American social science, social critique, and the problem of expertise
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In 1972, the first issue of *Cognition* appeared. After some years in the wilderness during an era of behavioristic psychology, the scientific study of mind had returned under the banner of the study of cognitive processes. As the first journal devoted to the topic, this marked a milestone for cognitive science.[1] Articles in the journal's early issues included topics ranging from developmental psychology to linguistics and approached from both experimental and philosophical perspectives.

Beyond these studies, the journal devoted space to examination of proper methodology. In so doing the journal joined in the pattern adopted in the social sciences in general, and psychology in particular of making scientific method an obsessive concern.[2] Such methodological fetishism had led psychology to hew to both operationism and logical positivism.[3] For the proponents of these rules of scientific method, such rules outlined not only the proper methods, but also the allowed topics of study. Within psychology the most direct result of the linkage of method to topic was the adoption of behaviorism and the consequent ruling out of the study of mind itself as a topic of scientific investigation.

In addition to articles focused on empirical and methodological concerns, *Cognition* devoted space to articles that took up political questions. For instance, the piece, penned by the editor and associate editor, that opened the journal, called for a better understanding of the relationship between political theories and human psychology and also noted that laboratory studies are

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[1] It was then the "international journal of cognitive psychology" but subsequently became the "international journal of cognitive science")

[2] On methodolotry in psychology and the social sciences more generally see Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Andrew S. Winston and Daniel J. Blais, "What Counts as an Experiment?: A Transdisciplinary Analysis of Textbooks, 1930-1970," *American Journal of Psychology* 109, no. 4 (1996): 559-616. On operational fetishism in psychology see Christopher D. Green, "Of Immortal Mythological Beasts: Operationism in Psychology," *Theory & Psychology* 2, no. 3 (1992): 291-320.

[3] Gary L. Hardcastle, "S.S. Stevens and the Origins of Operationism," *Philosophy of Science* 62 (1995): 404-24; Laurence Smith, *Behaviorism and Logical Positivism: A Reassessment of the Alliance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).

themselves political in that they can be "tainted by the same political attitudes and preconceptions that may be the cause of the social problems that afflict us."[4]

The journal's first article, by the linguist and cognitive scientist Noam Chomsky, took up each of the journal's themes. As with the editorial, Chomsky conjoined discussion of the science of mind, discussion of proper method, and discussion of politics. In his review, Chomsky delivered a devastating critique of both B.F. Skinner's, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* and Richard Herrnstein's *Atlantic* article on intelligence tests.[5]

In his best-selling book, Skinner argued that it would be best to stop treating humans as if they were autonomous.[6] Since thoughts were in principle unobservable, they were not something that behaviorists like Skinner believed should be considered by science. Doing so would better enable engineering the good society. For his part, Herrnstein hypothesized that there is an essential connection among measured intelligence, heredity, wealth, race, and social class.[7]

Contending that these works were dogma, not science, Chomsky argued that both Skinner and Herrnstein held visions of human nature that were not grounded by science. Even more, he contended, their work was thoroughly illogical. Chomsky also attacked Skinner's vision of society, noting the negative ends that could come from the society Skinner proposed – a society organized by the conditioning or "reinforcement" of approved behavior. Chomsky noted that this society was not a good society, but indistinguishable from a concentration camp.[8] He added that the only reason that their arguments were compelling to any reader was that the United States is a country dominated by both racism and capitalist ideology that can find no value beyond money. Absent a racist and capitalist culture, then, both Skinner and Herrnstein's findings would be neither interesting nor believable. Chomsky concluded his review by noting that both Skinner and

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[4] J. Mehler and T.G. Bever, "Editorial," *Cognition* 1, no. 1 (1972): 9-10.

[5] Noam Chomsky, "Psychology and Ideology," Ibid. (1971): 11-46.

[6] The book went through 15 printings between 1971 and 1972. It was part of the Book-Of-The-Month-Club and was serialized in *Psychology Today* and *New York Post*.
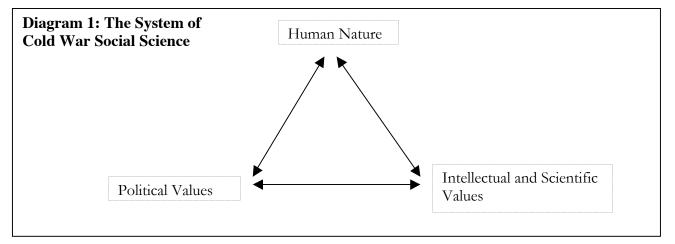
[7] Herrnstein, "IQ" ,*Atlantic Monthly,* September 1971.

[8] The first, and more viciously critical version of the review (devoted to Skinner alone) was published under the title "The Case Against B.F. Skinner" in *The York Review of Books* (1971): 18-24. This version of the review made the concentration camp connection in more direct terms.

Herrnstein assume, entirely without support, that people are only motivated by reward (such as money) or punishment. On the other hand, if it is the case that humans are creative, autonomous beings then, Chomsky argued, we have a much clearer path not only to a good society, but also to a coherent science of human nature.

It takes very little looking to find articles or books published in the twenty years after World War II that, like this editorial, mix up politics, norms of academic work, and the understanding of the human mind. Claims about one were regularly treated as claims about others. Thus, taking a stand on a norm or value of scientific practice marked a parson's political views and stance on human nature. Similarly, a stance on human nature marked and implied a person's scientific philosophy and political orientation. [See Diagram 1]

Diagram 1: The System of Cold War Social Science

Human Nature

Political Values

Intellectual and Scientific Values

As a consequence of this linkage, thinking was a critical matter in cold war America. It was more than a topic of concern for psychologists. It's significance reached far beyond an individual's concern with his or her own psyche to a political dimension. To many Americans, freedom of thought distinguished democratic citizens from the subjects of totalitarian states. Thus the quest to understand and explain human nature involved a combination of values that were, at once, scientific, intellectual, social, and political.

At stake were not only the resolution of those values, but also the determination of expertise. Which people would be would be judged qualified to discuss these values? Empirical

statements about human nature were yoked to normative standards of how human nature should be investigated. While we might expect such linkage, the stakes for psychology were high. This was in part because of a habit among psychologists and their audiences, to draw linkages between the mind of the scientist and the human mind.[9] Methodological prescriptions were tightly tied to empirical statements and, even more, to the assumption that psychologists took human thinking *to be* much like what the thinking that psychologists *should* adopt. Further, linkage of proper academic thinking with human nature often operated with a third point or vertex: political character.

This paper examines how cold war social sciences and their audiences generated a system that linked the science of human nature, academic values, and political orientation. In this system, valid political orientation, the best of social science, and the essential aspects of human nature were united under a single banner: the autonomous, creative, and rational self. The kind of person who possessed those most desired traits served as canonical example or even ideal type of three things at once: the human, the democratic citizen, and the intellectual.

For a time, this was a robust and self-sustaining system in which each of the three elements was supported, maintained and legitimated by the others. Those who could wear the mantle of social science could wield their expertise to pronounce on political matters while maintaining a stance of objectivity. Conversely, the adoption of the proper politics orientation offered individuals an increased possibility of being marked as objective, non-ideological, and therefore a candidate for being a social science expert.

However, this system maintained itself for only a period. By the 1960s, it was no longer clear that academic social scientists, democratic citizens, and humans were interchangeable. The virtuous traits (autonomy, creativity, rationality) that had once united these types came to divide them. The politics associated with rationality were no longer so clear. Nor was it clear exactly who would best stand as an example of the creative, autonomous, creative person. Because of these

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[9] I have detailed discussion of this history in Jamie Cohen-Cole, "Instituting the Science of Mind: Intellectual Economies and Disciplinary Exchange at Harvard's Center for Cognitive Studies," *British Journal for the History of Science* 40, no. 4 (2007): 567-97; Jamie Cohen-Cole, "The Reflexivity of Cognitive Science: The Scientist as Model of Human Nature," *History of the Human Sciences* 18, no. 4 (2005): 107-39.

shifts in political culture and in understandings of who possessed the valued character traits, the expertise of social scientists was also placed into question as their objectivity, rationality and open-mindedness came into question.

To understand the special relevance of the creative autonomous self during the cold war it is necessary, however, to begin with the social and political problems that a citizen with those attributes was supposed to resolve

PLURALISM AND THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN SOCIETY

. From World War II into the Cold War, social critics, intellectuals, and policy makers came to see change, variety, and, especially, complexity as defining features of modern America.[10] Commentators noted the proliferation of institutions, professions, occupations and forms of knowledge; the multiplicity of religions, races and ethnicities. Even though, in principle, liberals appreciated variety, they also felt that if it was not carefully controlled then American society and culture would fracture and undermine the nation's democracy. The question, then, was how to develop a society that would facilitate cultural unity and integration while maintaining healthy room for diversity, toleration of difference, and individual autonomy. What connected these two challenges of modern society (achieving unity and the maintenance of individual autonomy) was a consistent view and set of values regarding the self and its rational independence.

Autonomy was a theme common to discourse about life in America as well as analysis of international politics and culture. When considering the domestic side of these issues Americans, from the most elite circles of intellectual discourse to the popular media, focused their attention on autonomy's inverse: conformity. From the works of such popular social critics as William Whyte and David Riesman to mass market magazines including *Reader's Digest*, *Woman's Day*, *Life*, and novels like *The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit* and *Revolutionary Road*, Americans expressed a range of

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[10] See for instance, Daniel Bell, "America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*," in *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 37; J.T. Dunlop et al., "Toward a Common Language for the Area of the Social Sciences," (Harvard University, 1941); Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation*, 1st Perennial Classics ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 8; Talcott Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals in Society," *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 3 (1964): 339-57.

emotions ranging from anxiety to horror about the growing conformity in the nation.[11] They concluded that the conditions of modern American life, including the corporatization of work and the conditions of suburban life, produced conformity and therefore weakness in American culture and society. As Daniel Bell put it, "everyone is against conformity, and probably everyone always was. Thirty-five years ago, you could easily rattle any middle-class American by charging him with being a "Babbitt." Today you can do so by accusing him of conformity."[12]

These concerns about individuality at home were energized by the way that social commentators and policy makers looked at international affairs. Some argued that the America's inventive spirit depended on its diversity. The homogenization of thought implied by conformity thus threatened to weaken the nation.[13] In 1959, a survey of American culture noted that variety and "heterogeneity" had become one of America's new values.[14] Moreover, domestic conformity suggested a lack of distance between the United States and the Soviet Union. For the group of intellectuals concerned with "mass society," there was a direct connection between conformity and authoritarianism.[15] Life in the bland and homogeneous American suburb and the totalitarian machine of the USSR shared a common feature: they were both populated by a similar sort of subject. In the imagination of liberal intellectuals, it was that kind of person who, devoid of a true self, could undermine American democracy.

