

Politics. *In the great game of politics the rules are undefined and exist only to be broken. In contrast to politics you have political theory, which is a set of abstract rules that nobody pays any attention to. Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Mill, Godwin, Spencer, and countless other great minds indulged in political theory, and many thinkers today continue to write descriptions of what political institutions should be like rather than what they actually are like. But gradually politics and political theory are merging. We review below two books ("Politics in the Empire State" and "The Analysis of Political Behavior") one journalistic and one academic, which represent a fruitful approach to the question. Both authors, like John Gunther in his "Inside U.S.A.," are trying to describe what they have seen instead of what they would like to see. Only thus will the complex game of politics ever be understood, and mastered.*

Facts of Political Life in New York

POLITICS IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

By Warren Moscow. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. 238 pp. \$3.

Reviewed by OREN ROOT, JR.

THIS relatively short book by one of the top political reporters of *The New York Times* provides an accurate and readable explanation of the facts of political life in New York State. It will bring to the average reader in unusually painless form an understanding of how the government and political parties actually work. New Yorkers will be more interested in it than other people, but the political pattern in other states is sufficiently similar to New York's for the volume to have a general interest for readers throughout the country.

The most attractive characteristic of the book is that, while the author is thoroughly realistic, in that he at all times goes behind the form to the substance of whatever he is discussing, he has not given way to cynicism. In analyzing the various purposes for which political patronage is used, for example, it would have been easy for him to make a dramatic indictment of the whole political system as corrupt and self-serving. In fact, however, while pointing out the dangers inherent in the dispensing of patronage, he acknowledges that it is a decidedly useful instrument of government when properly used by responsible officials in the legitimate exercise of political leadership.

A casual reader may find certain sections of the book a little dry, as, for example, where it analyzes in some detail the political balance of power in a number of up-state cities and counties, and where it describes, one after another, the functions of the various government departments. For

many persons, however, these facts will be useful to have at hand, and anybody not interested in them can skip those passages without losing a sense of continuity. Whatever there may be of dry statistics is more than made up for, moreover, by the author's lucid exposition of the functioning of the legislature, the governor, the political machines, the courts, and other aspects of our governmental

system. Many lawyers, I am sure, have not as clear an understanding of the New York judicial process, both in its surface and sub-surface aspects, as is revealed in the chapter entitled "Coke and Blackstone."

"Politics in the Empire State" is not built around personalities, but political figures, such as Dewey, Al Smith, Franklin Roosevelt, LaGuardia, and others, are used to illustrate the author's points. Mr. Moscow betrays no party bias, and one finishes the book without a hint as to his preference between the "elephant," the "donkey," and the "splinter parties." By and large he analyzes without judging, which is what a good reporter is trained to do. In the anecdotes scattered through the text the author has discreetly withheld the names of most of the people who are butts of the stories. One may wish one knew the name of the delegate to the 1940 Republican Convention who, having been repaid a party loan by Dewey forces (who themselves borrowed the money for the purpose), nevertheless voted for Willkie, but one must respect the discretion with which the name was withheld.

One of the most useful parts of the book is the demonstration of why the system of primary elections has proven ineffective. In the early years



THE AUTHOR: Warren Moscow says he's "one newspaperman who never had any idea of writing a book." A year ago he did a piece on the decline of political machines for *The Saturday Evening Post*. It was condensed for *The New York Times*. Knopf got interested, gave him an advance. Mrs. Moscow said, "Now let's have that baby." Three months ago bound galleys on "Politics in the Empire State" and mixed twins were delivered. By previous marriage he has a daughter, aged twelve. He was born and lives in Brooklyn, learned his way through whereases at Brooklyn Law School,

got his "first real view of bureaucracy" junior-clerking at the old New York Edison. At eighteen, fraternal tugs from the *Brooklyn Citizen's* copy desk landed him a \$15-a-week job covering City Hall. He went on to Hearst's *New York American* and, in 1930, *The Times*, for which he has handled politics ever since. From 1938-44 he was its Albany bureau head; between times he reported Gotham housing, public utilities, and transit woes, toured with Landon, Dewey, Roosevelt, and, last November, Stassen. In 1937 he seesawed with FDR's train 8,000 miles before-and-after sampling public opinion on the Supreme Court scuttling. It required twenty hours' work and numerous elixirs a day to achieve. He spent seven months in 1944 as Pacific war correspondent. On the side, he likes mysteries, ping-pong, and tennis, adding affably, "And I am a very fine amateur bartender." He has appeared several times over WQXR in "Meet the Press," and was recently presented to the American housewife by Mary Margaret McBride. His parents came here from Russia in the '90's. The Communist Party, he believes, "is an adjunct of the Russian foreign office, but how far we can go as a democracy to protect ourselves and remain a democracy is a question I would like to have answered." His book isn't meant to be anti any Presidential candidate, just truthful. "I'll probably wind up voting for Truman," he sighs, "and I'll hate it." R. G.

