

Problems in the Application of Systematic Political Science to National Defense Policy

Brown University 1950-51

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Objectives of the Seminar, in order of priority, are:

1. To acquire knowledge of the problems associated with transforming systematic political science into policy applications. By "systematic" political science is meant conscious efforts to employ research techniques of political science.
2. To increase understanding of the methodology and techniques of political science.
3. To increase understanding of the process by which policy is made in the legislative and executive branches of the American government.
4. To provide substantial information on the organization and direction of American national defense policy.

Members of the seminar are expected to be generally familiar with the principles of public administration as contained in such works as L. D. White, INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1948) and Herbert Simon, Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor Thompson, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1950). They are also expected to be generally familiar with the methodological problems of social science as presented in works like: Pauline Young, SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL SURVEYS AND RESEARCH (1939) and George A. Lundberg, SOCIAL RESEARCH (1940).

For acquiring a general background on the subject of this seminar, a few titles are useful: F. Morstein-Marx (ed.), "National Defense and Democratic Society: A Symposium," XLIII APSR (1949), 524-563; Noel Baker, "National Defense," ESS; Lindsay Rogers, "National Defense: Plan or Patchwork," FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Oct. 1940), 1-11; Irwin Stewart, ORGANIZING SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH FOR WAR (1948); President's Scientific Research Board, SCIENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY, 5 vols. (1947-); G. A. Lincoln et al (eds.), ECONOMICS OF NATIONAL SECURITY (1950); B. Bolles, "Military Establishment of the United States," XXV FOREIGN POLICY REPORTS (1949), No. 8; E. P. Herring, THE IMPACT OF WAR (1941); G. C. Lee, "Organization for National Security," PAR (Winter 1948); A. N. Holcombe, GOVERNMENT IN A PLANNED DEMOCRACY (1935); John D. Millett, THE PROCESS AND ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING (1947); National Resources Committee, RESEARCH -- A NATIONAL RESOURCE, Part I (1938); and Stuart Chase, THE PROPER STUDY OF MANKIND (1948). For sketches of agency structures, refer to the U. S. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION MANUAL, currently, and THE NEW YORK TIMES INDEX, for changes and current discussion. Attention to Congressional debates, committee hearings, public laws, and agency publications is very much in order.

The seminar is budgetted at sixteen meetings. The first four will be devoted to general problems of the surety of knowledge in social science, general techniques for solving theoretical and applied problems in political science, and a survey of the use of such techniques by governmental agencies, legislative and executive. The subsequent ten meetings will treat of the practices found in particular agencies concerned with national defense policy. The final session will be devoted to a resume of the seminar's findings. A more detailed calendar with relevant readings follows.

1. Introduction: Explanation and Allocation of Work: The Role of Social Science in Government; Distinctions between intuitive-unorganized and systematic science; the substantive and methodological purposes of this study; the agencies involved; the questions to be asked of the materials.
2. Epistemological Problems in Political Science: Character of and Surety of Knowledge in Social Science; facts and values; knowledge for what?; probability and political necessity.

The following works are useful in connection with the above topic:

- Brookings Institution, ESSAYS ON RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1931)
 Vannevar Bush, SCIENCE - THE ENDLESS FRONTIER (1945)
 B. N. Cardozo, THE NATURE OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS (1922)
 George Catlin, THE SCIENCE AND METHOD OF POLITICS (1927)
 M. R. Cohen & Ernest Nagel, AN INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD (1945)
 John Dewey, LOGIC: THE THEORY OF INQUIRY (1938)
 John Dewey, QUEST FOR CERTAINTY: A STUDY OF THE RELATION OF KNOWLEDGE TO ACTION (1929)
 Wilson Gee (ed.), RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1929)
 Felix Kaufmann, METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1944)
 Harold D. Lasswell, "The Relation of Ideological Intelligence to Public Policy," 53 ETHICS (1942), 25-34
 George Lundberg, CAN SCIENCE SAVE US? (1947)
 Robert S. Lynd, KNOWLEDGE FOR WHAT? (1939)
 Karl Mannheim, IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA (1936)
 R. K. Merton, "Science and the Social Order," 5 PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE (1938), 321-37
 W. F. Ogburn & A. Goldenweiser (eds.), THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THEIR INTERRELATIONS (1927)
 Karl Pearson, THE GRAMMAR OF SCIENCE (1911)
 George H. Sabine, "The Pragmatic Approach to Politics," 24 APSR (1930), 865-85
 R. Elberton Smith, "Value Judgements and the Social Sciences," 35 BULL. AMER. ASSN. OF UNIV. PROF. (1949), 628-42
 Hans Vaihinger, THE PHILOSOPHY OF 'AS IF' (1924)
 Max Weber, THE METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (1949)

3. Social Science Techniques in General: time sequences; comparative study; description; analysis: Their derivative general techniques: extensive opinion surveys; intensive interviews; questionnaires; sociometry; scientific memoranda and reporting; participant observer reporting; documents and records study; testimony and hearings (judicial process); conferences and committees; historical and statistical surveys.