Americans consistently framed the distinction between capitalism and communism as a conflict between a system that allowed freedom of thought and one that did not. "NSC-68", the founding document of American cold war strategy, saw American democracy as constituted by

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[11] Sloan Wilson, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955); Richard Yates, *Revolutionary Road*, 1st ed. (Boston: Little Brown, 1961).

[12] Bell, "America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*," p. 35.

[13] Bryson, *Science and Freedom;* Conant, *Education in a Divided World: The Function of the Public Schools in Our Unique Society*, p. 179.

[14] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Shifts in American Values: Review of Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States*," *World Politics* 11, no. 2 (1959): 251-61.

[15] Although intellectuals lacked of unanimity as to whether the United States was becoming a mass society, there was more general agreement as to the linkage of conformity, mass society, and authoritarianism. Generally, through the early 1960s, liberals such as Daniel Bell did not believe that the United Sates was a mass society. See Bell, "America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*"; Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960). Leftists including Irvin Howe and European émigrés including members of the Frankfurt School were more likely to diagnose the United States as a mass society.

freedom of thought, reason, tolerance, diversity, and creativity. These views can be also found in George Kennan's policy analysis in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, in as well as in more pedestrian literature such as pamphlets circulated to high school and college administrators.[16] Left by the wayside in these genres analysis was discussion of the private versus state ownership of property or free markets versus command central control of the economy.

Academic social scientists played an important role in this particular discourse on freedom of thought and autonomy. Their work gave structure and authority to ideas of politics and personhood that circulated among educators, social critics, and policy makers. It gave Americans a system for conducting social critique in the language of the individual psyche. And it contributed to the emphasis on psychic autonomy at home and abroad, while at the same time providing a set of formal tools for understanding persons that could be deployed by more widely read social critics.

By World War II social scientists had devoted significant attention to political questions couched in psychological terms.[17] They combined psychology and anthropology in national character studies, in the culture and personality movement, as well as in psychological explanations for the political views held by individuals. The most important work in this latter genre of social science was *The Authoritarian Personality* (*TAP*), a 1000-page, 26-chapter study co-authored by Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford.[18]

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[16] "NSC-68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," (1950); X, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947; Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions* (Washington: 1949).

[17] Allen. L. Edwards, "The Signs of Incipient Fascism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 39, no. 3 (1944): 301-16; Allen. L. Edwards, "Unlabled Fascist Attitudes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (1941): 36; Abraham H. Maslow, "The Authoritarian Character Structure," *Journal of Social Psychology* 18 (1943): 401-11. These built on earlier studies. See E. Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941); Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics;* Ross Stanger, "Fascist Attitudes: An Exploratory Study," *Journal of Social Psychology* 7, no. 3 (1936): 309-19; Ross Stanger, "Fascist Attitudes: Their Determining Conditions," *Journal of Social Psychology* 7, no. 4 (1936): 438-54.

[18] The chronology, history and prehistory of the project may be found in R. Nevitt Sanford, "A Personal Account of the Study of Authoritarianism: Comment on Samelson," *Journal of Social Issues* 42 (1986): 209-14; William F. Stone, Gerda Lederer, and Richard Christie, "The Status of Authoritarianism," in *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*, ed. William F. Stone, Gerda Lederer, and Richard Christie (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993). For discussion of the earlier research on psychology and fascism by Erich Fromm and other members of the Frankfurt School see Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973); Franz Samelson, "The Authoritarian Character from Berlin to Berkeley and Beyond: The Odyssey of a Problem," in *Strength and Weakness;* Franz Samelson, "Authoritarianism from Berlin to Berkeley: On Social Psychology and History," *Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 1 (1986): 191-208.

The main task of this project was to construct an entire character profile for the authoritarian personality and a set of tools with which to identify him or her. This work consequently held that prejudiced and anti-democratic beliefs were only two symptoms of a character "syndrome" which had numerous pathological manifestations. To demonstrate this pathology, the book's research program involved constructing, administering and statistically analyzing survey tests of ethnocentrism (the "E scale"), authoritarianism or fascism (the "F scale), and anti-Semitism (the "AS scale"). In addition to these techniques, *TAP* included clinical interviews and use of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), which was a projective instrument similar to the Rorschach test. *TAP* repeatedly stressed that the scores produced with each of these tests were highly correlated with scores on the other tests.

What then were the characteristics of the authoritarian personality? First, authoritarians were remarkably similar to one other. *TAP* noted, although those "extremely low" in authoritarianism were a diverse group, those who scored high on the authoritarian scale were very uniform.[19] *TAP* thereby made a social scientific argument for the relationship of individualism to democracy and suggested the non-democratic nature of social homogeneity. It also made identification of people afflicted with authoritarianism simple since one was just like another.

The beauty of *TAP* was that it identified psychic traits that would appear both in relationship to other people and also intrapsychically. For instance, authoritarian people exhibited prejudiced and stereotyped thinking. On the social side, this meant "generalized ethnocentrism" – a reactionary rejection of all kinds of different social groups.[20]

On the personal, intrapsychic side, such prejudice meant "stereotyped thinking," "rigidity," "narrow-mindedness," and "intolerance of ambiguity." All of these terms had technical definitions and indicated forms of cognitive deficiencies that would occur even in contexts stripped of social cues. Consider, for instance, one of the more widely discussed cognitive disorders associated with authoritarianism: "rigidity." Earlier psychologists had linked rigidity to lower and simpler organisms,

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[19] Theodor W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 1.
[20] Ibid., p. 100, 47-49, 464, 80.

feeblemindedness, mental disorders, lack of creativity, lack of intelligence, and ethnocentrism.[21]

"Rigidity" in *The Authoritarian Personality* had much the same connotation as it did in the earlier

psychological studies. However, Frenkel-Brunswik and her co-authors also emphasized the

irrational nature of those afflicted with this trait.[22] The stated reason for this irrationality was that

authoritarians operated by "taking over conventional clichés and values."

> There is no place for ambivalence or ambiguities…Every attempt is made to
> eliminate them. In the course of these attempts a subtle but profound distortion of
> reality has taken place, precipitated by the fact that stereotypical categorizations can
> never do justice to all the aspects of reality."[23]

The authoritarian's distortions of reality occurred not only in connection with his or her social

judgment, but also under conditions of pure sensory stimulation.

Frenkel-Brunswik found that ethnocentric children deal particularly poorly with ambiguous

perceptual stimuli.[24] Jerome Fisher added a set of experiments that compared the memory abilities

of the ethnocentric and non-ethnocentric. Like the authors of *TAP*, Fisher found "rigidity" and

"intolerance of ambiguity" in the ethnocentric subjects.[25] Jack and Jeanne Block and Milton

Rokeach reported that individuals with authoritarian minds were handicapped by a range of

cognitive deficits.[26]

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[21] Raymond B. Cattell, ""Creative Effort" and Disposition Rigidity," *Journal of Personality*, no. 4 (1946): 229-38; K.L. Lewin, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935), p. 205; Abraham S. Luchins, "Proposed Methods of Studying Degrees of Rigidity in Behavior," *Journal of Personality* 15, no. 3 (1947): 242-46; Abraham S. Luchins, "Social Influences on Perception of Complex Drawings," *Journal of Social Psychology* 21 (1945): 257-73; Herbert Spencer, "The Comparative Psychology of Man," *Mind* 1, no. 1 (1876): 7-20; H. Werner, "Abnormal and Subnormal Rigidity," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 41 (1946): 15-24. For an analysis of the use the term, see Shelia M. Chown, "Rigidity--a Flexible Concept," *Psychological Bulletin* 56, no. 3 (1959): 195-223; Milton Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 43, no. 3 (1948): 259-78.

[22] See the discussion in Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Sex, People and Self as Seen through the Interviews," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 441.

[23] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Comprehensive Scores and Summary of Interview Results," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 480.

[24] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Tolerance toward Ambiguity as a Personality Variable," *American Psychologist* 3 (1948): 268.

[25] Jerome Fisher, "The Memory Process and Certain Psychosocial Attitudes, with Special Reference to the Law of Prägnanz," *Journal of Personality* 19, no. 4 (1951): 406-20. For a more recent example which also demonstrates the more accurate memories of those tolerant of ambiguity see Werner Früh and Werne Wirth, "Looking into the Black Box: Intolerance of Ambiguity and Dynamic-Transactional Processes in the Development of Issue-Related Images," *European Journal of Communication* 7, no. 4 (1992): 541-69.

[26] J. Block and Jeanne Block, "An Investigation of the Relationship between Intolerance of Ambiguity and Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Personality* 19, no. 3 (1951): 303-11; Milton Rokeach, "The Effect of Perception Time Upon Rigidity and Concreteness of Thinking," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 20 (1950): 206-16; Milton Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 43, no. 3 (1948): 259-

This demonstration of the cognitive deficits associated with ethnocentrism would become a touchstone of cold war social sciences. They were, for instance, part of Gordon Allport's seminal book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, the most important work on racism in the post-war period after Gunner Myrdal's *The American Dilemma*.[27] Allport, like Fisher and the authors of *TAP*, explained racism by referencing the irrationality of racist views.

A second and significant attribute distinguished the democratic character from the authoritarian one: autonomy. The authoritarian's social and cognitive deficits extended well beyond the prejudice that closed him or her off from true experience. Ultimately, the root of the authoritarian's illness was the lack of true self. He or she was consequently dominated by other people, by experience, or by society. The authoritarian's attachment to "conventional clichés and values" was a "crutch" that substituted for the absent self.[28] *TAP* noted the ethnocentrist's "conformity to externally imposed values," "blind submission to the ingroup," and "uncritical obedience" to authority figures.[29] The authors noted that people with democratic minds possessed "greater autonomy", "an internalized conscience…oriented toward genuine, intrinsic values and standards rather than toward external authorities,"[30] and an inner core that defined the autonomous self.

