socialization sequence" and "led to the formation of working conceptions of 'national character'....")²¹⁶

Even these few brief excerpts should suffice to illustrate that for scholars interested in the origins of political behavior the concept of infantile experience was (and remains) inspirational. Indeed the sub-field or area of political science known as political socialization is, as one might expect, largely the by-product of this one Freudian conception.²¹⁷

In large measure so too is the psychobiographic approach which makes a large contribution to another field of study--"personality and politics" (the latter, like

²¹⁶Richard E. Dawson, Kenneth Prewitt, and Karen S. Dawson, Political Socialization, 2nd ed. (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), p. 60; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 91; Farber, p. 35; Sidney Verba, "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System," in The International System: Theoretical Essays, eds. Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 94.

²¹⁷Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, p. 38; Roazen, Freud: Social and Political Thought, p. 149. The formal study of political socialization is usually dated back to 1959 and the publication of Herbert Hyman's ground-breaking treatise Political Socialization. Hyman's work shows a strong Freudian influence, that is, he cites both Freud and Lasswell (as well as the work of social and cognitive psychologists) and makes abundant use of psychoanalytic terminology. See Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

political socialization, is a part of the larger field called political psychology.)²¹⁸ The biographer who is fortunate enough to have information, or access to information, about a political subject's childhood, according to Glad, might well employ, as Freud did, the psychoanalytic framework of development.²¹⁹

²¹⁸Glad defines psychobiography as "any life history which employs an explicit personality theory--that is, a perception that individual behavior has an internal locus of causation as well as some degree of structure and organization." See Betty Glad, "Contributions of Psychobiography," in Handbook of Political Psychology, ed. Jeanne N. Knutson (San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), p. 296.

²¹⁹Ibid., p. 318. Jastro suggests that "in addition to his many other honors, Freud may be credited with an influential part in establishing psychobiography...." Freud's "pioneering contribution," he adds, was his psychoanalytic study of Leonard da Vinci. See Joseph Jastrow, Freud: His Dream and Sex Theories (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1932.) For an example of a critically acclaimed psychobiography written by a political scientist see Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964). Alexander George was awarded a grant in 1960 in order that he might continue his efforts at applying psychoanalytic theory to biographical research. With Lasswell's power formula as a guide both of the Georges began their search for Wilson's "private motive" in his childhood years: it is there, they acknowledged "that we must look for the origins of his superb strength and of his truly classical tragic weakness" (see p. 3.) Greenstein has raised the question of whether or not it is useful for a biographer, given the difficulties in obtaining data, to spend much time on the early development of his subject. He concludes that developmental analysis is desirable in that it adds to the knowledge of how political leaders acquire both their strengths and weaknesses and that, in turn, might eventually help to reduce "negative" proclivities to a manageable proportion. See Fred I. Greenstein, Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, and Conceptualization

(New York: W·W·Norton & Company·Inc·, 1975), p. 86.

The manifest impact of Freud's conception of infantile experiences on the various sub-fields which constitute the relatively small area of inquiry known as political psychology has clearly been enormous. It might have had a similar impact on the discipline as a whole, as indicated earlier, if it had focused solely or even primarily on the normal development of the personality. Instead, as Brill states, Freud went beyond this to also show "how psychic experiences of childhood may lead to a neurosis, perversion or abnormality...."²²⁰ Inasmuch as the childhood psychic experiences which lead to adult pathology were described by Freud as being primarily of a sexual nature many psychologists, and obviously many more political scientists, found his conception to be provocative, unwarranted and hence of little or at least of far less importance than he did.

(B) LATENT IMPACT: THE AETIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SEXUAL LIFE

Although the linkage of sexuality with infancy and Freud's claim that this link was aetiologically (causally) significant was in general met with rancor and rejection, and although the concept was for the most part too

²²⁰A. A. Brill, Introduction to Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality, by Sigmund Freud, trans. A. A. Brill (New York: Random House, 1947), p. xxxviii.

clinically oriented to be applied to political phenomena, its impact on political scientists was not entirely absent.²²¹

As early as 1930 Lasswell had introduced Freud's ideas on sexuality into the discipline in his Psychopathology and Politics. After noting the "ridicule heaped upon [Freud's] sexual theory of the neurosis," and describing the psychosexual stages of development from

²²¹By the 1920s Freud, as noted earlier, no longer held that the sexual instinct formed the basis of neuroses. And yet, as Brill observed in 1947, "in the minds of most people, even among the intelligentsia, Freud is still closely associated with sex." Some of the continuing emotional response to Freud's original emphasis on infantile sexuality and its role in adult psychopathic behavior is captured in Jastrow's 1932 diatribe: "the cardinal error of Freud's conjectural genetic psychology is the assumption that the primal form in psychic development is in essence the final form, that its meaning must be read by anticipation....He seems to have forgotten that the stages of genesis are not reversible and not prophetic; growth is a one-way traffic....The child is father to the man in a genetic, not in an anticipatory sense; the child is not the master of the man, as Freud insists. One might as properly interpret the infant's chuckle as a precocious anticipation of a subtle witticism, or Freudianize it as a secret infantile enjoyment of a Rabelaisian jest; or endow the infant's tears at the loss of its bottle with the grief of mature tragedy; or--distinguishing neither urges nor situations--see in the infant's addiction to said bottle the prognosis or infantile stage of the drunkard's indulgence. To ignore everything that occurs between the nursery caress and the seal of betrothal, and read the mature "cathexis" of the latter in the soothing effect of the former, is," Jastrow concludes, "about as completely unpsychological a procedure as a perverse psychologist could devise." See Brill, Introduction to Leonardo, p. vii; Jastrow, pp. 197-198.

infancy through puberty, Lasswell went on to show how in spite of existing criticism Freud's findings can be useful in explaining the behavior of a variety of "political types."²²² Of the type he labeled "political agitators" (those who place a high value on the emotional response of the public,) to take just one example, Lasswell asks

now what is there about the agitator's developmental history which predisposes him to work out his affects [emotions] toward social objects by seeking to arouse the public directly? Why...is he the slave of the sentiments of the community at large? Why is he not able to work quietly without regard to the shifts of mood which distinguish the fickle masses? Why is he not able to cultivate interests in the manipulation of objective materials, in the achievement of aesthetic patterns, or in the technical development of abstractions? Why is he not principally concerned with emotional responses of a single person, or a few persons in his intimate circle? Why is he not willing to wait for belated recognition by the many or by the specialized and competent few?

Why? Because

agitators as a class are strongly narcissistic types. Narcissism is encouraged by obstacles in the early love relationships, or by overindulgence and admiration in the family circle. Libido [sexual energy] which is blocked in moving outward toward objects settles back upon the self....The narcissistic reactions prevent the developing individual from entering into full and warm emotional relationships during his puberty period, and sexual adjustments show varying degrees of frigidity or impotence, and other forms of maladjustment. Speaking in terms of

²²²Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, pp. 68-69. The psychosexual stages of development, oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital, are probably best described by Freud in his second "contribution" to Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex (see especially pp. 57-60.)

early growth phases, the agitators as a group show marked predominance of oral traits.²²³

Needless to say, the majority of political scholars were no more impressed with the protege's application of Freud's ideas on sex than they were with the mentor's original conceptions. That this is so is illustrated by the fact that not one of the fourteen authors (many of whom had studied or collaborated with Lasswell) who paid homage to Lasswell in a volume published in his honor, acknowledged his notions on sexuality as one of his major contributions to political thought.²²⁴ Over the years then the impact of this concept, notwithstanding its considerable potential explanatory value and Lasswell's heroic efforts, remained essentially latent.

Robert E. Lane, one of the 65 top ranked political scientists and a secondary Freudian disseminator (see appendices "A" and "G") whose work shows strong Lasswellian as well as Freudian influence, offers two insightful explanations as to why this may be so. The relationship between sex and politics, Lane finds, is

²²³Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, pp. 124-126.

²²⁴Rogow, ed., Politics, Personality, and Social Science. The contributors to this volume include, in order of their presentations, Leo Rosten, Heinz Eulau, Bruce Lannes Smith, Roy R. Grinker, Sr., Arnold A. Rogow, Robert Rubenstein, Morris Janowitz, Daniel Lerner, Ithiel De Sola Pool, Arthur J. Brodbeck, Allan R. Holmberg, Edward Shils, Karl W. Deutsch, William T. R. Fox and Myres S. McDougal.

difficult to perceive (1) because of the tabu [sic] placed by society upon the discussion of sexual matters and, (2) because the political expression of repressed sexual feelings is somewhat devious.²²⁵

The tabu mentioned in the first of these reasons is of course a long-standing one: it dates back, as noted earlier, to Freud's introduction of the concept in the 1890's and, as a current explanation for the absence of manifest impact, is surprising only by virtue of the fact that it is, almost a century later, still a factor that has to be taken into account. The second of Lane's explanations, as revealed in some of his examples, is somewhat more interesting. Among the "more important" of the various "devious" ways that sexual needs find expression in or stimulate political activity, Lane reports, can be found in the methods used to channel "blocked" sex drives into politics: "the unmarried middle-aged woman in the League of Women Voters, the homely girl who, for want of a date, sits in the party office at election time and stuffs envelopes, the young man who flees from the college dances into the 'youth movement,' and so forth. Escape from sex or the enforced sublimation of sex, rather than the direct expression of it," Lane sums up, "is a normal

²²⁵Robert E. Lane, Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics (New York: The Free Press, 1959), p. 120.

and perhaps even frequent source of political drive."²²⁶ As of this writing his contentions, like Freud's conception of sexuality upon which they are based, have had only a minimal or latent impact upon scholars in the profession.

