

# Harold Dwight Lasswell: A Biographical Profile

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This profile seeks to place the life and work of Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978) in sufficient perspective to underscore the enduring importance of his publications. Because this essay introduces his bibliography, it is neither a full-scale biography nor a critical analysis of the substance and span of his writings. The bibliography itself provides convenient access to Lasswell's extensive publications so that scholars from multiple disciplines, across whose boundaries Lasswell freely roamed, can continue to capitalize on his unique legacy and appraise his historical and future impact.

Lasswell was born in 1902 in Donnellson, Illinois. He died in 1978 in New York City.<sup>3</sup> After early years at the University of Chicago and in Washington, D.C., he established a base at Yale University from which he spanned traditional institutional and disciplinary boundaries. During his lifetime, his effect on the social sciences was pervasive and indelible.<sup>4</sup> His

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The challenge of a detailed biography of Lasswell remains to be met. For past, all too brief, profiles of his "life of the mind," see Biographical References, following this introduction. While these items provided a primary basis for this review of Lasswell's life and career, other biographical materials are included in Further References.

For a range of appraisals of Lasswell's intellectual career on which parts of this introduction are based, see Analytical References at the end of this introduction. Also see the items listed under Further References for additional analyses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See the Biographical Chronology at the end of this chapter for an outline of Lasswell's life. This outline also lists many of his publications to show parallels between the appearances of particular works and other aspects of his career. Detailed entries for Lasswell's publications, whether cited in the chronology or the biographical essay, appear in the bibliography, arranged in chronological order and grouped by type of publication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As Edward Shils remarked in a volume devoted to Lasswell's life and career,

Harold Lasswell was exceptional in his generation in combining the macrosociological view with a great interest in and familiarity with personality functions and their manifestations. From Marx, Max Weber, and Pareto he elaborated a toughminded, 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 unequaled 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 macrosocial environment – in the presence of power and class conflict, nationalism, war, and revolution. (Edward Shils, "Reflections on Deference," Politics, Personality, and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell, ed. Arnold A. Rogow [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969] 297)

intellectual influence will continue indefinitely, as the many eulogies at his memorial services attest.<sup>5</sup>

# Early Influences

Much of Lasswell's curiosity, intellectual activity, and scholarly drive was encouraged by his parents and other early mentors. His father, Linden, was a Presbyterian minister whose Calvinist influence was not confining.<sup>6</sup> His mother, Anna, an intermittent high school teacher, was even his classroom instructor at one time.<sup>7</sup> Together, his "folks" lived highly organized lives, a trait that Lasswell emulated and perfected, which by example encouraged his intellectual pursuits.<sup>8</sup> Both of "his parents made their livings by thinking,

- Lasswell's death in 1978 left his many associates, colleagues, and friends deeply saddened. A small sampling of the many statements about his enduring legacy found in Harold Dwight Lasswell, 1902-1978: In Commemoration and Continuing Commitment (n.p.: Yale Law School, Policy Sciences Center, The Ogden Foundation, 1979) include: Lasswell "provided... ways for us to find the answers, rather than the answers themselves" (William Ascher, "Harold Lasswell's Contributions to the Study of the Future" 62); he "gave his students and colleagues not just a discrete body of theory and facts but a whole world outlook that becomes part of you in the way you view events and act on them daily" (W. T. R. Fox, [Eulogy] 67-68); "One of Harold's great intellectual creations - perhaps his greatest - was the idea of the 'developmental construct'... [his] magnificent conception of the 'foresight function'" (Daniel Lerner, [Eulogy] 76); his was a "prodigious intellect.... The was] one of the most original, powerful and sensitive social observers of the past halfcentury" (Stanley Renshon, [Eulogy] 84); he was "a great social scientist.... a major contributor in fields as diverse as the objectification and quantification of psychoanalytic interviews; the theory of elite and mass communication; the principles of legal education; the comparative analysis of value-constellations; the sociology of politics - local, provincial, national and global; and the theory and practice of human rights in the context of a planetary social order" (Bruce Lannes Smith, "HDL as a Teacher and Academic Adviser" 33); for Lasswell, the policy sciences were both "a guide to individual development and a vehicle for socio-political problem-solving" (Richard Snyder, [Eulogy] 53); "Like Freud, Harold Lasswell's work has been controversial:... Harold sought and found the unifying principle in complexity. He saw the configuration within the context. He saw too that the creative mind must perceive the dynamic ambiance of the aesthetic whole. He distinguished myth from reality, stereotype from function.... His over-riding value was the dignity of man" (Lawrence Zelic Freedman, [Eulogy] 55, 57).
- Owaine Marvick, "Introduction: Context, Problems, and Methods," Harold D. Lasswell, Harold D. Lasswell on Political Sociology, ed. Dwaine Marvick (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) 16.
- <sup>7</sup> "Lasswell, Harold D(wight)," Current Biography, 1947 376.
- On the occasion of his twenty-first birthday in February 1923, Lasswell wrote his parents to say that, "You have been everything in getting me started, and I hope the twenty one years in which my own decisions will cut a greater figure will be as satisfactory to me as the twenty one years in which you had such an immediate part" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, Feb. 1923, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University

talking and giving advice." They spent summers at the old Salem Chautauqua where Lasswell listened to "William Jennings Bryan, Robert La Follette, and most of the well-known politicians of the time."

His other early mentors included his uncle, a doctor who supplied the teen-aged Lasswell with a copy of Freud's lectures at Clark University; <sup>11</sup> William Casey, a "sophisticated and effervescent" high school scholarteacher who stimulated Lasswell to attend the University of Chicago and who later became a professor of sociology at Columbia University; and Mrs. Lucy H. Nelson, about whom Lasswell once remarked: "... her maturity of mind and judgment irradiates to everyone who meets her. Personalities like her make the educational routine an unobliterable experience." Mrs. Nelson exposed him to a cosmopolitan world through books – by Havelock Ellis and Karl Marx, for example – and arranged a meeting for him with John Dewey, <sup>14</sup> who deeply influenced Lasswell's thinking about problem solving and contextuality. <sup>15</sup>

## Intellectual Beginnings

Lasswell's high school days were active, though not athletically, where he confined himself to sideline roles. <sup>16</sup> He was the editor of the school newspaper and valedictorian. His academic prowess secured him a scholarship to the University of Chicago where he majored in economics, was an active debater, and won various debating and oratorical contests. During the summers from 1919 to 1922, he taught "courses for trade union groups" and "World War I veterans interested in business and labor management problems" <sup>17</sup> at Mayo Business College in Chicago. An outgrowth of his teaching was his collaboration with Willard Atkins on his first book, *Labor Attitudes* 

Library, New Haven, CT). Many of his letters contain shortened or abbreviated words. These have been left intact here. Obvious misspellings and other typing errors, however, have been corrected. Lasswell's letters are available among the Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, and are quoted here by permission of Yale University Library.

- Bruce Lannes Smith, "The Mystifying Intellectual History of Harold D. Lasswell," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 42.
- 10 "Lasswell, Harold D(wight)," Current Biography, 1947 376.
- 11 Leo Rosten, "Harold Lasswell: A Memoir," Politics. Personality, and Social Science 6.
- 12 Marvick, "Introduction" 18.
- <sup>13</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 20 Feb. 1924.
- 14 Marvick, "Introduction" 17-18.
- 15 In 1971, Lasswell said that "The policy sciences are a contemporary adaptation of the general approach to public policy that was recommended by John Dewey and his colleagues in the development of American pragmatism" (Harold D. Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences [New York: American Elsevier, 1971] xiv).
- 16 "Lasswell, Harold D(wight)," Current Biography, 1947 376.
- 17 Marvick, "Introduction" 19.

and Problems (1924). <sup>18</sup> This book was edited while he was in Europe in 1923 and 1924, <sup>19</sup> following the completion of his baccalaureate, his election to Phi Beta Kappa, and his entry in 1922 into the Ph.D. program in political science at the University of Chicago. <sup>20</sup>

He did postgraduate work at universities in London, Berlin, and Geneva, studying with such notables as Werner Sombart and Hugo Preuss during 1923 and 1924 plus the summer of 1925. While in Europe, Lasswell wrote numerous lengthy letters to his parents, a practice he continued, though less prolifically, during his later tours of Europe and Asia in the 1920s and 1930s. He wrote the 1923 and 1924 letters on a "Corona" typewriter, a gift from his parents. Every three or four days, he typed and sent them about two to four single-spaced pages. These letters included expositions on and analyses of economic and political events of the day, particularly those in England, France, and Germany. He often reinterpreted or made recommendations about current or forecasted national and international problems. His letters also included extensive recitations of League of Nations meetings and parliamentary debates in various countries as well as detailed observations about the people he encountered, the cultural life and plays he enjoyed, the

18 On this topic, Lasswell wrote his parents from Paris in 1924, saying that

I am not wildly enthusiastic about the text, largely because it is in a line which I do not care to follow up, and it does not represent a research contribution. Still, somebody had to do it, and the method of organization and the treatment are rather novel. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 3 Feb. 1924)

In short, Atkins did most of the work and supplied most of the economics; I initiated most of the original ideas and contributed most of the psychology. This is roughly accurate, I believe; but I don't know what his own reaction would be. (Harold D. Lassweil, letter to Anna P. and Linden Laswell, 20 Mar. 1924).

