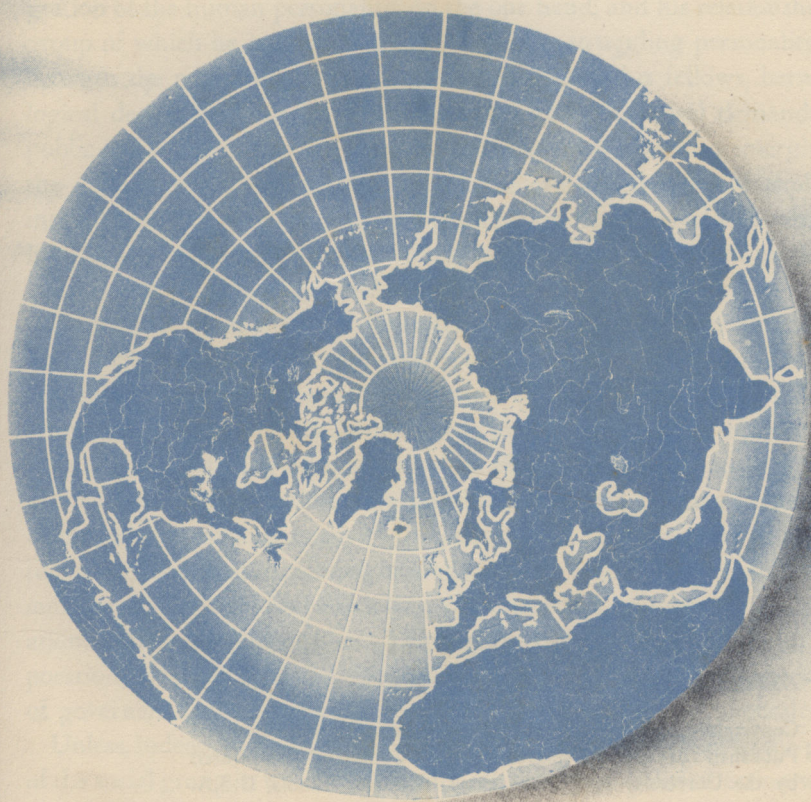


# SYSTEMATIC POLITICS



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## PREFACE

OVER long periods of time mankind has been moving forward in the work of constructing a stupendous and complicated organization which makes it possible for human beings to live and work together. With the emergence of the human personality on the higher levels of life, the task became far more complex and difficult than before. The earlier primitive order had to be replaced by associations of a different and higher type in which human reason, human emotions, and human will are fused in new patterns of action, in institutional and philosophical inventions and conventions.

A continuing and fundamental problem of human association is the integration of the human personality, on the one hand, and his relationship to the group of which he is a part, on the other. The struggling personality is torn between the need to trust and the need to distrust his fellows, between the logical demands of his own private world and the logical demands of the public world about him. Very slowly, indeed, we observe men emerging from the dominance of custom and force, to intermingled types of explanation, interpretation, rationalization, and justification of the world in which they live. In the end, authority to act must combine both right and might, while liberty must unite personal and social responsibility.

Government (I use the word interchangeably with "politics," upgrading the latter term with its lower implications in many quarters) is a special form of association, but there is much private government alongside of public government. The line between them is not so sharp as is generally supposed. There are many rule-making agencies in social affairs; there are many types of subordination, superordination, and co-ordination; there are many types of leadership, of consent and assent of the governed. There are many forms of adjudication, of common counsel, of management; many problems of liberty and authority, of morale and discipline, of adaptation, adjustment, and co-operation, outside of government. The family, the church, the union, the corporation, the profession, the cultural society—these all have their special forms of governance, not by any means entirely unlike the governmental.

Unless, indeed, the practices of government were closely akin to the practices of the social group in which they are found, successful political action would be impossible. The basic fact is not that government is entirely different from other forms of association but that it is so much like them. Government is set in a series of associations, all concerned with the development of the human personality in the frame of reference of the group—economic, cultural, familial,



political. Government may be the archetype of co-operation and control, but it does not stand alone.

The needs which government can satisfy are only a cross-section of the larger body of needs which are satisfied in social living on a broader scale. All governments are set in social patterns and cultural patterns, in which the aspirations and interests of men are expressed and developed. Knowledge of the functions of association in general and the special conditions in which a particular government is placed is essential to a clear understanding of the political process. The family, the church, the occupational groupings, the social groupings—all condition closely the nature and forms of governmental activity and in turn are influenced by the governmental. To the consideration of these reciprocal impacts and influences attention will be directed later.

