

Review of: "Carl Friedrich's Path to "Totalitarianism""

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Stephen Turner and his co-author's piece "Carl Friedrich's Path to 'Totalitarianism'" is a well-prepared analysis of the Harvard political scientist's anti-liberal and anti-individualist understanding of the modern state as a discretionary state, the function of bureaucracy as a highly hierarchical authority guaranteeing the democracy and his conceptualization of totalitarianism as had been proposed on the conference of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1953. First of all, this paper is interesting and thoughtful in shedding light on a prominent yet little researched figure, Carl Joachim Friedrich. This paper focuses on how C. J. Friedrich's conceptualization took shape by zooming in on three key questions: the relationship between individual and the community, the role of the administrative bureaucracy in a state, and the differentiation between autocracy and totalitarianism. However, one of the central arguments of the authors, namely, that C. J. Friedrich's standpoint and agenda, which was deeply coined by his German background, counters the American vernacular concept of democracy and liberalism had not been sufficiently elaborated in this paper.

The introductory paragraph that briefly traced C. J. Friedrich's life could focus more on his intellectual engagement with Alfred Weber, Carl Schmitt and Hans Freyer, and reduce the less relevant details. The authors would greatly benefit from the following reference:

Hans J. Lietzmann, "Von der konstitutionellen zur totalitären Diktatur. Carl Joachim Friedrichs Totalitarismustheorie." In Alfons Söllner, Ralf Walkenhaus and Karin Wieland, *Totalitarismus: Eine Ideengeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Akademie Verlag, 1997.

In the second paragraph "Friedrich's Importation of German State Theory", the authors insightfully posed the argument that for C. J. Friedrich, the fundamental concept of the politics was the community. This argument might not be central for the elaboration of how Friedrich theoretically organized his concept of totalitarianism, yet a more comprehensive account on the role of the community in the modern German political thought would help strengthen the "German background" argument.

Another point that caught my attention was Friedrich's reference of mass psychology in his paper presented on the 1953 conference. Mass psychology was, as is well-known, a major research field of the leftwing refugee scholars from the Nazi Germany. As a historian of intellectuals (rather than a historian of political thought), I suggest to take a study also on the personal relationships of Friedrich to his contemporary German-speaking scholars in exile, especially to Hannah Arendt and Karl Wittfogel, two theorists of totalitarianism in their respective ways, the latter in particular, as far as the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union is concerned.