²²⁶Ibid., p. 122. In recounting examples (his own and those of Roger Money-Kyrle) which indicate how "conflicts and drives with a sexual origin may give to political life an intensity of emotion (and an aura of pathology) which can become a significant source of overt political activity," Lane states that such illustrations leave something to be desired. "They do not," he contends, "carry conviction to some people who have studied the mechanisms of the mind and the manner in which emotional life is expressed. They have no *prima facie* plausibility. But in their favor two considerations must be stated: a surprisingly large number of psychoanalysts, with very substantial amounts of empirical evidence to draw upon, have come to roughly the same conclusions. Of all people, they have probed most deeply into the sequence of causes which erupt into adult behavior. Secondly, there is as yet no better explanation for some of the emotional investment in politics which has been examined in certain instances. To the outsider this intensity of emotion is wholly inappropriate to the situation; sometimes it is directly contrary to a person's professed beliefs. There is no emotion without a cause. If sexual origins do not have anything to do with the situation, someone will come forward with a better explanation. In the meantime it is the part of prudence to lend a sympathetic ear to the sexual theories of social acts, but to maintain a polite reserve in the matter (see p. 121, fn 19.)" Freud would have agreed with Lane's analysis. He believed that the sexual impulse "is endowed with the capacity of sublimation, i.e., it has the power to exchange its nearest aim for others of higher value which are not sexual," and this capacity he argued was, along with a similar renunciation of the aggressive instinct, what made civilization (a "higher value") possible. See Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, p. 44, and Leonardo da Vinci, p. 26.

(3) DISCUSSION

There is a fifth key Freudian concept one which has had even less impact on political scientists than that of sexual aetiology. In fact, according to the citation and survey findings it has had no discernable impact on them whatsoever. It is for that reason, and also because it helps to put Freud's manifest and latent impact into some perspective, that the concept of "resistance" has been reserved for the present discussion.

As originally conceived resistance referred to the attempts of the unconscious part of the ego to block awareness of the anxiety caused by emerging erotic or aggressive impulses.²²⁷ Freud soon recognized however that the same force which prevented psychological truths from becoming conscious in his patients operated in other than clinical contexts as well. It also served, he found, to prevent the acceptance of psychoanalytic tenets on the part of his colleagues.

Apart from emotional resistances, which were so easily explicable by the psychoanalytical theory that it was impossible to be misled by them, it seemed to me that the main obstacle to agreement lay in the fact that my opponents regarded psychoanalysis as a product of my speculative imagination and were unwilling to believe in the long, patient and unbiassed [sic] work which had gone to its making. Since in their opinion analysis had nothing to do with observation or experience, they believed that they themselves were justified in rejecting it without experience. Others again, who did not feel

²²⁷Freeman, p. 5.

so strongly convinced of this, repeated in their resistance the classical manoeuvre of not looking through the microscope so as to avoid seeing what they had denied. It is remarkable, indeed, how incorrectly most people act when they are obliged to form a judgment of their own upon some new subject.²²⁸

The mechanism of resistance to new ideas then was identical in both healthy individuals and neurotics. The only difference Freud found was that he was in a position to bring "pressure" to bear on his patients so that they could realize and overcome their resistances and this he obviously could not do with his colleagues.²²⁹ "How to compel these normal persons to examine the matter in a cool, objective scientific spirit was an insoluble problem which was," he concluded, "best left to time to accomplish."²³⁰

Although time did bring growing numbers of adherents over to the psychoanalytic way of viewing and treating behavior the new "social science" converts were principally practioners in the fields of social psychology, anthropology and sociology and not in political science where, just as in ancient times when the bearers of evil tidings were killed, Freud and psychoanalysis continued to be--figuratively speaking--extirpated.

²²⁸Freud, An Autobiographical Study, pp. 94-95.

²²⁹Freud, "On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement," p. 57.

²³⁰Ibid.

Examples illustrating such extirpation abound. The psychocultural investigations of Nathan Leites, for instance, have received only limited acceptance from political scientists, Marvick claims, largely because of "those resistances that are encountered by psychoanalytic work of any kind," and even Harold D. Lasswell, whose contribution to political inquiry has been widely acknowledged, "offended the sensibilities of political scientists" and was considered to be "slightly mad" in no small part because of an "overt resistance to the psychoanalytic vocabulary" he employed.²³¹ In short, "political science," as Hall and Lindzey report, "appears to be one of the social sciences least penetrated by Freudian theory or related viewpoints...."²³²

While Hall and Lindzey offer no explanation as to what it is that sets political science apart from the other social sciences or that would in any way account for this "apparent" absence of penetration, other scholars have pointed out some of the "intellectual grounds" frequently used to justify the rejection. Rogow, who perhaps best summed up these grounds in a paper presented

²³¹Heinz Eulau, "The Maddening Methods of Harold D. Lasswell: Some Philosophical Underpinnings," in Politics, Personality, and Social Science, ed. Rogow, p. 15; Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, ed., Psychopolitical Analysis: Selected Writings of Nathan Leites (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), p. 20.

²³²Hall and Lindzey, p. 302. (Emphasis added.)

at the 1967 APSA meeting in Chicago, suggests three (touched upon earlier in the current paper) that "stand out:"

The first is the long and tenacious tradition within political science of conceiving of the discipline as consanguinely related to law, history, and philosophy rather than to behavioral science. Emphasizing the study of constitutions and enactments, approaching the state and other political entities descriptively rather than analytically, treating the history of normative political ideas as the sum and essence of political theory, political science for a very long period eschewed a dynamic interpretation of political life....A second cause of resistance to psychoanalysis is the challenge posed by Freudian principles to the heuristic rational and superstructural models which, for a very long time, constituted nuclear political science. Freud's belief that mental processes are essentially unconscious [sic] appeared to undermine the Enlightenment view, incorporated into political science, that man was a reasoning calculator of his own self-interest whose judgement of what would benefit himself and society would improve with increasing education and diffusion of knowledge....Psychoanalysis, insofar as it was understood by political scientists, seemed to be saying, finally, that the entire political superstructure -- conservative and radical parties, ideologies, voting, the state itself -- could be 'explained' in terms of childhood traumas, oedipus complexes, father figures, castration fears, libido diversion, and the like....A third source of estrangement between psychiatry and political science...has to do with methodological developments....The contributions of psychoanalysis and psychiatry to our understanding of politics...are limited by the inordinate 'softness' of much psychiatric research...the lack of standardization in the concepts and measures employed by psychiatrists, the proneness to generalize findings that are based on a highly selective, nonrepresentative, middle class population sample, the tendency to minimize the importance of variables found to be significant by political scientists, such as social class, income,

education, and religious affiliation -- constitute a severe restriction of its utility.²³³

Whether these "intellectual grounds" used to account for the lack of acceptance of Freud's ideas are valid or not remains to this day a moot point. Certainly, as Roazen indicates, "if so much of political life seems explicable, at least on the surface, in reaction to reality factors of power, prestige, and the like, it is no wonder that political scientists have found conscious psychologies adequate for their needs."²³⁴ Their resistance to psychoanalytic theory in other words may be greater than that of other social scientists simply because they believe that the theory inherently has less explanatory value for political science.²³⁵

²³³Rogow, "Psychiatry and Political Science," pp. 1-5.

²³⁴Roazen, Freud, p. 34. In addition to the "reality factors" which explain the relative absence of the use of psychoanalysis in the study of political science as opposed to other disciplines, Roazen also mentions several others: (1) emotional complications ("it should be apparent that some of our difficulties in handling psychoanalytic concepts may stem from our own personal inadequacies rather than from their objective weaknesses,") (2) magical expectations (expecting "far too much from psychoanalysis") and (3) not putting Freud's social works within psychoanalysis as a whole ("by being too direct in applying psychoanalysis, without first clarifying the nature of psychoanalytic propositions and their limitations, social scientists have missed the full potential significance of psychoanalysis for the study of politics.") See pp. 12-35.

²³⁵La Barre pointed out in 1958 that Freudian thought was relevant, and contributed significantly, to the culture-and-personality school of anthropology; and

Burgess reports that the year 1920 marked a turning point in terms of the recognition of the utility of psychoanalytic concepts for sociologists particularly those interested in understanding the social processes of the person and the group. It is not difficult to see that the Freudian findings on rituals, incest taboos, kinship patterns, marriage practices, etc. were easily applicable to anthropological study or that his work on group behavior and childhood socialization would find an audience among sociologists. See, La Barre, *passim*; Burgess, pp. 356-357 and 367.

Freud would probably respond to this argument, as he did to similar ones over a half century ago, with the observation that the intellectual grounds used by his opponents as the basis for rejecting his theory were little more than rationalizations which would allow them to avoid acknowledging unconscious sexual and aggressive impulses.²³⁶

Whatever the reasons, whether they are affective as Freud maintained; intellectual as Rogow argued; or, as is likely, some combination thereof; the fact remains that psychoanalytic concepts have indeed been incorporated into political thought in the numerous ways described earlier in this chapter (see especially pp. 123-136.) If anything then, awareness of the existence of resistances to Freudianism only serves to make its rather extensive

²³⁶Freud, "On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement," p. 57. Freud was not so arrogant that he could not recognize that psychoanalysis had its limitations. "By itself," he admitted, "this science is seldom able to deal with a problem completely." Nevertheless, as he went on to conclude, "it seems destined to give valuable contributory help in a large number of regions of knowledge." See Freud, An Autobiographical Study, p. 134.

manifest and latent impact on political science seem all the more remarkable.