- <sup>19</sup> This first of several trips to Europe during the 1920s was financed by his summer (1918) sales of "books door-to-door in Bay City, Michigan, for the Human Interest Library" (Harold D. Lasswell, "Affidavit," [23 Oct. 1951], Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT) and a personal loan from a benefactor, Morton D. Hull, a "public spirited Chicago citizen" (Lasswell, "Affidavit"), who advanced Lasswell \$1,500 at 5% for 5 years. The loan was secured by Lasswell's life insurance policy that had been paid by his parents (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, n.d. [Spring 1923]).
- Toward the end of his long career, Lasswell clarified his switch from economics to political science, saying that "I stuck to political science because it was more challenging than economics. Principally it was less well advanced" ("A Conversation with Harold Dwight Lasswell: The Psychology of Politics," Psychology Today Oct. 1968: 63). Lasswell had earlier written to his parents that "economics is a field which is sadly in need of general reorganization on the theoretical side, although in research work it is farther along than political science, very much farther" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 16 Mar. 1924).

scenery and architecture he saw, the art exhibits and museums he visited, and the many political and intellectual figures he sought out.<sup>21</sup>

Lasswell's letters to his parents also foreshadowed his future intellectual efforts.<sup>22</sup> In some cases, his letters seem like notes to himself as he thought through his observations and ideas, developing his skills at dispassionate observation and appraisal. For example, in August 1923, shortly following his arrival in Geneva, Lasswell was outlining some of his mental activities

- These letters contain references to communications with others, including his mentor, Charles Merriam (see Barry D. Karl, Charles E. Merriam and the Study of Politics [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974] 146). For an initial analysis of Lasswell's early letters to his parents and to Merriam, see Douglas Torgerson, "Political Vision and the Policy Orientation: Lasswell's Early Letters," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Sept. 1987.
- <sup>22</sup> As Lasswell observed in a series of letters to his "folks" during the summer of 1923,

Most of my time is spent at the library this week.... I have started an undertaking of enormous dimensions, but I wanted to do it in order to have an excuse to study every phase of world politics in a preliminary and summary way. What I am doing is nothing more nor less than making an outline of the public opinion of the world.... any survey... is bound to be a cursory one, but I believe that it is only by jumping unto something like this that I will ever begin to get a detailed grasp of the total situation. The method of procedure which I have adopted is something like this: first I make a list from the library newspaper room and the annuals of the newspaper world of the papers of a particular country which I think are of importance; second, I run thru short encyclopedia articles and books here in the library in order to get a notion of the political factors in the country; then I go to the official in the information section who reads the newspaper of that particular country, and go over the situation with him; then I fill in by casual interviews. This is only as yet a prospectus. I have not yet begun the interviews altho I have an outline of French and Swiss politics and English politics in sufficiently advanced form to permit me to talk intelligently about them.

[Hudson] feels that the thing is so complicated that no one can do the job. I am willing to grant the apparent impossibility of the task, but the thing he doesn't see is that I am slowly building up the background of specific information which will permit me to direct the work of others when I am back to Chicago. And this is not what he knows about, naturally. But he is not the man to discourage me in what I suppose appears a rather hopeless undertaking.

[Sweetser, an American who is acting head of the information section.] is more or less aghast at my audacity also, and has suggested a very practical job which I am going to carry along. It is no less than a survey of the sources of America's news about Europe... involving a minute examination of the personality of correspondents, the policies of the various news agencies and papers, the press agent.... and so on.

I am working harder than I ever worked in my life, I suppose, but it is the most interesting and sustained effort in my specialty which I have ever engaged in. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 11 July 1923)

I have all sorts of books under way and find myself possessed with more ideas than the Gaderene swine were of devils. But time is fleeting and the problems are thorny! (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 26 July 1923)

.... time goes like a scared pup....

I have almost lost any time sense over this week end because I have been busy writing.

- primarily definitional – relative to his research. He wrote that he had been wrestling with various ideas for some time which required "a prolonged period of sustained thought" to sort them out.

... If I were to write a story of what I have really been doing it would read somewhat as follows: "Methodology -- concept -- presupposes end --"End--notion of a situation toward which manipulations are directed ---"End of investigation in science -- statement of solution of conflict----"Methodology of scientific investigation refers to those manipulative activities designed to indicate an accurate statement of the set of relations in question----" (Human face with white collar below floats hazily thru the door and makes bed without much disturbance----) "Methodology of social science problem assumes an inability to formulate a statement of certain collective changes ---" "Political problem is a social problem arising out of the conflicts arising in an administrative organization of society—government——" "Government -- concept ---" (Human shadow flits out again, closing door softly) "Contrast with other administrative entities in society---economic, ecclesiastical----"Differentiated by ---" And so on ad finitum.23

He concluded this part of the letter, suggesting that reading what he had written would probably only be of interest to "a technically trained psychologist and social scientist; and even he might yawn and give it up in disgust."

I don't know how it is with you when you get dead gone on a subject but as for me I find that one lives in a world of extra-corporality which transposes the sentient event round about into vague and glimmering shadows. I have been drafting preliminary sketches of various kinds relating to my thesis, and ideas have been assembling themselves together thick and fast. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 6 Aug. 1923)

In October, Lasswell reported on issues relative to the control of the press during political crises, perhaps the beginnings of the analyses that led to his dissertation which was published in 1927.

What are the limitations on the news? You can see them developing concretely on the basis of the facts I am presenting from time to time in these letters. The first is secrecy. Every effort is made by Government officials during delicate negotiations to keep them private until agreement is reached; or they tell a limited group of trustworthy correspondents the truth and indicate to them what they may not publish; or they tell the correspondents things which are directly misleading. These correspondents could not violate secrets on pain of never having permission to sit in private conferences, to telephone members of the Foreign Office for news, to talk intimately with officials at Clubs.... Moreover they are apt to share the political prejudices of the country with which they are associated most closely by ties of friendship, and by ties of honor (decoration of some kind). Thus the second limitation is the possibility of losing access to news and favorable relations in the environment. The third is the sense of obligation which grows up to those who have been kind before. The fourth is the unconscious sharing of the bias of the group thru residence. The fifth is also very subtle and insidious. The relevant facts about the total situation are not known. The correspondent does not know the secret instructions flashing among the capitals of Europe. He hears rumors of facts discreditable to the side with which his sympathies might fall. When he writes his dispatch the whole situation is in an evolving, partly developed, unstable form; even the officials to whom he has access do not know all of the facts, or are constantly hearing new facts. The sixth is not unimportant either. The correspondent may be new and green and very suggestible to the parts of the picture he happens to see. A seventh factor is lack of a well thought out picture of the total situation, and the acceptance of the standards of judgment which may be prevailing. The eighth is lack of time to present well thought out conclusions or to check them for quantitative accuracy. The ninth must not be over looked either. Many correspondents are lazy and get fewer facts or rely on fewer people than they ought. A tenth item in the list is the subconscious bias of the paper..one must make his dispatches fit the news and editorial policy of the paper. Upon this point there are many other things to be said. I'll not say them now, however.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 20 Aug. 1923.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 16 Oct. 1923.

In 1923, Lasswell published his first articles, "Chicago's Old First Ward" and "Political Policies and the International Investment Market." These were followed in 1924 by his book with Willard Atkins on labor attitudes and an article on public opinion and public service commissions. Taken together, these may seem to have been a modest beginning<sup>25</sup> for one who would eventually provide direction to a handful of new and evolving disciplines, but they inaugurated his career-long focus on "the application of knowledge to useful ends." Even though his initial publications may have inadequately presaged his fifty-plus years of scholarly productivity, he wrote far more about more subjects than most scholars would hope to contemplate. Additional works are still to come (see Forthcoming Works, page 279).

In 1925, Lasswell published "Prussian Schoolbooks and International Amity,"<sup>27</sup> an article that originated from a discussion in 1923 with a Miss Blackman, who was studying at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva and with whom Lasswell had worked out "specific plans for a test of the international attitudes of children."<sup>28</sup> This article was followed by "The Status of Research on International Propaganda and Opinion" (1925), a review of "Two Forgotten Studies in Political Psychology" (1925), and eleven reviews in the American Journal of Sociology (1925-1926). His dissertation, Propaganda Technique in the World War, was completed in 1926 and published in 1927.<sup>29</sup> About the publication of Propaganda Technique, Foster R. Dulles said: "It is a telling indictment of all war and the hypocrisy and deceit which come in its train: in its suggestions for the future it is a Machiavellian textbook which should promptly be destroyed."<sup>30</sup> Lasswell himself was later to say that his dissertation was "a modest spinoff of an initial plan so grand that obtaining a Ph.D. would have become a life work. The original project was

to devise a theoretical scheme for the study of 'international attitudes' and to survey the literature for plausible hypotheses and pertinent data. The scheme has never been executed in detail. It has, however, been an important topic-selector in subsequent research."<sup>31</sup>

Lasswell was in Berlin during the summer of 1925. He spent considerable time in the

... Prussian State Library searching for the bibliography of the subjects in which I am interested. There is a copious outpouring on civic education, and something else upon the duties of citizenship. Patriotism has a fat though diffuse literature, but aside from that little of direct relevance has come along. I have taken the opportunity to enlarge my bibliography on public opinion, and to record some out of the way literature on the general problems on political science. The Library here is perhaps the best in the world for the study of political theory; it is amazing what a host of musty tomes are assembled together.<sup>32</sup>

His letters to his parents during this time also outlined the state of the German economy, his itinerary, interviews he conducted, and his general observations on the scenery and cultural life.

