

Patterns and Prophecies

The Stages of Political Development,

by A. F. K. Organski, *New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. xiii + 229 pp. \$5.75.*

The Masks of Society; An Inquiry into the Covenants of Civilization,

by John F. A. Taylor, *New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1966. xiii + 273 pp. \$6.95.*

Modernization; The Dynamics of Growth,

edited by Myron Wiener, *New York and London: Basic Books, Inc., 1966. xvi + 355 pp. \$6.95.*

Private Power and American Democracy,

by Grant McConnell, *New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966, 397 + vi pp. \$4.85.*

WHEN A CONTEMPORARY social scientist uses the word "process" he is only a step away from talking about "pattern." Pattern itself may be a linear sequence of events or stages, or it may, for instance, be a repetition of situations. And when sequence and repetition are combined we have the ancient principle of cycles in human events. In the present epoch social scientists are looking abroad, rather than to the past, and they are talking about a future that is already here (e.g., Lewis Mumford, Vance Packard, David Riesman, or Marshall McLuhan). Meaning in history is meaning to the person, but it is generally formulated as prediction. Meaning is often found in process, pattern, or cycle, that is, in some form of repetition. One can argue about both events and meanings in the past, but it is not possible to argue seriously about the events in the future.

The contemporary drive toward cycle and prophecy arises mainly from two sources. First, there is the explosion of technology in the area of automation, the

computer, and cybernetics. Mechanization under the impact of cybernetics has no limits, and many are beginning to see in the full application of these devices the complete technification of the conditions of life. Second, the world wide spread of technology (but not of parliamentarism, as Toynbee once thought would be the case) into the development of "retarded" countries, as in Africa, Asia, and Hispanic America, has insistently demanded prophecy. Where is it going? What does it mean for the future of man? But the prophecy produced for us has been little more than the extension of new terms, a superjargon, added to the eighteenth-century language of progress. That is, development means the extension to all men of the products of technification in their rising standard of living.

Still, there is one matter that shocks the conservative mind: The social scientists who write on pattern, stage, and cycle in technics have no patience with individual liberty. Progress must come about because of the adoption of social-scientifically advanced policies. Capitalism seems not to be so much attacked as it is ignored; thus, historical liberalism is either denounced or ignored. Nineteenth-century liberalism is considered antiquated, but at the same time the new social scientists reject in a formal sense the fallacies of Marxism. These "new liberals," however, lean to the left and their sympathy for the masks of Marxism and communism seems hard to limit. It should be added that most of the social scientists have little sympathy for the religious critics of capitalism.

Organski's confidence in bureaucratic achievement is shown at the very start. "Political development," he says, "can be defined as increasing governmental efficiency in utilizing the human and material resources of the nation for national goals." (p.7) The stages of political development are postulated as:

(1) The politics of primitive unification (four types: dynastic politics, colo-

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nial politics, newly independent and underdeveloped countries).

(2) The politics of industrialization (the Marxian view of the bourgeoisie seems to infiltrate his discussion). But "the important contribution of bourgeois politics to industrialization was the protection of the scarce savings created by the new economy at the expense of the standards of living of the population." (p. 78) Professor von Hayek at least proved that Organski should read more economic history.

(3) The politics of national welfare (as, for example, in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia).

(4) The politics of abundance in an age of automation and the close identification of government and industry. The functions of government will be, especially, to make automation possible, and to make it politically responsible, "if not to the masses, at least to the state." Democratic socialism is the likely form of government for tomorrow. (p. 208)

And finally, he says, "No nation can skip these stages." Thus, we are to have no more bourgeois industrialism, and no more mass democracy. Or, one might say when the rape of liberty is inevitable we had better enjoy it.

Taylor's book is enigmatic because "masks of society" suggest the second-image, ideological, and false view of social relations, as Eric Voegelin has defined it. It suggests the ancient stage when the mask was the *persona* on the stage. Here masks mean, apparently, covenants or agreements which cover or confirm something deeper that enables society to operate. Taylor's position seems to be stated on p. 263 as follows: ". . . we should disallow Jefferson's phrase, 'the law of Nature and of Nature's God.' But it is inexcusable that we should disallow, with the phrase, the motive which occasioned it. Natural law, *ius naturale*, there cannot be, as we nowadays understand the term 'nature'; covenants there must be, as we would understand ourselves. The fact is

that law among men has never depended for its validity on Nature or on Nature's God. I do not respect the law of Nature or Nature's God because God commands it, or Nature commands it. If I denounce the tyranny of men, shall I any the less denounce tyranny if it be God's?" As in another contractualism, perhaps of Thomas Hobbes even, I must bind myself by my own act, as a party to command, and make his will or yours my own.