CHAPTER V

CODA: "SO WHAT?"

The most important question to ask about any finding of social science is "So What?"

---Robert D. Putnam²³⁷

Just as for any other finding, the conclusion that the manifest and latent impact of Freudianism has been extensive becomes an interesting and important one to political scientists only after it is determined "what difference it all makes for politics."²³⁸ More precisely, there are two questions being asked: "what difference has Freudianism made in political thinking and research; and what difference can it possibly make in the future development of the discipline?"

²³⁷Robert D. Putnam, The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), p. 41.

²³⁸Ibid.

The first of these questions has already been answered albeit, to mix metaphors a bit, using rather broad strokes. In a way this was inevitable in that the portrait of man painted by psychoanalytic theory is of epic proportions. It shows man to be at one and the same time, for example, both an inherently aggressive and sexual animal and also one capable, under the pressure of a repressing civilization which is simultaneously his creation and his natural enemy, of sublimating and displacing these instincts. This vision, as has been shown, provided political scientists with a conceptual tool which has been used by some of them to analyze "societal illness" or "malaise" (caused by repression,) to account for all types of political violence and conflicts from street corner riots to international war (the work of the aggressive [id] instinct and the Oedipal passion to destroy the father,) to justify the absence of such violence and conflict (accomplished through the control of the superego and the displacement of aggression) and to explain power motivation and political participation (the result of displacement and sublimation [redirected libido].) Psychoanalytic theory also paints man in opposing shades of black and white with a single brush stroke to the extent that unconscious forces (most of which date back to his early childhood) are said to motivate his irrational behavior and, when they are

"unmasked" or brought into consciousness so that the ego has the freedom of decision, contribute to his rational behavior.²³⁹ This dualistic view has permitted political scientists to utilize Freudian theory in either support or rejection of the argument that a true democracy where government is responsive to the demands of the masses is possible and desirable, that citizens vote in their own best interests, that polls are accurate measures of public opinion, that the primary objective of those who run for public office is to contribute to the common weal, and that decision-makers--singularly or in groups--reach objective conclusions.

Because of its dualistic nature, because "psychoanalytic vocabulary contains so many counter-concepts (concepts that mitigate the effect of original concepts)"--such as explaining rioting in terms of aggression and the lack of rioting as the displacement of aggression--, some have questioned the utility of psychoanalysis for purposes of political explanation.²⁴⁰

²³⁹Sigmund Freud, The Ego and the Id, trans. Joan Riviere (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., 1961), fn. p. 40.

²⁴⁰Garson, p. 25. According to Garson, the three parts of generally accepted political science explanations are: "a plausible hypothesis, one or more supporting case examples, and general data supporting the hypothesis and not supporting the major alternative hypotheses." Psychoanalysis, he feels, does not qualify on the third part.

The very act of questioning however can be taken as additional testimony to Freud's impact in that

challenging ideas make their contribution to intellectual life by mobilizing the energies of those who reject and oppose as well as those who accept and adopt. The result is the sharpening of issues and the scaling-down of exaggeration by the consideration of opposites. Hence the impact of psychoanalysis can be summarized in two ways: the ideas and methods directly taken from Freud and the emphases developed in the attempt to disprove or improve psychoanalysis.²⁴¹

In both ways the impact of Freudianism has been considerable; in both ways it has made an important though still largely unrecognized difference in political thinking and research.

The future, which of course remains open to conjecture, is likely to go in one of two directions: either political scientists will continue, by remaining unaware (unconscious) of the Freudian contribution to their discipline, to employ psychoanalytic concepts in a relatively limited and haphazard way; or they will come to realize the role that psychoanalysis has played and begin to utilize its concepts more extensively and systematically. It would seem, given the recent interest in uncovering the epistemological foundations of political

²⁴¹Lasswell, "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking," p. 88.

science, that the latter is very likely to be the direction taken.²⁴²

The relationship between epistemology, the "science devoted to the discovery of the proper methods of acquiring and validating knowledge," and political science is a straightforward one: the former, according to Mannheim, supplies the latter (as it does for all of the "special" sciences) with "the basic justifications for the types of knowledge and the conceptions of truth and correctness" which are relied upon in "concrete methods of procedure" and in that way it affects its findings.²⁴³ In short, each method or strategy employed by the political scientist presupposes that certain ways of knowing are possible and when these presuppositions (for example the category of the unconscious and the techniques of free association and dream interpretation for the psychoanalytically oriented) are made explicit, and are systematically

²⁴²There is always the possibility that consciousness of Freud's impact might result in the rejection of psychoanalytic tenets. But this alternative seems highly unlikely, to paraphrase Miller, in that it is already very difficult to discuss the major themes of political conduct without at least making corrections which allow for the bias of his notions. See Jonathan Miller, ed., p. ix.

²⁴³Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936), p. 288; Ayn Rand, Introduction to Objectivist Epistemology (New York: New American Library, 1967), p. 47.

articulated in his writings, they constitute the epistemological foundation of the strategy selected.²⁴⁴

What is important to keep in mind about all of this is that "in some measure we must accept the epistemological foundation as legitimate in order to employ the strategy in the first place."²⁴⁵ One might reasonably expect then that as political scientists begin to recognize how many of their presuppositions have actually been psychoanalytically informed that they will employ the strategy or method, as suggested above, both more extensively and systematically. One might even go so far as to prognosticate a future in which psychoanalysis becomes one of the competing paradigms of political science.²⁴⁶ After all, achieving acceptability, as Eckstein

²⁴⁴Paul F. Kress, "On the Role and Formation of Concepts in Political Science," in Foundation of Political Science: Research, Methods, and Scope, ed. Freeman, p. 554. Kress adds that the presuppositions of the various strategies are not always contradictory; sometimes they are shared and sometimes there is no relationship at all.

²⁴⁵Ibid.

²⁴⁶Kuhn, who has probably written the seminal work on the subject, defines a paradigm as an achievement "sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity," and "sufficiently open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve." Kushner and De Maio claim that political science "has yet to achieve anything which resembles a paradigm in the Kuhnian sense," nevertheless they also contend that, in a modified ("qualified") Kuhnian sense, "political science in the last half century has exhibited characteristics of non-paradigm, multiple-paradigm, and

and Gurr have pointed out, is the major challenge; once this precondition has been met and political scientists are consciously choosing to work within a psychoanalytic framework, the paradigm can be "brought to life and maturity."²⁴⁷

The challenge is a formidable one; acceptability would require both a shift in emphasis (or at least a more concerted effort on the part of political scientists to study not only political institutions and behavior but also the underlying unconscious motivations which give rise to them) and a corresponding change in methodology (greater utilization of the unstructured, free associational interview for example.)²⁴⁸ However, while the

dual-paradigm science...." Eckstein and Gurr, who similarly note the elusiveness of a single unifying paradigm within the discipline, identify several which they believe have succeeded formal-legalism including: power elite, group theory, class analysis, functionalism, systems theory, political-culture and the "rationalist" approaches. See Harry Eckstein and Ted Robert Gurr, Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), pp. 475-477; Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, p. 10; Harvey W. Kushner and Gerald De Maio, "A Discipline in Search of Its Paradigm: Reflections on the Post-Behavioral Era in Political Science," The Centennial Review 23 (Summer 1979): 263-184. Also see Harvey W. Kushner and Gerald De Maio, "Formal Theory and the Battle of the Paradigms," Politics 76 6 (February 1976):1-15.

²⁴⁷Eckstein and Gurr, p. 477.

²⁴⁸Advance or growth in social science knowledge is a two-stage process. According to Boulding, the first stage "is the development of a new theoretical insight or point of view, a restructuring of the image of the world, which

challenge may be a great one so too is the opportunity; for were all these things--recognition, acceptability and paradigmatic status--to come to pass "the potential, individual and social, national and international, for health, rationality,...creativity" and "insofar as these values...are realizable only in a world that has abolished war," for "peace itself" would be enhanced.²⁴⁹ Political scientists may never meet the challenge of Freudianism;

creates, as it were, evolutionary potential for the increase of knowledge." The second stage consists of acquiring "new methods for the collection, sampling, and processing of data." Psychoanalytic theory as a "new theoretical insight" for many political scientists would thus require new techniques for uncovering the unconscious and irrational roots of political behavior. Foremost among these would be the free-association interview. It is as true today as it was twenty years ago when Rogow first noted that this observational technique (and also that of applying free-association to the analysis of written records and documents) has not been fully exploited by political scientists probably because it requires special interpretational skills. It is also still true that the "psychoanalytic-type interview is an indispensable tool for intensively exploring and theoretically charting areas of political behavior that are not amenable to other methods of inquiry." This would suggest that should psychoanalysis become a more acceptable mode of inquiry in the future that political scientists would either need special training or would have to closely collaborate with psychoanalysts. Such has been the case in the two social sciences, anthropology and sociology, where Freud's impact has been the most manifest. See Kenneth E. Boulding, The Impact of the Social Science (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp. 22-23; Burgess, pp. 372-373; Lasswell, "The Contribution of Freud's Insight Interview," pp. 375-390; Kluckhohn, p.71; Rogow, "Psychiatry and Political Science," pp. 6-8.