Following completion of his doctoral studies, Lasswell accepted an assistant professorship in political science at the University of Chicago. About this same time, he began an association with Harry Stack Sullivan and Edward Sapir. (The relationship with Sullivan, though stormy at its end, <sup>33</sup> later facilitated his career move from Chicago to the Washington [D.C.] School of Psychiatry in 1938.) During 1926 and 1927, Lasswell also met and worked with Elton Mayo, <sup>34</sup> Robert E. Park, George Herbert Mead, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Robert E. Lane, [Eulogy], In Commemoration 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Fox, [Eulogy] 66.

The methods used were rather simple, but it was one of the earliest examples of the technique that was to become known as 'content analysis' or 'quantitative semantics'" (Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 56). Considered one of the "founding fathers" of communication research, Lasswell "pioneered in the study of propaganda, in the large, systematic examinations of communication in nations and societies, and in the study of influential political communicators. But perhaps he will be remembered longest in this field because of his development of scientific content analysis" (Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Research in the United States," The Science of Human Communication: New Directions and New Findings in Communication Research, ed. Wilbur Schramm [New York: Basic Books, 1963] 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 15 July 1923.

<sup>29 &</sup>quot;It was an important step in the initiation of Lasswell's career as perhaps the world's foremost specialist and the originator of many unexpected techniques, in the scientific analysis of propaganda and later of communication processes in general" (Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 56).

<sup>30</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 49.

<sup>31</sup> Harold D. Lasswell and Jackson A. Giddens, "Introduction," Propaganda Technique in the World War with a New Introduction for the Garland Edition by Harold D. Lasswell (New York: Garland, 1972) ix. According to Ralph H. Lutz ("Studies of World War Propaganda, 1914-1933," Journal of Modern History 5 [1933]: 496-497), "scholars will no doubt continue to regard Lasswell's seminal [work] not only as an "incisive common-sense analysis" but as the 'outstanding contribution in any language to the history of the subject."

<sup>32</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 9 July 1925.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Helen Swick Perry, Psychiatrist of America, The Life of Harry Stack Sullivan (Cambridge, MA: Belknap [Harvard University], 1982) 370-371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Richard C. S. Trahair, "Elton Mayo and the Early Political Psychology of Harold D. Lasswell," *Political Psychology* 3 (1981-1982): 170-188. Trahair suggests that Lasswell's political psychology was largely influenced by Mayo since they worked together at Harvard in 1926 prior to the publication of *Psychopathology and Politics*. Yet, while Mayo probably did affect Lasswell's thinking – almost nothing that was current went unnoticed by him – it is erroneous to attribute singular influence to Mayo as Trahair repeatedly but confusedly implies (see, for example, p. 180 and n. 8, p. 187). By the time he had met Mayo, besides the influence of Merriam and others at Chicago, Lasswell had already read Freud as a

numerous other luminaries of social science.<sup>35</sup> In 1928, with the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council and the approval of his mentor, Charles Merriam,<sup>36</sup> Lasswell returned to Europe, to Vienna, Budapest, Prague, and Berlin. While in Vienna, he met and talked with Adolf Adler,<sup>37</sup> Anna Freud,<sup>38</sup> Hans Kelsen,<sup>39</sup> Edouard Hitschmann,<sup>40</sup> and Wilhelm Stekel,<sup>41</sup> among many others. In addition, he visited the Vienna and other psychoanalytic societies<sup>42</sup> and was analyzed by Theodor Reik.<sup>43</sup> In Budapest he visited Drs. Ferenczi and Roheim; the former "made useful suggestions about the study of politicians from the analytical point of view" and the latter discussed his applications of psychoanalysis to anthropology.<sup>44</sup> On returning to Berlin, to the Prussian State Library that he considered "one of the most convenient and one of the biggest libraries in the world,"<sup>45</sup> Lasswell wrote of the economic conditions in Germany,<sup>46</sup> met with Sullivan who was touring Europe,<sup>47</sup> and worked to form a "cooperative committee of non-analysts to work with the analysts... [to see] whether some means

teenager, met Sullivan, and studied in Europe (1923-1924, 1925) where he had met leading psychotherapists. According to Lasswell, he spent the summer and fall of 1927 with Mayo, studying Mayo's pioneering work in the field of industrial relations, particularly his "interviewing and recording techniques," which Lasswell later (1928) adapted "to the psychological study of political personalities" (Harold D. Lasswell, "Affidavit").

- 35 Marvick, "Introduction" 21-22.
- 36 Marvick, "Introduction" 24.
- <sup>37</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 5 Aug. 1928.
- 38 Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 12 Aug. 1928.
- <sup>39</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 14 Sept. 1928.
- 40 Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 16 Sept. 1928.
- Lasswell observed that "Stekel is the most interesting acquaintance of the past week. He is one of the original circle which gathered around Freud, but broke off some time ago. Freud, Adler, Jung and Stekel are the Big Four. Stekel reacted with more brilliance to my problem than any other man I have met in Vienna, and it is possible that he may be willing and able to contribute some valuable hypotheses and some pertinent case summaries... Stekel is keen and imaginative, and no one analyzes dreams with greater ingenuity than he does. He has identified himself with no single theory, such as Adler has, and he has not hymned a peon [paean?] in praise of the unconscious, as Jung has" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 14 Oct. 1928).
- <sup>42</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 14 Oct. 1928.
- 43 "I like the Berlin group of psychoanalysts much better than that anywhere else, and I am actually in the process of being analyzed by Dr. Reik, who has published some excellent work on the psychology of religion. I am supposed to use my fellowship funds for this purpose, and it will greatly improve my technical proficiency in handling people" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 3 Dec. 1928).
- 44 Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 10 Nov. 1928.
- <sup>45</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 3 Dec. 1928.
- 46 Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 2 Jan. 1929.
- <sup>47</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 9 Jan. 1929.

of steady collaboration could be devised which would be mutually profitable."48 He left shortly thereafter for home.

When he returned from Europe in the spring of 1929, Lasswell "scandalized the more orthodox psychiatrists in Chicago by analyzing volunteers... and measuring concomitant physiological changes." One of the first attempts to link autonomic and behavioral variables with personality... [his work] was a forerunner of much research in the field." These efforts were reported in his "Verbal References and Physiological Changes during the Psychoanalytic Interview: A Preliminary Communication" (1935) and "Certain Prognostic Changes during Trial (Psychoanalytic) Interviews" (1936), studies presaged by his "The Problem of Adequate Personality Records: A Proposal" (1929), and "The Study of the Ill as a Method of Research into Political Personalities" (1929), both of which were based directly on his European inquiries.

In 1930, Psychopathology and Politics, <sup>51</sup> a companion to Propaganda Technique, was published. This book used "clinical case material to examine private motives and personality disturbances that goad political actors and that give vitality to political movements." It also outlined his "politics of prevention" and signaled his "commitment to political science as a therapeutic enterprise," "made his early reputation as a behaviorally oriented theorist." and established him as the founder of political psychology. <sup>55</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 22 Feb. 1929.

<sup>49</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Roy R. Grinker, Sr., "Psychoanalysis and the Study of Autonomic Behavior," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 110.

Lasswell later noted that "some copies of this book are dated 1931. As a result of a friendly agreement between the University of Chicago Press and the family of one of the persons studied in the book, it was re-issued after the deletion of certain facts that the family feared might have revealed his identity. The first printing was not withdrawn, lest attention be called to the alterations" (Harold D. Lasswell, "Affidavit").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 53. Lasswell's typology of political personalities continues to be useful today (see Martha Grace Duncan, "Only the Marlboro Man: A Psychological Study of a Political Agitator," *Political Psychology* 8 [1987]: 165-190).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Heinz Eulau, "The Maddening Methods of Harold D. Lasswell: Some Philosophical Underpinnings," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 17.

See Richard C. Clark, "Lasswell," The McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography (1973) 345; this work was "an honest attempt to answer the root problem of politics: How to direct into healthy channels the neurotic lust for domination, which can no more be 'abolished' than any other lust" (George E. G. Catlin, cited in Currem Biography, 1947 376). Lasswell "collected his data largely through prolonged clinical interviews with patients in mental hospitals. The study was a radically new departure in political science. Conceptually and to some extent even methodologically The Authoritarian Personality follows much along the lines of Lasswell's earlier work" (Marie Jahoda, "Introduction," Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality": Continuities in Research, ed. Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda [Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1954] 18).

<sup>55</sup> A. F. Davies, Skills, Outlooks and Passions: A Psychoanalytic Contribution to the Study of

Lasswell was promoted to associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago in 1932. His "Triple-Appeal Principle" was published in the same year. Here "he attempted to work out some political and sociological equivalents of Freud's divisions of the personality..., [arguing] that institutions, relationships, and behaviors... derive their strength... from their ability to gratify" the demands of the id, ego, or superego. 56

In 1935, while he was a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley, the first in a series of publications on propaganda, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*, appeared. Supported by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Pressure Groups and Propaganda, the book profited significantly from his researches in Europe. About the same time, "his most intellectually inspiring book," *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, <sup>58</sup> was published. *World Politics* "met with a kind of pop-eyed disbelief and dismay in many quarters. It received one of the most hostile reviews ever printed," <sup>59</sup> and it was panned by some who thought it too broad and incomprehensible, <sup>60</sup> a charge sometimes leveled at Lasswell's writing. <sup>61</sup> It was, nevertheless, the basis for his life's

Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) x. See also Paul Roazen, rev. of Psychopathology and Politics With a new Introduction by Fred I. Greenstein, Political Psychology 8 (1987): 453-456; and James W. Clarke and Marcia M. Donovan, "Personal Needs and Political Incentives: Some Observations on Self-Esteem," American Journal of Political Science 24 (1980): 536-552.

