

## Book Department

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### POLITICAL THEORY

HERBERT H. HYMAN. *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior*. (A Report of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.) Pp. 175. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. \$4.00.

Fifty years ago Graham Wallas deplored the harmful separation of the study of politics from the study of psychology and hopefully observed "that there are already signs that it is coming to an end." One would have to conclude from an appraisal of what has happened in the intervening years that Professor Wallas' prediction was rather slow in materializing but that it has now clearly come to pass. Whether the union has been as fruitful as he confidently expected is a matter of conjecture.

Recent reviews of the literature in that amorphous area called political behavior reveal an extraordinary profusion of studies intended to illuminate some aspect of politics through the use of psychological concepts. They show a great deal of effort, a certain amount of ingenuity, and an overall impression of great scatter. As is true with so many fields in the so-called "behavioral sciences," the bits and pieces of theory with which researchers in the area are concerned are so weakly integrated that their studies do not ordinarily relate very strongly to each other. We still seem to

be exploring the terra incognita of political behavior rather than plotting the total topography.

In this book Professor Hyman undertakes to set himself at one remove from the search for new data and to seek out "the distinctive and systematic contribution that psychological analysis can make to the understanding of political behavior." He proposes to organize his examination of this contribution around three areas of inquiry, the areas of learning, motivation and emotion, and perceptual processes. The present monograph deals only with the first of these; it is presented as the first of a series which the author has in process.

Dr. Hyman was not confronted with an embarrassment of riches in his attempt to demonstrate the manner in which Americans learn their political attitudes and behavior patterns. Political socialization, as he points out, has been virtually ignored by psychologists. Systematic longitudinal studies of early politicization do not exist. Still, he has unearthed an impressive collection of research fragments which he has organized around his central theme with great skill.

Dr. Hyman does not attempt to apply a very refined set of categories to the evidence which he reviews; the diversity and lack of connectedness in the studies available to him preclude such a possibility. He has, however, made effective use of a

rather broad system of abstractions and has taken us a step forward in a research area which badly needs organization.

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SIDNEY HOOK. *Political Power and Personal Freedom: Critical Studies in Democracy, Communism, and Civil Rights*. Pp. xviii, 462. New York: Criterion Books, 1959. \$7.50.

*Political Power and Personal Freedom* is essentially a defense of what Professor Hook calls democratic socialism, which he defines in terms of three characteristics, more profitably reduced to two: first, an economy partially controlled and planned in the interests of political and cultural freedom and, secondly, an economy maintaining full employment, efficiently utilizing all its natural resources, and giving its population a decent standard of living (p. 366). In terms of these characteristics, one would have to say that most countries of the world from the United States to Thailand are, to the extent of their achievement, democratic-socialistic; the differences between them are essentially a matter of degree: to the extent to which their governments have legal control over small- and large-scale industry and services and to the extent to which they have achieved a developed economy.

Professor Hook's defense of democratic socialism—which seems to me his special name for the types of political economies found in the West—involves a sharp and thorough attack on Soviet communism. Soviet communism, he says, is opposed to all the great traditions of freedom in the West, and it can be recognized by three important characteristics. It believes that humanity's welfare depends upon the victory of the proletariat over the world; that the proletariat depend upon the dictatorship of the Communist party to achieve this; and that the Communist party's victory depends upon the dictatorship of its leaders. These three propositions logically involve the conclusion that communism must inevitably attempt to conquer the world by whatever means, fair or foul, and mostly foul, at its disposal. Accept this conclu-

sion and it logically follows, says Professor Hook, that peace or peaceful coexistence is impossible between the Soviets and the Western democracies. This hard opinion undergoes a subtle kind of softening in Chapter 32. Here Professor Hook suggests but does not directly admit that the Soviet countries may modify their dogmas by giving them a new, more libertarian interpretation. Hesitatingly Professor Hook implies that this might mean the practical possibility of peaceful coexistence between the West and the Soviet Union.

Of course, this book is more than a brilliant defense of democratic socialism; it ably covers a wide variety of topics from academic freedom to ritualistic liberalism. The most interesting of these discussions are the debates between Hook and Eastman and Hook and Bertrand Russell. The first debate deals with the possibility of democratic socialism; the second with East-West policy and human survival. Despite its liveliness and dialectical pyrotechnics, I think the first is largely a verbal dispute. The second reaches into issues that trouble thinking men everywhere such as how to prevent total nuclear warfare. Although to this "ritualistic liberal," Russell seems to have a more cogent argument, Professor Hook still makes a contribution in terms of the warnings and dangers of a policy like Russell's.

My main difficulty with Professor Hook's book is that, despite his brilliance both of invective and of dialectic, the book never seems to offer a practical policy for action against totalitarianism.

Typographically speaking, the book has a serious fault. For some reason unknown to me, pages 366–398 were omitted, and pages 335–365 reduplicated.

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JEAN MEYNAUD. *Introduction à la Science Politique*. (Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, No. 100.) Pp. 369. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1959. Fr. 1.300.

This book deserves recognition for more than one reason. It is the first full-scale exploration of contemporary political sci-