Taylor suggests the idea of community under covenant in politics and law, art and economy, education and the moral life, for, as he argues, beneath all forms of society covenants are operative. Their obligations seem to arise in consent, and thus in a world out of joint we must study the restoration of consent or of covenants under the law. The law itself, however, may not create the social relations involved, as for example, the relations of the market. Much attention is given to the Hebrew tradition (the Greeks are childlike, spontaneous, inquisitive, p. 58), but perhaps the author might have discussed in some detail the Puritan ideas of covenant, the covenant of Grace, the half-way covenant, and the profound notion of "calling" which they had. One may take consent, consensus, or covenant as it is, but the great problem of men might seem to be to find some validation for agreements, a validation that runs deeper than the classical notion of convention, perhaps even extending back to Nature. At least the author might have shown more appreciation of David Hume.

In general, this is a very diffuse book. The author seems hesitant to be explicit on some fundamental questions that even a philosopher, such as Taylor, should ask.

Myron Wiener has, indeed, given us an interesting book. An extended number of well-known contemporary social scientists write short, explicit, and to the point chapters on the bearing of their disciplines and specializations on the issues of "modernization." It is a book of moderation, though, as is characteristic with "respect-

able social scientists" of our day, the authors seem to take American liberal collectivism for granted. There are few reservations on the capacity of government to speed the beneficial process of modernization. If one wishes to acquire an appreciation of the mind of current social science, this book is to be recommended, even though it goes, or seems to, in all directions at once.

Much of the writing in a book like this is quite obvious, as the clouds of platitudes are blown about. Still, there is an occasionally impressive sense of realism here, notably in the description of the pseudo-radicalization of the new and slightly absurd African elites. There is realism, as well, in the editor's discussion of political participation in political development. Lucian W. Pye concludes the volume by suggesting that the gap between the mature countries and the developing ones has in recent times been broadening rather than becoming narrower. But, of course, the authors of this volume are not really pessimists, and the problem of breakdown and stagnation in the economic order is not discussed with any candor.

McConnell's *Private Power and American Democracy* is rather on the traditional side. It is difficult to determine in what ways it makes a significant contribution, if any, to the discussion of the history of pressure groups in action or, alternatively, to pressure group theory. The Achilles Heel of behavioral analysis of group political process is whether or not there is a public interest, and how, if it exists, does one define it. McConnell says (p. 366): ". . . it is not meaningless to speak of public values. They are public in the sense that they are shared by broad constituencies; usually they must be achieved through mobilization of large constituencies." Such a definition hardly helps, since there are times when large constituencies are plainly mad and surely immoral, or with charity we may say they are deceived by propaganda. The behaviorist's analysis of pressure groups (with a heavy dose here

of Pacific Northwest Progressivism) must struggle hard to evade the idea that it is important to consider the issue of a moral order.

Reviewed by FRANCIS G. WILSON

The Nineteenth-Century Muse

The Major English Romantic Poets, edited by William H. Marshall, *New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1966. xxxi + 717 pp. \$7.95.*

The Major Victorian Poets, edited by William H. Marshall, *New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1966. xxix + 786 pp. \$7.95.*

It is generally difficult to judge an anthology but ever so easy to quibble with the anthologist. Why is one writer omitted but a lesser writer included? Why is one particular piece selected but not some other? What are the anthologist's standards of discrimination and choice? Are his standards valid? Is there really a need for such an anthology—for still *another* anthology? The fact remains that an anthologist's task is never simple and that, no matter how good he is, he will be subject to criticism. If he puts together a collection of essays, he will very likely be criticized for compiling writings that are "disconnected" and "unrelated." If he anthologizes prose fiction or poems, he will often be criticized for sins of omission or of commission or of both.

It should be said at the outset that these anthologies edited by Professor William H. Marshall are characterized by competence and by clarity and effectiveness of purpose. His various aims, as stated in the Prefaces, are studiously defined: to make available "readily and inexpensively" and "within the chronological order of the particular poet's publication" the "best"