- <sup>56</sup> Arnold A. Rogow, "Toward a Psychiatry of Politics," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 133.
- <sup>57</sup> Morris Janowitz, "Content Analysis and the Study of the 'Symbolic Environment,'" Politics, Personality, and Social Science 166.
- For commentary on World Politics and Personal Insecurity, see William T. R. Fox, "Harold D. Lasswell and the Study of World Politics: Configurative Analysis, Garrison State, and World Commonwealth," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 367-381. Among others, David Easton ("Harold Lasswell: Policy Scientist for a Democratic Society," Journal of Politics 12 [1950]: 450-477) and Robert Horowitz ("Scientific Propaganda: Harold D. Lasswell," Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics, ed. Herbert J. Storing [New York: Holt, Rinchart and Winston, 1962] 225-304) focused narrowly on Lasswell's elite analysis. Heinz Eulau, "Elite Analysis and Democratic Theory: The Contribution of Harold D. Lasswell," Elite Recruitment in Democratic Politics: Comparative Studies Across Nations, ed. Heinz Eulau and Moshe M. Gsudnowski (New York: Sage Publications, Halstead Press, John Wiley, 1976), suggests that this point of view is a misunderstanding of the place of elite analysis in Lasswell's work.
- 59 Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 71.
- 60 Rogow, "Psychiatry of Politics" 124.
- 61 Years later in a less than complimentary analysis of In Defense of Public Order: The Emerging Field of Sanction Law (1961), Yehezkel Dror said that "a short, clear and straight forward statement in conventional language" might "have contributed to the actual improvement of the sanction system" (rev. of In Defense of Public Order: The Emerging Field of Sanction Law, Yale Law Journal 71 [1962]: 800). Another review chided Lasswell for "unnecessary jargon and a rather profix style" (Jack Parsons, rev. of Policy Sciences and Population, People 3 [1976]: 49-50). Lasswell was, however, highly self-conscious and

work, <sup>62</sup> and its basic points were popularized by the 1936 publication of *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How.* <sup>63</sup> Perhaps his most widely read book, <sup>64</sup> this small classic briefly explains his "mapping" scheme for a contextual approach to the analysis of elites. <sup>65</sup> Often reprinted, *Politics* established Lasswell as a "first-rate psychologist." <sup>66</sup>

Continuing his travels, Lasswell spent 1937 in China as a visiting professor at Yenching University. He found Peking to be "one of those few cities in the world that you hear so much about in advance that you know you can't possibly find it half as good as it is said to be, and yet it turns out to be all that is expected of it." While in China, he published "Sino-Japanese Crisis: The Garrison State versus the Civilian State," a summary of his lectures at the university in which he first presented the concept of the garrison state. It has been argued that, even though the gloom of his prognostications here and in a later article on the subject ("The Garrison State" [1941]) have not actually come to pass, the nightmare that Lasswell clarified has not been put to rest; movement toward the garrison state "seems just as much a matter of both possibility and doubt today as it did" then. 69

# Transition to Washington, D.C.

In 1938, despairing of his career prospects at the University of Chicago, Lasswell resigned his associate professorship, apparently without certain

deliberate in his use of language. When I asked him why his A Pre-View of Policy Sciences (1971) was so difficult but nevertheless revealing on repeated readings, he said that he wanted to discourage the abuse of his work by "charlatans." Early on, he evidenced similar concern, saying that science could be used by "men of good will" as well as by those not so inclined (Torgerson, "Political Vision" 25).

- 62 Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 69.
- <sup>63</sup> This simplification of World Politics and Personal Insecurity (1935) was accomplished with the assistance of Bruce Lannes Smith (Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 95), following Lasswell's vacation in New Mexico in June 1934 during which he worked to "reduce the manuscript of 'World Politics and Personal Insecurity' to a somewhat simpler version" (Harold D. Lasswell, "Affidavit"). While in New Mexico, he also studied problems of administration of Indian affairs, the results of which were partially published in "Collective Autism as a Consequence of Culture Contact: Notes on Religious Training and the Peyote Cult at Taos" (1935).
- 64 "Lasswell, Harold D. 1902-1978," Contemporary Authors (1982) 260.
- 65 Marvick, "Introduction" 2, 38.
- 66 Current Biography, 1947 376.
- 67 Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 25 Oct. 1937.
- 68 "I am running a seminar at Yenching, and will give two public lectures before I leave; one to a forum audience here, and another to the Academy of Political and Social Science" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 25 Oct. 1937).
- 69 Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Content Analysis and the Intelligence Function," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 206; see also Harold D. Lasswell, "The Garrison-State Hypothesis

employment.<sup>70</sup> His associations with Sullivan and Myres S. McDougal of the Yale Law School, however, quickly led to his move to Washington, D.C., where he assumed a position with the Washington School of Psychiatry – on whose board of directors he had served since 1936 – and a Visiting Lectureship in the Law School at Yale University.

On its way to Washington, his moving van crashed and most of his records and possessions were burned. Two long-term consequences probably resulted from this disaster. First, his intellectual pursuits were likely refocused somewhat since his research notes were lost. The Second, some of his resource materials apparently created a small sensation when they were found after the crash. These included books by Marx – who, like Freud, had influenced Lasswell's thinking – and pamphlets about Communism, a detail noted in a newspaper report of the accident. As a result, Lasswell was later hounded by federal agencies about his patriotism and was forced, during the McCarthy era, to develop a copious dossier to substantiate his love for democracy, his loyalty to America, and his staunch anticommunism. While his efforts were successful, background checks followed him throughout his career whenever he consulted with government agencies.

From his base in Washington during the 1930s and 1940s, Lasswell held a variety of posts, including a lectureship at the New School for Social

Today," Changing Patterns of Military Politics, International Yearbook of Political Behavior Research 3, ed. Samuel P. Huntington (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962) 51-70.

70 Marvick, "Introduction" 32.

Rosten, "A Memoir" 10. The Harold D. Lasswell Papers, including extensive letters to colleagues from the late 1930s on, are available in Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. A list of the people with whom Lasswell regularly corresponded during his career - Guetzkow, Truman, Deutsch, Boulding, Davis, Merton, Oppenheim, Mills, Riesman, Simon, Bell, Bennis, Tyler, Cousins, and Gross, to name but a random few - and a recitation of the subjects discussed among them sketch the development of American social science. Unfortunately, because of the moving van fire, his papers include very little of his correspondence prior to 1938.

72 "Solve Red Angle in Crash Death; Papers Traced," Chicago Tribune 24 Oct. 1938: n.p. (Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT).

A letter from the Army-Navy-Air Force Personnel Security Board said that Lasswell was to be denied employment in government-related activities since information the Board had indicated "that for many years you have been a Communist Party member and have closely and sympathetically associated with Communist Party members. You have also openly and actively expressed sympathy with many communist doctrines and ideologies" (Army-Navy-Air Force Personnel Security Board, 29 Aug. 1951, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT).

Lasswell's response to this absurdly paranoid bureaucratic condemnation was to organize and transmit an "Affidavit" several inches thick: "The purpose of this letter and accompanying enclosures is to refute the very serious charges which have been laid against me before your Board" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Army-Navy-Air Force Personnel Security Board, 23 Oct. 1951, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT). The Affidavit contains numerous letters and other testimonials and docu-

Research in New York City, his lectureship at Yale, <sup>74</sup> and the position of Chief of the Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications in the Library of Congress. This latter position was entirely underwritten by the Rockefeller Foundation and supported Lasswell's examination of war propaganda<sup>75</sup> and his elaboration of "a conceptual framework within which inquiry into the political process may fruitfully proceed." He also consulted – sometimes informally<sup>77</sup> – with the Farm Security Administration and the

ments which attested to Lasswell's character and to his scholarly efforts that clearly showed his anticommunist and prodemocratic sentiments. Even though constructed for different purposes, this document provides numerous biographic insights.

In letters to his parents in 1940, Lasswell commented on his seminar on "Law in a Crisis Society," conducted with McDougal, saying that "the Yale seminar group is more interesting than any I have found up there, and I believe that we will succeed in getting work accomplished along the lines that have long been planned. The group is composed of both graduate and undergraduate representatives, and everybody makes a substantial impression" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 7 Oct. 1940).

"Our problem is to convey a sense of method while studying a bunch of specific problems in a way that will seem pertinent to the training of a group of young lawyers" (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 30 Sept. 1940).

\*Should the United States become more intimately involved in the war, it would be important for us to formulate war aims in terms of what would strengthen rather than weaken the morale of our allies. We need, therefore, to keep a watchful eye on the role of political symbols in the lives of our potential allies." This quote is from Lasswell's "plans" submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation in 1940 for support of his wartime propaganda studies at the Library of Congress (Minutes, 11/15/40, Rockefeller Foundation, New York, 40382). The project received \$85,400 from 1 December 1940 to 31 August 1943 (Minutes, 11/15/40, 4/20/41, and 5/15/42, Rockefeller Foundation, New York, 40380-40382, 41245-41246, and 42179-42180).

76 Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 82. This part of Lasswell's research efforts led to Power and Society (1950) which he coauthored with Abraham Kaplan.