TAP concluded that autonomy allowed individuals not only to be true to themselves but also to maintain a connection with truth and reality. Conformity, on the other hand, produced only lies and errors in vision, memory or logic. Ultimately, this account of conformity was embedded in the very tools that psychologists developed to diagnose it. In the work of Solomon Asch and Richard Crutchfield the measure of conformity was defined as the percentage of times that a subject yielded to community consensus when that community was in error. By contrast, the inherent value

78; Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems* (New York: Basic Books, 1960); Milton Rokeach, "Prejudice, Concreteness of Thinking, and Reification of Thinking," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 46 (1951): 83-91.

[27] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954).

[28] Frenkel-Brunswik, "Comprehensive Scores and Summary," p. 480.

[29] Daniel J. Levinson, "The Study of Ethnocentric Ideology," Ibid., p. 149-50.

[30] Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Dynamic and Cognitive Personality Organization as Seen through the Interviews," Ibid., p. 454, 67.

of individuality could be seen in the fact that truth could be achieved only through difference from the group.[31]

APPLYING THE CLOSED MIND IN POLITICS

Having framed their vision of politics in the terms of the individual character and psyche, mid-century social scientists turned to managing political discourse by shaping the very meanings of the open, autonomous mind and the closed, conformist mind. Social scientists thereby prepared a technology for conducting politics in psychological terms. Their tools enabled those who adopted them to wear a mantle of apolitical, non-ideological science while at the same time labeling certain political positions as objectively irrational.

According to some cold war centrists non-mainstream political views had all of the attributes of conformist authoritarianism: rigidity, closed-mindedness, and intolerance – and were therefore unworthy of consideration. Although the specific political views criticized as rigid and closed minded varied, through the 1950s and into the 1960s it was liberal centrists who most often applied such epithets to their opponents – whether communists or others on the left or racists, McCarthy, his supporters, or members of the John Birch Society on the right.[32]

Social scientists largely looked for ways to frame authoritarianism as a characteristic that could be possessed by both the right and the left. This move had the advantage of casting the study of authoritarianism as apolitical and therefore more scientific. The social psychologist Milton Rokeach continued this trend by substituting a nominally politically neutral term, "closed minded," for the loaded term "authoritarian." Because of the supposed neutrality of the tool, the act of labeling itself could be an action innocent of politics, determined not by sentiment but by rational, expert judgment.

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[31] S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in *Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations*, ed. Harold Guetzkow (Oxford: Carnegie Press, 1951); Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Character," *American Psychologist* 10, no. 5 (1955): 191-98.

[32] See for instance, Lipset, *Political Man;* M. Brewster Smith, "Review of T.W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D.J. Levinson & R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 45 (1950): 775-79. For a historical analysis that drew on similar models see Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

The use of psychology as a means of pursuing centrist politics can be readily seen in the interview forms developed by Milton Rokeach to diagnose closed-mindedness. A primary characteristic of the "closed mind" was its tendency to engage in inappropriate social critique. Rokeach marked as closed minded those who agreed with any of the following statements: "most people don't give a 'damn' for others," "unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on," or "in times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness."[33]

Pessimism and ambition were also candidates for closed-mindedness. On Rokeach's scale, respondents who agreed "it is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future" or "fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place" would be scored as closed-minded.[34] The same held true for those who hoped to make a significant difference in the world. In this case, the closed-minded person would agree with statements such as "the main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important," "if given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world" or "while I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, Beethoven, or Shakespeare." To Rokeach all of these statements indicated closed-mindedness because they displayed classic symptoms of authoritarianism including "concern with power and status" and "self-aggrandizement as a defense against self-inadequacy."[35]

To these questions aimed at catching social critique, pessimism, or hopes for personal impact on the world—all of which centered on discontent with the current state of affairs—Rokeach added items specifically designed to note forms of right or left-wing ideological commitment or "opinionation." (Opinionation had essentially the same cognitive characteristics as closed-mindedness, including the inability to think logically.) Agreeing with such statements, then, would mark the subject as being a variety of closed-minded person. Some examples of this latter form of question are:

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[33] Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, p. 76, 77, 80.
[34] Ibid., p. 75.
[35] Ibid., p. 76.

Left Opinionation:

A person must be pretty stupid if he still believes in differences between the races.

A person must be pretty short sighted if he believes that college professors should be forced to take loyalty oaths

Only a simple minded fool would think that Senator McCarthy is a defender of American democracy.

Thoughtful persons know that the American Legion is not really interested in democracy.

It is all too true that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Right Opinionation:

It's the fellow travelers or Reds who keep yelling all the time about Civil Rights.

Any intelligent person can plainly see that the real reason that America is rearming is to stop aggression.[36]

Rokeach argued that he was not measuring specific beliefs, but the form in which they were expressed. For Rokeach what made the above statements particular markers of closed-mindedness was the tone of assurance they expressed and the way they characterized opposing views. Rokeach implicitly demanded that (on pain of being labeled irrational) people remain unemotional on significant issues. Thus, for instance, an unwillingness to calmly discuss differences between the races was a marker of irrational ideology.

Ultimately, Rokeach's method of character analysis largely mirrored the techniques in *The Authoritarian Personality*. Both interpreted the opinions and beliefs expressed by subjects as symptoms of fundamental character structure. As a system for diagnosing irrationality and lack of connection with reality, Rokeach's work provided the means to dismiss social criticism from either the right or left out of hand as unworthy of consideration.

In its very aspirations to political objectivity and neutrality, the social psychology of Rokeach and his colleagues bears the mark of its time. Although they did not always agree about where the boundaries of proper belief were located, social scientists marked certain social and political forms as

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[36] Ibid., p. 83-84.

sacrosanct and developed scientific tools that demonstrated the irrationality of those who dissented. On the other hand, they often demanded that certain areas remain open to debate. For instance, Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) characterized those who believed in inequality of the races as having much the same cognitive handicaps as the authoritarians and ethnocentrists described in *TAP*. Interestingly, in writing this, Allport might have been marked as closed minded by Rokeach. On the other hand, Allport took it as entirely rational for people to be viscerally opposed to interracial marriage.

Social science produced by Rokeach, *TAP*, and the psychological research was a cornerstone of post war cultural criticism. For instance, as was the case in *TAP*, the sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset explained fascism by its irrationality.[37] This work ultimately led to contributions to Daniel Bell's volume, *The Radical Right*. In his chapter of the same volume, the historian Richard Hofstadter relied heavily on the mode of psychological analysis used in *The Authoritarian Personality*. Another opinion survey conducted by Giuseppe de Palma and Herbert McClosky during the 1950s furthered this genre of social criticism. The study concluded that people who deviate from centrist political views did so because they had crippled cognitive functions, "personality malintegration", and "social maladaptation."[38] For this survey, unlike Rokeach's work, the vehemence with which people spoke was not at issue. All that mattered was the extent to which they held unpopular views.

This analysis ultimately held sway in the social sciences and led to seeing the concerns of the right wing as largely emotional "status anxiety," rather than as legitimate or serious. It also likely helped lead liberal intellectuals like Lionel Trilling and Richard Hofstadter to hold that there was no serious argument to be made for conservative politics.[39] As one of Hofstadter's graduate students, the historian Dorothy Ross, recalls, the prevailing sentiment was that conservatives "had no mind."[40] Such treatment of the Right as irrational "pseudoconservatives" also may have largely helped steer

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[37] Lipset, *Political Man*.

[38] Giuseppe Di Palma and Herbert McClosky, "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes," *The American Political Science Review* 64, no. 4 (1970): 1054-73.

[39] Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1950).

[40] Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, p. 148.

intellectuals away from serious consideration of conservatism until the 1980s.[41] However it was not only liberal intellectuals who used psychology to constrain political debate.

As with *TAP*, a report by the American Educational Association's Education Policies Commission (EPC) equated proper politics with mental health. It used politics as a gauge for mental health, conflated politics of isolationism with the personality characteristic of being anti-social, and even promoted the adoption of the politics of containment as a cure for individual emotional distress.[42]

Often psycho-political critique appeared via labeling unacceptable politics as "ideology." Social critics contrasted free (and hence democratic) thought with ideological thought by mobilizing social psychology's conceptual apparatus for understanding deviant politics. In this model, ideology meant conforming to a system of so-called dogmatic ideas. As psychologists had argued, such conformity meant the loss of individual autonomy and therefore loss of connection with the real world. Accordingly, politicians, social critics, intellectuals, and academics suggested that the highest form of thought and political engagement was non-ideological.[43]

This argument was a refrain for the members of the Congress of Cultural Freedom [CCF], a group of intellectuals covertly funded by the CIA.[44] One member, the historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., while serving as special assistant to John F. Kennedy, echoed the analysis of authoritarianism in *TAP*. He explained the dangers of communism to the Indian people and argued that ideology was rigid, theological dogma that "obscured reality" and operated contrary to democracy, pragmatism, and empiricism.[45]

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[41] The lack of concerted attention given to conservatism is discussed in Alan Brinkley, "The Problem of American Conservatism," *American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (1994): 409-29.

[42] Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions*, p. 16.

[43] See, for instance, Bell, *The End of Ideology;* Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics;* Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1949).

[44] Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for Mind in Postwar Europe* (New York: The Free Press, 1989); Christopher Lasch, "The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in *Towards a New Past; Dissenting Essays in American History*, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (New York,: Pantheon Books, 1968).

[45] "Ideology vs Democracy." Text of a speech by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. before the Indian Council on World Affairs, New Delhi, February 15, 1962. Papers of J. Robert Oppenheimer, Box 65, Folder: Schlesinger, Arthur. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

This discourse on ideology operated on much the same terms as the psychological critique of conformity. The ideologue, much like the conformist, lacked autonomy because ideological commitment was synonymous with the surrender of freedom of thought. This was a primary reason that liberal intellectuals ranging from Sidney Hook, a leading figure in the American affiliate of the CCF, to Arthur Lovejoy, as well as EPC argued that communists should be barred from teaching positions.[46] As the EPC argued, the facts were quite clear.