The proposition that the distinctive characteristics of a government (the word "state" is usually employed at this stage) are a fixed territory and a legal monopoly of violence has value, if it is not pushed too far as indicia of government. But there have been nomadic states and many states with very flexible boundaries. If there were a world state and no threat of violence from any external group, there would still be government.

A sounder line of distinction between public and private is found in the consideration of the typical ends of government, including security, order, justice, welfare, freedom; of the tools of government, including custom, violence, symbolism, persuasion, strategy; of the special problems and services with which government is concerned; of the special skills, forms, and organs of government, such as headship, adjudication, management, and counseling as they have developed historically and now appear. Fixed territorial basis and monopoly of legality may be added as a further means of identification. These ends, tools, problems, skills, and organs overlap those of other associations; but, when the whole pattern is considered, the special nature of the government appears, as distinguished from social control in more generalized form. If we examine the specific contribution of the family, for example, or the church, or the economic organization, or the cultural, or the professional, it then appears that, while there is much interchangeability of function, the specific role of each component element may be established.

In simplest form the task of government is the satisfaction of a broad range of human needs. What are the needs from which government arises? This is a basic question at the threshold of the political. The problem of human needs goes down to the roots of human nature and up again to the heights of the physical, the intellectual, the spiritual character of man. What it is that man wants or needs, consciously or otherwise, has long been a subject of profound speculation, which probes the problem from every possible point of view; and the quest is still on. Discussion of the wishes, drives, dynamisms, ideals, destiny,



and values of men has led to minute and searching analysis by many competent inquirers, although without complete agreement in classification or priorities.

I am not undertaking an inquiry into the nature of nature, the nature of human nature or of the supernatural. I am not solving the meaning of man in the universe, nor am I assuming that life has no meaning. Government deals with the traits, aptitudes, characteristics, and values of men in various stages and forms of culture and with the development of the human personality in the framework of the commonweal. I am focusing upon a linked series characterized as political and identified in the manner above described. I am assuming the indefinite perfectibility of men. I am assuming the validity of continuing creative evolution of mankind in the direction of higher levels of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual.

Broadly speaking, the special needs of men which government satisfies or helps to satisfy are (1) external security, (2) internal order, (3) justice, (4) welfare, and (5) freedom in varying forms and proportions, interpreted, justified, and elaborated in a variety of ways, in different times and places.

These ends we may establish by observation, experience, and reflection from which the type forms of governmental action emerge. This type is not merely an average of observations ranging from Nero to Roosevelt, but a consensus of judgment, indicating what the type government tends to become. He would be a poor observer who did not perceive many forms of political associations in which the above were not the ends in view. Injustice, disorder, private welfare, slavery, and insecurity have appeared again and again in human affairs. But to characterize any or all of these as the real ends of government would indicate a view of human political relationships meeting with disavowal even by those who perverted the true ends of government. Few will repudiate the desire to serve the common good, to promote the security and welfare of the group, to establish order and justice as they see them, to provide liberty for those who could utilize it. Governments, like human beings, may be sick, or mad, or vicious, but these qualities are not set down as characteristics of mankind in comparison with other animals. The ends of government are those which are identified with its operation in its developed and developing estate, as in the case of other species; and these are the characteristic aspects and action of the political society in its typical form.

A long-time student of political power, I repudiate the conclusion that government is merely a struggle for power or a means of exploitation of the weak by the strong. It is not realistic or naturalistic, while observing the many personal and group battles for the power, to lose sight of the main end of the whole process, namely, the progressive development of associations in which human personalities may best live together. The pangs of birth and the agonies of battle have another meaning than that of an action pattern alone. Birth

has a definite function; wars have significance other than mere physical killing and destruction; struggles for power lead to other than personal glory. At this point some observers of government have lost the way, forgetting human evolution in the noise and tumult of its advancing phases. The origin of species may be grim and dirty and bloody. The dinosaurs devoured each other, it is true, but all this need not obscure the fact of origins, or the later facts leading to other and higher types of life. The characteristic of the struggle for survival is not alone the struggle as such but the survival and the evolution of survivors to loftier forms of human life.