In the early 1940s, Lasswell wrote to his parents several times about these connections: ... The government has decided to do something in earnest about our relations with South America and Nelson Rockefeller has been made the coordinator of trade and cultural relations, reporting direct to the President. He called in Benton and Luce to act as a policy advisory board, and I am doing some consulting with them. James Young has been asked to become the operating head of the public relations program, and I hope he agrees. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 30 Sept. 1940)

Confidential: I may have a hand in reorganizing the CCC camps. At the suggestion of the President a committee has been appointed to study the idea of founding a staff college to train administrators for the camps; Paul McNutt names the committee in his capacity as Security Administrator. A report will be submitted by November, when public notice will be taken of the action. I am in touch with the promoting group that is concerned with elevating the standards of the camps, and particularly of the personnel in charge of them. These camps are needed to bridge the gap between the time when youngsters leave school and go to military training at the age of 21. There are still not enough jobs for many of the youth from 16 to 21, and they ought to be in the position to contribute to the welfare of the nation. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 7 Oct. 1940)

I was asked to be a civilian advisor of the War Department last week. They have

Departments of Defense and State, was a member of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, and held the general editorship of the "political symbols department" for *Psychiatry*.<sup>78</sup>

During this transitional period, books and articles by Lasswell appeared on such varied topics as propaganda, political psychiatry, democracy, the garrison state, radio, content analysis, legal education, and orthopsychiatry, to name but a few. These works were published by such journals as Psychiatry, Public Opinion Quarterly, Journalism Quarterly, Ethics, Yale Law Journal, and the American Journal of Sociology, among others. Perhaps his bestknown and most enduring works from this period are "Person, Personality, Group, Culture" (1939), which discusses "observational standpoint";<sup>79</sup> "The Garrison State" (1941), which articulates a potent "developmental construct" that challenges those who pursue democratic values;80 "The World Attention Survey" (1941), which proposes ways to detail the subjects of propaganda, an area that occupied Lasswell throughout most of his career; Democracy through Public Opinion (1941), which clarifies relationships between various forms of public opinion and democratic institutions; "An Experimental Comparison of Four Ways of Coding Editorial Content" (1942), which outlines content analysis procedures and results from the work of the Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications:81 "The Relation of Ideological Intelligence to Public Policy" (1942), which

changed their set up, and it will probably act more efficiently in the future. (Still Confidential). Also last week I was called in by Secretary [Morgenthau] to consult about the savings stamp campaign that will be launched in about 60 days. (Harold D. Lasswell, letter to Anna P. and Linden Lasswell, 17 Feb. 1941)

78 Psychiatry 1 (1938): 440. On page 420 of this journal, which was subtitled the "Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations" and was published by the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation that Sullivan founded, Lasswell was credited with being the editor of the "department of political psychiatry."

- This work is considered by one scholar as Lasswell's "most significant methodological essay" (Eulau, "Maddening Methods" 18). "Lasswell wrote with astounding prescience what is just now penetrating psychiatry through general systems theory" (Grinker, "Psychoanalysis" 110). See also Steven R. Brown, "Intensive Analysis," Handbook of Political Communication, ed. Dan D. Nimmo and Keith R. Sanders (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981) 627-649; Larry R. Baas and Steven R. Brown, "Generating Rules for Intensive Analysis: The Study of Transformation," Psychiatry 36 (1973): 172-183; and Larry Baas, "The Primary Source of Meaning of a Secondary Symbol: The Case of the Constitution and Ms. Murphy," Political Psychology 5 (1984): 687-703.
- 80 As Lasswell himself commented: "By the energetic application of the principle of civilian supremacy, we can guard against the perils of a garrison-police state and conserve the physical and moral resources of our nation" (Twentieth Century Authors, First Supplement 552). For a recent review, see Raymond Aron, "Remarks on Lasswell's "The Garrison State," Armed Forces and Society 5 (1979): 347-359.
- \*1 For a recent analysis of Lasswell's career-long focus on communications, see Karin Dovring, Harold Dwight Lasswell: His Communication with a Future ([Urbana, IL]: n.p., 1987).

incorporates some of his experiences in Washington policy circles; 82 "Legal Education and Public Policy" (1943), 83 which is a broadside about legal training as well as the first product of Lasswell's forty-year collaboration with McDougal; 84 and Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion (1946), with Bruce Lannes Smith and Ralph D. Casey, which reports on projects begun in 1925 and later supported by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Pressure Groups and Propaganda. 85 In 1943, part way through his transition from one major intellectual base to another, Lasswell clarified for himself, and perhaps for a few intimate colleagues, his personal career objectives.

- 1. The purpose of this memorandum is to outline my personal policy objectives. They have been in my mind for a long time and the point of putting down these notes now is to invite whatever collaboration there can be on the part of those who are benevolently disposed toward the aims, or toward me.
- 2. In general terms I desire to contribute to the integration of morals, science and policy. My moral value is that of the individualistic society in which I have been reared, and to which I am loyal: The dignity of the human personality.
- 3. Whatever contribution I make will be scientific and advisory. I am neither equipped to assume an active role nor interested in one for myself. My skill is analysis and creative criticism.
- 4. My ultimate objective in the field of science is far from modest. I propose to contribute to the systematic theory of the policy sciences. The policy sciences include the social and psychological sciences; in general, all the sciences that provide facts and principles of direct importance for the making of important decisions in government, business and cultural life. 36

In the remaining twelve points of this memorandum, Lasswell both assessed the opportunities to pursue his ends given disciplinary ferment and outlined how he would do so. He visualized his key contributions as developing "systematic theory," "devising new instruments of research," and acting as

<sup>82</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 60.

<sup>83</sup> The enduring nature of this challenge to the legal profession has been discussed at length in the Virginia Journal of International Law (14.3 [1974]).

<sup>\*\*</sup>Collaborating with McDougal has been one of the chief sources of intellectual and personal gratification in my professional life" (Harold D. Lasswell, "In Collaboration With McDougal," Denver Journal of International Law and Policy 1 [1971]: 17-19).

<sup>85</sup> Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 74-75.

Harold D. Lasswell, "Memorandum: Personal Policy Objectives," photocopy of ts., 1 Oct. 1943, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

a "policy advisor" to "aid in perfecting the intelligence function" in society in order to "clarify goals and appraise them," both in terms of their expediency and morality, and to "clarify alternatives of action" and "provide pertinent information about trends and causal relations."

He further suggested that it would take about \$1,000 per week to support such activities in an organization devoted to scientific research, preferably not one particular institution since independence would permit him greater ability "to express ruthlessly candid judgments, free of 'collegial' restraint." Even though he accepted a full-time position at Yale in 1946, he continued to assert a loyalty not to any institution but to intellectual endeavors which he pursued wherever they led him.<sup>87</sup>

During the years preceding his move to Yale University, Lasswell, drawing on Dewey88 and Whitehead,89 among others,90 developed the analytical categories that he refined with Myres S. McDougal, Daniel Lerner, and others<sup>91</sup> during succeeding years. Lasswell's policy science orientation was holistic: a multi-method, multi-disciplinary, problem-focused, contextual approach to policy analysis and development. In particular, Lasswell and his colleagues developed a social process model, designed to provide principles of both content and procedure needed to build a contextual map of the policy environment and to provide "guidance on what to think about or look for, and on how to proceed."92 This model focuses, in any process, on the participants and their perspectives, situations, values, and strategies, as well as possible outcomes and effects. Further, Lasswell evolved a list of eight values - power, enlightenment, wealth, well-being, skill, affection, respect, and rectitude - categories designed to apply universally in order to classify the preferences sought by individuals as well as societies. 93 In addition, because Lasswell saw policy science as concerned with power processes, he developed a decision process model which examines "seven power outcomes": intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal.<sup>94</sup> The social process model, the eight value categories, and the decision process model provide the contextual map

necessary to effective problem solving, which itself is advanced by the use of Lasswell's five intellectual tasks – goal clarification, trend description, analysis of conditions, projection of developments, and invention, evaluation, and selection of alternatives<sup>95</sup> – the heart of his policy science problem-solving process.

# His Years at Yale University

Lasswell found a permanent base of operations when he accepted an appointment as a professor of law in the Yale University Law School in 1946. He was one of a few social scientists "appointed to broaden and extend the limits of legal training" at Yale. In the same year he received an award for research in journalism from Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism fraternity. He was later appointed a professor of political science at Yale (1952) and became the Edward J. Phelps Professor of Law and Political Science at Yale in 1961. His tenure lasted until 1970, when at sixty-eight he retired as the Ford Foundation Professor of Law and Political Science, Emeritus.

In 1948, The Analysis of Political Behaviour: An Empirical Approach, a compilation of earlier articles, was published. Also during the same year, he returned in Power and Personality, his Thomas William Salmon Memorial Lectures, to the theme he had developed in Psychopathology and Politics (1930): that politicians' "private motives are displaced unto public objects and thereafter rationalized in terms of public purposes." Seeking to clarify the relation between childhood indulgences and deprivations and their manifestations in adult political behaviors, Lasswell concluded that "everyone is born a politician and most of us outgrow it." Lasswell also became a consultant to the RAND Corporation in 1948, a relationship that continued for the next twenty years.

Successively during the next four years, a series of major works appeared. Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics (1949), an outgrowth of his work on wartime communications, <sup>100</sup> presents "a worldwide audit of mass communications during the period leading to the outbreak of international hostilities." <sup>101</sup> Power and Society (1950) is "a formal and systematic statement on the entire propositional structure of political science," various-

<sup>87</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 33-34.

<sup>88</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences xiv.

<sup>89</sup> Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 52.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" (passim); Marvick, "Introduction" (passim), and Lerner, "Managing Communication" 172-175, for discussions of the people – such as Weber, Freud, Mead, and Merriam – and events that affected Lasswell's thinking about the policy sciences.

<sup>91</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences xiii-xiv.

<sup>92</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences 15.