> The whole spirit of free American education will be subverted unless teachers are
> free to think for themselves. It is because members of the Communist Party are
> required to surrender this right. . .that they should be excluded from employment as
> teachers.[47]

The point here was *not* that communist teachers would corrupt their pupils. Instead, communists were unsuitable as teachers because, owing to their ideological commitments and Party membership, their thoughts were not their own.[48]

While serving as Dean of Harvard's Faculty (1953-1960), McGeorge Bundy, delivered testimony to Congress in which he took almost precisely the same position. Although Bundy contended ""the real scientific strength of the country is in its free minds," and that Harvard applied no political tests for employing faculty, nevertheless the university excluded "Americans who still surrender to Communist discipline."[49] However, even those who were not communists but who, in Bundy's eyes, leaned suspiciously too far to the left were suspect as well.[50]

Ultimately, Bundy demanded "complete candor" as to their past associations and activities from the individuals under suspicion. This was, perhaps, because communists were usually taken to be constitutionally dishonest. Hence the ability of a person to be truthful indicated that he or she was free from one of the primary disabilities of communism. A complete airing of the person's past

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[46] For discussion of Hook and Lovejoy's view that communists could not think for themselves see Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 105-06.
[47] Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions*, p. 40.
[48] For an essentially similar argument see Raymond B. Allen, "Communists Should Not Teach in American Colleges," *Educational Forum* 13, no. 4 (1949): 433-40.
[49] Testimony delivered to the Subcommittee on the Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations of the U.S. Senate, March 15, 1955.
[50] One such individual, because of his having supported Henry Wallace's 1948 presidential campaign, was Everett Mendolsohn, then a graduate student in History of Science. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower*, p. 260.

therefore also indicated a break from it. Finally, the requirement of candor had the advantage that it put Bundy in a position to retain a nominal commitment to the freedom of ideas and yet to dismiss staff, faculty, or graduate students not for their beliefs, but for failing to tell the whole truth.

Hook, Bundy, and the EPC thus reached the paradoxical position of calling for free thinking while excluding certain people and ideas from the classroom because their unconventional ideas proved they did not have free thought. Operating within the same system as that advanced by *TAP,* these educators and administrators believed that the improper nature of particular political views could be reduced to and understood in terms of the specific kinds of mentality and deficits associated with them.

AUTONOMY, CREATIVITY, AND SOCIETY

If improper politics could be explained by a certain form of thinking, narrow minded conformity, intellectuals of the cold war period offered a contrasting, positive model of individual cognition that would advance the values they believed constituted America. That positive character type possessed inner autonomy, the ultimate form of which was creativity. As with conformity, creativity was more than a personal attribute. It had social ramifications. It was to be the very foundation of pluralist society that social critics hoped to build.

In creativity could be found the inverse of all of the personal, emotional, cognitive, social, and political deficits of the conformist: health, flexibility, openness, tolerance, and democratic character.[51] To the authors of *The Authoritarian Personality*, the democratic person's autonomy produced greater "creativity," "spontaneity," "imagination," and "self-actualization" than the authoritarian was capable of.[52] This meant that creativity was essential to democracy. Indeed it was

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[51] J. G. Schimek, "Creative Originality: Its Evaluation by Use of Free-Expression Tests" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1954), p. 44. Cited in Donald W. MacKinnon, "IPAR's Contribution to the Conceptualization and Study of Creativity," in *Perspectives in Creativity*, ed. Irving A. Taylor and Jacob W. Getzels (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975), p. 64-65. Frank Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health; Origins of Personal Vitality and Creative Freedom* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1963); Frenkel-Brunswik, "Tolerance toward Ambiguity"; Lawrence S. Kubie, "Blocks to Creativity," in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); Abraham H. Maslow, "Creativity in Self-Actualizing People," in *Creativity and Its Cultivation*, ed. Harold H. Anderson (New York: Harper & Row, 1959); Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, p. 58.
[52] Frenkel-Brunswik, "Comprehensive Scores and Summary," p. 466; Daniel J. Levinson, "The Study of Ethnocentric Ideology," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 150. See also Frenkel-Brunswik, "Tolerance toward Ambiguity."

often linked to autonomy and "inner-direction."[53] Consequently, praise of creativity and critique of authoritarianism often traveled together, as in the work of Arthur Koestler, one of the founders of the CCF.[54]

As one Defense Department official indicated, many Americans believed in the opposition of authoritarianism and creative insight. "In practically every discussion of creative effort, great emphasis is placed on the point that new ideas constitute departures from conventionalized views. On this account, it is argued that any form of rigorous indoctrination tends to limit intellectual freedom and, therefore, to reduce creative capabilities."[55]

For many psychologists, social scientists, public intellectuals, policy makers, business leaders, and their readers in the 1950s, creativity and autonomy were unalloyed aids to building a bourgeois society.[56] Industry and business publications lauded the technique of brainstorming to solve problems at factories or make marketing programs more productive.[57] Vocational guidance experts noted that creativity made for a more effective sales force.[58] Business leaders and engineers sought ways to speed up the rate of product innovation and development by improving the work environment.[59] Complementing this trend, psychologists examined how group processes affected creative thought.[60]

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[53] See, for instance, Herbert Gutman, "The Biological Roots of Creativity," in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 3.. Originally published as Herbert Gutman, "The Biological Roots of Creativity," *Genetic Psychology Monographs* (1961): 419-58..

[54] Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (New York: Macmillan, 1964); Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1941); Arthur Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe* (London: Hutchinson, 1959).

[55] This particular individual disagreed with the connection between creativity and democracy, arguing that the Soviet Union's success in producing innovative science was a product of its investment in education, research and development. Situated as he was in the Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency [DARPA], this commentator had a personal stake in connecting creative ideas not to democracy, but to monetary investments. N.E. Golvin, "The Creative Person in Science," in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, ed. Calvin W. Taylor and Frank Barron (New York & London: John Wiley & Sons, 1963), p. 20.

[56] For discussion of the defense of bourgeois society by formerly radical intellectuals see Neil Jumonville, *Critical Crossings: The New York Intellectuals in Postwar America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 221-29.

[57] L.R. Bittel, "Brainstorming: Better Way to Solve Plant Problems," *Factory Management* 114, no. 5 (1956): 98-107.

[58] H.R. Wallace, "Creative Thinking: A Factor in Sales Productivity," *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* 9 (1961): 223-26.

[59] C.H. Greenwalt, *The Uncommon Man: The Individual in the Organization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

[60] Jerome S. Bruner, "The Conditions of Creativity," in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962); D. Cohen, J.W. Whitmyre, and W.H. Funk, "Effect of Group Cohesiveness and Training on Creative Thinking," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 44 (1960): 319-22; Donald W. Taylor, "Thinking," (New Haven: Yale University Department of Psychology, 1962).

The social nature of creativity stands out particularly because of how carefully it was contrasted with genius, a trait that traditionally carried anti-social connotations. Genius had a history of being associated with physical illness such as tuberculosis or some form of mental disorder ranging from insanity to neurosis. In contrast, experts insisted that creativity was a sign of health and that neuroses hindered creativity.[61] A genius, unlike a creative person, could operate, or even operated best, in social isolation.[62]

While society affected individual creativity, so too did creativity impact society. As portrayed in most literature of the 1950s, individual creativity was a productive and positive force in society. Thus, although the opposite of creativity was conformity, anti-conformity was by no means equal to creativity.

Commentators on creativity in the 1950s consistently emphasized that rejection of social norms did not imply creative thought or character. Consider the 1959 book, *The Uncommon Man: The Individual in the Organization*, by Crawford Greenwalt. In this work Greenwalt, the CEO of the Dow Chemical Company, proposed that his corporation should be the model of American society since most Americans were wage earners working in similar organizations. In Greenwalt's eyes, if organizations like Dow Chemical would reward creative ideas, American society would prosper.

Greenwalt called for people to maintain what he called "good manners" and to follow social norms while, at the same time, retaining independence of thought. Greenwalt's imagined society where people could maintain their individuality while presenting good behavior, rested upon such conservative political views as the belief that progressive income tax as hindered individual motivation.

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[61] Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health;* X. Francotte, "La Genie Et La Folie," *Revue Generale* (1890); P. Funatoli, *Il Genio E La Follia* (Siena: Tip. dell'Ancora, 1885); Lawrence S. Kubie, *Neurotic Distortions of the Creative Processes* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1958); Donald W. MacKinnon, "The Nature and Nurture of Creative Talent," *American Psychologist* 17, no. 7 (1962): 484-95; Jeannette Marks, *Genius and Disaster: Studies in Drugs and Genius* (New York: Adelphi, 1925); J.F. Nisbet, *The Insanity of Genius* (New York: Scribner's, 1912); R.K. White, "Note on the Psychopathology of Genius," *Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (1930): 311-15.

[62] For interesting discussion of the historical connections between isolation and insightful thinking see Martin Kusch, "Recluse, Interlocutor, Interrogator: Natural and Social Order in Turn-of-the-Century Psychological Research Schools," *Isis* 86 (1995): 419-39; Steven Shapin, "'the Mind Is Its Own Place': Science and Solitude in 17th-Century England," *Science in Context* 4 (1991): 191-218.

While it might not be surprising that people like Greenwalt would laud independence of mind as long as this occurred within the narrow frame of "good manners," in fact very similar sorts of analysis came from the liberal end of the political spectrum as well. For instance, the liberal sociologist David Riesman wrote, "today, whole groups are matter-of-factly Bohemian; but the individuals who compose them are not necessarily free. On the contrary, they are often zealously tuned in to the signals of a group that finds the meaning of life, quite unproblematically, in an illusion of attacking an allegedly dominant and punishing majority of Babbits…." On this account Riesman was joined by others ranging from Paul Goodman, a leftwing poet and social critic, to Richard Crutchfield, a psychologist who specialized in the study of creativity, and Betty Friedan, who, before publishing *The Feminine Mystique*, had spent the late 1950s combating conformity among high school students. They all held that in being unconventional Beats and Bohemians were merely slavishly following their unconventional peers.[63]

Most of the discussion on the relationship between creativity and conformity was based on positions relatively similar to those staked out by Riseman and Greenwalt. Conservative and liberal social critics imagined well-mannered creativity as a solution to several different kinds of problems in postwar America and they saw conformity as inhibiting the creativity they so desired.

