

An Outline of Lecture and Study Topics,
together with Reading Notes, for

Government 103-104 (1951-1952)*

THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT

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Government 103-104 (1951-1952) treats of these several subjects:

First Part, Winter Session: The Elements and Organization of
Political Behavior

- I. Political Values and Interests
- II. Mobilization of Political Forces

Second Part, Spring Session: The Contest to Determine Policy

- III. Formal Representation of Values
- IV. Engineering of Favorable Policies
- V. Effects of the Political Process on Policies

* It is understood that students may be registered for only one of the sessions.

On The Nature Of The Course

Each of the titles in the outline to follow constitutes the subject of a week of the course. A glance at the general organization of the course, reproduced above, and at the titles of the outline below will reveal the pattern of progression. In terms of method, the first semester is used to describe and order the basic concepts and variables of political behavior, to judge their incidence and relationships, and to discuss their social organization. The second session observes the manner in which these institutionalized interest elements determine (and are restrained by) the structures and devices of formal representation. The problem of representation, that is, may be imagined as the "long-term" struggle to satisfy interests. In addition, a "short-term" struggle for particular advantage in the shaping of policies exists. The uses of propaganda, money, disciplined organization, partisan maneuver, and other pressure activities typify the tactics of political interests within the envelope of representative institutions. Finally, since the political process has shaped the final character of public policy, it may be determined whether the political process contributes to or detracts from rational policy (taken as the production of intended effects).

On Readings

The student may wish to plan his own reading program for the course. To this end, he is welcome to consult with the instructor, to use the list that follows, to pursue a course of readings by way of the titles suggested in the various bibliographies contained in the cited works, and to look into studies that will be recommended in the class sessions.

Among the readings that might well constitute the program for some students would be the following items:

1. Items useful in both semesters of Government 103-104:

V. O. Key, Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (or similar works by Merriam and Gosnell, McKean, Sait, Odegard and Helms, Bone, etc.);

Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics;

H. D. Lasswell, Politics: Who Gets What, When, How;

H. D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society;

David Truman, The Governmental Process;

Roberto Michels, First Lectures in Political Sociology; and

B. Berelson and M. Janowitz, Reader in Public Opinion and Communication.

2. Items primarily useful in the first semester's work:

John Dewey, The Public and Its Problems;
 Sebastian de Grazia, The Political Community;
 Paul Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice;
 Robin Williams, Jr., American Society (esp. Chap. V);
 Mary P. Follett, The New State;
 Lindsay Rogers, The Pollsters; and
 A. W. Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership.

3. Items primarily useful in the second semester's work:

Alfred de Grazia, Public and Republic;
 T. V. Smith, The Legislative Way of Life;
 Paul Appleby, Policy and Administration;
 Karl Mannheim, Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning;
 and one among Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed,
 Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law,
Hearings before the House Select Committee on Lobbying
Activities, Hs. of Rep., 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1950,
 David Hulburt, This Happened in Pasadena,
 E. E. Schattschneider, Politics, Pressure and the Tariff, and
 Edward C. Banfield, Government Project.

On Term Papers

Each participant in the course will write a paper on the validity of a factual proposition discussed in the course lectures or readings, using in part at least techniques involving field study or primary library sources. If one so desires, he may postulate a moral goal and study the conditions under which the goal may be attained by political action, again using techniques involving field study or primary library sources. In both cases, a page-length synopsis and preliminary design of the study will be submitted to the instructor within a month of the inauguration of the course.

Outline of Study Topics

I. Political Values and Interests

The analysis of the basic social and economic factors that shape political goals and channel political behavior.

1. **Personality and Politics**
The origins of political behavior in personal history and the effects on political behavior of different character-types; the relation of motives to action
2. **Ecology of Political Activity**
The distribution of politically-occupied persons in a society; the types of political activity; factors affecting the proportion of active persons in a society.
3. **The Political Community**
The common political experience of men, their shared goals, and the various efforts - ethically and objectively - to "find" the community.
4. **Social Specialization and Political Interests**
Social separatism in the community: its origins in the division of labor and territorial localism, and its impact on the political personality and the political community.
5. **Ideologies**
The major fixed beliefs found in a community, their origins, their contents, their generality, and their effects on political behavior; consensus.
6. **Public Opinion**
The development of specific attitudes from the interaction of issues, ideologies, and institutions; the rôle of such attitudes in giving direction to the political process.
7. **Social Strata and Elites**
The division of the community into prestige classes and its effects on personality, community ties, and social separatism; the relation of the power pyramid to the distribution of other goods.
8. **Political Mobility**
The contribution of the political process to high social mobility; the lack of class character among the politically active.

II. Mobilization of Political Forces

The organization of political interests for participation in the political process.

1. **Political Leadership**
The origins and functions of political leadership; leader-follower relationships.