<sup>93</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences 18.

<sup>94</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences 28.

<sup>95</sup> Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Twentieth Century Authors, First Supplement 552.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Current Biography, 1947 377.

<sup>98</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 58.

<sup>99</sup> Marvick, "Introduction" 58.

<sup>100</sup> Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 76.

<sup>101</sup> Janowitz, "Content Analysis" 155-156.

ly seen "as a major contribution... [or] a sterile exercise in definition writing and empty formalism." National Security and Individual Freedom (1950) articulates threats to civilian supremacy, freedom of information, civil liberty, and a free economy. 103 The World Revolution of Our Time: A Framework for Basic Policy Research (1951), a pamphlet later expanded in World Revolutionary Elites (1965), outlines the Revolution and the Development of International Relations (RADIR) Project at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. 104 Directed by Daniel Lerner and supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, 105 this project studied "elites and symbols in the 'world revolution of our time.' 106 The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method (1951), a byproduct of the RADIR Project, 107 reviews the nature and research methods of the policy sciences. It reaffirms Lasswell's career-long focus on the need to develop a discipline, a science of policy. 108 His lead essay, "The Policy Orientation," defines the focus of

policy science, an amalgamation "of law, political science, sociology, and psychology into one overarching discipline dealing with the general subject of public choice and decision making." Policy scientists, shaping and shaped by this new discipline, would further worldwide human dignity. 110 Symbols of Internationalism (1951) and The Comparative Study of Elites: An Introduction and Bibliography (1952), two pamphlets in the RADIR series, respectively analyze the use of political symbols in the international press and provide an overview of the elite concept and its importance to the RADIR Project. These and other volumes in the RADIR series were later incorporated in The Prestige Press: A Comparative Study of Political Symbols (1970). 111

The year 1954 found Lasswell a visiting fellow in the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. Although not much of his production was printed in 1954, "The Selective Effect of Personality on Political Participation" is especially noteworthy since it

occupies a special place which reflects [Lasswell's] position in American social science. There is hardly anyone who equals him as a living symbol for continuity and interdisciplinary integration in social research. His early work must be regarded as an antecedent to *The Authoritarian Personality*; here he appears again as one ready to take off from it into new and original research. In essence, he elaborates a set of hypotheses whose testing will depend on the cooperation of psychologists and political scientists. The subject in which he is interested – homo politicus, and especially the political leader of democratic and authoritarian parties and movements –

Smith, "Mystifying Intellectual History" 51, 82; for additional comments, see Karl W. Deutsch, "Some Quantitative Constraints on Value Allocation in Society and Politics," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 347-365; and Clark, "Lasswell" 346. A review in 1951 suggested that this "Herculean" work "gives a complete presentation of the basic principles of political behavior" and insists "that a theory which rests on facts must be testable by facts" (Alfred de Grazia, rev. of Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry, University of Chicago Law Review 19 [1951]: 157, 160).

While suggesting that National Security and Individual Freedom is at times "shallow," McGeorge Bundy cites it as a "powerful analysis," "buttressed by wide study; it is a major contribution" (rev. of National Security and Individual Freedom, American Political Science Review 45 [1951]: 536). According to Ralph S. Brown, Jr., it "boldly sketches... the intensity and continuing character of the threat to national security posed by Russian communism" (rev. of National Security and Individual Freedom, Yale Law Journal 61 [1952]: 118).

Marvick, "Introduction" 46-47; and Daniel Lerner, "Managing Communication for Modernization: A Developmental Construct," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 171-196. Pool, "Content Analysis" 207 and note 21 on page 222, indicates that RADIR was simply an extension of Lasswell's wartime communications project; the project was designed to describe and define "the major trends of social change throughout the world" (Norton E. Long, rev. of Revolution and the Development of International Relations; Hoover Institute Studies [Series A and B], American Political Science Review 46 [1952]: 867); see also David B. Truman, rev. of Revolution and the Development of International Relations; Hoover Institute Studies (Series C), American Political Science Review 46 (1952): 870-873.

<sup>105</sup> Rogow, "Psychiatry" 136, 144 (n. 17). See also Pool, "Content Analysis" 209.

<sup>106</sup> Lerner, "Managing Communication" 173.

Pool, "Content Analysis" 209. The Policy Sciences was a "state-of-the-art analysis of social science methodology" (Gabriel A. Almond, "Harold Dwight Lasswell: February 13, 1902-December 18, 1978," Biographical Memoirs 57 [1987]: 263). For an update on the status of Lasswell's "policy orientation," see George J. Graham, Jr., "Theoretical Contributions of Political Science to Policy Analysis: 'The Policy Orientation' Revisited," Public Administration Quarterly 11 (1988): 463-479.

<sup>108</sup> Lerner, "Managing Communication" 174.

<sup>109 &</sup>quot;Lasswell, Harold Dwight (1902-)," Webster's American Biographies (1974) 610. The culmination of Lasswell's policy sciences focus can be found in Jurisprudence for a Free Society: Studies in Law, Science, and Policy (forthcoming).

See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell, The World Revolution of Our Time: A Framework for Basic Policy Research, Hoover Institute Series A: General Studies I (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1951); Harold D. Lasswell, "The Normative Impact of the Behavioral Sciences," Ethics 67.3, pt. 2 (1957): 1-42; Richard Arens and Harold D. Lasswell, In Defense of Public Order: The Emerging Field of Sanction Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Harold D. Lasswell, The Future of Political Science, American Political Science Association Series (New York: Atherton, 1963); Henry F. Dobyns, Paul L. Doughty, and Harold D. Lasswell, eds., Peasants, Power, and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1971); Harold D. Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences; Harold D. Lasswell, "The Future of Professional Political Scientists," Political Science and the Study of the Future, ed. Albert Somit (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden, 1974) 246-254; and Myres S. McDougal, Hardle D. Lasswell, and Lung-chu Chen, Human Rights and World Public Order: The Basic Policies of an International Law of Human Dignity (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).

<sup>111</sup> For a review of these studies, see Heinz Eulau, "The Hoover Elite Studies Revisited," Social Science History 1 (1977): 392-400.

clearly stems from political science; the nature of the hypotheses from psychology. His article should do much to bridge the gap between the two disciplines, in the interest of both.<sup>112</sup>

In 1955, he was a visiting professor at Tokyo University, and he was honored for his unique contributions to the field of political science with his election as president of the American Political Science Association for 1956. His presidential address, published as "The Political Science of Science: An Inquiry into the Possible Reconciliation of Mastery and Freedom," "stressed the need for political scientists to study the profound and disturbing effects that science seems certain to generate in a world where robots, spacecraft, and humanoid forms of life will somehow flourish." 113

Lasswell was recognized in 1957 for his contributions to the social sciences by his election as a Fellow in both the National and American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He also outlined his own expectations for his future scholarly productivity in three documents – "Projects with Definite or Tentative Collaborators or Sole Responsibility," "Research Proposals with High Priority," and "Research Projects Uncommitted." The first of these documents lists twenty-eight items, the second twenty-three, and the third forty-four. Among his many projects were "Law, Science, and Policy" with McDougal, which is cited under Forthcoming Works, and the unpublished "Sex and Polities" with Arnold A. Rogow, various drafts of which can be found in Lasswell's papers at Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives. Other ideas included "Planetarium Technique," "Designing Man's Successor," "Interplay of Office and Personality," and "Credibility Bias: A Survey."

In 1960, Lasswell became a national council member for Pi Sigma Alpha, a national political science honor society, and was awarded a \$10,000 prize and citation by the American Council of Learned Societies. The citation in part said that he was

... master of the social sciences and pioneer in each; rambunctiously devoted to breaking down the man-made barriers between the social

studies, and so acquainting each with the rest; filler-in of the interdisciplinary spaces between political science, psychology, and sociology; prophetic in foreseeing the Garrison State and courageously intelligent in trying to curb its powers; sojourner in Vienna and selective transmitter of the Freudian vision to his American colleagues; disciplined in wideranging inquiry; working against resistance to create a modern quadrivium of the social sciences that will make of them truly liberal arts. 115

This was the first of many tributes Lasswell received in the 1960s. He was granted an Honorary Doctor of Letters by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1965. When presented an Honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Illinois, also in 1965, he was cited as "an outstanding scholar in the development of political and legal theory [who] has pioneered in relating social theory, notably psychological theory, to political science and jurisprudence.... [He] is esteemed for the highly original quality of his scholarship. Whereas few rise to the heights of common esteem even within the confines of a single discipline, Professor Lasswell has attained an enviable reputation in interdisciplinary fields." 116

The decade ending in 1965 was most productive for Lasswell. Besides "The Political Science of Science" (1956) and "The Normative Impact of the Behavioral Sciences" (1957), his remarkable variety of publications included "Men in Space" (1958), "Political Constitution and Character" (1960), Studies in World Public Order (1960), 117 "Interplay of Economic, Political, and Social Criteria in Legal Policy" (1961), "The Garrison-State Hypothesis Today" (1962), The Future of Political Science (1963), 118 World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators (1964), and World Revolutionary Elites (1965). In addition to his scholarly outpourings, his duties at Yale, RAND, and elsewhere, he also found time during the mid-1960s to be a consultant to the U.S. Office of Personnel Administration and the Peace Corps.

In 1966, The Sharing of Power in a Psychiatric Hospital was published. This

<sup>112</sup> Jahoda, "Introduction" 22.