IDENTIFYING THE AUTONOMOUS CHARACTER

As they had with other character traits, social scientists looked to develop systematic measures of creativity and autonomy. Even though, in principle, these were democratic traits that everyone aside from authoritarians possessed, in practice it was important to be able to rank people according to their level of creativity.

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[63] Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Creative Thinking," in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962), p. 126; Paul Goodman, *Growing up Absurd; Problems of Youth in the Organized System* (New York: Random House, 1960); Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*, *Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), p. 172-76; Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, p. 246. For a similar argument about the counter conformity of juvenile delinquents see Albert Kircidel Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, Ill.,: Free Press, 1955).

Major work on the psychology of creativity began after World War II and grew out of military and defense concerns. For their part, the Atomic Energy Commission [AEC] and the National Science Foundation [NSF] supported psychological research on creativity as a part of their graduate research fellowship programs.[64] For grant officers, the problem was one of predicting the future. They needed to identify individuals who would, at a future date, be the most productive architects of the next generation of atomic weaponry. Ultimately, the trait of creativity was one of the factors the officers settled upon to make these predictions.

With the support of the Carnegie Corporation and Rockefeller Foundation, a second major research project began in 1949 at Berkeley's Institute of Personality Assessment and Research (IPAR). IPAR united members of *The Authoritarian Personality* project with alumni of the personnel assessment project of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor the CIA, to develop standards for evaluating creativity and "personal effectiveness."[65]

Three critical assumptions linked these projects on identification of the creative kind of person. First, creativity was assumed to be a useful, productive, social trait. It was not to be understood simply as a mental process. It would consequently be measured in terms of the successful and novel creation of actual products, whether they were poems, patents, buildings, or bombs. Second, the procedures for identifying creative people developed out of techniques used to study potential OSS officers, airplane mechanics, or atomic scientists. Third, psychologists devised instruments for measuring and understanding creativity that were calibrated by preexisting folk, non-scientific notions of what it was and who possessed it. That is, they found exemplary individuals who were already known for their creativity and then built tools that could distinguish these people from everyone else. Psychologists thereby constructed psychological theory directly on top of a foundation of popular wisdom about creativity.

As a consequence of using preexisting criteria of creativity, psychology's measures of autonomy, creativity, and conformity aligned closely with cultural and socioeconomic divisions in

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[64] Lindsay R. Harmon, "The Development of a Criterion of Scientific Competence," in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, ed. Calvin W. Taylor and Frank Barron (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963), p. 45.
[65] Sanford, "A Personal Account"; Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health*, p. 12.

American culture. In fact, social psychological measures were so well in step with American's cultural system that psychologists' unconscious social prejudices largely accorded with the results that their tests produced. Thus IPAR researcher Richard Crutchfield found that scientists were creative and non-conformist while the opposite held true for military officers. He also found that men were less conformist than women.[66] These results mirrored Samuel Stouffer's survey of the demography McCarthyite attitudes and tolerance of non-conformity in America: the well educated, men, community leaders, and those living cities were more tolerant than women, the less educated, and people living in rural areas.[67]

Frank Barron, another IPAR member, discovered congruence between the kinds of art that individuals preferred and where they fell on the continuum of psychological simplicity/complexity. "Complex" individuals were more creative and flexible and consistently preferred modern art, whether of the Primitivist, Expressionist, Impressionist, or Cubist variety. On the other hand, the "simple person" had authoritarian personality traits (conformity, stereotyped thinking, rigid and compulsive morality, dogma, repression) and expressed a preference for more traditional representational works such as Botticelli's "Virgin and Child," Fra Filippo Lippi's "The Adoration, and Gainsborough's "Blue Boy."[68]

Fostering the appreciation of the right kinds of culture, then, would be a way to shape individuals and politics. Intellectuals and the cultural and political elite accordingly determined that specific forms of cultural production, especially abstract expressionism, were weapons in the cold war struggle with the Soviet Union. Consequently, the CIA supported the Congress of Cultural Freedom, which, in turn, was instrumental in arranging exhibits of abstract expressionist art in Europe.[69]

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[66] Crutchfield, "Conformity and Creative Thinking", p. 130.

[67] Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

[68] Frank Barron, "Complexity-Simplicity as a Personality Dimension," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 48, no. 2 (1953): 163-72.

[69] Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), p. 252-78.

These results on creativity mirrored social scientific and popular views on authoritarianism. Where creativity would be found among the cultural elite, social critics belied that authoritarianism would be found among the working class. Thus social scientists found that authoritarianism was inversely correlated with both education and measured intelligence.[70] In his early work on the subject, the sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset repeatedly connected the tolerant, democratic mindset with "sophistication," education, and cosmopolitan experience.[71] At the same time, Lipset and the other contributors to the leading social scientific examination of *The Radical Right*, saw authoritarianism and support of McCarthy concentrated among the working class, farmers, or small businessmen.[72]

These social scientific measures demonstrate divisions within the United States over what was most genuinely American. For instance, many intellectuals, the CIA, and the organizations it funded sought to advance modern art in the service of fighting communism, advancing autonomy, creativity, and autonomous thought. And psychologists produced research that demonstrated the un-American character of the right wing and people who disliked modern art.

On the other hand, conservatives did not cede the ground of culture to liberals. Reactionaries ranging from real estate developers in Los Angeles to art critics for *The National Review* linked modern art and jazz with communism.[73] Conservative critique of modern art was not just about the art itself. As with the social scientific criticism of people who maintained a preference for traditional art, this conservative opinion used art as a means to criticize people who produced and consumed modern art.

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[70] Richard Christie, "Authoritarianism Reexamined," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, p. 168-70; Hyman and Sheatsley, "*The Authoritarian Personality* -- a Methodological Critique," p. 94; Sanford, "A Personal Account," 213.

[71] Lipset, *Political Man*.

[72] A similar point was made by one of *TAP*'s authors. See Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Further Explorations by a Contributor to *the Authoritarian Personality*," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, p. 233.

[73] In this case it was people in Los Angeles associated with real estate development. Sarah Schrank, "The Art of the City: Modernism, Censorship, and the Emergence of Los Angeles's Postwar Art Scene," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2004): 663-91; William S. Schlamm, "150 Drawings--but out of This World," *National Review*, May 23 1956; William S. Schlamm, "The Self-Importance of Picasso," *National Review*, July 13 1957. See also Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 63.

The lauding of mental attributes such as the open-minded inquiry or flexibility was a partisan endeavor, even if it did not always travel under an explicit banner of political activity.[74] Ultimately, psychological tests of creativity were tuned in favor of certain social, cultural, economic, political and professional groups in America.

The significance of the traits such as flexibility, open-mindedness, and tolerance of ambiguity gained further weight as they were marked not as just political virtues, but also as essential markers of human nature. This view appears not only in the critique of communism offered in NSC-68, but also in the new field of cognitive science.[75] For instance, Noam Chomsky's first significant contribution to linguistics and cognitive science marked ambiguity tolerance as simultaneously a characteristic of the language abilities all (normal) people possess as well as and as a feature of his own linguistic theories.[76]

So important to cognitive science's vision of human nature were creativity and ambiguity tolerance that these traits were at the center of well know debates over whether the field was a failure or a success. Both defenders and critics of cognitive science agreed that these traits were fundamental to human nature, they simply did not agree whether cognitive science could use its primary instrument, the computer, to model these traits.[77] Consequently, as was the case with other traits, such as intelligence, what was central to nature of normal humans was also possessed in greater measure among some people than among others. In this case it was reactionaries on both

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[74] For instance, as the historian James McGreevy has noted, during the 1940s and early 1950s, liberal scholars from John Dewey to Sidney Hook, Milton Rokeach, and Seymour Martin Lipset saw much overlap between Catholicism, the Catholic Church, Catholics and the authoritarian mindset. John T. McGreevy, "Thinking on One's Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928-1960," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (1997): 97-131.

[75] On creativity and constructive "instincts" of men see pp. 27 and 36 of NSC-68 as reprinted in *American Cold War Strategy* edited with an introduction by Ernest R. May (Boston and New York: Besford/St. Martin's).

[76] See especially Chomsky's discussion of phrase structure grammars and transformational grammars. Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1957); Noam Chomsky, "Three Models for the Description of Language," *IRE Transactions on Information Theory* IT-2, no. 3 (1956): 113-24.

[77] On what the computer cannot do see Jacob Bronowski, "Science as Foresight," in *What Is Science: Twelve Eminent Scientists and Philosophers Explain Their Various Fields to the Layman*, ed. James R. Newman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955); Hubert L. Dreyfus, "Alchemy and Artificial Intelligence," (RAND Corporation, 1965). Additionally, Jerome Bruner participated in a debate for a WGBH production "Tomorrow: The Thinking Machine" in which he argued that computers were deficient as models of humans because of their lack of creativity. On the creativity of computers Bruner's respondent was Oliver Selfridge. On using computers to model creativity Allen Newell, J.C. Shaw, and Herbert A. Simon, "The Processes of Creative Thinking," in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962).

the right and the left who lacked the necessary traits of tolerance, flexibility, autonomy and, thus, creativity.[78]

THE ACADEMY AS THE MODEL OF AND MODEL FOR SOCIETY

With the techniques for identifying autonomous, creative and hence democratic individuals in place, intellectuals turned to considering how those individuals would make a stronger society. The vision of the good, pluralist national society was anchored by the sort of creative mind characterized by its flexibility, well-mannered creativity, and open-minded tolerance of difference. In combination, these virtues meant the capacity to produce a plural yet cohesive culture.

Creativity played such a central role in the imagination of social critics because of the way in which they came to understand society. Their vision of national society was grounded by their daily experience with a smaller scale society, a heuristic model of America, that was held together by the very form of open-minded creativity that intellectuals valued. That smaller society was the academy itself. Because creativity was critical to the social life of intellectuals, it would also be critical to the nation.