2. Influence Network of the Great Society
The informal centers of political decision and their relationships; unorganized and informal political communications channels; cliques, cartels, opinion groups, electors, political associates, cronies.
3. The Media of Communication
The distribution, ownership, control, and political rôle of Press, radio, and film.
4. The Organization of Pressure Groups
The varieties of interest groups and their internal government; patterns of overlapping involvements.
5. Political Party Organization
The machinery of a political party; party aims as reflected in party structure; effects of party legal position upon party organization.
6. Oligarchy in Organizations
Group and party elites; attempts to counterbalance oligarchic tendencies; schisms and revolts; assessment of the extent of oligarchic rule.

III. Formal Representation of Values

The incorporation of political interests and values in the structure and operations of government.

1. Representative Government
The complicated and disputed origins of representative government, the various rôles ascribed to it by different writers, and the extent to which any form of representative government may be said to influence continuously the character of a society.
2. Territorial Representation
Localism, territorial apportionment, federalism; devices (formal and informal) for the disproportionate representation of interests that arise from ecology, land ownership, and the local community.
3. Representation of Individuals
The growth of individualism; the isolated person as the basis of representation; the increased use of the majority principle; attempts to build representative government around freely interacting and nonbureaucratic associations.
4. Pluralism and Interest Representation
Nonterritorial interests; guilds; professional associations and self-governing economic and social fractions; conditions underlying the pluralist development; the competition for special authority, and the various devices used to coördinate interest representatives and general public officers.
5. The Representative Character of Parties
The party as self-interest and clearing house for other individuals and groups; the party as the government; theories postulating the party as identical with government or as identical with special interests.

IV. Engineering of Favorable Policies

The short-term struggle to set public policy, given a certain representative structure.

1. Propaganda

The manipulation of symbols to change the opinions of elites and the general population; the control of media as a necessary condition; peculiarities of the political audience; analysis of the effects of propaganda.

2. Money in Politics

The sources of political financing and the method of using money to obtain political influence.

3. Organizational Maneuver

The maximizing of group and organization support for policies; the tactics of organization politics; the political campaign.

4. Lobbying Tactics

Involving the individual politician, administrator, and cliques or committees of the government in support of policy proposals.

5. Parliamentary Maneuver

The corporate character of legislatures; oligarchy in legislatures; relation of rules of procedure to informal influence; bargaining, and compromise; summation of the effects of the political process on the behavior of representatives.

V. Effects of the Political Process on Policies

The extent to which the output of the governing process reflects accurately the input of political motives.

1. Rationality in Policy Formation

The fate of conscious attempts to rationalize the legislative process so as to make it representative of selected interests and values and productive of effects in accord with them.

2. Bureaucratic Reformulations

Typical bureaucratic responses to superordinate directives and to external forces of groups and opinion; the applicability and effects of directives under stress of behavioral principles.

3. Politics and Intended Effects

The political significance of typical gaps between the intended and actual results of purposive behavior; politics as the conditioner of plans; political science and rational policy.

*Work
Process
Procedures*

New York University - Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL POWER
Government G53.3016

The Codexes of Bibliography in Political Science and Public Policy (Volumes I to III, IV to X forthcoming) list hundreds of works under the index heading of power. In this field as in all others, the major reason for requiring the reading of any single work is because we need a conversation piece, that is, a book that we have all read and therefore use as a point of reference and departure in discussion. Our conversation piece is H.D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan's POWER AND SOCIETY. The only examination for the course will be given at our third meeting when, during the first half-hour of the class, your grasp of the book will be tested in writing.

Other reading for the course will be chosen by yourself to suit your needs. These needs will arise as you complete a term paper on how politico-social power is achieved in a certain country. More specifically, the title will be "A comparison of the conventional and legal techniques with the unconventional and extralegal techniques of achieving power, as used by strato-crats, taxocrats, plutocrats, larger agrocrats, party politicians, and tutors (intelligentsia) in country "X" since World War II." In this study, you would normally be concerned with some definition of the size and traits of each aggregate, with their distinctive uses of doctrines, domination, propaganda and promotion, economic measures, and force; the effects of all these in the total engagement of power; and the distinctive traits that each aggregate lends to the final "policy mix." It is not recommended that you begin your paper with any theoretical exposition of power or society. Where there is an abundance of material on a given point (as on the U.S.S.R., for example), cite the consensus of experts and do not belabor it. The more schematic your paper, given that it is complete, the better.

The fourth meeting of the class will be given over to a thirty-minute oral report of a student on his single country, and a discussion of his results. Two weeks later, his paper should be complete and in the hands of the instructor. We shall continue this method throughout. The last paper will be presented on May 15 and is due about May 28.

Students are welcome to phone the instructor at 777-5214 for a personal appointment.

Alfred DeFuria
January 23, 1969