

death, but once." Lou was a valiant man. His spirit during his long and lingering illness witnesses to his braveness. In his march through the parade we call life, Lou never minded being the only one out of step. He helped build the Democratic Party in Riley County when it wasn't considered quite respectable to be a Democrat. He supported the labor movement and took a strong stand against right to work—he was burned in effigy. Because of his position on human rights a cross was burned on his lawn here in Manhattan, Kansas. He was never even in the mainstream of his beloved Democratic Party. You could always find him caucusing with the mavericks who shared his Populist views. He never backed off from a cause because it was unpopular. His tremendous integrity affected everyone with whom he came in contact. I remember Bill Roy saying at a banquet in Lou's honor that he never cast a controversial vote when he was in Congress without wondering whether Lou would approve.

Lou always reminded me in spirit of one of my literary heroes, Cyrano de Bergerac. Today I think of the final passage when Cyrano is wounded and dying. Cyrano says:

A man doesn't right thinking that
he'll succeed,
The hopeless battle is the best indeed.
—who are these with you?
—a hundred against one,
I recognize some old enemies of mine,
Falsehood?
Compromise.
Prejudice, corruption.
Capitulate? Never,—and you, stupidity.
—I know in the end you'll get the
better of me:
Yes, the last of the laurel is cut
all right,
And the rose is withered.
Nevertheless, tonight
When I make my sweeping bow at
heaven's gate,
One thing I shall still possess,
at any rate,
Unscathed, something outlasting
mortal flesh,
And that . . . my panache.

Lou Douglas' memory, his voice, and his twinkling eye remain in our thoughts and in our hearts, telling us to go on with the task of making this a kinder and more gentle world.

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Harold D. Lasswell

Death came to Harold D. Lasswell on December 18, 1978 in New York City, nearly a year after he suffered a severe stroke. He was 76. As an American political scientist, he had no peer. His influence on the vernacular of political discussion by laymen was pervasive and indelible; his mapping sentences became the common curren-

cy of specialists in political studies. Throughout the half century of his career, he had much to do with shaping the intellectual agenda and sharpening the disciplinary perspectives of those who made major contributions to the upgrading of political inquiry. Always too he continued to remind us of how much was still neglected and how much needed to be done.

With four other American academics, Lasswell had much in common: like John Dewey, he had a pragmatic view of how concepts should be used; like Alfred Whitehead, he was alive to the unsolved dynamics of systemic change; like George Herbert Mead, he was sensitive to multiple levels of meaning; like Thorstein Veblen, he had an arresting and distinctive style. But it was the European lineage of Lasswell's thought that Edward Shils emphasized when, in a *festschrift* volume, he paid tribute to his friend and former teacher:

From Marx, Max Weber, and Pareto he elaborated a tough-minded, worldly view of the harsh and constricting life of man in society. From Freud, he drew the basic conception of the personality system. To each of these he added what was unequalled in its time and what is still very rare, namely, the alertness and wealth of imagination which permitted him to see the functions of the personality operating in the macro-social environment.¹

Lasswell's career is conveniently divided into three phases. First came his Chicago-based years, which lasted until 1938. During this time Lasswell's provocative books made him well known to many educated laymen as well as to academics interested in the subjects of his concern: the license to manipulate opinion given to modern propagandists,² the irrational impulses of ordinary humans faced with perplexing events seemingly beyond their control,³ the ineluctable technological forces transforming the composition of modern elites,⁴ the mechanisms by which nations deal with revolutionary ferment, and the methodological difficulties of making disciplined inferences in political inquiry.⁵

An interim decade of Washington-based years followed, years of war-related research and of proliferating opportunities to play consultative roles. Lasswell mounted a complicated world attention survey monitoring news stories in various countries; he conducted field surveys of new communities launched by the Department of Agriculture; he helped formulate detailed standards for a free press; he produced imagina-

¹"Reflections on Deference," in Arnold A. Rogow, ed., *Politics, Personality, and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell* (1969), p. 297.

²*Propaganda Technique in the World War* (1927)

³*Psychopathology and Politics* (1930).

⁴*Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (1936).

