

## Justifying Democracy

Robert A. Dahl

I was born in 1915 in a small town in Iowa; most of the people in and around my town were farmers. My father was a doctor. His father's parents had been farmers in North Dakota, to which they had immigrated from Norway. My mother, on the other hand, was of English and Scottish ancestry; I am in some ways a rather typical American "melting pot" mixture.

Although I did not give much thought to these matters when I was growing up, later I realized that they surely must have influenced, perhaps subtly, my views of the world. For example, earlier than most others in American political science, I became interested in the smaller European democracies, whose history and politics had been largely ignored. In editing *Political Positions in Western Europe* I made sure to include chapters on countries like Norway, Sweden, and Austria. In doing so I formed enduring friendships with the late Stein Rokkan in Norway and Hans Daalder in the Netherlands, and, together with the late Val Lorwin, an American historian who specialized in Belgium and France, we collaborated for some years on an effort to stimulate research and writing on the smaller European democracies.

When I was ten we moved to Alaska, where my father became the physician for a railroad that ran north into Yukon Territory in Canada. Growing up in a small Alaskan town had a powerful impact in many ways—I'll mention only several. For one thing, it left me with a deep and enduring love of mountains and the sea. Fly-fishing for trout in wilderness areas

in the Rocky Mountains is still one of my greatest passions.

Second: living in a small village surrounded by mountains on three sides and the sea on the other, cut off from the rest of the world in the winter except for the occasional boat delivering supplies, one comes to know the people around you extremely well. Almost every person becomes a highly concrete, very specific individual, with concrete and specific qualities. In that situation I learned to respect human beings without romanticizing them either individually or collectively.

Third, I learned something—far from enough, I am afraid—about racial discrimination. About a quarter of the population were Native Americans, members of the Tlingit tribe, which had once had a very complex and well functioning culture. They suffered incredible social, economic, and cultural discrimination: They were virtually a racial caste. Though I went to school with them, sometimes played, hunted, and fished with them, and often worked side by side with them during my summers, to my lasting regret I never wholly broke through the barriers of caste.

Fourth, because every boy in town was expected to work all summer at whatever work was available, like some of the other boys I worked as a manual laborer on the docks and on the railroad. For me, as I well knew, this condition was not permanent; but for some of the others, I knew it would be. I acquired sympathy, which I have never wholly lost, for the often hard

# On Justifying Democracy

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