Marvick, "Introduction" 33. A common reaction to his speech even today "is incredulity that anyone could have correctly 'guessed' so many of the specific problems that now clamor for attention and resolution. The point is that Harold's 'guesses' were seldom, if ever, random or trivial, but, rather, they were the product of a powerfully disciplined and marvelously creative intelligence" (Garry D. Brewer and Ronald D. Brunner, "Harold D. Lasswell and Political Science," In Commemoration 24).

<sup>114</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, 15 July 1957, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Hayen, CT.

<sup>115 &</sup>quot;Citation on the Occasion of the Awarding of a \$10,000 Prize by the American Council of Learned Societies," New York, 20 Jan. 1960, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

<sup>116 &</sup>quot;Citation," University of Illinois, Urbana, 19 June 1965, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

<sup>117</sup> The approach used by McDougal, Lasswell, and their associates "represents the most searching and creative challenge to orthodoxy since... Pound's theory of social interests" (Hardy Cross Dillard, "The Policy-Oriented Approach to Law," Virginia Quarterly Review 40 [1964]: 632).

<sup>118 &</sup>quot;The thoughtful reader will lay this book down refreshed, with a feeling of impatience and desire to get on with 'important' problems," forgetting "'Streit-um-théorie' discussions" (Avery Leiserson, rev. of The Future of Political Science, Journal of Politics 26 [1964]:

prototype (experimental) study, conducted in a psychiatric hospital, sought to devolve power<sup>119</sup> – a subject which occupied much of Lasswell's attention during most of his career – to the hospital's patients, much as the Vicos project, summarized in *Peasants, Power, and Applied Social Change* (1971), had sought to share power with the Ouetchua Indians in Peru.<sup>120</sup>

His alma mater, the University of Chicago, awarded him an Honorary Doctor of Laws in 1967. The certificate of presentation said, in part, that

More than any living political scientist, Professor Lasswell has mapped out the discipline, provided an incisive language of analysis, and defined research problems of the most compelling significance.

His scholarly achievements reflect the intellectual and political history of our day,...

A living example of the democratic personality which he has himself defined, Professor Lasswell has no obedient disciples but a myriad of followers who, paying him the tribute of disagreement, still expand the frontiers which he discovered.<sup>121</sup>

During 1967, he was also a visiting professor at the University of Patna in India. His lectures at the university were published as *The Policy Orientation of Political Science* (1971). In 1969, he was a visiting professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City, where he became a Distinguished Professor of Policy Sciences in 1970. At this time, he also reestablished his consulting relationship with the RAND Corporation and became Chairman of the RAND Graduate Institute's Academic Advisory Board.

#### Active Retirement

Lasswell stayed active on retiring from Yale in 1970. He was president of the American Society of International Law (1971), 122 was awarded an

440-441). The import of the challenges Lasswell put forth here are still being felt (William Stephenson, "How to Make a Good Cup of Tea." Operant Subjectivity 10 [1987]: 37-57).

Honorary Doctor of Laws by Columbia University (1971), became a Distinguished Visiting Professor of History and Law at Temple University (1972), where he was granted an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters in 1975, 123 was a Senior Counselor 124 for the Mershon Center at Ohio State University (1972), spent time as a Visiting Research Scholar on Population Policy at Harvard (1973), became the Albert Schweitzer Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University (1974), was the Cochair with Myres McDougal of the Policy Sciences Center in New York City (1975), took a law professorship at Touro School of Law (1975), was a visiting professor at MIT (1975), received an Honorary Doctor of Science from the University of Pennsylvania (1976), 125 and was general

commonwealth," and "human dignity." For an assessment of Lasswell and McDougal's impact on international law, see Frederick Sampson Tipson, "Consolidating World Public Order: The American Study of International Law and the Work of Harold D. Lasswell and Myres S. McDougal, 1906-1976," Diss., University of Virginia, 1977.

123 Temple University's news release (17 Apr. 1975, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT) for the occasion said:

Harold D. Lasswell has led generations of scholars throughout the world in the multi-dimensional study of goal clarification and the decision-making process.

Taking all knowledge to be his province, he has created a methodology for the performance of intellectual tasks applicable to almost every aspect of human interaction and essential to the survival of the human race.

He is the father of the policy sciences now applied at every rational level of decisionmaking both in government and in the world of academic endeavor.

The first to utilize the insights of dynamic psychology in the assessment of political and judicial behavior in *Psychopathology and Politics* as a young academician, he has gone on and continues to go on to enrich the world of thought.

Joined by Myres S. McDougal in what has been perhaps the most exciting intellectual joint venture of the second half of the century, Harold D. Lasswell has furnished us with the intellectual tools for the creation and maintenance of what free men treasure most – a public order of human dignity.

Sounding the first alarm against the garrison state as well as the garrison-police state, he stands out today as one of the rare breed of men – the champion of thought, freedom, and the rights of man.

- No more apt title could be used to describe Lasswell's approach. Even his close associates and friends were subjects for his observations and were often unknown to one another: "Harold, as we recently discovered, had a number of friends who did not know of each other's existences until the memorial services" (Arnold Rogow, [Eulogy], In Commemoration 72-73). He "devoted a large part of his private life to advising and counseling innumerable people on their personal lives, their careers, and especially their difficult problems of policy decision" (Joseph Goldsen, "Harold Lasswell as Policy Adviser and Consultant," In Commemoration 78).
- 125 The certificate of presentation stated that Lasswell had "shaped several pioneering careers in communications and in political science, economic policy, psychiatry, international relations and law, among others, to earn designation as a Leonardo of the social sciences" and was a "detached analyst and enthusiastic participant," an "objective scholar and zealous instructor," and an "abstract thinker and practical researcher" ("Harold

<sup>119</sup> Robert Rubenstein, "The Study of Political Processes in Psychiatric Illness and Treatment," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 147-154.

Allan R. Holmberg, "Dynamic Functionalism," Politics, Personality, and Social Science 261-295. For a current analysis of this action project, see John H. Kunkel, "The Vicos Project: A Cross-Cultural Test of Psychological Propositions," The Psychological Record 36 (1986): 451-466.

<sup>121 &</sup>quot;Certificate of Presentation," University of Chicago, 5 May 1967, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT.

This honor recognized Lasswell's immense contribution to international law and world politics, an arena which provided him and his colleagues, especially Myres McDougal, a broad stage upon which to test their theories of "preventive politics," the "freeman's

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chairman and honorary president of the International Society of Political Psychology in 1978, the year he died.

Following his retirement from Yale, Lasswell's scholarly output continued unabated. Of special note are his A Pre-View of Policy Sciences (1971), "a deceptively sophisticated and consequently difficult" <sup>126</sup> distillation of his program for the policy sciences, a term that Lasswell had devised more than twenty years earlier, <sup>127</sup> Policy Sciences and Population (1975), Values and Development: Appraising Asian Experience (1976), Patterns of Policy: Comparative and Longitudinal Studies of Population Events (1979), and The Signature of Power: Buildings. Communication, and Policy (1979). <sup>128</sup> A three-volume work, Propaganda and Communication in World History, begun perhaps twenty-five years earlier, was published in 1979 and 1980. This series capped a lifelong concern with communications and "systematizing the world arena as the appropriate observational unit for all social sciences" <sup>129</sup> which began

Dwight Lasswell," University of Pennsylvania, 15 Oct. 1976, Harold D. Lasswell Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT).

- Change 4 (1973): 423. The program concisely outlined here and elaborated in much of Lasswell's writings has stimulated varied implementations of his policy sciences constructs. See, for example, Garry D. Brewer and Ronald D. Brunner, eds., Political Development and Change: A Policy Approach (New York: Free Press, 1975); Garry Brewer and Peter del.eon, The Foundations of Policy Analysis (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1983); Steven R. Brown, "The Composition of Microcosms," Policy Sciences 5 (1974): 15-27; John M. Bolland and Rodney Muth, "The Decision Seminar: A New Approach to Urban Problem Solving," Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization 6 (1984): 75-88; and Luvern L. Cunningham, "Applying Lasswell's Concepts in Field Situations: Diagnostic and Prescriptive Values," Educational Administration Quarterly 17.2 (1981): 21-43.
- Geoffrey Vickers, "The Emerging Policy Sciences," Futures (Sept. 1972): 286. In an interview in 1971, Lasswell said that the policy sciences responded to "the failure of the social scientists to develop a large cadre of people who were themselves sufficiently acquainted with the political processes to be able to find ways to make relevant knowledge acceptable to the emerging policy groups.... there was a great discrepancy between the opportunity and the performance" (David Kemp and Graham Little, "An Interview with H. D. Lasswell," Melbourne Journal of Politics 4 [1971]: 44). According to Schramm and Lerner (Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner, eds., Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years and the Next [Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976] 285), Lasswell was "less concerned with 'prophecy' than with 'innovation;' he seeks not to predict the development future but to invent it."
- 128 This book "demonstrates that the functions of buildings civil or military, judicial, legislative, and bureaucratic influence their structures. These structures in turn are influenced by national cultures, which produce their own structural variations" (Almond, "Harold Dwight Lasswell" 267).
- Daniel Lerner, "Lasswell, Harold D.," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Biographical Supplement (Vol. 18), ed. David L. Sills (New York: Free Press, 1979) 407; see also Steven R. Brown, rev. of Propaganda and Communication in World History (3 vols.), American Political Science Review 75 (1981): 834-836.

with his dissertation in the mid-1920s. Human Rights and World Public Order: The Basic Policies of an International Law of Human Dignity was also published in 1980. It took a year-long illness that began in 1977 and his subsequent death was in 1978 to halt his productivity.