⁵*World Politics and Personal Insecurity* (1935).

tive educational films and systematic teaching aids; he gave a long radio series of thought-provoking lectures. He continued to spell out in books and articles his reasoned expectations about the drift in many countries toward garrison-police states, the bipolarized world of the Cold War, and the post-war shape of America.

After a variety of institute, academy, and governmental affiliations, Lasswell in 1947 accepted a senior position at the Yale Law School, where he remained until his retirement to the Policy Sciences Center in New York City in 1973. In these postwar years, Lasswell became notably concerned with disciplinary questions, such as how to improve the concepts and procedures of those who study political problems professionally, how to educate lawyers, and how to train policy scientists. In numerous works he elaborated, extended, and refined his own earlier formulations about how to perform the intellectual tasks involved in any problem-solving situation, how to identify the functional stages of a decision process, how to trace the distribution of values in society, and how to analyze power relationships.⁶

Largely because of his atypical career, Lasswell had few opportunities to work with doctoral candidates, to criticize their dissertation drafts, or to help them start academic careers of their own. He left the political science department at the University of Chicago while still an associate professor; at Yale he worked mainly with would-be professionals in the law school instead of would-be academics in social science fields. These circumstances may help to explain why Lasswell in most of his later work is preoccupied with pedagogic questions—with how to equip a cadre of modern intellectuals so they can significantly help to cushion the shocks in store for humankind as a world of cosmic complexities comes inexorably into being. His ingenuity, his tireless energy, and his commitment to an orderly agenda are just as apparent as in his earlier work. But they focus on a different kind of problem and are addressed not to educated laymen but to future professionals who will someday influence public policies not only as teachers, lecturers, and writers, but as consultants, analysts, and advocates.

Consider his discussion of "The Future of Professional Political Scientists." By 1990, they will no longer be confined to university settings; like lawyers and diplomats, they will be seen as skilled and responsible advocates and

A Harold Lasswell Memorial Session will be held at the 1980 Annual Meeting, Thursday, August 28, 1980 at 8:30 p.m. It will be chaired by Heinz Eulau, Stanford University, and will include presentations by Jeane Kirkpatrick, Georgetown University and American Enterprise Institute, and Dwaine Marvick, University of California, Los Angeles.

guides. They will be found playing key roles in the policy-making processes of virtually all organizations, public and private. Clientele of all kinds will expect them, as professional advocates, to give promotional expression to any 'latently rational justifications' serving a client's interests. Some will be ready to use and to justify violence for their client; some will be committed to racism; still others will, of course, be unwilling to work as professionals alongside those who they feel have renounced or faked any real commitment to the realization of human dignity. Much energy, Lasswell tersely noted, will be devoted to the divisive moral questions thus raised.⁷

Honors and signs of deference too numerous to list did come to him. In 1956 he was president of the American Political Science Association; characteristically, his presidential address challenged us to study the profound and disturbing effects that science will generate in a world where robots, spacecraft, and humanoids will somehow flourish.⁸ In 1971 he headed the American Society of International Law. His message for them was also cautionary: sentiments in support of world public order would not automatically emerge through a simple extension of the earlier process by which provincial loyalties had weakened and, for most of mankind, national identity became the basic frame of reference.⁹

Travel was a routine part of his academic week. He gave dozens of speeches to plenary sessions of societies of public opinion researchers, psychoanalysts, and social psychologists, as well as political scientists and legal scholars. Regularly he met with the editorial boards of the learned journals he helped launch, *Public Opinion Quarterly* and *World Politics*. He participated actively on the West and East Coasts alike in the work of three or four think-tanks. Although housed academically apart from the burgeoning behavioral movement whose prestigious patron he was, Lasswell's appetite for travel helped to extend his on-the-scene presence and intramural influence with colleagues and students across the nation.

⁶Among his 30-odd books, these titles suggest his postwar concerns: *Power and Personality* (1948), *Language of Politics* (with others, 1949), *Power and Society* (with A. Kaplan, 1950), *The World Revolution of Our Time* (1951), *Studies in World Public Order* (with others, 1960), *The Future of Political Science* (1963), *World Revolutionary Elites: Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements* (with others, 1965), *A Pre-View of Policy Sciences* (1971), and *The Signature of Power: Buildings, Communication, and Policy* (posthumously, 1979).