²⁴⁹Rogow, "Psychiatry and Political Science," p. 26.

but in one way or another, directly or indirectly, manifestly or latently, Freud's ideas will in all likelihood continue, as they have in the past, to be both a source of knowledge and inspiration.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

65 MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

1. Gabriel Almond
2. James Barber
3. Charles Beard
4. Samuel Beer
5. Arthur Bentley
6. James Burns
7. Angus Campbell
8. Francis Coker
9. Philip Converse
10. Edward Corwin
11. Robert Dahl
12. Karl Deutsch
13. Thomas Dye
14. David Easton
15. Leon Epstein
16. Heinz Eulau
17. Merle Fainsod
18. Richard Fenno, Jr.
19. Carl Friedrich
20. Frank Goodnow
21. Harold Gosnell
22. Pendleton Herring
23. Arthur Holcombe
24. Samuel Huntington
25. Charles Hyneman
26. Ira Katznelson
27. V. O. Key, Jr.
28. Robert Lane
29. Harold Laski
30. Harold Lasswell
31. Avery Leiserson
32. Charles Lindblom
33. Seymour Lipset
34. Theodore Lowi
35. Herbert Marcuse
36. Charles Merriam
37. Warren Miller
38. Ralph Milliband
39. C. Wright Mills
40. Hans Morgenthau
41. James O'Connor
42. Peter Odegard
43. Frederic Ogg
44. Bertell Ollman
45. C. Herman Pritchett
46. Austin Ranney
47. Emmet Redford
48. W. H. Riker
49. George Sabine
50. E. E. Schattschneider
51. Ira Sharkansky
52. Herbert Simon
53. Richard Snyder
54. Donald Stokes
55. Leo Strauss
56. David Truman
57. Sidney Verba
58. John Wahlke
59. Dwight Waldo
60. Robert Ward
61. Leonard White
62. Aaron Wildavsky
63. Woodrow Wilson
64. Sheldon Wolin
65. Quincy Wright

APPENDIX B

65 SCHOLARS AND BOOK TITLES*

Gabriel Almond:

1. The American People and Foreign Policy [1]
2. The Appeals of Communism [2P,U; 3LA]
3. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations [2S, 3LA]
4. Comparative Politics Today: A World View [2I]
5. The Struggle for Democracy in Germany [1]

James Barber:

6. An Introduction to Political Analysis: Problems in American Government (Under "Lane" in Bibliography) [0]
7. Citizen Politics: An Introduction to Political Behavior [3LA]
8. The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaptation to Legislative Life [3LA]
9. Power to the Citizen: Introductory Readings [0]
10. The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House [1]

Charles Beard:

11. American Government and Politics [0]
12. An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States [0]
13. The History of the American People [0]
14. History of the United States [0]
15. The Rise of American Civilization [0]

Samuel Beer:

16. British Politics in the Collectivist Age [0]
17. The City of Reason [2P]
18. Modern British Politics: A Study of Parties and Pressure Groups [2U]

*Full citations can be found in the Bibliography. The number(s) following each entry indicate(s) the type of influence found in that work coded as follows:

- 0 = no Freudian influence; 1 = direct Freudian influence
 2 = indirect Freudian influence (key concept(s) cited--
 I = infantile; P = psychoanalysis; RES = resistance;
 REP = repression; S = sex; U = unconscious)
 3 = indirect Freudian influence (principal disseminator(s)
 cited--LA = Lasswell; LI = Lippmann)

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED).

19. Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe [1]
20. Treasury Control: The Co-ordination of Financial and Economic Policy in Great Britain [0]

Arthur Bentley:

21. The Condition of the Western Farmer as Illustrated by the Economic History of a Nebraska Township [0]
22. Inquiry into Inquiries: Essays in Social Theory [1]
23. Knowing and the Known (Under "Dewey" in Bibliography) [0]
24. The Process of Government [2U,S]
25. Relativity in Man and Society [2P,S]

James Burns:

26. Government by the People: The Dynamics of American National Government [2I; 3LA,LI]
27. Government by the People: Basic Edition [3LI]
28. Government by the People: The Dynamics of American National, State and Local Government [3LA,LI]
29. John Kennedy: A Political Profile [3LI]
30. State and Local Politics: Government by the People [0]

Angus Campbell:

31. The American Voter [1]
32. The China Study [0]
33. Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes: A Study of the 1954 Congressional Election [2P,I]
34. Public Use of the Library and Other Sources of Information [0]
35. The Voter Decides [0]

Francis Coker:

36. Democracy, Liberty, and Property: Readings in the American Political Tradition [0]
37. "Organismic Theories of the State: Nineteenth Century Interpretations of the State as Organism or as Person" [0]
38. Readings in Political Philosophy [0]
39. Recent Political Thought [3LA,LI]

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED).

Philip Converse:

- 40. The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfactions (Under "Campbell" in Bibliography) [3LA]
- 41. Social Psychology: The Study of Human Interaction (Under "Newcomb" in Bibliography) [1]

Edward Corwin:

- 42. The Constitution and What it Means Today [0]
- 43. French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778 [0]
- 44. The "Higher Law" Background of American Constitutional Law [0]
- 45. John Marshall and the Constitution: A Chronical of the Supreme Court [0]
- 46. Understanding the Constitution [0]

Robert Dahl:

- 47. Congress and Foreign Policy [3LA.LI]
- 48. Democracy in the United States: Promise and Performance [0]
- 49. Modern Political Analysis [1]
- 50. Politics, Economics, and Welfare [1]
- 51. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City [0]

Karl Deutsch:

- 52. Germany Rejoins the Powers: Mass Opinion, Interest Groups, and Elites in Contemporary German Foreign Policy [2REP; 3LA]
- 53. Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality [2REP,I; 3LA,LI]
- 54. Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience [3LA]
- 55. Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement [2P; 3LA]
- 56. Politics and Government: How People Decide Their Fate [1]

Thomas Dye:

- 57. The Irony of Democracy: An Uncommon Introduction to American Politics [3LA]
- 58. Politics in States and Communities [0]
- 59. Power and Society: An Introduction to the Social Sciences [1]

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED).

- 60. Understanding Public Policy [3LA]
- 61. Who's Running America? Institutional Leadership in the United States [3LA]

David Easton:

- 62. Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy [1]
- 63. A Framework for Political Analysis [1]
- 64. The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of American Political Science [3LA]
- 65. A Systems Analysis of Political Life [3LA]
- 66. A Theoretical Approach to Authority [2U]

Leon Epstein:

- 67. Political Parties in Western Democracies [0]

Heinz Eulau:

- 68. Lawyers in Politics: A Study in Professional Convergence[LA]

Merle Fainsod:

- 69. Government and the American Economy [0]
- 70. How Russia is Ruled [0]
- 71. International Socialism and the World War [0]
- 72. Smolensk Under Soviet Rule [0]

Richard Fenno, Jr.:

- 73. The Yalta Conference [0]

Carl Friedrich:

- 74. The Age of Power [0]
- 75. Constitutional Government and Democracy: Theory and Practice in Europe and America [1]
- 76. Puerto Rico: Middle Road to Freedom [0]
- 77. Theory of the Location of Industries (trans.) [0]
- 78. Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy [3LA]

Frank Goodnow:

- 79. City Government in the United States [0]
- 80. Comparative Administrative Law: An Analysis of the Administrative Systems National and Local, of the United States, England, France and Germany [0]
- 81. Municipal Government [0]
- 82. Municipal Home Rule: A Study in Administration [0]
- 83. Municipal Problems [0]

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED).

Harold Gosnell:

- 84. Boss Platt and His New York Machine: A Study of the Political Leadership of Thomas C. Platt, Theodore Roosevelt, and Others [0]
- 85. Getting Out the Vote: An Experiment in the Simulation of Voting [0]
- 86. Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States [3LA,LI]
- 87. Machine Politics: Chicago Model [0]
- 88. Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago [0]

Pendleton Herring:

- 89. Group Representation Before Congress [2U; 3LA]
- 90. The Impact of War: Our American Democracy Under Arms [3LA]
- 91. The Politics of Democracy: American Parties in Action [1]
- 92. Presidential Leadership: The Political Relations of Congress and the Chief Executive [0]

Arthur Holcombe:

- 93. The Chinese Revolution: A Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power [0]
- 94. The Middle Classes in American Politics [3LI]
- 95. Our More Perfect Union: From Eighteenth-Century Principles to Twentieth-Century Practice [2U; 3LI]
- 96. The Political Parties of To-Day: A Study in Republican and Democratic Politics [0]
- 97. State Government in the United States [0]

Samuel Huntington:

- 98. The Common Defense: Strategic Programs in National Politics [3LI]
- 99. Political Power: USA/USSR (Under 'Brzezinski' in Bibliography) [1]
- 100. The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations [3LA,LI]

Charles Hyneman:

- 101. Bureaucracy in a Democracy [0]
- 102. The First American Neutrality: A Study of the American Understanding of Neutral Obligations During the Years 1792-1815 [0]
- 103. A Second Federalist: Congress Creates A Government [0]

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104. The Supreme Court on Trial [0]

Ira Katznelson:

105. Black Men, White Cities: Race, Politics, and Migration in the United States, 1900-30, and Britain, 1948-68 [0]

106. City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States [0]

107. The Politics of Power: A Critical Introduction to American Government [2REP; 3LA]

V. O. Key, Jr.:

108. The Administration of Federal Grants to States [0]

109. American State Politics: An Introduction [0]

110. Politics, Parties & Pressure Groups [3LA]

111. A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists [0]

112. Southern Politics in State and Nation [0]

Robert Lane:

113. The Liberties of Wit: Humanism, Criticism, and the Civic Mind [1]

114. Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does [1]

115. Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics [1]