On these matters, read among the following:

- Dorothy Campbell Culver, METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY
 Alfred De Grazia, HUMAN RELATIONS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY (1949)
 Allen Eaton & S. M. Harrison, A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS (1930)
 G. Kirk & P. P. Stebbins (eds.), WAR AND NATIONAL POLICY: A SYLLABUS (1942)
 Karl Mannheim, MAN AND SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION (1940)
 Bibliography, 383-455
 B. L. Smith, H. D. Lasswell & R. Casey, PROPAGANDA, COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY (1946)

3. Social Science Techniques in General (continued)

- John Dewey, THE PUBLIC AND ITS PROBLEMS (1946) , Ch. VI on a new method
 Leonard W. Doob, THE PLANS OF MAN (1940)
 Emile Durkheim, THE RULES OF SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD (1938) (trans. 8th ed.)
 Charles V. Langlois & C. Seignobos, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF
 HISTORY (1925)
 Harold D. Lasswell, THE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
 Harold D. Lasswell, "The Developing Science of Democracy," Ch. II in
 L. D. White (ed.), THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
 (1942)
 Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, and Associates, THE LANGUAGE OF
 POLITICS (1949)
 George A. Lundberg, SOCIAL RESEARCH (1942)
 Peter H. Odegard, "The Political Scientist in the Democratic Service
 State," 2 JOURNAL OF POLITICS (1940), 140-64
 Mildred Parten, SURVEYS, POLLS, AND SAMPLES: PRACTICAL PROCEDURES (1950)
 Stuart Rice (ed.), METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE: A CASEBOOK (1930)
 E. S. Robinson, LAW AND THE LAWYERS (1937)
 Fritz J. Roethlisberger, MANAGEMENT AND MORALE (1941)
 Graham Wallas, THE GREAT SOCIETY (1914)
 Graham Wallas, HUMAN NATURE IN POLITICS (1908)
 Graham Wallas, SOCIAL JUDGEMENT (1935)
 Sidney and Beatrice Webb, METHODS OF SOCIAL STUDY (1932)
 Logan Wilson, THE ACADEMIC MAN (1942)
 Florian Znaniecki, SOCIAL ROLE OF THE MAN OF KNOWLEDGE (1940)

4. A Survey of the Use of Techniques of Political Science by Government Agencies: The Policy Process - thinking, willing, and acting agencies; Examples of the employment of various techniques; main problems reported in past attempts to employ systematic techniques in government; explanations of the use and non-use of such techniques.

Material on these points may be obtained from these works:

A. The Transference of Special Techniques to Government

- Anon. "The Recording of World War II," 38 APSR (1944), 331-42
 Bernard Berelson & Sebastian de Grazia, "Detecting Collaboration in
 Propaganda," XI PQ (1947), 244
 Angus Campbell, "The Uses of Interview Surveys in Federal Administra-
 tion," II JRNL. SOCIAL ISSUES (1946), 14-22
 Dorwin Cartwright, "Social Psychology in the United States During
 the Second World War," I HUMAN RELATIONS (1948), 333-52
 Joel Gordon, "Operating Statistics as a Tool of Management," 6 PAR
 (1944), 189-96
 H. F. Gosnell & M. C. David, "Public Opinion Research in Government,"
 XLIII APSR (1949), 564-72
 Sherman Kent, STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE FOR AMERICAN WORLD POLITICS
 (1949)
 Alexander Leighton, THE GOVERNING OF MEN
 Albert Lepawsky, ADMINISTRATION (1949), 537-63 on
 Rensis Likert, "Opinion Studies and Government Policy," 92 JRNL.
 AMER. PHIL. SOC. (1948), 341-50
 Charles E. Merriam, "The National Resources Planning Board: A Chapter
 in American Planning Experience," 48 APSR (1944), 1075-88