This study is an analysis of the experience, observation, and reflection of men on the problems of politics, filtered through my own experience, observation, and reflection. Obviously such a study is subject to many corrections for lack of comprehensiveness and for inaccuracy and error in interpretation and conclusion. Access to and analysis of all the data of political reflection and behavior in all times and places would be an enormous task, and I have done no more than sample here and there. Institutions are action patterns reaching into psychology, biology, sociology, philosophy, ethics, anthropology, economics, geography, science, and technology, always in terms of reason, reflection, experiment. The underlying processes and relations are more significant than the specific formal institutions themselves and reveal more intimately the inner nature of the political. Types of personality, social and economic forces and groupings, cultural patterns of many lands, scientific changes, modes of reflection, moral and religious ideals, are the material of political action.

I propose to analyze political behavior in the light of the factors that surround institutional forms, ideologies, political patterns, or clusters of patterns in particular political societies. I shall use both the naturalistic and the rationalistic approach. Far from being incompatible, they are inseparable in the understanding of politics.

I shall show how far we have come governmentally and how we might advance farther in the light of what we now know. Politics, if it does not reach precision, is at least useful in the task of relating known precisions. This is one of the most important tasks that confront mankind. Weal and woe lie in these relations more than in any other complex of human affairs. Information, sophistication, and understanding in political relations are the basis of political behavior and mark the level on which political life rests, with all the immense social responsibilities it carries. Our chief problem is how to utilize most effectively the data we collect, the analyses we formulate, the conclusions we draw, the forecasts we make from stage to stage of historical development, to the end that we may insure the progressive use of intelligence in political decisions and political action and the continuing advance toward a fuller meaning of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This is, indeed, the task

of civilization itself, but it is in important part the special task of the political thinkers and practitioners.

Both the microscope and the telescope are useful instruments, but they are not to be used without regard to generalizations drawn from observation, experiment, and reflection. Nor need politics ignore any of the hierarchy of human values in the pursuit of its appointed ends or fail in rating the hierarchies and the scale of values. History, logic, experiment, insight, intuition, invention—none of these is foreign to the search for truth in the study of government. There is no one royal road to political wisdom, to be followed implicitly and exclusively. In a world of political phenomena there is broad room for hypothesis and testing, for experimenting in recurring situations, for philosophical analysis, and for their combination with insight and understanding. The cumulative values of observation, experience, and reason are seen in the growth of governmental systems and values.

To the question of whether men are rational or emotional, we may readily answer that they are both in part and at times, as proved both by St. Paul and by Dr. Dewey. The rational control of man and his aspirations for betterment and elevation are not refuted by the astonishing (to some) discovery that a part of man's nature is emotional and animal. The struggle for civilization is the battle for the better ordering of factors in humanity, with the continuing but not unbroken victory of the higher side of man's nature over the lower. Government is only a phase of this continuing battle for advancement.

A type of study of government might be based upon an observation and analysis of current manipulations of various sorts, but a deeper study requires attention to the evolutionary quality of political effort and achievement, of rise from lower to higher forms, both material and other. It may be assumed or concluded that such a struggle is fatalistic and blind, emerging and returning to a vast void, and hence interpreted in terms of determinisms and fatalism of various sorts, materialistic, historical, economic, psychophysical, or other.

But another and sounder assumption and conclusion is that the whole life-process is one of creative evolution in which the type and values of the species continually rise in the scale. Governmental processes are not merely wormlike squirmings, in which men are enslimmed without gains or goals, but are parts of the process of transition from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from drift to mastery.

Many ancient ways of life have been shattered by the new forces of democracy and science, challenging as they do the evils of past and present at many points. The dignity of man and the consent of the governed hold no terrors for the scientific study of government, with its indifference to privilege, its trend away from the thralldom of force, fear, and want. The finest



reasoning and the most decisive experiments point in the direction of the goals which humanity hopes to attain.

It was a long step forward from politics as custom, symbolism, violence, and superstition, interpreted somewhat by wise sayings, maxims, and proverbs, to the formulation of abstractions, of theories of government, however crude or however obviously the rationalizations of power.

It is a still longer step from politics as abstract speculation or intuition to systematic investigation of political intelligence in the context of the total physical, economic, and social scene. It has proved almost equally difficult to escape from the formal, legal, structural approach to the intimate study of the political process, dealing with interest groups and power relations, with skills and understandings, forms of communication, and personalities as revealed by modern penetrating understanding—all this shot through and through with the struggle for the realization of human ideals and aspirations.