116. Problems in American Government: An Introduction to Political Analysis [0]

117. The Regulation of Businessmen: Social Conditions of Government Economic Control [3LA,LI]

Harold Laski:

118. A Grammar of Politics [3LI]

119. An Introduction to Politics [0]

120. Karl Marx: An Essay [0]

121. Political Thought in England: Locke to Bentham [0]

122. The State in Theory and Practice [2U; 3LA,LI]

Harold Lasswell:

123. The Analysis of Political Behavior: An Empirical Approach [1]

124. Politics: Who Gets What, When, How [1]

125. Power and Personality [1]

126. Propaganda Technique in the World War [0]

127. Psychopathology and Politics [1]

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Avery Leiserson:

128. Administrative Regulation: A Study in Representation of Interests [3LA,LI]

Charles Lindblom:

129. The Policy-Making Process [0]
 130. Politics, Economics, and Welfare (see Dahl)
 131. Unions and Capitalism [3LA]

Seymour Lipset:

132. Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology [3LA]
 133. Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Under "Bendix" in Bibliography) [0]
 134. Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics [1]
 135. Social Mobility in Industrial Society [1]
 136. Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union [3LA]

Theodore Lowi:

137. American Government: Incomplete Conquest [3LA,LI]
 138. The End of Liberalism: Ideology, Policy, and the Crisis of Public Authority [3LI]
 139. Legislative Politics U.S.A. [3LA,LI]
 140. The Politics of Disorder [3LA]

Herbert Marcuse:

141. A Critique of Pure Tolerance (Under "Wolff" in Bibliography) [0]
 142. Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud [1; 2REP]
 143. One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society [1]
 144. Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory [0]
 145. Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis [1]

Charles Merriam:

146. The American Party System: An Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States [2S; 3LA]
 147. American Political Ideas: Studies in the Development of American Political Thought 1865-1917 [0]

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148. A History of American Political Theories [0]
 149. New Aspects of Politics [2I; 3LI]
 150. Primary Elections [0]
- Warren Miller:
 151. Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate [3LA]
 152. The Voter Decides (See Campbell)
- Ralph Milliband:
 153. Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour [0]
 154. The State in Capitalist Society [2REP; 3LA]
- C. Wright Mills:
 155. The Causes of World War Three [0]
 156. The Marxists [0]
 157. The Power Elite [1]
 158. The Sociological Imagination [1]
 159. White Collar: The American Middle Classes [1]
- Hans Morgenthau:
 160. Peace, Security & the United Nations [0]
 161. Politics Among Nations [2P; 3LA]
 162. Principles and Problems of International Politics: Selected Readings [0]
 163. The Purpose of American Politics [3LI]
 164. Scientific Man vs. Power Politics [1]
- James O'Connor:
 165. The Political Economy of Pre-Revolutionary Cuba [0]
- Peter Odegard:
 166. American Government: Readings and Documents [0]
 167. American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics [3LA,LI]
 168. Documents and Readings: American Government [0]
 169. The Structure and Functions of American Government: Second Semester Study Guide [0]
- Frederick Ogg:
 170. Economic Development of Modern Europe [0]
 171. European Governments and Politics [0]
 172. The Governments of Europe [0]
 173. Introduction to American Government: National Government [0]

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174. Ogg and Ray's Introduction to American Government [0]

Bertell Ollman:

175. Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society [1]
 176. Social and Sexual Revolution: Essays on Marx and Reich [1]

C. Herman Pritchett

177. The American Constitution [3LI]
 178. The American Constitutional System [0]
 179. Civil Liberties and the Vinson Court [3LI]
 180. Courts, Judges, and Politics: An Introduction to the Judicial Process (Under "Murphy" in Bibliography) [3LA]
 181. The Roosevelt Court: A Study in Judicial Politics and Values 1937-1947 [0]

Austin Ranney:

182. Democracy and the American Party System [3LA,LI]
 183. The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government: Its Origins and Present State [0]
 184. Governing: A Brief Introduction to Political Science [3LA]
 185. The Governing of Men [3LA]
 186. Politics and Voters (Under "Bow" in Bibliography) [0]

Emmet Redford:

187. Politics and Government in the United States: National Edition [3LA,LI]
 188. Politics and Government in the United States: National, State and Local Edition [3LI]
 189. Public Administration and Policy Formation [0]
 190. The General Passenger Fare Investigation [0]

W. H. Riker:

191. Democracy in the United States [0]
 192. The NLRB Field Examiner [0]
 193. Soldiers of the States: The Role of the National Guard in American Democracy [0]
 194. The Theory of Political Coalitions [1]

George Sabine:

195. A History of Political Theory [1]
 196. The Works of Gerrard Winstanley: With an

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED).

Appendix of Documents Relating to the Digger Movement [0]

E. E. Schattschneider:

- 197. A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs [0]
- 198. Party Government [0]
- 199. Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929-1930 Revision of the Tariff [0]
- 200. The Semisovereign People: Democracy in America [0]

Ira Sharkansky:

- 201. The Maligned States: Accomplishments, Problems and Opportunities [0]
- 202. Public Administration: Policy-Making in Government Agencies [0]
- 203. Regionalism in American Politics [0]
- 204. The United States: A Study of a Developing Country [0]
- 205. Urban Politics and Public Policy (Under "Lineberry" in Bibliography) [1]

Herbert Simon:

- 206. Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization [1]
- 207. Centralization vs. Decentralization in Organizing the Controller's Department [0]
- 208. Determining Work Loads for Professional Staff in a Public Welfare Agency [0]
- 209. Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation [0]
- 210. Public Administration [1]

Richard Snyder:

- 211. American Foreign Policy: Formulation, Principles, and Programs [3LI]
- 212. Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics [2P; 3LA]

Donald Stokes:

- 213. Political Change in Britain: The Evolution of Electoral Choice (Under "Butler" in Bibliography) [0]
- 214. Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice (Under "Butler" in Bibliography) [2I]

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Leo Strauss:

- 215. The City and Man [0]
- 216. Natural Right and History [0]
- 217. On Tyranny [0]
- 218. The Political Philosophy of Hobbes: Its Bases and Its Genesis [0]
- 219. What is Political Philosophy?: And Other Studies [0]

David Truman:

- 220. The Congress and America's Future [3LI]
- 221. The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion [1]
- 222. Politics and Government in the United States: National, State and Local Edition (See Redford)

Sidney Verba:

- 223. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (See Almond)
- 224. The International System: Theoretical Essays (Under "Knorr" in Bibliography) [1]
- 225. An Introduction to American Government (Under "Prewitt" in Bibliography) [2I]
- 226. Principles of American Government (Under "Prewitt" in Bibliography) [0]
- 227. Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership [3LA]

John Wahlke:

- 228. The American Political System: Notes and Readings (Under "Brown" in Bibliography) [1]
- 229. The Causes of the American Revolution [0]
- 230. Government and Politics: An Introduction to Political Science [1]

Dwight Waldo:

- 231. The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration [3LA,LI]
- 232. Ideas and Issues in Public Administration: A Book of Readings [2U]
- 233. The Study of Public Administration [2U]

Robert Ward:

- 234. Five Studies in Japanese Politics [0]
- 235. Japanese Political Science: A Guide to Japanese Reference and Research Materials [0]
- 236. Japan's Political System [0]

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237. Modern Political Systems (2 vols.) (Under "Macrides" in Bibliography) [3LA]

Leonard White:

238. The City Manager [0]
 239. The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History [0]
 240. The Frontiers of Public Administration (Under "Gaus" in Bibliography) [0]
 241. Introduction to the Study of Public Administration [0]
 242. The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History 1829-1861 [0]

Aaron Wildavsky:

243. Dixon-Yates: A Study in Power Politics [0]
 244. Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing That Federal Programs Work at All This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration as Told By Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation of Ruined Hope (Under "Pressman" in Bibliography) [0]
 245. Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries (Under "Caiden" in Bibliography) [0]
 246. The Politics of the Budgetary Process [0]
 247. Presidential Elections: Strategies of American Electoral Politics (Under "Polsby" in Bibliography) [0]

Woodrow Wilson:

248. Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics [0]
 249. Division and Reunion: 1829-1889 [0]
 250. George Washington [0]
 251. A History of the American People [0]
 252. The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics [0]

Sheldon Wolin:

253. Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought [1]

Quincy Wright:

254. Contemporary International Law: A Balance Sheet [0]
 255. The Control of American Foreign Relations [3LI]

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- 256. Gold and Monetary Stabilization: Lectures on the Harris Foundation 1932 [0]
- 257. A Study of War (2 vols.) [1]
- 258. Unemployment as a World-Problem [0]

APPENDIX C

CORE BOOKS*

1. Abu Jaber, The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party: History, Ideology, and Organization [0]
2. Adams, The Government of Republican Italy [2S]
3. Adcock, Roman Political Ideas and Practice [0]
4. Adrian, Governing Urban America [0]
5. Alexander, Offshore Geography of Northwestern Europe: The Political and Economic Problems of Delimitation and Control [0]
6. Anderson, E. Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century [0]
7. Anderson, W. Intergovernmental Relations in Review [0]
8. Asher The United Nations and Promotion of the General Welfare [3LI]
9. Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique [1]
10. Bailey, The Secretariat of the United Nations [0]
11. Bailyn, The Origins of American Politics [0]
12. Banovetz, Managing the Modern City [0]
13. Barth, Government by Investigation [3LI]
14. Baxter, The Jana Sangh: A Biography of an Indian Political Party [0]
15. Beard, The Devil Theory of War: An Inquiry into the Nature of History and the Possibility of Keeping Out of War [0]
16. Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development [3LA]
17. Binkley, American Political Parties: Their Natural History [3LA,LI]
18. Black, The Future of the International Order [1]