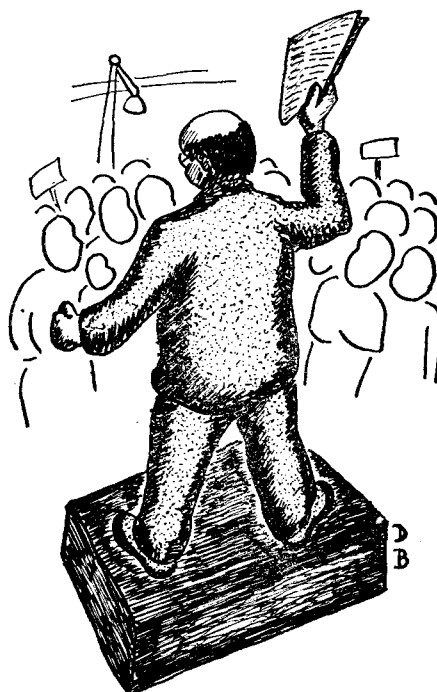
of this century, great political leaders, such as Hughes, Root, Stimson, and Theodore Roosevelt fought hard to obtain passage of the direct primary law. Their purpose was to transfer the selection of candidates from the bosses to the people. Yet, although the law was passed, the situation remains largely unchanged. Mr. Moscow points out that while this law has given the people the right and the power to select candidates, they do not in fact select them because of apathy among the people themselves. The number of enrolled voters who vote in a primary election seldom exceeds twenty-five per cent of those entitled to vote, and in most cases is about ten per cent. The machines get their people to the polls while the non-machine voters stay away, and thus the machines retain their power. The existence of the primary, however, makes it possible for the non-machine voters to express themselves when the issue is sufficiently dramatic to arouse them, and to this extent it has improved our political life.

In addition to being generally educational, Mr. Moscow's book provides timely background for such contemporary matters as the split in Tammany

Hall, Mr. Marcantonio's relationship to the Republican, Democratic, and Communist parties (he has or has had some relation to them all, as well as to his own American Labor Party), and Mr. Dewey's rise to power in the Republican Party and the State. A somewhat over-lengthy discussion of Dewey's public relations and press conference techniques, not entirely complimentary, can be excused on the ground of personal privilege of the author. The powerful attack on public-opinion polls contained in the final chapter is less easy to justify and seems, to this reviewer at least, to have been dragged in by its coattails. It would take more than one or two diversions such as these, however, to spoil what is otherwise a most useful and interesting book.

It is a truism that the success of democratic government depends upon an informed and responsible electorate. If every voter would read this penetrating volume, that success would be more definitely assured.

Oren Root, Jr., a lawyer who has been active in Republican affairs in New York State, was chairman of the Associated Willkie Clubs of America in 1940.



the busy executive to determine the focus of his attention in the same volume with a lengthy and philosophical article proposing and justifying sweeping reforms in the teaching of law, or a detailed analysis of the attitude of three clerks in a welfare office toward its clients, not far removed from a study of the relationship of the insecurity of lower middle classes to the rise of Hitlerism.

Through this baffling potpourri there can be detected the suggestions of a pattern. Lasswell is using science to clarify democratic morals and to find the techniques of relating them to reality. Impatient with the ambiguities of political literature, he means to make democratic philosophy observable. "Operational principles in representative and specific contexts" as democratic processes cannot be assured by simple acquiescence in the idea that freedom to talk will result in decisions consistent with the preservation of the democratic system." Legal education, for example, will never become an effective instrument of public policy while it exaggerates the relative importance of the appellate court in methods of social control. The influence of policy makers, the principles of values on a low level of abstraction (civil liberties, employment, social security, etc.), skill training—these are the true dynamics of society which must be scrutinized. Persons, institutions, occasions, policies and practices, doctrines, myths, and legends are the stuff of interpersonal relations.

It is its awareness of this principle that gives this book its value and interest. That and the psychological insights it uses.

Clarifying Democratic Morals

THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR. By Harold D. Lasswell. New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. 314 pp. \$4.

Reviewed by WILLIAM S. LYNCH

AT the beginning of this volume an editorial note asserts that its specialized discussion of concepts, terms, and methods are not academic. In fact, some of them semantically and conceptually are simply redolent of the seminar and of the professional journals in which they first appeared. The editor also, while admitting the "net is cast wide," suggests that the book has unity. The same could be said of the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences" to which this one bears no small resemblance.

It used to be that learned men collected their scattered papers and published them as miscellanies. Today's avid scholars shuffle them a little more, revise them a little less, and give the arrangement a title. Since there must be a limit somewhere to a man's specialties, and since most knowledge can be labelled on some level, however generic, it cannot be too difficult to find a place and a name. So if you are looking for a specific, this isn't it, even though the papers are ar-

ranged under three categories which imply concrete treatment: "How to Integrate Science, Morals, and Politics," "How to Analyze Politics," and "How to Observe and Record Politics."

As a collection of articles by a political scientist who represents in his work and in his influence the transformation which is taking place in political science, this is something else. Impatient with the older notion that their field is not much more than an appendage of political history, men like Lasswell have been turning to psychology and sociology, to the radio, and to practical administration, to discover not only how political institutions came about, but why they did and how their evolution can be directed.

Eventually these men may find the integration of the social studies they are seeking. Meantime their efforts, as typified here, will lead them to explore in places that seem at first most diverse. Gifted with curiosity, they bring together levels of thought and logical order in a manner that seems incongruous but for which the word empirical serves as a nice justification. Imagine, for instance, a paper devoted to a scheme of card joltings for