This volume develops a systematization of the methods and materials of politics—a stage in integration. Old material and new material are brought together under new classifications and lines of arrangement. This has been done before in the history of political science, but from time to time it must be done again in the light of new materials and methods. Much of this material I have developed more fully elsewhere in other writings, individual and with others.<sup>1</sup>

In recent years the social sciences have made available great masses of data in psychology, anthropology, economics, sociology, history, jurisprudence, and psychology, while the natural sciences have made contributions of far-reaching significance, notably in the closely related fields of biology, geography, and the basic data regarding land and people. In order to compass this area, I have been obliged to deal with wide ranges of material in these areas, using the best analyses available. These studies have a meaning all their own, but they also have indispensable meaning for government and cannot be omitted from an adequate appraisal and analysis of political problems. An integrated study of government cannot exclude consideration of their contributions to the common life of man, however imperfect the synthesis may be at a given time.

The approach of the study of government is not confined artificially either to science or to reason. For my part I have learned something in the precinct, something in philosophy, and something in the effort to synthesize the earthy knowledge of the field with the stratospheric understanding from above.

My father was postmaster in a country town in Iowa. I went to New York

<sup>1</sup> See my *New Aspects of Politics* (2d ed., 1931); *Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence* (1934), chap. x; *Prologue to Politics* (1939), esp. Appendix; and *The New Democracy and the New Despotism* (1939).

and studied Tammany Hall. For some years following that I served in the city council of Chicago and was adviser to several mayors. I was a Bull Moose with Theodore Roosevelt. Presidents Taft and Wilson offered me positions which I declined because of my preoccupation with Chicago governmental affairs. During the first World War I was in charge of American propaganda in Italy. I was a member of President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends (1929-32); of the Public Service Personnel Commission (1935); of the Commission on the Social Studies (1932-35); of President Roosevelt's National Resources Planning Board (1933-43) and of his Committee on Administrative Management (1935-37). I was associated with the beginnings and developments of the Chicago Bureau of Municipal Research, the American Political Science Association, the Social Science Research Council, the Public Administration Clearing House, and the agencies of public administration centering at 1313 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago.

With wide-open-eyed wonder I sat at the feet of Gamaliel studying politics, economics, sociology, and jurisprudence in the accepted schools of Iowa, Columbia, Berlin, and Paris, emerging with my credentials in the form of *The History of the Theory of Sovereignty* in 1900. My education was continued by my colleagues in Chicago, Washington, and New York on down to the present day and in many wanderings overseas. I cannot forget my natural science brother, John C. Merriam. I was never out of debt to him.

It would doubtless be unorthodox to say that I learned more from men than from books—and perhaps not true. But it is true that I have had numerous opportunities during a long period of time to interrelate practical and theoretical knowledge of government.

My study falls under several main heads. It begins with the foundations of politics, including the developing social and material bases. The ends or purposes of government then follow and the typical governmental problems and services. Then comes the consideration of the tools and skills of politics, both in general form and in specific enumeration. After this comes a discussion of the organs of government, dealing with the general theory of organization, with headship, with conciliar organs, organs of adjudication, and organs of management. Informal government is next considered, including here custom, revolution, public opinion, suffrage, elections, and parties. Next I consider politics with reference to stability, on the one hand, and change, on the other, dealing with conservatism and radicalism, with invention and change, and with the relationship of government to scientific advance. Then follows an examination of the types of the interrelationship between political societies leading us to the emerging jural order of the world. From there I turn to a consideration of the historic trends of politics, following the categories already set up. And, finally, I deal with what the future of government might be—the next stages in the evolution of political society.

I am deeply indebted to more of my colleagues than I can count during the long time this work has been in progress. Without their scholarly co-operation and encouragement in faltering moments it would not have been possible to carry through this undertaking; but I hasten to absolve them from any of my errors of omission or commission—or of professional heresy either.

I am under obligation to the McGraw-Hill Book Company for their generous permission to reproduce various materials from *Political Power* (1934) and from *The New Democracy and the New Despotism* (1939).