*Full citations can be found in the Bibliography. The number(s) following each entry indicate(s) the type of influence found in that work coded as follows:

- 0 = no Freudian influence; 1 = direct Freudian influence
 2 = indirect Freudian influence (key concept(s) cited--I = infantile; P = psychoanalysis; RES = resistance; REP = repression; S = sex; U = unconscious)
 3 = indirect Freudian influence (principal disseminator(s) cited--LA = Lasswell; LI = Lippman)

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19. Blair, Cumulative Voting: An Effective Electoral Device in Illinois Politics [0]
20. Blit, The Origins of Polish Socialism: The History and Ideas of the First Polish Socialist Party 1878-1886 [0]
21. Bloomfield, Evolution Nations and the Problem of Peaceful Territorial Change [1]
22. Bowen, German Theories of the Corporate State: With Special Reference to the Period 1870-1919 [0]
23. Brierly, The Obligation in International Law: And Other Papers [3 LI]
24. Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790: Introductory Survey [0]
25. Brower, The New Jacobins: The French Communist Party and the Popular Front [0]
26. Brown, D. The White Umbrella: Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi [0]
27. Brown, R. Charles Beard and the Constitution: A Critical Analysis of "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution [3LI]
28. Brown, S. The First Republicans: Political Philosophy and Public Policy in the Party of Jefferson and Madison [0]
29. Bullock, Germany's Colonial Demands [0]
30. Bunzel, Anti-Politics in America: Reflections on the Anti-Political Temper and Its Distortions of the Democratic Process [1]
31. Burdette, Filibustering in the Senate [0]
32. Burks, The Government of Japan [0]
33. Burnham, The Managerial Revolution [0]
34. Burton, The Assembly of the League of Nations [0]
35. Butler, The British General Election of 1951 [0]
36. _____, The British General Election of 1955 [0]
37. Butterfield, The Statecraft of Machiavelli [0]
38. Callard, Pakistan: A Political Study [0]
39. Carney, The Rise of the Democratic Clubs in California [0]
40. Carroll, The House of Representatives and Foreign Affairs [3LI]
41. Catt, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement [0]

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42. Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-1941 [3LI]
43. Chrimes, An Introduction to the Administrative History of Mediaeval England [0]
44. Clapp, The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It [0]
45. Clark, World Peace Through World Law: Two Alternative Plans [0]
46. Cobban, Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against the Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Political and Social Thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey [0]
47. _____, Rousseau and the Modern State [0]
48. Cole, A History of the Labour Party from 1914 [0]
49. Committee to Frame a World Constitution, Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution: As Proposed and Signed By Robert M. Hutchins, G.A. Borgese, Mortimer J. Adler, Stringfellow Barr, Albert Guerard, Harold A. Innis, Erich Kahler, Wilber G. Katz, Charles H. Mc Ilwain, Robert Redfield, Rexford G. Tugwell [0]
50. Corwin, Liberty Against Government: The Rise, Flowering and Decline of a Famous Juridical Concept [0]
51. Crabb, The Elephants and the Grass: A Study of Nonalignment [0]
52. Dahl, Polarchy: Participation and Opposition [2I]
53. Dallin, The Soviet Union at the United Nations: An Inquiry Into Soviet Motives and Objectives [0]
54. Davidson, The Role of the Congressman [3LA]
55. de Blij, Systematic Political Geography [3LA]
56. Dehio, The Precarious Balance: Four Centuries of the European Power Struggle [0]
57. De Jouvenel, Sovereignty: An Inquiry Into the Political Good [1]
58. De Tarr, The French Radical Party: From Herriot to Mendes-France [3LI]
59. De Witt, The Progressive Movement: A Non-Partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics [3LI]
60. Dorwart, The Administrative Reforms of Frederick William I of Prussia [0]

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61. Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy [2U; 3LI]
62. Duncan-Clark, The Progressive Movement: Its Principles and Its Programme [2U.I]
63. Dunn, William Penn: Politics and Conscience [0]
64. Dunning, A History of Political Theories: Ancient and Mediaeval [0]
65. Durden, The Climax of Populism: The Election of 1896 [0]
66. Durkheim, Montesquieu and Rousseau: Forerunners of Sociology [2U]
67. Duverger, The French Political System [0]
68. _____, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State [0]
69. Ehrmann, Politics in France [0]
70. Elliot, The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics: Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State [3LA]
71. Elton, The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary [0]
72. Emerson, From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples [3LA]
73. Endacott, Government and People in Hong Kong 1841-1962: A Constitutional History [0]
74. Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics [3LA]
75. Falk, The Vietnam War and International Law [3LI,LA]
76. Felkner, Dirty Politics [2P,U]
77. Fesler, The 50 States and Their Local Governments [3LA]
78. Finer, Theory and Practice of Modern Government [1]
79. Foster, The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel [0]
80. Fox, Theoretical Aspects of International Relations [3LA]
81. Friedrich, Man and His Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics [1]
82. _____, The New Image of the Common Man [1]
83. Geertz, Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa [2I]
84. Germino, Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory [1]

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85. Ghoshal, A History of Indian Political Ideas: The Ancient Period and the Period of Transition to the Middle Ages [0]
86. Gibson, The Inca Concept of Sovereignty and the Spanish Administration in Peru [0]
87. Gilby, The Political Thought of Thomas Aquinas [1]
88. Glueck, War Criminals: Their Prosecution & Punishment [0]
89. Gough, John Locke's Political Philosophy: Eight Studies [0]
90. Grodzins, The American System: A New View of Government in the United States [0]
91. Guetzkow, Simulation in International Relations: Developments for Research and Teaching [3LA]
92. Hacker, Congressional Districting: The Issue of Equal Representation [0]
93. Hall, Government and Local Power in Japan 500 to 1700: A Study Based on Bizen Province [0]
94. Halle, The Society of Man [1]
95. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States [0]
96. Hayek, The Constituion of Liberty [2U; 3LI]
97. Heard, The Costs of Democracy: Financing American Politcal Campaigns [2U]
98. Hearnshaw, The Social & Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Series of Lectures Delivered at King's College University of London During the Session 1925-26 [0]
99. Hendel, The Soviet Crucible: The Soviet System in Theory and Practice [1]
100. Hermens, Democracy or Anarchy?: A Study of Proportional Representation [0]
101. Hilsman, Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions [1]
102. Hoffmann, Conditions of World Order [0]
103. Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne [0]
104. Holsti, International Politics: A Framework for Analysis [0]
105. Hook, The Paradoxes of Freedom [0]
106. Horn, The Cabinet and Congress [3LA]
107. Hsiao, Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century [0]

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108. Hughes, The Parliament of Switzerland [0]
 109. Ikle, How Nations Negotiate [3LI]
 110. Jackson, The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy: A Study of a Crisis in American Power Politics [0]
 111. James, The Framing of the Fourteenth Amendment [0]
 112. Jones, Practicing Texas Politics [2LA]
 113. Kagan, The Great Dialogue: History of Greek Political Thought from Homer to Polybius [0]
 114. Keith, The British Cabinet System [0]
 115. Kemp, King and Commons, 1660-1832 [0]
 116. Kenyon, The Antifederalists [0]
 117. Key, The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting 1936-1960 [2U,I]
 118. Khadduri, Political Trends in the Arab World: The Role of Ideas and Ideals in Politics [0]
 119. Knorr, British Colonial Theories 1570-1850 [0]
 120. Kofmehl, Professional Staffs of Congress [0]
 121. Lambert, West Virginia and Its Government [0]
 122. La Nauze, The Making of the Australian Constitution [0]
 123. La Palombara, Political Parties and Political Development [0]
 124. Laski, Parliamentary Government in England [0]
 125. Laslett, Philosophy, Politics and Society [1]
 126. Lasswell, Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics [1]
 127. Lauterpacht, Recognition in International Law [0]
 128. Leites, The Operational Code of the Politburo [0]
 129. Lewis, Leadership in Communist China [0]
 130. Lichtheim, Imperialism [0]
 131. Lie, In the Cause of Peace: Seven Years with the United Nations [0]
 132. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories [0]
 133. Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy [0]
 134. Lissitzyn, The International Court of Justice: Its Role in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security [0]
 135. Lowenstein, Max Weber's Political Ideas in the Perspective of Our Time [0]
 136. Lutz, Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, Crusader,

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137. MacDougall, Humanitarian [0]
 138. Major, Gideon's Army [0]
 139. Maunier, The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France [0]
 139. Maunier, The Sociology of Colonies: An Introduction to the Study of Race Contact [1]
 140. Mayer, The Republican Party 1854-1964 [0]
 141. Mayo, An Introduction to Democratic Theory [1]
 142. McHenry, The Third Force in Canada: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation 1932-1948 [0]
 143. McIlwain, Constitutionalism & the Changing World: Collected Papers [0]
 144. McKechnie, Magna Carta: A Commentary on the Great Charter of King John [0]
 145. McKee, The National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties 1789 to 1905, Convention, Popular and Electoral Vote: Also the Political Complexion of Houses of Congress at Each Biennial Period [0]
 146. McKisack, The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs During the Middle Ages [0]
 147. McKenzie, British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power Within the Conservative and Labour Parties [0]
 148. McSeveney, The Politics of Depression: Political Behavior in the Northeast, 1893-1896 [0]
 149. Meiklejohn, Free Speech: And Its Relation to Self-Government [0]
 150. Meinecke, Cosmopolitanism and the National State [0]
 151. Meller, The Congress of Micronesia: Development of the Legislative Process in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands [0]
 152. _____, With an Understanding Heart: Constitution Making in Hawaii [0]
 153. Menon, The Transfer of Power in India [3LI]
 154. Meyers, The History of Tammany Hall [0]
 155. Miller, Boss Cox's Cincinnati: Urban Politics in Progressive Era [0]
 156. Minear, Victors' Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial [0]
 157. Miner, The Fight for the Panama Route: The