4. A. The Transference of Special Techniques to Government (continued)

- D. Norvick & G. A. Steiner, "The War Production Board's Statistical Reporting Experience," JRNL. AMER. STATISTICAL ASSN. 43 (1948), 575-96; 44 (1949), 413-43
- Office of Strategic Services Assessment Staff, THE ASSESSMENT OF MEN
- John Pfiffner, RESEARCH METHODS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1940)
- Samuel Stouffer et al, THE AMERICAN SOLDIER, 4 vols. (1949-50), esp. Vol. IV, MEASUREMENT AND PREDICTION
- David B. Truman, "Public Opinion Research as a Tool of Public Administration," V PAR (1945), 62-72
- U. S. Dept. of State, SCIENCE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS (1950), Ch. VII
- Leo Wolman, "Fact Finding," XXXII THE NEW REPUBLIC (Sept. 20, 1922), 97-8
- J. L. Woodward, "Making Government Opinion Research Bear Upon Operations," IX ASR (1944), 670-7

B. Organizing agencies for the use of political science, including Congressional and external agencies

- Charles Aikin, "Task Force: Methodology," IX PAR (1949), 241-251
- William Anderson & Joseph P. Harris, THE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH (1939)
- Bruce Catton, WAR LORDS OF WASHINGTON (1948)
- H. M. Clokie & J. W. Robinson, ROYAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY (1937)
- E. J. Coil, "Administrative Organization for Policy Planning," JRNL. SOC. FOR ADVANCEMENT OF MGMT (1939)
- Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, NATIONAL SECURITY ORGANIZATION (1949), Vol. 8
- T. W. Cousens, "The Purposes and Scope of Investigations under Legislative Authority," GEORGETOWN LAW JRNL. (May 1938)
- Marshall E. Dimrock, CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES (1923)
- E. J. Eberling, CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS (1928)
- G. Galloway, "Investigations, Governmental," 8 ESS, 251-9
- G. Galloway, "The Investigative Function of Congress," XXI APSR (1927), 47-70
- Norman N. Gill, "Permanent Advisory Commissions in the Federal Government," 2 JRNL. POLITICS (1940), 411-35
- H. F. Gosnell, "British Royal Commissions of Inquiry," 49 PSQ (1934) 84-118
- Harold Guetzkow, "Interagency Committee Usage," X PAR (1950), 190-6
- Harold J. Laski, "Limitations of the Expert," HARPER'S MAGAZINE (Dec. 1930), 62 ff.
- Daniel Lerner, SYKEWAR (1950)
- Lewis L. Lorwin, ADVISORY ECONOMIC COUNCILS (1931)
- F. M. Marx, "Commissions of Inquiry in Germany," XXX APSR (1936), 1134-42
- James L. McCarny, THE ADMINISTRATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1950)
- President's Committee on Administrative Management, REPORT, Ch. IV
- Everett Reimer, "Translation of Research Findings into Administrative Action" (mimeographed paper presented at ASPA, Wash., DC, March 11, 1949)
- Mary Trickett Poynolds, INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES IN THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, 1932-1936 (1938)
- L. B. Sims, "Social Scientists in the Federal Service," in C. J. Friedrich & E. S. Mason (eds.), PUBLIC POLICY (1940)
- U. S. Dept. of State, INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY: GROWTH OF A POLICY, Publ. No. 2702 (1947)

4.