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May 1945



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## CHAPTER I

### THE ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT

WHAT are the situations which lead to government as a social institution? It is possible to have a clearer understanding of the basic necessities which government satisfies by examining both the typical complexes which call for political action and the conditioning elements in which it lives and moves. The tangled maze of human relations is so wide-ranging and intricate that it is easy to lose the way. Many there are who have mistaken some one of the factors here discussed—land, resources, races, classes—for the whole explanation and have never found their way out of the allurements of master-race, the fascinations of geopolitics, or the materialistic determinisms of many shapes to a unified view of the political society in its true light. The patterns and types of political behavior will be clarified best by analyzing the factors involved.

We shall start by noting that government arises from the necessity of adjusting the needs and desires of human beings struggling for forms of association through which human personalities may be adjusted, aided, or advanced toward higher levels of attainment. Instinctive organizations are found among subhuman groupings such as ants and apes, but political association begins with the emergence of conscious and purposeful personalities. Rudimentary as primitive forms of association may be, they point the way toward higher levels of intelligent co-operation and control.

In analyzing the types and patterns of political behavior, we may consider the important factors in the forms, processes, and directives of government by examining the adjustments of human personalities, and then the modes in which these adjustments are conditioned by habitat and resources, population, and ethnic, social, and cultural groupings.

#### I. PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENTS

The adjustments of personalities to enable men to live and work together in the framework of the general good are fundamental in meaning. Looking objectively at government, whether in my precinct or in the League of Nations in Geneva, I have always been struck by the personalities who must somehow be reconciled to the general set of understandings, experiences, institutions, and ideals which make up the group. The biological and social heritage brings forward a broad variety of different types of individuals who must in one way

or another be set in the enmeshing web of social and political relations without tearing themselves to pieces.

Underneath the social interests and ideologies of democracy, fascism, communism, and absolutism there is an underlying governmental problem quite different from that of the historic and traditional group struggles for power. The aristocrat, the democrat, the communist, the autocrat, each finds that, after the noise and shouting of the battle die away and victory makes possible responsible direction, the problems of personal claims, values, and modes of life await solution. These problems remain after every crisis to be considered and balanced in an unending series of adjustments arising out of the differing personality patterns and demands of the citizenry. The special form of social interest or the special type of rule will supply the general directions to various forms of action, but there will remain the perennial problems of millions of varying personalities struggling for expression and recognition, for the realization of the special values in life which they cherish and adore.

Types of personalities must be adapted and adjusted under all systems by whatever means are available—by force, custom, persuasion, social pressure, individual reorientation; otherwise the group will not go forward, will not function. And this adaptation of energies, interests, and value systems constitutes one of the great tasks of social control in general and of political organization and association specifically. This lies at the heart of the governmental problem under all forms of political and other social types—the staple of their activities, after the argument over the ideologies and the group interests has been for the moment disposed of.

What, then, are the main types and needs of personality from the point of view of government?<sup>1</sup> In the older terminology there were good men and bad men; there were just and unjust; there were docile and insubordinate; patriots and traitors; dreamers and doers; there were power-hungry and power-indifferent persons; masters and slaves. In later terms there are introverts and extroverts; there are those with high and low and medium I.Q.'s; there are differentials determined by long "batteries" of tests technically administered by psychologists, biochemists, gland specialists, physiologists, constitutionalists; there are those with father and mother complexes; there are those with superiority and inferiority complexes, aggressor and timid; there are sadists and masochists; there are narcissists and exhibitionists; there are obsessives and hystericals; paranoiacs, manic-depressives; acid and alkali types; psychotics and neurotics. Some of these types become or tend to become mild deviates; others, criminals; others, patriots, martyrs, slackers, traitors, with high or low

<sup>1</sup> T. N. Whitehead, *Leadership in a Free Society* (1936); Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination* (1935); Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization* (1933).



civic morale.<sup>2</sup> These multifarious types of personalities, centers of their little worlds, whirling among millions of others, carry infinite possibilities of collision, confusion, destruction, and co-operation.

Psychology and psychiatry are producing an increased sureness of insight, if not of scientific measurability, into the factors of human psychology which are operating to produce the present stage of man's inhumanity to man. We can no longer rest content with attributing social disorganization and pathology to the instrument of personal devils. It is not merely that good will is lacking among power-holders but rather that they grope for comprehension in an unintegrated world and, groping, are beset by an insecurity that accounts for their overreaction to the challenge of change, demagogic or scientific. An increase in social *anomie* may lead to an overreaction in the direction of overhierarchization, too great rigidity in the social and political structure, and eventually to a thunderous explosion in the society. To advocate merely a change of heart and of outlook is not enough; good will without a sound program is futile.

