

Kolda, in his students, and his colleagues as well.

An "Ivo Duchacek" prize for the best graduating student specializing in International Relations will be presented by the Department of Political Science. Contributions to the prize fund should be c/o Joyce Gelb, Department of Political Science, City College of New York, New York, NY 10031.

Faculty of the
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Nathan C. Leites

Nathan Leites, a political scientist who deeply influenced many scholars in a wide variety of fields, died in Avignon, France, early in June 1987. He had suffered from Parkinson's disease and associated illnesses for several years.

Leites was born in St. Petersburg in 1911. His family was of Sephardic Jewish origin—his mother medically trained and his father, Kussiel Leites, an economist and journalist associated with the Mensheviks. The family left Russia for Denmark soon after the Bolsheviks took power. Leites later received what he described as a typical *gymnasium* education, mostly in Germany.

Leites was finishing his graduate studies in economics at the University of Berlin in 1933 when the advent to power of the Nazis made it suddenly clear to him that his professional future would not unfold in Germany. Soon after he took a doctorate in economics at Fribourg, Switzerland. At this time he considered an academic career in classical economics feasible but not inspiring, and found it even less so when the post offered him was one at Birmingham University, the outcome of an interview with a deputy of J. M. Keynes at Cambridge. He declined the position. Instead, in 1935, he came to the United States to take up a fellowship at Cornell University.

As a student Leites had been Marxist, but by this time he had lost the convictions on which his socialist perspectives and affiliations had been based. Considering

that psychoanalysis was the only other systematic theory that generated testable and important hypotheses about social relations, he proceeded to master its literature.

From Cornell he was drawn to the University of Chicago by the presence of Harold Lasswell. He became Lasswell's assistant in the Department of Political Science. In 1936, with Lasswell's departure, Leites took over the teaching of his courses until 1941, when he left Chicago for Washington to work on propaganda analysis in the Experimental Division (originally of the Library of Congress) for the Study of War-time Communications of which Lasswell was chief. Here appeared the first two of Leites's publications, with his colleague and friend Ithiel Pool, on content analysis and on "Communist Propaganda in Reaction to Frustration," both in 1942. Out of this research too came his "Psychological Hypotheses on Nazi Germany" (with Paul Kecskemeti, 1947-48), his earliest major psychopolitical work and the first fully to reveal the method he would employ in most of his later prodigious and original contributions to this field. The method consisted of analyzing the words of political actors as though they were uttered by patients, for the purpose of identifying patterns in their unconscious as well as their manifest meaning.

The diversity and distinctiveness of Leites's prolific contributions to political science cannot be encapsulated here: they include works on France, China, the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese war, democracy, propaganda, morality, nuclear strategy, patterns of rebellion and its suppression and so on. Among his books are *A Study of Bolshevism* (Free Press, 1953), *On the Game of Politics in France* (Stanford University Press, 1959), and *The Soviet Style in War* (Crane Russak, 1985). Though the published work is substantial indeed, a considerable portion remains unpublished. Only a small part of a book on Charles de Gaulle has appeared, for example, but its traces can be discerned in a work by Jean-Francois Revel, *Le Style du General* (Julliard, 1959) which the author dedicates to "the other author"—Leites. A selection from Leites's psychopolitical work (including part of the De Gaulle monograph) was

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published by Sage Publications in 1977. (See the review by Fred Greenstein in the *American Political Science Review* 74 (1980), 804-05.) Leites's last published work on explicitly political topics is *The Soviet Style in Management* (Crane Russak, 1985).

Attention to tendencies toward moral atonia unifies much of Leites's psychopolitical research into western culture. In contemporary thought, especially, growing indifference to moral concerns was a primary object for his inquiries. "The dysfunctions of the conscience may be one of the major studies of the scientists of democracy," he wrote in "Democracy and Destructiveness" (*American Behavioral Scientist* 5, 1961: 6-10). A similar insight illuminates his extraordinary study of recent trends in theological treatment of the Crucifixion, a work written in German that has so far been published only in French, *Le meurtre de Jesus, moyen de salut?* (Cerf, 1982).

Leites's important books and articles on psychoanalytic theory can only be touched on here. Of these, the one most obviously related to psychological thinking about politics is *The New Ego: Pitfalls in Current Thinking about Patients in Psychoanalysis* (Science House, 1971). Of his writings on literature and on popular and high art, I note only his last monograph, *Art and Life: Aspects of Michelangelo* (New York University Press, 1986). Yet his work is of one piece: all his writings display the spare and lucid style, the attention to nuances of expression and to nonsequiturs, omissions, exaggerations and inconsistencies that signal meanings connected with unconscious sources.

Leites was a master of language and wrote with the same ironic humor and spare lucidity in French, English and German. As a critic he was unsurpassed. He was intolerant of statements that pretended to be empirical but were actually about relations between ideas or words—"the mind's commerce with itself." The many who submitted their manuscripts to him for review and criticism sometimes found they had said much less about the outside world than they had thought, as he unerringly detected redundancies and tautologies—failings not to be found in his own work.

After 1945, Leites resumed his academic career, lecturing at Sarah Lawrence College, the New School for Social Research, and Yale University. He was closely associated with Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict and others active in the Center for the Study of Contemporary Cultures at Columbia University. In 1963 he became Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, a position he held until he retired in 1974.

Leites had been a consultant to the RAND Corporation when, in 1947, its program for the social sciences was formed. His association with RAND was continuous until shortly before his death and it was under RAND's auspices that his major political works were written. The RAND Graduate School has in process a volume comprising memoirs of Leites by some of his research associates. It will also include a bibliography of his publications.

Nathan Leites's academic career was a significant one; through it he reached many political scientists who acknowledge his imprint on their work. His influence as policy consultant, art historian and connoisseur, literary, cultural and psychoanalytic scholar and critic was felt still more widely. Neither within the academy, however, nor in the far-flung relationships he formed in these other roles was Leites's profound influence defined by any institutional orbit. Rather, his penetrating quality of mind made itself felt as an independent force for intellectual integrity and high purpose.

Nathan Leites's published writings constitute a unique legacy to political science. Yet his influence as a teacher extends beyond these. He unfailingly responded generously to the many who came or wrote to claim his attention to their work-in-progress. He heightened awareness of gaps and fallacies in reasoning and observation. He strengthened sensitivity to the presence of significant ideas and real kernels of relevant evidence. For those who knew him personally his contribution was inestimable, his loss irreplaceable.

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