

irrational, disrespectful, and unrespected. How could he be expected to function as a strictly self-responsible person under such an assumed burden?

Further, when in possession of political power over others, it is almost impossible for a fallible human being not to mistake this power for infallibility. The obeisance paid to a person in authority, the drooling of the weak-willed who like to be led, the lies told by those who seek the favors he has the power to dispense—all only aid and abet the degrading process. It is not easy to reject something flattering said about one's self, regardless of its source. Indeed, the authoritarian loses his capacity to discriminate among sources. The authoritarian mentality must be directed to directing others. Therefore, it cannot simultaneously attend to the art of discrimination—a purely personal, introspective accomplishment of the intellect. This is why it is often said of the authoritarians: "They surround themselves with 'yes men.'" The authoritarian cannot abide dissenters. The authoritarian must act authoritatively. His job—running the lives of others—makes it impossible for him to run his own life. Thus the authoritarian process spells inferiority for the very life that claims superiority.

A clue as to what happens to the person who accepts dictatorship in any of its many forms can be obtained by reflecting on daily experience. For example, observe two

persons rationally discussing some subject of common interest. Each offers the other his most intelligent ideas on the subject. Their friendship, their mutual confidence, the privacy of the occasion—all combine to elicit from each the best that he has to offer. The exchange of intellectual energy is mutually beneficial, and the awareness of this fact encourages thinking and understanding.

AN INSTANT CHANGE

NOW, FORCE these same two individuals on a stage before a multitude, or suddenly place a microphone between them and announce that 50 million people are listening in. Instantly, their mental processes will change. Thoughtfulness and the desire to understand will practically cease. No longer will they function as receiving sets, drawing on the expansible capacities of their own and each other's intellects. They will change into sending sets—if they aren't so horrified by the situation that they can't even transmit. At best, however, their actions will be outward. And what they say will be frustrated by such nonintellectual influences as how they sound to their public, the impression they are making on others, and the competition between them for applause.

In short, they will become different persons, for the simple reason that the proc-