But not only are there many widely varying types of men among whom the conduct and objectives of the government must be adjusted, but the attitudes of the same persons change from day to day and still more from one mode of experience to other modes and shades of social contact. There are those who cling to life as if shipwrecked in some great storm, anxious only about clinging to a thin rope of existence which may at any moment break. Others are full of the *joie de vivre*, with every step and every breath a thrill radiating throughout their being and questioning nothing in a world of sheer delight in existence.

There are great groups entirely indifferent to affairs of state; not consciously irresponsible, but blind and deaf to the affairs of such a world or almost so. They wake from time to time to challenge the great outside forces with which they do not usually concern themselves. There are those who resist and rebel

<sup>2</sup> On the topics of social disorganization and insecurity see Franz Alexander, "Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1937), 781-813; Elton Mayo, "Psychiatry and Sociology in Relation to Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1937), 825-31; Paul Schilder, "The Relation between Social and Personal Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1937), 832-39; David Slight, "Disorganization in the Individual and in Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1937), 840-47. A different point of view appears in G. W. Allport, *Personality* (1937).

On the more specifically political aspects see H. D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (1930), *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (1936), and (with Dorothy Blumenstock) *World Revolutionary Propaganda* (1939); R. Michels, "Psychologie der antikapitalistischen Massenbewegungen," *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, IX (1926), Part I; F. H. Allport, "Psychology in Relation to Social and Political Problems," in P. S. Achilles (ed.), *Psychology at Work* (1932); H. F. Gosnell, "Some Practical Applications of Psychology in Government," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII (1923), 735-43; Karl Birnbaum, *Grundzüge der Kulturpsychopathologie* (1924); Edward Glover, *The Dangers of Being Human* (1936); F. L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship* (1935); and Franz Alexander, "Peace Aims," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XIII (1943), 571-81.

with and without reason; some in one form and others in another mood. There are the rivals—the outs—unrecognized by authority, the “unconsulted.” There are the temperamentals who may be radical or conservative as far as economic class is concerned but who are fundamentally difficult of adjustment in any case—the ultras, plus or minus. There are those who fear all power and those who bow and scrape to leaders.

Much of the adjustment of the emerging and developed personality is, indeed, effected without the aid of government, some through the family, the church, the union, the gang; others through less organized forms of orderly association. But many adjustments require the assistance of the government to effect the reconciliation of competing claims and interests. The values of the producers as against those of the consumer, of seniority and youth, of ins and outs, the secure and the insecure—these are balanced by a variety of methods. One of the methods is the political, in which are imbedded many of the main elements in adjustment, as in the case of inheritance, property, contract, currency, trade regulation, taxes, minimum standards of existence, boundary lines not only of land but of reputation, privacy, rewards of invention and enterprise, and interchange of values in a wide-ranging series of instances. The standards of personal-social responsibility, the limits of permitted deviation from the mores, the care for a wide group of defectives, dependents, delinquents, without special regard to the group from which they hail—these are tasks often devolved upon the government; and this whether it is bourgeois, proletarian, tribal, theocratic, or otherwise.

The government views the situation as a whole, having in mind all the interests involved. The citizen views the situation from the side of his personal interest and advantage as modified by that of his group and by that of the state as a whole. Between the extremes of docility and criticism, men oscillate as social experience, social tensions, advantages, and the impact of power determine.

Every government is adjusted, delicately or roughly as the case may be, to the situations which require the co-operative control of the community. If this cannot be done, then the group cannot be defended, the law cannot be enforced, the taxes cannot be collected, both order and justice sicken and fade, the morale of the community wanes, and the governing group dissolves or gives way to another.

To this the apparatus of governmental lures and threats must be adapted. Rule of thumb has answered the purpose of control for centuries. Now with deeper understanding of human nature there comes a new stage in the ordering of authority. In a rough way, results have been achieved through such devices as the appeals of military necessity, the regard for the maturity of the elders in the state or community, the sundry provisions for seniority in rank and command, the efforts to conciliate the discontented, on the one hand, and

vested rights, on the other, by the interest appeals to various groups, and, more than all, by the steady reliance upon fear, upon desire for recognition and security, and upon hope, as great driving impulses of human organization. (See chap. iii.)