C. Problems of Large-Scale Scientific Planning

- Duncan S. Ballentine, U. S. NAVAL LOGISTICS IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1947)
- F. A. Bland, PLANNING THE MODERN STATE (1934)
- Honry Bunbury, GOVERNMENTAL PLANNING MACHINERY - A COMPARATIVE SURVEY (PAS, 1938)
- John M. Clark, ECONOMICS OF PLANNING PUBLIC WORKS (1935)
- G. D. H. Cole, ECONOMIC PLANNING
- Seba Eldridge, DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE (1943)
- Herman Finer, THE ROAD TO REACTION (1945)
- George B. Galloway & Associates, PLANNING FOR AMERICA (1941)
- Bela Gold, ECONOMIC PLANNING IN AGRICULTURE; A STUDY IN THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES (1949)
- Seymour Harris, ECONOMIC PLANNING (1949)
- F. A. von Hayek (ed.), COLLECTIVIST ECONOMIC PLANNING (1935)
- F. A. von Hayek, INDIVIDUALISM AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER
- F. A. von Hayek, THE ROAD TO SERFDOM
- E. H. Hempel, TOP MANAGEMENT PLANNING (1945)
- "An International Survey of Government Economic Intervention," ILR (1936, 619-45; "The Problems Involved," ILR (1937), 177-97
- K. William Kapp, THE SOCIAL COSTS OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (1950)
- Carl Landaver, THE THEORY OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING (rev.ed., 1947)
- F. E. Lawley, THE GROWTH OF COLLECTIVE ECONOMY (1938)
- Abba P. Lerner, THE ECONOMICS OF CONTROL (1946)
- W. A. Lewis, THE PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING (1949)
- L. L. Lorwin, "Social Aspects of the Planning State," 28 APSR (1934), 16-22
- Robert S. Lynd, "Planned Social Solidarity in the Soviet Union," AJS (Nov. 1945)
- Marshall and Moyers, "Logal Planning of Petroleum Production," XLI YALE LAW JRNL. (1931), 33
- Charles E. Merriam, THE ROLE OF POLITICS IN SOCIAL CHANGE
- Ludwig von Mises, BUREAUCRACY
- Mary Montgomery & Marion Clawson, HISTORY OF LEGISLATION AND POLICY FORMATION OF THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT (1946)
- Lewis Mumford, TECHNIQS AND CIVILIZATION
- National Resources Committee, TECHNOLOGICAL TRENDS AND NATIONAL POLICY (1937); STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY (1939-40) 2 vols.
- National Resources Planning Board, PLANNING IN SELECTED COUNTRIES (1941)
- NRPB, REPORT (1943) 3 vols. in 2
- J. R. Newman, "America's Most Radical Law," HARPER'S MAGAZINE (May 1947), 436-445
- J. M. Palmer, AMERICA IN ARMS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE U.S. WITH MILITARY ORGANIZATION (1941)
- Vilfredo Pareto, MIND AND SOCIETY, Vol. IV on social utility
- Warren M. Persons, GOVERNMENT EXPERIMENTATION IN BUSINESS, 1776-1933
- Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, Harvard University, CHANGE AND THE ENTREPRENEUR (1950)
- Lindsay Rogers, SOCIAL SCIENCE AND NATIONAL PLANNING (mimeo. publ. by SSRS, 1934)
- Jack Stafford, "Planning for War," L ECONOMIC JOURNAL (Mar. 1940), 27-41
- U. S. Bureau of the Budget, THE UNITED STATES AT WAR: HISTORICAL REPORTS ON WAR ADMINISTRATION, No. 1 (1946)
- U. S. Dept. of State, THE WORLD AUDIENCE FOR AMERICA'S STORY, Publ. No. 3485 (April 1949)
- R. de V. Williamson, THE POLITICS OF PLANNING UNDER THE CODES (1936)
- Barbara Wooton, FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING (1945)

5-15 (inclusive) Each member will prepare two reports on two agencies selected from the following agencies having to do with national defense policy. Reports will be delivered orally, subjected to discussion, and submitted to the instructor afterwards, in written form, accurately documented.

- a. Congressional Committees on agencies connected with the national defense, with attention both to the Congressmen's activities and the work of the committee staffs.
- b. Library of Congress, Reference Service
- c. Executive Office of the President (excluding the Bureau of the Budget)
- d. Bureau of the Budget
- e. National Security Resources Board
- f. The National Defense Establishment
- g. Department of the Army
- h. Department of the Navy
- i. Department of the Air Force
- j. Department of State (in Washington)
- k. Department of State (field offices)
- l. The Voice of America
- m. Overseas Combat Commands of the Armed Forces
- n. The U. S. Civil Service Commission
- o. External Inquiries into Defense Agencies: their methods of investigation (e.g., the Eberstadt Report of the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government)

In each Report, there should be included:

- A. A treatment of the general character of the agency with special attention to those features affecting the basic conditions for the employment of scientific techniques as an aid to policy formation and execution.
 - B. A description of the attempts to employ systematic investigations of
 1. The meaning of the policies laid down by law
 2. The related operations in other agencies
 3. The history of similar operations
 4. The contributions of interested or affected groups
 5. The available science related to the administered subject
 6. The effects of operations
 - C. Problems obstructing the employment of systematic political science.
 - D. Possible extension of scientific operations into areas or offices not presently employing such techniques.
16. A pooling of the findings and recommendations of members of the seminar -- both general on the role of political science in aiding defense policy and specific as to agencies.