⁷In Albert Somit, ed., *Political Science and the Study of the Future* (1974).

⁸"The Political Science of Science," *APSR* 50 (December 1956): 961-79.

⁹"Future Systems of Identity in the World Community," in Cyril E. Black and Richard A. Falk, eds., *The Future of the International Legal Order* (1972).

Harold D. Lasswell

Harold! Greetings!

Sniffing bubbles, are you, this season,
in the land of the tall drinks?
Are they pouring you doubles?

Come back to Chicago, Vienna, Nanking.

Sounding like we know it all,
in tones serene as your very own,
We slump in low divans
and hunch over brown tables
Spilling smoothly the news about how
you walked upon the Earth once

Welcome back to Washington, New York and
New Haven;
your train is set to run on time.

You said straight what you saw
Without he-haws, oinks or meows
No winks, curtsies, or knotted fists
No cow-eyes, or stony gaze.
Viel Blietzen, kein Donnern,
No "Ho-ho-ho."

Pleasant, agreeable Hero of our times,
"if-then" propositions cornucopiously
emitted.

Two pounds of value-sharing for all men
alive.

Mix one pound of deference, a dash of
income, well-being and safety added to
taste,

Be generous with enlightenment.

Now that you're not in it,
More Seasoning is needed.
Some of the gusto is gone.
In-put, out-go.

Hearing the world's secrets and ours
nevermore,

You heard them all, and those to come
that we must explicate ourselves.

Thanks for configurating the futuristics.

Please to stay warm at the North Pole
under your gray hair, behind your
glasses in your midnight coat.
Your gloves are too thin.

Come home again, if you get the chance—
The New Year is here.

So long, Saturn!

Alfred de Grazia

Born in 1902, Harold Lasswell lived in several small Illinois towns during his boyhood. In each of these communities his parents were treated as local notables by virtue of their skills and credentials. His rather was a preacher, his mother a school teacher; the parental home was the center of community life. Young Lasswell learned the social graces easily; at an earlier age than most children, he knew how to 'meet and talk with adults from many places about a wide range of interesting questions.' Both of his parents led what he recalled as highly scheduled lives. 'At an early age, I too learned how to schedule my time effectively.' In 1918, he went to the University of Chicago, having won a scholarship in modern history; as an undergraduate, he worked mostly in economics, and shortly after obtaining his undergraduate degree in 1922, he published his first book, *Labor Attitudes and Problems*.¹⁰ He went to Europe in 1923 for 15 months, met the Webbs, Bertrand Russell, Graham Wallas, and other intellectuals; he went again in mid-1925 to work on his dissertation, but also to experiment with quantitative methods for analyzing Prussian schoolbooks, and to undergo some months of psychoanalytic training in Berlin with Reik as his analyst and teacher. Returning to Chicago, he joined the faculty. Intermittently during those years he was elsewhere—for weeks, months, or even a year—at work in institutions

of higher learning at Syracuse, Harvard, Berkeley, Vienna, or Peking. As he put it, his own intellectual development had been an almost 'continuous exposure by able people to comprehensive views both evaluative and analytical.'¹¹

Many readers are bewildered by the diversity of techniques and topics in the more than four million words Lasswell published. His problem-centered approach, his versatile methodology and above all his contextual commitment, make for a seeming heterogeneity of interests. Nevertheless, Lasswell's writing is characterized by consistent dedication to a self-imposed intellectual discipline—that of systematically relating any human problem chosen for study both to its historical context and to his own private reasons for choosing to study it. Writing in *Ethics* in 1930, he posed the task vividly:

Thinking is comparable in its episodic, flitting, discontinuous character to the eccentric peregrinations of a grasshopper trying to escape from a faintly illuminated mole-hill. . . . Exclusive emphasis upon the importance of logical thinking incapacitates, rather than equips, the mind for the performance of its functions. . . . Professional training too

¹⁰With Willard Adkins, 1923.

¹¹All of these quotations come from my private conversations in 1975 with Lasswell. For a more extended discussion, cf. my introduction to a selection of his writings: *Harold D. Lasswell on Political Sociology* (1977).

often is a discipline in self deception rather than self analysis.¹²

Years later, talking to the graduate political science club at Columbia, he was challenged when he emphasized the intuitive elements in formulating a 'developmental construct' by the question: "Professor Lasswell, is that science?" His reply was iconoclastically brief: "The word 'science' does not make my pulse beat any faster."