But more than this is possible through the study and application of the recent knowledge in the field of human personality, as yet imperfectly developed, and still more in the not distant future with the further progress of social science. The deeper understanding of these types waits upon fuller knowledge of the developing studies of human personality, upon further advances in the understanding of orientation of personalities in their private worlds.<sup>3</sup> We may look forward confidently to much more complete and systematic knowledge of the "constitutional" bases of human behavior, including the biological and the psychological, in the interrelations which yet defy the inquiring eye of the scientific observer and baffle the student of behavior.<sup>4</sup>

Not only is this true, but the government must further take account of the development of the personality through various periods of growth and change, the varying age groupings, and the changes that take place as the individual advances from one stage to another of the great life-drama. There is the problem of the child in relation to association and authority as seen in judicial procedures; the shift to adolescence and its vital implications for social adjustment or maladjustment, to maturity, and on to senescence, reflected in old age security measures. These times represent important variations of the personality with direct bearings upon the problem of adjustment and adaptation in a political and social framework. Each stage and group must be carefully considered with reference to the position of the governmental situation and the growth of subordination, superordination, and co-ordination in the political association. The genetics and the dynamics of personality must be considered to make possible the finer adjustments of the governing function in a community.

In the field of personality, however, we encounter overemphasis upon its emergence in the earlier stages. Overemphasis upon origins and underemphasis upon possibilities of later growth and development may lead to forms of determinism of behavior and character from which the personality has no way of escape. There is involved here not merely the relation between heredity and environment but the bearing of early stages of growth and early experience upon the whole of subsequent life. A way out may perhaps be found through

<sup>3</sup> L. K. Frank, "The Emergence of Personality," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, VI (Ser. II, 1944), 149-56.

<sup>4</sup> A summary of the significant literature in this field may be found in American Psychiatric Association, Committee on Relations with the Social Sciences, *Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Personality Investigation* (1930), Appen. C, pp. 170-206.



the prescribed forms of cure or social experience. But in many instances fatalistic acceptance of early origins and retardations may seriously affect the whole range of later experience and effectiveness.

Here we find one of the roots of politics. Another is to be sought in the world of ideologies and interest. The two are inseparably united, for all these factors are parts of one indivisible problem, however they may be differentiated in ordinary observation and thinking. Economic, religious, and racial issues come and go, but the personality types and problems of common living recur and linger far beyond the life of an ordinary social issue, however revolutionary its implications may be. The struggles and wars which are the outcome of the clash of group interests, the efforts of the power-hungry, are only episodes in the long struggle for the development and association of the conflicting types of human personalities. These ends are the eternal stuff of which government is constructed, the continuing factors in a world of changing forms, leaders, groups, and processes political.

These adjustments rest, however, upon a wide variety of conditioning factors, determining the metes and bounds of what may be done. The land and its resources, the nature of the people, the types of social and cultural groupings in and around the given political society are of far-reaching importance in any state.

## II. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPINGS

In examining the roots of government, it is essential to explore the nature of the associations or groups with which government is concerned. A government deals not alone with individual persons but with clusters of persons associating in many other forms for other activities than governmental. These clusters of persons and clusters of groups and their complicated interpersonal and intergroup and intergroup-personal relations provide situations which call for the help of some agency of co-operation.

Here the roots of government may be observed, and some of its essential characteristics and processes discovered. Government is a phenomenon of group cohesion and aggregation, a child of group necessity, a function of the social relations of men.<sup>5</sup>

The social situation constantly involves the maintenance of equilibrium between groups, classes, and factions. These groups are held in combination by custom, by living interests, by symbols and associations of diverse colors, by

<sup>5</sup> Valuable contributions have been made at just this point by Gustav Ratzenhofer, *Wesen und Zweck der Politik* (1893), and Rudolf von Ihering, *Der Zweck im Recht* (1877-83), and by Durkheim, Spencer, Simmel, Sombart, Max Weber, and Wallas—in general, however, without knowledge of the more recent developments in the fields either of personality or of social control or the most recent manifestations of mass phenomena. Interesting doctrines have been advanced by Freud but without a sure touch in the field of governmental or social relations. Lasswell has developed important aspects of this subject in his *Psychopathology and Politics*.