Lasswell was, and his legacy remains, complex and inadequately understood. <sup>130</sup> His life and his contributions to the social sciences, <sup>131</sup> marked by an "absence of a search for timeless scientific truth," <sup>132</sup> have been only briefly outlined here. Perhaps Heinz Eulau best summarizes the varying but deep and strong impressions that Lasswell engendered:

I knew him and I knew him not.... He was a very private man.... He was not an ordinary man.... He was not a egoist.... He was very choosy in what he ate.... He was always off to somewhere,... He loved the night life.... He was a very elegant man.... He was a universal man.... He had a great hunger for 'intelligence.'... He was always pioneering.... He liked living as he did. 133

Lasswell's life surely was a "seamless web," an interconnectedness of fine detail and broad outlines which he was able to see clearly, almost from the beginning of his career. His vision was at once microscopic and macroscopic as he moved between part and whole, from past to present to future, and back and forth, constructing and evolving his theories and methods. Although the force of his personal presence is now gone, the multiple challenges that he undertook or fostered remain. Understanding of his value orientation and his contribution to the policy sciences is still tantalizingly incomplete, still a process of discovery and rediscovery. Through the study and application of his frameworks and methods, his endowment will endure and evolve.

<sup>130</sup> A recent attempt to unravel Lasswell's complexities can be found in Douglas Torgerson, "Contextual Orientation in Policy Analysis: The Contribution of Harold D. Lasswell," Policy Sciences 18 (1985): 241-261. See also Brewer and deLeon, The Foundations of Policy Analysis.

Lasswell's contributions, particularly to political science, have been variously "ranked"; see, for example, Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, American Political Science: A Profile of a Discipline (New York: Atherton, 1964) esp. 65-67, 71; and John S. Robey, "Major Contributors to Public Policy Analysis," Policy Studies Journal 10 (1982): 443.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Dwaine Marvick, "The Work of Harold D. Lasswell: His Approach, Concerns, and Influence," *Political Behavior* 2 (1980); 224.

<sup>133</sup> Heinz Eulau, "HDL is Gone," In Commemoration 87-97 [passim].

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	Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications	
1902	Born, Donnellson, Il- linois, February 13	Father: Rev. Linden Downey, Presbyterian minister		
		Mother: Anna (Prather), high school teacher		
1907	Brother, slightly older, died			
1918	Graduated high school, Decatur, Illinois	Valedictorian		
	,	Editor of school newspa- per		
	Entered University of Chicago	History and English scholarship	•	
		Tau Kappa Epsilon (fra- ternity)		
		Delta Sigma Rho (public speaking society)		
922	Received Ph.B. (eco- nomics), University of Chicago	Elected to Phi Beta Kap- pa		
	Doctoral student (political science), University of Chicago	Postgraduate work, universities in London, Berlin, Paris, and Geneva (1923, 1924, 1925)		
	Assistant, Department of Political Science			

Labor Attitudes and Problems

(1922-1924)

1924 Instructor, Department of Political Science (1924-1927)

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Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1926	Received Ph.D., Political Science, University of Chicago	Dissertation: "Propaganda Technique in the World War"	
	Visiting Professor, Max- well School, Syracuse University		
1927	Assistant Professor, Po- litical Science, Uni- versity of Chicago		Propaganda Technique in the World War
1928		Fellow, Social Science Research Council (Europe, Berlin)	
		Fellow, Yale University (1928-1929)	
1930	Visiting Professor, Wes- tern Reserve Univer- sity, Cleveland		Psychopathology and Politics
1931		Council Member, American Political Science Association (1931- 1933)	
1932	Associate Professor, Political Science, University of Chicago		
1935	Visiting Professor, Uni- versity of California, Berkeley		Propaganda and Pro- motional Activities: An Annotated Bibliogra- phy
			World Politics and Per- sonal Insecurity
936		Board of Directors, Washington School of Psychiatry (1936-1938)	Politics: Who Geis What, When, How

Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1937	Visiting Professor, Yenching University, China	Helped found Public Opinion Quarterly	
1938	Political scientist, Washington, DC, School of Psychiatry (1938-1939)	Moving van crashed on way to Washington, DC; scholarly books and papers burned	
	Visiting Sterling Lectur- er, School of Law, Yale University (1938-1944)		
1939	Lecturer, New School for Social Research, New York (1939- 1946)	Advising Editor, Ethics	World Revolutionary Pro- paganda: A Chicago Study
	Consultant, Farm Secu- rity Administration and U.S. Department of Justice (1939-1944)		
1940	Chief, Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications, Library of Congress, Washington, DC	Support provided by the Rockefeller Foundation (1940-1943)	
1941	(1940-1943)		Democracy through Pub- lic Opinion
1944	Research Associate, Yale Institute of In- ternational Studies (1944-1946)	Member, Commission on Freedom of the Press (1944-1947)	
1945	Consultant, Department of State (1945-1948)	Helped organize Human Relations	

	Harold	Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)	
 Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1946	Professor of Law, Yale University (1946- 1970)	Honorary M.A., Yale University	Propaganda, Communi- cation, and Public Opinion: A Compre-
	17.0)	Distinguished Service Award, Sigma Delta Chi	hensive Reference Guide
		Outstanding Research Award, Kappa Tau Alpha	
1947		Helped organize World  Politics	
1948	Consultant, RAND Corporation (1948- 1967)	Thomas William Salmon Memorial Lectures, New York Academy of Medicine (November),	The Analysis of Political Behaviour: An Empiri- cal Approach
		led to Power and Per- sonality	Power and Personality
1949	Consultant, Secretary of Defense (1949- 1950)		Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics
1950			National Security and Individual Freedom
			Power and Society: A Framework for Politi- cal Inquiry
<b>19</b> 51		Security check	The Policy Sciences: Re- cent Developments in Scope and Method
			The Political Writings of Harold D. Lasswell
			The World Revolution of Our Time: A Frame- work for Basic Policy Research

Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1952	Professor of Political Science, Yate Univer- sity (1952-1970)	Vice President, American Political Science Asso- ciation	Foundations of World Organization: A Politi- cal and Cultural Appraisal
1954	Visiting Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford		
1955	Visiting Professor, Tokyo University		
1956		President, American Po- litical Science Asso- ciation	The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis
1957		Fellow, American Acad- emy of Arts and Sciences	
		Fellow, National Acad- emy of Arts and Sciences	
1958		Citation, Boston University	
1959		Honorary Member, Bran- ford College, Yale Uni- versity	
1960		Prize and Citation, Ameri- can Coucil of Learned Societies	
	•	National Council Mem- ber, Pi Sigma Alpha	
1961	Edward J. Phelps Professor of Law and Political Science, Yate University (1961-1970)		In Defense of Public Or- der: The Emerging Field of Sanction Law

	Harold	Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)	•
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1963			The Future of Political Science
			Law and Public Order in Space
1964	Consultant, U.S. Office of Personnel Admin- istration (1964-1966)	Award, American Asso- ciation of Public Ad- ministration	World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators
1965	Consultant, Peace Corps (1965-1966)	Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Illinois	World Revolutionary Elites: Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements
		Honorary Doctor of Let- ters, Jewish Theologi- cal Seminary of Ameri- ca	MIUPERIENIS
1966			The Sharing of Power in a Psychiatric Hospital
1967	Visiting Professor, University of Patna, India (lectures led to The Policy Orientation of Political Science [1971])	Honorary Doctor of Laws, University of Chicago	Formosa, China, and the United Nations: For- mosa in the World Community
			The Interpretation of Agreements and World Public Order: Prin- ciples of Content and Procedure
1969	Visiting Professor, John Jay College of Crimi- nal Justice, New York City	Helped found <i>Policy</i> Sciences	Political Communication: The Public Language of Political Elites in India and the United States

	Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications	
1970	Distinguished Professor of Policy Sciences, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City (1970-1972)	Consultant, RAND Corporation 1970-1978; Chairman, RAND Graduate Institute Academic Advisory Board		
		Fellow, New York Acad- emy of Sciences		
1971	Ford Foundation Professor of Law and Political Science (Emeritus), Yale University (1971-1978)	President, American Society of International Law  Honorary Doctor of Laws, Columbia University	Peasants, Power, and Applied Social Change: Vicos as a Model A Pre-View of Policy Sciences	
1972	Distinguished Visiting Professor of History and Law, Temple University (1972- 1976)			
	Senior Counselor, Mershon Center, Ohio State University (1972-1978)			
973	Visiting Research Scholar on Popula- tion Policy, School of Public Health, Harvard University (1973-1978)			
974	Albert Schweitzer Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Affairs, Columbia University (Winter)			

Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978)			
Year	Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
1975	Cochair, Policy Sciences Center, New York City	Honorary Doctor of Hu- mane Letters, Temple University	Policy Sciences and Pop- ulation
	Professor of Law, Touro School of Law, New York City		
	Visiting Professor, Mas- sachusetts Institute of Technology		
1976		Honorary Doctor of Science, University of Pennsylvania	Values and Development: Appraising Asian Ex- perience
1977	Stroke, late December		Harold D. Lasswell on Political Sociology
1978	Died, New York City, December 18	General Chairman and Honorary President, International Society of Political Psychology	
1979			Patterns of Policy: Com- parative and Longitu- dinal Studies of Popu- lation Events
			The Signature of Power: Buildings, Communi- cation, and Policy
			The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times

Year

1980

Harole	78)	
Primary	Supplementary	Major Publications
		Emergence of Public Opinion in the West
		Human Rights and World Public Order:
		The Basic Policies of an International Law of Human Dignity

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Sources: See Biographical References.

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