Lasswell has been called a tough-minded and worldly man. At times his candor in making explicit certain rarely articulated features of social intercourse could bring this facet of his personality sharply home to the reader:

By the time any of us have learned to survive in politics or business, we have acquired an external facade that can be manipulated for purposes of partial deception. At the same time the successful person has learned that some men are trustworthy—if not absolutely, at least sufficiently for collegial or even friendly purposes. If the individual has not learned *selective trust as well as selective distrust*, he is likely to fail and to belong in the category of the mentally ill.¹³

In the wide circle of his friends, he was the best of companions, witty, erudite, a voluble man full of ideas and stories to tell, yet sensitive to the views and feelings of others. His own comments, once again, add depth to the image:

We spend our lives becoming adept in varying measure in drawing inferences about the moods and images of others, automatically formulating and testing hypotheses that are based on posture, body movement, gesture, speech and overt participation in a great range of social situations.

His associate and friend for 43 years, Myres McDougal of Yale, recalls that Lasswell's very presence created intellectual excitement:

His whole life was a life of the mind directed toward action. He had no time for trivia, but took a deep interest in all whose primary concern was for enlightenment and action in the common interest. . . . Almost by indirection he could assist friends better to understand themselves, others, and the larger configuration of events about them. He also had the ability to teach us both to aspire beyond our grasp and how to extend our grasp.¹⁴

Lasswell's work featured a persistent microanalytical attention to individuals, to how they think and feel, cope with their lot, share symbol worlds that give form and focus to their social lives, and communicate with each other, near and far. At the same time, over the full

span of his career, Lasswell recurrently traced and tried to anticipate world revolutionary developments, changes in the composition and rhetoric of elites, and growth in the organized power of various skill groups, especially of those whose skills are in the use of violence and in the spreading of enlightenment.

Lasswell spent his lifetime blazing new trails. His contributions made some people nervous; they deeply and lastingly impressed others. In half a dozen subdisciplines, Lasswell was the first to show what features needed to be an integral part of the research agenda, and—once professional interest quickened in the inquiries he had begun—his work was acknowledged to be stimulating and seminal. In his own lifetime, he was fated to see his terse definitions and mapping sentences become common currency, and to witness piecemeal incorporation of his key notions into other, more prosaic frames of reference. Many of his strikingly original formulations are simply taken for granted 50 years after he proposed them. His basic ideas are freely transformed and reformulated by those who use them best. Typically, indeed, those who fully grasped what he meant by contextuality, by versatile methodology, and by problem-solving relevance have fashioned their own tools and techniques for inquiry. The application of his agenda—his schematics—his teachings, so persistently, systematically, and imaginatively elaborated, lies in the future.

Dwaine Marvick
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Peter Christian Ludz

Peter Christian Ludz will be remembered as a pioneer of research on the German Democratic Republic. After studying political science and sociology in Mainz, Munich, Berlin and Paris, he became director of the GDR section of the Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science at the Free University of Berlin. He remained there until 1970 when he assumed the political science chair at the University of Bielefeld. In 1973 he was appointed a professor of political science at the University of Munich as well as research director of the strategic studies institute at Ebenhausen.

Ludz was a frequent visitor to the United States and for several years taught a seminar at Columbia University. Students of German affairs will probably be most familiar with his 1970 three-volume comparative (FRG-GDR) study on *The State of the Nation*, written at the request of Chancellor Willy Brandt. Ludz himself was most proud of his theory of totalitarian societies, published as an introduction to a 1962 edition of the sociological essays of Georg Lukacs.

In recent years what interested Ludz most were his activities as a consultant to practicing politicians. He was present at countless meetings and seminars; an inveterate traveler he became the quintessential political science con-

¹²"Self Analysis and Judicial Thinking," *Ethics*, 40 (April 1930), p. 356.

¹³*A Pre-View of the Policy Sciences* (1971), p. 80.

¹⁴*The Interpretations of Agreements and World Public Order* (with others, 1967, p. xvii).