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158. Mitchell, A. Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay-Herran Treaty' [0]
 159. Mitchell, W. The Whigs in Opposition 1815-1830 [0]
 160. Mollenhoff, The American Polity: A Social and Cultural Interpretation [1]
 161. Moore, Washington Cover-Up [0]
 162. Moos, The Cabildo in Peru Under the Bourbons: A Study in the Decline and Resurgence of Local Government in the Audiencia of Lima 1700-1824 [0]
 163. Morgenthau, Politics, Presidents and Coattails [0]
 164. Morrall, Politics in the Twentieth Century [1]
 165. Morrow, Political Thought in Medieval Times [0]
 166. Mosca, Plato's Cretan City: A Historical Interpretation [0]
 167. Mosteller, The Ruling Class: Elementi Di Scienza Politica [0]
 168. Northrop, The Pre-election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-election Polls and Forecasts [2U]
 169. Oppenheimer, Philosophical Anthropology and Practical Politics [1]
 170. Ostrander, The Urban Guerilla [1]
 171. O'Sullivan, The Rights of Man in America: 1606-1861 [0]
 172. Panigrahi, The Irish Free State and Its Senate: A Study in Contemporary Politics [0]
 173. Pankhurst, Charles Metcalfe in India: Ideas & Administration, 1806-1835 [0]
 174. Pearson, My Own Story [2U]
 175. Pennock, Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age [0]
 176. Perkins, Political and Legal Obligation [1]
 177. Pierson, A History of the Monroe Doctrine [0]
 178. Pirenne, Governments of Latin America [0]
 179. Polenberg, Early Democracies in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance [0]
 180. Pollard, Reorganizing Roosevelt's Government: The Controversy Over Executive Reorganization 1936-1939 [3LI]
 181. Pound, The Evolution of Parliament [0]
 182. Power, The Development of Constitutional Guarantees of Liberty [0]
 183. President's Committee on Administrative Management, Jules Ferry: And the Renaissance of French Imperialism [0]
 183. President's Committee on Administrative Management, Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management With Studies

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184. Ranney, Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics [2I; 3LA,LI]
185. Reves, The Anatomy of Peace [0]
186. Rhodes, The New Government of London: The First Five Years [0]
187. Riker, The Study of Local Politics: A Manual [1]
188. Ritter, The Political Thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon [1]
189. Robinson, Essays in Imperial Government [2U]
190. Rosner, The United Nations Emergency Force [0]
191. Rossiter, The American Presidency [3LI]
192. _____, Constitutional Dictatorship: Crisis Government in the Modern Democracies [0]
193. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nationalism: A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs [2U; 3LA]
194. Sayre, The Federal Government Service [2U]
195. Scammon, The Real Majority [0]
196. Schaar, Loyalty in America [1]
197. Schapiro, The Government and Politics of the Soviet Union [0]
198. Schlesinger, How They Became Governor: A Study of Comparative State Politics, 1870-1950 [0]
199. Schuman, The Commonwealth of Man: An Inquiry into Power Politics and World Government [1]
200. _____, Government in the Soviet Union [1]
201. Schwarzenberger, The Frontiers of International Law [0]
202. Scott, Mexican Government in Transition [0]
203. Seabury, The Wilhelmstrasse: A Study of German Diplomats Under the Nazi Regime [0]
204. Sereno, The Rulers [1]
205. Skillings, The Governments of Communist East Europe [3LA]
206. Smellie, A History of Local Government [0]
207. Smiley, The Canadian Political Nationality [0]
208. Smith, The Dilemma of Accountability in Modern Government: Independence Versus Control [0]
209. Snider, American State and Local Government [0]
210. _____, Local Government in Rural America [0]

APPENDIX C (CONTINUED).

211. Stanley, Men Who Govern: A Biographical Profile of Federal Political Executives [0]
212. Stedman, Discontent at the Polls: A Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827-1948 [0]
213. Stuart, The Department of State: A History of Its Organization, Procedure, and Personnel [3LI]
214. Talman, The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy [1]
215. Taracouzio, The Soviet Union and International Law: A Study Based on the Legislation, Treaties and Foreign Relations of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics [0]
216. Thornton, An Outline of Oklahoma Government [0]
217. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals [0]
218. Townsend, European Colonial Expansion Since 1871 [0]
219. Turner, H. The Government and Politics of California [0]
220. Turner, J. Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress [0]
221. Tussman, Obligation and the Body Politic [2U; 3LI]
222. Vaughan, Studies in the History of Political Philosophy Before and After Rousseau [0]
223. Wainhouse, Arms Control Agreements: Designs for Verification and Organization [0]
224. Wales, Ancient Siamese Government and Administration [0]
225. Walters, A History of the League of Nations [0]
226. Western, Monarchy and Revolution: The English State in the 1680s [0]
227. Whittlesey, The Earth and the State: A Study of Political Geogaphy [0]
228. Wilcox, Proposals for Changes in the United Nations [3LI]
229. Windolph, Leviathan and Natural Law [0]
230. Winks, Failed Federations: Decolonization and the British Empire [0]
231. Winslow, State Legislative Committees: A Study in Procedure [[2U; 3LI]
232. Wood, 1400 Governments: The Political Economy of the New York Metropolitan Region [3LA]
233. Yarwood, Asian Migration to Australia: The

APPENDIX C (CONTINUED).

234. Young, Background to Exclusion 1896-1923 [0]
The American Congress [0]
235. Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods: An
Essay on Eighteenth-Century American
Politics [2S]
236. Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns
in the Eighteenth Century [2I]

APPENDIX D

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. Year of birth _____
- 2. Highest degree _____
Year awarded _____
Awarding institution _____
- 3. What is the principal activity of your current position at your institution?
Administration _____
Teaching _____
Research _____
Other _____
- 4. Your primary major field of specialization is
American Government _____
Comparative Government _____
International Relations _____
Political Theory and Methodology _____
Public Administration _____
Political Philosophy _____
Public Law _____
Political Theory _____
Other (please specify) _____
- 5. Have you read any of Sigmund Freud's works?
_____ Yes _____ No

APPENDIX D (CONTINUED).

6. Have you had any formal psychoanalytic training or education?

_____ Yes _____ No

7. Do you believe that Freudian theories and concepts in general have in any way influenced your academic work?

_____ Yes _____ No

If your answer to question 7 is yes please respond to the next three questions.

8. Would you characterize this influence as being

Very important _____

Somewhat important _____

Not too important _____

9. In what ways has Freudian thought been important to you?

For an overall understanding of political behavior _____

As a didactic tool _____

Other (please specify) _____

10. Which, if any, of the following concepts or, as Freud put it, "principal constituents of the theoretical structure of psychoanalysis" have you found to be useful for political analysis and/or teaching? (If more than one please number in order of importance from most to least beginning with #1 as most useful.)

Resistance and repression _____

The unconscious _____

The etiological significance of sexual life _____

The importance of infantile experience _____

Other (please specify) _____

APPENDIX E

SURVEY VARIABLES AND CODING

<u>VARIABLE</u>	<u>CODING</u>
Batch (when questionnaire received)	1-12
Year of Birth	Four digits of year born
Highest Degree	Ph.D = 1 M.A. = 2 B.A. = 3 J.D., L.L.B., Dr. Juris, MALD } = 4
Year Awarded	Last two digits of year awarded
Awarding Institution	1-73 (see Appendix F)
Activity: Administration	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Activity: Teaching	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Activity: Research	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Activity: Other	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: American Government	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Comparative Government	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: International Relations	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Political Theory and Methodology	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Public Administration	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Political Philosophy	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Public Law	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Political Theory	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Field: Other	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Read Freud	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Psychoanalytic Training or Education	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Influence	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Influence: Importance	Very Important = 1 Somewhat Important = 2 Not Too Important = 3
Importance: Overall	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Importance: Didactic Tool	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Importance: Other	0 = Yes; 1 = No
Useful Concept: Resistance and Repression	0 = Yes; 1 = No; Rank for yes answers 1-5
Useful Concept: The Unconscious	0 = Yes; 1 = No; Rank for yes answers 1-5
Useful Concept: Etiological Significance of Sexual Life	0 = Yes; 1 = No; Rank for yes answers 1-5
Useful Concept: Importance of Infantile Experience	0 = Yes; 1 = No; Rank for yes answers 1-5
Useful Concept: Other	0 = Yes; 1 = No; Rank for yes answers 1-5