One reason that the academy could serve as a model for national society was that one of the most popular modes of social science in the mid twentieth century was the study of small groups. Located at the center of new behavioral sciences, the study of small groups was attractive to social scientists and their patrons for several reasons. At a time where fields across the social sciences from sociology to cognitive science were considered to be scientific, creative, rigorous, and even practical simply by being interdisciplinary,[79] the study of small groups offered a bridge between psychology, sociology, and political science, the possibility of close observation as well as experimental control, as well as a close fit with one of the leading modes of social science theory at the time, the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons.

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[78] More recent research has echoed these findings on the intolerance of ambiguity among conservatives. David S. Amodio et al., "Neurocognitive Correlates of Liberalism and Conservatism," *Nature Neuroscience* 10 (2007): 1246-47; John T. Jost et al., "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition," *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 3 (2003): 339-75.
[79] Cohen-Cole, "Instituting the Science of Mind."

Small groups, whether they were neighborhood communities, the National Security Council, or the Supreme Court, appeared to some social scientists to be *the* forum where most, or even all, social, cultural, and political activity occurred.[80] For intellectuals and politicians one of the most significant forms of small groups was the conference.

The anthropologist Margaret Mead saw conferences as a fundamental, "new social invention" that was a characteristic feature of the modern world.[81] Brock Chisolm, the Director-General of the World Health Organization minced no words in underlining the significance of conferences for the world. As he put it, "many of our most important social functions are carried out in meetings." In fact, meetings had become so important that not only had they become a primary forum of social and political life, they were also, increasingly the place for resolving conflicts. "Meetings," Chisolm asserted, "have begun to replace battlefields as the arenas in which relationships between groups of people are determined."[82]

As with much of early post-war experimental social psychology, experimental studies of small groups looked to offer explanations of human nature and behavior that was independent of context as well as the content that the experimental subjects worked with. Such stripping of context and content was a means for social psychology to approach a universal, even natural science.[83] Research cast in a context-free mode enabled social scientists to use their knowledge about one part of society to think about the remainder of society.

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[80] See, for instance, Sidney Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior; a Study of Leadership* (Princeton, N.J.,: Princeton University Press, 1961). One seminal study, completed in the 1950s and that circulated in draft form for two decades argued that the nation is a network of individuals connected to one another. That is, it is not an anonymous, faceless mass. Even a "hermit in the Okefenokee Swamps" and another "hermit in the Northwest woods" would be linked to each other through a chain of only about length seven of individuals who know one another. Ithiel de Sola Pool and Manfred Kochen, "Contacts and Influence," *Social Networks* 1, no. 1 (1978): 5-51..

[81] Margaret Mead and Paul Byers, *The Small Conference. An Innovation in Communication* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1968), 3, 9.

[82] Brock Chisholm, "Preface", in Mary Capes, *Communication or Conflict; Conferences: Their Nature, Dynamics, and Planning* (New York: Association Press, 1960), p.xi.

[83] For discussion of the content and context free nature of small group studies as well as its rise and fall, see Greenwood, *The Disappearance of the Social in American Social Psychology*, 185-215; Joseph E. McGrath, "Small Group Research, That Once and Future Field: An Interpretation of the Past with an Eye to the Future.," *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice* 1, no. 1 (1997): 7-27.

The wave of research on small groups therefore enabled social scientists to use the social world they knew best, their own, as a heuristic device for understanding social interaction in general. Accordingly, one of the most substantive areas of work within small group study was directed toward the study of academics, policy makers, and other experts.[84] Consequently, to the luminaries of the social scientific world, knowledge about themselves was inextricably tied to their subsequent articulations of how humans, culture, and society functioned.

Although central to post-war social science, small group research was only a small part of a broader intellectual culture that regularly, casually, and perhaps habitually used the academy as a model of other parts of society. In fact, the linkage of intellectuals and the academy to the rest of society occurred outside of theoretical and experimental works in the social sciences. Humanists and physical scientists joined social scientists in the use of academic culture for thinking about national and international issues. At the center of their diagnosis of society's ills and of its cure was a casual, even reflexive treatment of the social world of the academy as microcosm of and ideal type for American society or even the entire world. To the Columbia sociologist Daniel Bell, the university was a central driving mechanism of the transformation of the nation from a series of disparate regional, rural cultures to a modern, cosmopolitan country with complex, yet "national culture"[85]

As a consequence of this conflation of the academy with the world at large, academic work and the politics within the academy could be joined in the language of national or international politics. This mirror of the academy and the rest of the world took on a special energy in psychology. Generalized, universal statements about people uttered by a psychologist were taken to apply to that psychologist him or herself. This is to say that when a psychologist spoke about humans, it has been common to treat that statement as a reflexive one. Statements about scientific

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[84] For instance Robert F. Bales, "How People Interact in Conferences," *Scientific American* 192 (1955): 31-55; D. G. Marquis, Harold Guetzkow, and R. W. Heyns, "A Social Psychological Study of the Decision-Making Conference," in *Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations*, ed. Harold Guetzkow (Oxford: Carnegie Press, 1951).
[85] Daniel Bell, *The Reforming of General Education; the Columbia College Experience in Its National Setting* (New York,: Columbia University Press, 1966). For similar analysis that situated the academy as alternately the center of or the microcosm of society see Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 15, 27, 31.

problems within the academy. Consequently, solutions to the challenges faced by the academy could also be solutions to the problems of America and the world. In this intellectual and cultural context, the growing complexity and specialization in knowledge would cause grave concern. It would be read again and again as "fragmentation" of knowledge and suggest fragmentation of the society at large.

Given this analysis of the problems faced by the academy and the nation, creativity, as it was then defined, offered a solution for generating a unified intellectual and national culture. The particular significance of creative thought in the academy for generating a cohesive society appeared in an American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) conference in late 1963 or early 1964 on the relationship of science and culture that was attended by the leading lights of intellectual world.[90] At the AAAS conference, concern mounted over the growing specialization of knowledge and over the increased importance of science and technology that had resulted in a society where individuals, lacking sufficient expertise, were divorced both from decisions about the direction of the country and one another.[91]

But if the fragmentation of knowledge generated by its ever-increasing complexity could cause social disorder, then a potential solution for social disorganization could be integration of the different areas of human knowledge by people who were sufficiently creative. The art historian James Ackerman argued that the specialization of knowledge was not necessarily a problem; the different domains of culture, science and art, for instance, cohered at the point of their highest and most creative development. It was only the low-level "technicians" who could not communicate

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[90] The conference proceedings, first published in early 1965, indicate that the conference occurred about a year earlier. The participants were Daniel Bell, Frederick Burkhardt, Douglas Bush, Bruce Chalmers, Benjamin DeMott, Lillian Hellman, Hudson Hoagland, Gyorgy Kepes, Leon Kirchner, Harold Lasswell, William Letwin, Herbert Marcuse, Margaret Mead, Robert Merton, Elting Morison, Robert Morison, F.S.C. Northrop, Talcott Parsons, Don K. Price, Edward Purcell, W.V.O. Quine, I.A. Richards, Walter Rosenblith, B.F. Skinner, Krister Stendahl, Julius Stratton, George Wald, Harry Woolf. "Preface to the Issue," *Daedalus* 94, no. 1 (1965): iii-iv.

[91] Daniel Bell, "The Disjunction of Culture and Social Structure: Some Notes on the Meaning of Social Reality," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 244. Originally published as Daniel Bell, "The Disjunction of Culture and Social Structure: Some Notes on the Meaning of Social Reality," *Daedalus* 94, no. 1 (1965): 208-22.

with one another.[92] In fact, to Ackerman it was clear not only that creativity could facilitate communication between the disciplines, but that creativity emerged from interdisciplinary training.[93] Creativity, interdisciplinarity, and cultural cohesion, then, each helped to produce the other.

Gerald Holton, a historian of science, professor of physics, and the editor of the AAAS conference proceedings, agreed with Ackerman's analysis. Holton noted that scientists, at the moment of discovery and invention, draw on a repository of ideas or themes located in a cultural domain shared with other intellectuals. For instance, scientists such as Newton and Bohr had made creative and imaginative use of such cultural themes in pursuing their physics.[94] Consequently, the cultural disorganization produced by modernity need not exist. Scientists and humanists who sufficiently exercised their imaginations and creativity could unify modern culture by developing a shared "thematic" language. In the social world inhabited by members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, creativity enabled individuals of different backgrounds to understand one another. This understanding offered the hope of a functioning academic community, and, therefore, a unified national society.

This analogy that linked the academy to the rest of society could be egalitarian or elitist, inclusive or exclusive, depending on the context. James Ackerman's argument about the necessity of creativity reserved true understanding to a select few. Similarly, the treatment that Walt Rostow proposed for dealing the difficulties of mass society was more control by broad-minded experts. Richard Bissell, the head of the CIA's Directorate for Plans, future planner of the Bay of Pigs Operation, and one of Rostow's undergraduate mentors, agreed and argued that functions of foreign policy making needed to be stripped away from bureaucratic functionaries and centralized under an

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[92] James S. Ackerman, "On *Scientia*," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 19.
[93] Ackerman's sense of the creativity of interdisciplinarity also appeared in his analysis of the relative architectural skills of Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), p. xxxiii-xxxiv.
[94] Gerald Holton, "The Thematic Imagination in Science," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Gerald Holton, *Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

powerful executive. Foreign policy expert George Kennan concurred with these views as well.[95]

This perspective was continuous with the vision of society advanced by political scientists like

Gabriel Almond that held that "democracies" functioned best when the mass of the population was

disengaged or even did not vote and in which society was managed by apolitical experts (e.g. people

such as Rostow, Bissell, Kennan, and Almond themselves).[96]

On the other hand, other intellectuals advocated creativity and noted parallels between the

academy and society using a more egalitarian mode. For instance, Harvard's 1945 manifesto on

general education compared America to the academy, but it also did so by declaring that every

American was an expert. The job of democratic education, therefore, was to teach all Americans,

each an expert in some field, how to communicate with other experts.[97] Likewise, Jacob Bronowski

had suggested that creativity could serve as social glue. Bronowski argued that creative insight is

necessary for any person to appreciate a work of art or a work of science. But unlike Ackerman,

Bronowski argued that this form of creativity could be possessed by anyone, not just the elite.[98]

The comparison between the academy to America had both positive and negative

dimensions. On the negative side, intellectuals like Daniel Bell, David Lilienthal, Leo Lowenthal,

and Seymour Martin Lipset believed there were causal links between social disorder, social

complexity, modernity, and disciplinary specialization. On the more positive side, in published

manifestos and in private correspondence, social scientists regularly drew analogies between social

pluralism in America and their own pluralistic interdisciplinary research collaboration. Such a vision

of the positive social consequences of interdisciplinarity often rested on eliding of distinctions

between the social world inside the academy and the social worlds outside. For instance academic

[95] Richard M. Bissell, Jr., "Comment on Kennan," in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); George F. Kennan, "America's Administrative Response to Its World Problems," in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); W.W. Rostow, "The National Style," in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958).
[96] On the elite theory of democracy in postwar political science, see Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 47-56.
[97] *General Education in a Free Society*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 54.
[98] Jacob Bronowski, *Science and Human Values* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1956).

disciplines were regularly referred to as if they were a social interest groups, religions, cultures of the world.