APPENDIX F

AWARDING INSTITUTION CODING

American	1	Michigan (University of)	38
Arizona	2	Michigan State	39
Brandeis	3	Minnesota	40
British Columbia	4	MIT	41
Brown	5	Nebraska	42
California (Santa Barbara or Berkely)	6	New Mexico	43
Case Western Reserve	7	North Carolina	44
Catholic	8	North Texas State	45
Chicago	9	Northwestern	46
Cincinnati	10	NYU	47
Claremont Graduate School	11	Ohio State	48
Colorado	12	Oklahoma	49
Columbia	13	Paris	50
Connecticut	14	Paris School of Law	51
Cornell	15	Pennsylvania	52
CUNY	16	Pittsbutgh	53
Denver	17	Princeton	54
Duke	18	Rochester	55
Emory	19	Rutgers	56
Florida (University of)	20	Southern Illinois	57
Florida State	21	Southern Mississippi	58
Georgetown	22	Stanford	59
Gerogia State	23	SUNY (Buffalo or Albany)	60
Harvard	24	Sussex	61
Houston	25	Syracuse	62
Howard	26	Tennessee	63
Illinois	27	Texas	64
Indiana	28	Tufts	65
Innsbruck	29	Tulane	66
Iowa	30	UCLA	67
Johns Hopkins	31	Vanderbilt	68
Kansas	32	Washington (University of)	69
Kent State	33	Washington State	70
Kentucky	34	Wisconson (Madison or Milwaukee)	71
London School of Economics	35	Yale	72
Maryland	36	Other (None, Big 10, etc.)	73
Miami of Ohio	37		

APPENDIX G

CORE AND MAJOR WORK SECONDARY DISSEMINATORS

CORE

Abu Jaber
Adrian
Anderson, E.
Anderson, W.
Bachrach
Bailyn
Banovitz
Black
Bloomfield
Bowen
Brower
Brown, S.
Bunzel
Burdette
Burks
Burton
Butler
Cole
Crabb
de Jouvenel
Durden
Duverger
Ehrmann
Finer
Friedrich
Germino
Ghoshal
Gilby
Glueck
Grodzins
Hacker
Halle
Hendel
Hermens
Hilsman
Hoffmann
Holsti
Hook
Jackson
Kagan

Keith
Khadduri
Knorr
Kofmehl
La Palombara
Laslett
Lissitzyn
Maunier
McHenry
McKenzie
McSeveney
Meiklejohn
Minear
Mitchell, W.
Moos
Morgenthau
Morro
Northrop
Oppenheimer
Pennock
President's Committee
Riker
Ritter
Rosner
Rossiter
Scammon
Schaar
Schlesinger
Schuman
Scott
Sereno
Smiley
Smith
Snider
Stanley
Stedman
Talman
Turner, J.
Winks
Young

APPENDIX G (CONTINUED).

MAJOR

Almond	Lowi
Barber	Marcuse
Beer	Merriam
Bentley	Miller
Burns	Milliband
Campbell	Mills
Coker	Morgenthau
Converse	Odegard
Dahl	Ollman
Deutsch	Pritchett
Dye	Ranney
Easton	Redford
Epstein	Riker
Eulau	Sabine
Fainsod	Schattschneider
Fenno	Sharkansky
Friedrich	Simon
Gosnell	Snyder
Herring	Stokes
Holcombe	Strauss
Huntington	Truman
Hyneman	Verba
Katznelson	Wahlke
Key	Waldo
Lane	Ward
Laski	White
Leiserson	Wildavsky
Lindblom	Wolin
Lipset	Wright

APPENDIX H

AUTHORS INDIRECTLY INFLUENCED BY SECONDARY DISSEMINATORS

COREAUTHORS

Abu Jaber
Adrian

Anderson, E.
Anderson, W.
Bailyn
Banovetz

Blair
Bowen
Brower
Brown, S.
Burdette
Burks
Burton
Butler
Cole
Crabb
Durden
Duverger
Key,

Ehrmann
Ghoshal
Glueck
Grodzins

Hacker
Hermans
Hoffmann

Holsti
Hook
Jackson
Kagan
Keith
Khadduri
Knorr

SECONDARY DISSEMINATORS CITED

Almond
Barber, Dahl, Dye, Eulau,
Gosnell, Lowi, Merriam, Truman,
Wildavsky
Mills
Holcombe, Key, Merriam
Beer
Dahl, Lindblom, Simon, White,
Wildavsky
Hyneman
Coker
Almond
White
Friedrich
Almond, Ward
Wright
Gosnell, Merriam
Laski
Morgenthau
Lipset
Gosnell, Herring, Holcombe,
Lipset, Merriam,
Schattschneider
Almond
Coker
Coker, Laski, Merriam, Wright
Beer, Burns, Fenno, Herring,
Holcombe, Key, Leiserson,
Morgenthau, Ranney,
Schattschneider, Truman
Dahl, Truman
Friedrich, Gosnell, Laski
Deutsch, Huntington, Mills
Morgenthau
Almond, Morgenthau, Wright
Morgenthau
Laski
Sabine
Laski
Wright
Wright

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED).

COREAUTHORS

Kofmehl
La Palombara

Lissitzyn
McHenry
McKenzie

McSeveney
Meiklejohn
Minear
Moos

Morrow
President's Committee
Rosner
Rossiter
Scammon

Schlesinger

Scott
Smiley
Smith
Snider

Stanley
Stedman
Turner, J.

Winslow
Winks
Young

SECONDARY DISSEMINATORS CITED

Hyneman, Key
Beer, Burns, Dahl, Deutsch,
Easton, Herring, Key, Lane,
Leiserson, Lipset, Mills,
Wildavsky
Morgenthau, Wright
Lipset
Beer, Epstein, Laski,
Milliband,
Schattschneider
Key, White
Laski
Huntington
Herring, Holcombe, Huntington,
Key, Schattschneider
Sabine
Merriam, Fainsod, Holcombe
Wright
Freidrich, Laski
Campbell, Converse, Key,
Miller, Stokes
Dahl, Key, Lane, Merriam,
Hyneman
Almond, Truman
Almond, Riker, Verba
Lowi
Goodnow, Gosnell, Hyneman,
Key,
Merriam, Ranney, White
Herring, Lowi, Mills
Key, Schattschneider
Dahl, Eulau, Huntington,
Key, Lowi, Riker, Truman,
Wahlke
Holcombe, White
Verba
Dahl, Hyneman, Snyder

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED).

MAJORAUTHORSSECONDARY DISSEMINATORS CITED

Barber	Burns, Converse, Fenno, Merriam, Schattschneider, Truman
Beer	Eulau, Laski, Wahlke
Burns	Dahl, Dye, Eulau, Hyneman, Key, Lowi, Ranney, Verba, Wahlke, Wildavsky
Campbell	Gosnell, Herring, Key, Leiserson, Truman
Coker	Merriam
Dahl	Lipset, Schattschneider, Wahlke
Dye	Dahl, Eulau, Key, Ranney, Sharkansky, Wahlke, White, Wildavsky
Epstein	Almond, Burns, Campbell, Converse, Dahl, Deutsch, Dye, Eulau, Gosnell, Holcombe, Key, Lane, Laski, Leiserson, Lipset, Miller, Ranney, Schattschneider, Truman, Verba, Wahlke, Wildavsky
Fainsod	Campbell, Dahl, Freidrich, Holcombe, Key, Lane, Lindblom, Pritchett, Redford, Schattschneider, Truman, White
Fenno	Dahl, Laski, Morgenthau
Gosnell	Holcombe, Merriam
Herring	Laski
Hyneman	Burns, Friedrich, Herring, Key, Laski, Ranney, Schattschneider, Simon, White
Katznelson	Dahl, Gosnell, Huntington, Lipset, Lowi, Mills, Verba
Key	Campbell, Gosnell, Holcombe, Huntington, Hyneman, Merriam, Ranney, Schattschneider, White
Lane	Burns, Fenno, Key, Lipset, Merriam, Schattschneider
Lindblom	Beer, Bentley, Dahl, Key,

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED).

MAJORAUTHORSSECONDARY DISSEMINATORS CITED

Marcuse	Schattschneider, Truman
Miller	Sabine
	Gosnell, Herring, Key,
	Leiserson, Truman
Milliband	Mills
Mills	Marcuse, Milliband
Morgenthau	Wright
Odegard	Burns, Bentley, Easton,
	Fainsod, Fenno, Friedrich,
	Herring, Key, Laski, Merriam,
	Pritchett, Riker, White
Pritchett	White
Ranney	Burns, Campbell, Coker,
	Dahl, Gosnell, Herring,
	Holcombe, Hyneman, Key, Lane,
	Lipset, Merriam, Odegard,
	Schattschneider, Truman
Redford	Herring, Leiserson
Riker	Fainsod, Friedrich, Gosnell,
	Herring, Hyneman, Key, Laski,
	Ranney, White
Schattschneider	Coker, Gosnell, Herring,
	Holcombe, Key, Lane, Merriam,
	Odegard, Ranney, Truman
Sharkansky	Almond, Barber, Burns,
	Campbell, Dahl, Deutsch, Dye,
	Easton, Eulau, Fenno,
	Huntington, Hyneman, Key, Lane,
	Laski, Lindblom, Lipset,
	Lowi, Mills, Ranney, Redford,
	Simon, Wahlke, Wildavsky, White
Stokes	Almond, Campbell, Dahl,
	Easton, Key, Miller, Stokes
Strauss	Friedrich, Sabine
Verba	Almond, Huntington, Key,
	Lipset, Miller, Sharkansky
Wahlke	Odegard
White	Laski
Wildavsky	Almond, Burns, Campbell,
	Dahl, Fenno, Friedrich,
	Gosnell, Herring, Huntington,

APPENDIX H (CONTINUED).

MAJOR

AUTHORS

SECONDARY DISSEMINATORS CITED

Key, Lane, Lindblom, Lipset,
Merriam, Odegard, Pritchett,
Ranney, Schattschneider, Simon,
Truman

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