Outside the context of departmental organization, the comparison of interdisciplinarity to pluralism played an important role in the social life of the academy. Interdisciplinary activity within a group of academics offered a model not only of the possibility of people with different concerns achieving mutual understanding, but also of the chance of achieving a piece of the genuine, face-to-face community that many saw vanishing with the emergence of modern, mass society.[99]

Accordingly, whether in extended exegesis or offhand remark, when thinking about how to improve national culture, make it cohere, generate community, or decrease alienation, intellectuals repeatedly referenced the forms of life that held academic society together. For instance, perhaps drawing on his experience as director of the Institute for Advanced Study, J. Robert Oppenheimer suggested that social order, meaning, and intellectual unity could be achieved though a series of dinner parties.[100]

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LOSING CONTROL

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Social criticism of the 1960s centered on many of the themes that had motivated the social thought of the 1950s. A consistent theme was the achievement or recovery of community and the maintenance of individual autonomy and creativity. However, the individuals and the communities who would help America achieve its potential would not longer self-evidently be the kinds of people Oppenheimer invited to dinner. Already by the time of the AAAS conference, it was not so clear

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[99] For an explicit instance of this sentiment see Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*, 5-6.
[100] J. Robert Oppenheimer, "The Growth of Science and the Structure of Culture: Comments on Dr. Frank's Paper," in *Science and the Modern Mind*, ed. Gerald Holton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 73. For further discussion of Oppenheimer's call for cultural integration by intimate discussion see Charles Thorpe, *Oppenheimer: The Tragic Intellect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 273-80. For other instances of the use of the academy as metonym for society at large see John Gillin, "Grounds for a Science of Social Man," in *For a Science of Social Man*, ed. John Gillin (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p. 4-5; Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference," *Psychological Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (1940): 1-28; Marshall K. Powers, "Area Studies," *Journal of Higher Education* 26, no. 2 (1955): 82-89, 113; Alain Locke, "Pluralism and Intellectual Democracy," in *Science, Philosophy and Religion* (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, 2nd Symposium, 1942). For discussion of the pervasiveness of this practice see Dennis Wrong, "The United States in Comparative Perspective Max Lerner's America as a Civilization," *The American Journal of Sociology* 65, no. 5 (1960): 499-504.

that members of the AAAS were the solution to America's problem nor were they obviously the sources of its America's creativity and autonomous thought.

The concerns about the fracturing of society and democracy, alienation, conformity, and the loss of community and individual autonomy were staples of 1960s social criticism just as they had been in the 1950s. However, the tenor of that social thought diverged by engaging in more directly critical stance. For instance, Kenneth Keniston 1960 analysis of the causes of social alienation adopted many of the analytical tools of 1950s social science while emphasizing that he wrote not to praise but to criticize the primary features of American society and their effect on the individual man.[101] Complexity of jobs and economy and "fractured" decaying, disintegrating culture and society led to selves and society that were not "integrated." This was Keniston's diagnosis for the causes of ennui and an alienation that he insisted was a new feature of American life.[102] For the argument that society was complex and differentiated Keniston dew on 1950s social thinkers including Talcott Parsons. Keniston's claim to originality was his use of that social analysis as an explanation for the alienation he found in the handful of Harvard undergraduates that formed the empirical basis of his study and, therefore, his explanation of the condition of society and American youth more generally. In looking at Harvard men and finding America, Keniston thus joined his predecessors who also had found America, for instance, in Harvard common rooms.[103]

Despite being drawn on a small subset of American life, Keniston's assessment also was in accord social criticism issuing from other quarters. One such source was the some of the most vocal critics of the social system as it existed including the Students for Democratic Society [SDS]. Like Keniston and other established social scientists such as Seymour Martin Lipset, SDS found that specialization was a danger to democratic culture. In its Port Huron statement, SDS again and again noted the complexity of modern life and of modern knowledge and argued that this complexity led

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[101] Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York: Dell Pub. Co., 1965), 9. Citations are to the 1970 Laurel edition.
[102] On the novelty of modern alienation Ibid., 3.
[103] Raphael Demos, Supplement 18A, p. 7-8, 22. Committee on General Education in a Free Society. Harvard University Archives, UA I 10.528.10.

to apathy as well as the loss of democracy. [104] Also, much like intellectuals ranging from Daniel Bell to Clark Kerr, SDS saw the university as a reflection of, the center of, or engine for modern life in both explicit and implicit terms.[105] For instance, the fracturing of intellectual, social, and political life conditioned by the academy worried commentators from Lilienthal to Lipset and Oppenheimer in part because of a habit of seeing academic fields as social groups. As discussed above, this perspective made changes in the academy seem to reflect directly on the larger social and political system. Just as social scientists of the 1950s compared academic specialties to religions, SDS moved easily between noting how the university mirrored society to commenting on how specialization of knowledge leads to "parochial" views.[106]

While the leftist students in SDS and their predecessors reached similar diagnoses for the illness that afflicted America, the visions they offered of a healthy America was in even greater accord. Liberal scholars, intellectuals, and policy makers of the 1950s saw creativity, autonomy and genuine community as necessary for American democracy – and their absence as sources either of weakness or of totalitarianism. In a similar fashion, SDS called again and again for the creative individuals and the (true) communities they would foster. These students argued that creativity, autonomy of spirit, and genuine community were necessary to a vital American social and political life. Much like the 1950s experts on creativity, SDS saw in the creative, autonomous character not individualism, but the ability to unite a fragmented self, and to form true community that would be the foundation of a healthy national political culture.[107]

In terms of ideals for a healthy national culture and vision of what was unhealthy, SDS and the establishment shared much. Where they parted ways appeared most vividly not so much in their

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[104] "The Port Huron Statement" pp 330-332, 335, 374. as reprinted in Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*, p. 329-74.

[105] Bell, *The Reforming of General Education; the Columbia College Experience in Its National Setting.* Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 15, 27, 31. Only a few years later Bell would later condemn both SDS and Zbigniew Brzezinski for doing as he had and other established intellectuals had done: conflating the university with America. The difference, of course, was that SDS and Brzezinski saw the university and America as sites of revolutionary or, in the case of Brzezinski, counter-revolutionary police action such as having revolutionary leaders "physically liquidated." Daniel Bell, "Columbia and the New Left," *Public Interest* 13 (1968): 61-101; Zibignew Brzezinski, "Revolution and Counterrevolution (but Not Necessarily About Columbia)," *The New Republic*, June 1 1968.

[106] "The Port Huron Statement" pp. 334-335

[107] Ibid., pp. 331,32,33,34,65

expressed goals for what America could be, but in their account of the distance between America as it actually was and that ultimate goal.[108]

While texts such as NSC-68 and *The Lonely Crowd* marked autonomy as a virtue and conformity as a vice, they parted ways on the examination of how much of each were immediate present in America. NSC-68, for instance saw autonomy and creativity as a distinguishing feature of democratic societies, of which America was the leading example. On the other hand, David Riesman devoted much of *The Lonely Crowd* to bemoaning the loss of autonomy in American life. William Whyte's *The Organization Man* also reflected a similar concern with the loss of individuality. However, these views nevertheless still left open space for seeing Americans as, by definition, a nation of individualists.

Many of Riesman's readers did just that. Some in Riesman's audience insisted on (creatively) misreading Riesman and equating other-direction with conformity and inner-direction with both autonomy and virtue.[109] Further, the sociologist Dennis Wrong noted that Riesman had ruefully recalled "that virtually nobody proudly or unassumingly declared himself or herself to be other-directed, whereas people were only too ready to 'confess,' often with an air of false modesty, that they were, alas, incurably, inner-directed."[110] That is, they announced their autonomy and misreading of *The Lonely Crowd.*

This phenomenon was not a simple matter of the untutored masses misunderstanding Riesman—which they did. Scholars also made a point of conflating inner-direction and autonomy.[111] That they did so should, perhaps not be surprising since Riesman had identified

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[108] Of course, the distance between SDS and their elders occurred on a spectrum that was defined by the elders' social and political sensibilities.
[109] On this point see McClay, *The Masterless*, 248. For instances of misreading see, for instance, D. Potter, "Individuality and Conformity", in M. McGiffert, ed., *The Character of Americans* (Homewood, IL, 1964), 248; E. Larrabee, "David Riesman and His Readers", in S. Lipset and L. Lowenthal, ed., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* (Glencoe, 1961), 410.
[110] Wrong also notes that except for misspellings of Riesman's name and "rendering other-directed as 'outer-directed,' the most common misreading of *The Lonely Crowd* has always been to see it as a straightforward tract against other-direction." D. Wrong, "*The Lonely Crowd* Revisited", *Sociological Forum*, 7 (1992), 383-84.
[111] E. Sofer, "Inner-Direction, Other-Direction, and Autonomy: A Study of College Students", in S. Lipset and L. Lowenthal, ed., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* (Glencoe, 1961), 318-21. R. Dahrendorf, "Democracy without Liberty: An Essay on the Politics of the Other-Directed Man", in S. Lipset and L. Lowenthal, ed., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* (Glencoe, 1961), 204.

academia as one of the few remaining places were the inner-directed could still thrive.[112] Given the persistent misreading of inner direction as autonomy, many of Riesman's audience, especially intellectuals, would have been happy to see this statement as making the academy a space for autonomous thought. Further, *The Lonely Crowd* did not indict the academy for its conformity.

The Lonely Crowd thus left room for readers, especially academics and perhaps America as a whole, to see themselves as autonomous, creative, and inner directed. On this view, Riesman's work functioned much that of other critics of the period such as Daniel Bell, William Whyte, or the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn. They raised concerns about the emergence of mass society, noted routes that individuals could take to protect their own autonomy, and, in the case of Bell and Kluckhohn, argued that America was not a mass society at all. This kind of criticism thus belonged to the genre of what Kenneth Keniston had identified as a literature devoted to healing the nation by restating and celebrating American values.[113]

On the other hand, while SDS and left wing intellectuals valued creativity, autonomous thinking, and community, they were not so convinced that such existed in America, even in the university. Joining this criticism was one of the scholars who was an influential figure for the New Left: Herbert Marcuse. In *One Dimensional Man,* Marcuse marked free, autonomous thought as a goal. He, however, was quite clear that the existing state of affairs was totalitarian precisely because it prevented any truly free of thought.

Even more, Marcuse argued that it was the scientific attitude that was responsible for this state of affairs. For instance, as with other critics of authoritarianism, Marcuse critiqued behaviorism as inimical to freedom and, more specifically, to autonomous thought.[114] However, unlike figures from Jacob Bronowski to Arthur Koestler, this critique of served not so much as a

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[112] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 156.
[113] Daniel Bell, "America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*," in *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: The Free Press, 1962); Keniston, *The Uncommitted*, 2-3; Clyde Kluckhohn, "Have There Been Discernable Shifts in American Values During the Past Generation?," in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); Kluckhohn, "Shifts in American Values."; William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1956).
[114] Marcuse also saw operationism as part of the problem.

criticism of behaviorism as un-American, but as a critique of modern America itself. For Koestler criticism of behaviorism functioned as a discussion of an abnormal malady of social thought. On the other hand, for Marcuse, the critique of behaviorism served as an explanation of the mechanism through which the totalitarian aspects of modern society function.[115]

While scholars ranging from Rokeach and McClosky to Bell and Hofstadter had sidelined significant social criticism whether from the right or the left by using the tools of social psychology to mark criticism as irrational, within a decade such self-assurance was no longer so clearly warranted. Researchers began to find the exact opposite of Rokeach's results. Some of the specific items that Rokeach had highlighted as open-minded – such as the willingness to calmly discuss racial differences—were labeled by intellectuals in the late 1960s as a marker of racist ideology.

In addition, the very critique that Rokeach's had leveled against social criticism came into question. Of course there are numerous ways to read criticism of contemporary events. One might read these sentiments in a neutral or even positive light. One could even reverse Rokeach's moral calculus and criticize not the desire for change, but complacency. Indeed, only two years after Rokeach published *The Open and Closed Mind*, the authors of the Port Huron statement, the manifesto of the Students for Democratic Society, did just that. In calling for social and political change they critiqued the Americans who "regard[ed] the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts." They railed against "the message of our society that there is no viable alternative to the present" and they criticized "most Americans" for whom "all crusades are suspect, threatening."[116]

This kind of social and political analysis enabled a transformation in the understanding of Rokeach's particular way of measuring closed-mindedness. It was no longer seen simply as a psychological instrument, but also as a characteristic display of the limited range of action and aspiration that experts like Rokeach in the 1950s deemed acceptable. For instance, recent analysis of

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[115] Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man; Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). On Koestler and other critiques of behaviorism

[116] "The Port Huron Statement." p. 330 as reprinted in Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets.*

has argued that Rokeach's work was itself an ideological product of cold war liberal centrism.[117] Other recent scholarship has further undermined apolitical stance that Rokeach adopted. Robert Altemeyer has argued that the deficits associated with the closed mind are a phenomenon that can be found essentially only in members of the right wing.[118] If Altemeyer's results are valid one might conclude that Rokeach and other social scientists of the cold war such as Edward Shils who found authoritarianism on the left, much like the authoritarians they critiqued, were not objective, but were blinded by their own (centrist) ideology.[119]

But, even by the 1960s the cognitive virtues that Rokeach had found only among individuals who were content with the status quo seemed best located among some of those most critical of American society. Social scientists started to find that the most politically active and committed individuals from Black Nationalists to Vietnam War protestors were better off cognitively than centrists. Aside from having higher intelligence scores, psychologists found that those committed to significant politically change possessed a central virtue that *The Authoritarian Personality* had identified as a distinguishing feature of the democratic mind. Those committed to social change were more, not less, "tolerant of ambiguity".[120] The change was, thus, not in the virtue itself, but in who possessed it. This marked a transformation in who and which community, precisely, were to be the saviors that America needed. This change in the literature's account of who was most psychologically virtuous was aided by the fact that members of the New Left such as Richard Flacks were trained in social psychology conducted seminal studies on the psychology of protestors.[121]

By the later 1960s the establishment also lost control of creativity. Although the prototype of the creative person described by psychologists in the 1950s was none other than intellectuals who

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[117] Kevin Durrheim, "Theoretical Conundrum: The Politics and Science of Theorizing Authoritarian Cognition," Ibid.18, no. 3 (1997): 625-47; Samelson, "The Authoritarian Character."

[118] Bob Altemeyer, *Enemies of Freedom : Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism*, 1st ed., *Jossey-Bass Social and Behavioral Science Series* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1988); Bob Altemeyer, *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981).

[119] Edward Shils, "Authoritarianism: 'Right' and 'Left'," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, ed. Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954).

[120] James Sidanius, "Cognitive Functioning and Sociopolitical Ideology Revisited," *Political Psychology* 6, no. 4 (1985): 637-61.

[121] Richard Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of the Student Protest," *Journal of Social Issues* 23, no. 3 (1967): 52-75.

were defining creativity,[122] by the late 1960s even Seymour Martin Lipset would take as a "given the relationship between intellectual creativity, commitment to innovation, and political criticism…."[123] With this transformation in assumptions, true creativity came to be linked with the counterculture, significant social critique, rebellion, opposition to war, self-development, and to pure thought.[124] No longer would the example creative individual be the "well mannered" engineer working for Dow Chemical.

The kind of community that would stand against mass society and be held together by autonomous, authentic, creative selfhood shifted to a younger generation, more militantly critical of the status quo.[125] Before then, creative individuals were not bohemians or members of the counterculture, but recipients of grants from the Atomic Energy Commission, members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, producers of art championed by the CIA, or military strategists at the RAND Corporation.[126]

Liberal centrism of the 1950s was sustained by a sensibility that connected political positions and with mental traits suck as creativity that were, at once positive and universal. In the hands of social scientists, such mental traits were defined so as to mark people with non-mainstream views as mentally handicapped. However, because social scientific ways of understanding self and society are abstract models they can often be used outside the context of their original development and put to ends that conflict with the aims of the intellectuals who gave them structure. Such was the case with

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[122] Frank Barron, *Creativity and Personal Freedom* (Princeton, N.J.,: Van Nostrand, 1968); Donald W. MacKinnon, "IPAR's Contribution to the Conceptualization and Study of Creativity," in *Perspectives in Creativity*, ed. Irving A. Taylor and Jacob W. Getzels (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975), p. 77; Mooney, "Groundwork for Creative Research."

[123] Seymour Martin Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1971), p. 201.

[124] Barron, *Creativity and Personal Freedom;* Abraham H. Maslow, "The Creative Attitude," in *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (New York,: Viking Press, 1971), p. 57; Louis J. Rubin, "New Skills for a New Day," in *Life Skills in School and Society*, ed. Louis J. Rubin (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, 1969); D. Whittaker and W. A. Watts, "Personality Characteristics of a Nonconformist Youth Subculture: A Study of the Berkeley Non-Student," *Journal of Social Issues* 25, no. 2 (1969): 65-89.

[125] The significance of this transformation as well as the connection of creativity with social virtue is indicated by Daniel Bell's continuation of his defense of bourgeois values in his declaration that cultural radicals lacked true creativity. See Daniel Bell, "The Sensibility of the Sixties," in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

[126] For discussion of the role of creativity at RAND see Sharon Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Simulating the Unthinkable: Gaming Future War in the 1950s and 1960s," *Social Studies of Science* 30, no. 2 (2000): 163-223.

creativity and the positive virtues associated with it including flexibility, breadth, open-mindedness, tolerance of ambiguity, objectivity, rationality, and intelligence.

As defenders of the status quo lost control of these terms, the tenor of social criticism changed as well. No longer would it be that social criticism was, self evidently, irrational. Even more, the very political orientation that had, in the 1950s, confirmed an individual's status as a good social scientist came under attack as a marker of a narrow, rigid, closed, dishonest, irrational, conformist, mind that was intolerant of ambiguity and incapable of pursuing valid social science. Just as, the criticism went, only a racist would buy the connection between race and intelligence, only a dishonest imperialist would see American foreign policy as anything but immoral. By this point, supporters of American politics, especially of the war in Vietnam, received precisely the same criticism that Richard Hofstadter, Sidney Hook and McGeorge Bundy had leveled against McCarthyite and communist authoritarians.[127]

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[127] On rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity in Walt Rostow and McGeorge Bundy see Kai Bird, *The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy, Brothers in Arms: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998); David Milne, *America's Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War*, 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008). On defenders of American international policy and domestic affairs as not true scientists but as dishonest, irrational, incoherent, ideologues, imperialists, or racists see, for instance, Noam Chomsky, "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship," in *American Power and the New Mandarins* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969); Noam Chomsky, "Psychology and Ideology," *Cognition* 1, no. 1 (1971): 11-46. In both his critique of Vietnam policy and IQ testing Chomsky used a strategy of comparing 1960s social scientist with 19th century intellectuals who noted that the only reasonable position was to accept both empire and racial inequality.

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