

Political leadership and political power. The origins, development, character, and practices of the leaders of American and other societies. Techniques for studying leadership.

#### AN OUTLINE OF TOPICS AND REQUIRED READINGS

Required readings are on reserve at the Main Library, or at the West Library (Political Science building). Besides preparing for class sessions and examinations by means of the readings, a student who wishes to take the course for 5 units is expected to write a paper. The paper will be a survey of the leadership of any contemporary or historical society, describing the group according to the framework established in the class sessions and readings. The student should seek to illustrate the principles used in class in the country, American state, or locality he has chosen to study. All papers are due in the office of the instructor by 4 p.m., March 8. It is suggested that the student select an area as soon as possible and read generally about the politics of the society concerned; then, as the framework of analysis develops in class, he may read more specific materials and begin his analysis. A midterm examination will be given at a time to be announced in class.

#### I. The Theory of Leadership (2 hours)

1. H. D. Lasswell, Politics (1936), Part I.
2. A. de Grazia, Elements of Political Science (1952), Chap. 3.
3. Lester Seligman, "The Study of Political Leadership", XLIV American Polit. Sci. Rev. (1950).

#### II The Search for Universal Traits of Leaders

##### A. Personal Traits (1 hour)

4. Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership," Jrnl. Psych., 25 (1948), 35.

##### B. Distribution of Leaders (2 hours)

5. F.A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in Southtown," Sociometry, 10 (1947), 11-31
6. J. L. Woodward and E. Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," APSR, 44 (1950), 872.

#### III The General Environment of Leadership

##### A. The Community-at-large (1 hour)

7. H.F. Gosnell, Democracy: Threshold of Freedom (1948), chaps. 8, 11.

##### B. Social Class (2 hours)

8. Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (trans. 1939), Chaps. 2, 12, 15

C. Localism (2 hours)

9. A. de Grazia, Elements, 446-62.
10. W.L. Riordan, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall(all).
11. V.O. Key, Southern Politics (1949), 37-46, 131-5.

D. Other Groupings, Especially Ethnic (1 hour)

12. Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Politics (1952), 28-80.

E. Circulation of Elites: Politics vs. Stratification (1 hour).

13. Roberto Michels, First Lectures in Political Sociology (1949), Chaps. 3, 4, 5.
14. Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union," Amer. Soc. Rev. (1950), 465-79.

IV. The Leadership of Major Social Institutions ( 1 hour introductory)

15. David Truman, The Governmental Process(1951), Chap. 3.

A. Churchmen (1 hour)

16. L. E. Ebersole, Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capitol (1951), Chaps, II, III, X.
17. Thomas Hamilton, "Social Optimism and Pessimism in American Protestantism," P.O.Q., 6 (1952), 280.

B. Educators and Intelligentsia (1 hour)

18. \*Merle F. Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (1935), Chap. XVI and "Conclusion".
19. R. Michels, "Intellectuals," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

C. Businessmen and Managers ( 2 hours)

20. Gabriel Almond, "The Political Attitudes of Wealth," Jrnl. Pol., 7, (1945), 213.
21. W. L. Warner and J.O. Low, "Managers and Owners, Then and Now," in Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership, 144.
22. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, "A Marx for the Managers," in R.K. Merton et al. Reader in Bureaucracy, (1952), 165
23. Fortune Magazine, "The Thirty Thousand Managers," 21 (Feb. 1940), 58-63 et passim.

D. Labor ( 2 hours)

24. John W. Alexander and Munroe Berger, "Grass Roots Labor Leader," Studies in Leadership, A.W. Gouldner, ed., 174.
  25. C. W. Mills, "The Trade Union Leader," P.C.Q., (Summer 1945).
  26. Irving Bernstein, "John L. Lewis and the Voting
- \* On reserve in Cubberly Library.

Behavior of the C.I.C." P.O.Q., 5 (1941), 233

E. Bureaucrats ( 1 hour)

- ✓ 27. H.E. Dale, "The Daily Life of the Civil Servant," in R.K. Merton et al, op.cit. 353-9.  
28. R. T. Nightingale, "The Personnel of the British Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, 1851-1929," Fabian Tract No. 232 (London, 1930). Also APSR, 24 (1930)  
29 Robert D. Leigh, "Politicians vs. Bureaucrats," Harper's Magazine (Jan. 1945), 97.

F. Soldiers ( 1 hour)

30. G. Mosca, The Ruling Class (1939), Chaps. 8, 9.  
31. H. D. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," AJS, 46 (1941), 455.

G. Publishers and Journalists (1 hour)

32. Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (1947), Chaps. 3, 4.  
33. W. T. Stead, "Government by Journalists," Contemporary Rev., 49 (1886), 653.

H. Farmers (½ hour)

34. C. M. Hardin, "Political Influence & Agricultural Research," APSR, 41 (1947), 668.

I. Professions (½ hour)

35. Cliver Garceau, "Organized Medicine Enforces Its Party Line," P.O.Q. (1940)

V. International Differences among Politicians (1 hour introductory)

36. H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, and C.E. Rothwell, The Comparative Study of Elites (1952), all.

A. American Politicians ( 2 hours)

- ✓ 37. H. F. Gosnell, Democracy: Threshold of Freedom (1948), Chap. 12.  
38. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (1953), chap. 4.

B. Western European Politicians ( 2 hours)

39. W. L. Guttsman, "The Changing Social Structure of the British Political Elite, 1886-1935," British Jnl. of Soc., 2, (1951), 122.

Feb 17-18

Feb. 23

- 40. H. D. Lasswell and R. Sereno, "The Changing Italian Elite," in Lasswell, The Analysis of Political Behavior. (1948), Chap.III.
- 41. I. J. Edinger, "German Social Democracy and Hitler's 'National Revolution' of 1933," V World Politics(1953), 330-67.
- 42. Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition," American Jrnl.of Soc., Vol.XLV(1940), 517.
- 43. J. G. Heinberg, "Personnel Structure of French Cabinets," Amer.Pol.Sci.Rev., Vol.33 (1939), 267.

C. Communist Politicians ( 2 hours)

- 44. Merle Fainsod, "Postwar Role of the Communist Party," in P.E.Moseley, ed., The Soviet Union since World War II, AAAPSS, Vol. 263 (1949), 20.
- 45. H. C. North, Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Elites, 1952), Chap. IV.
- 46. C. A. Micaud, "Organization and Leadership of the French Communist Party," 4 World Politics (1952), 315-55.

D. Non-communist Asiatic Politicians (½ hour).

- 47. M. H. Fried, "Military Status in Chinese Society," AJS, 57 (1952), 347.
- 48. Sebastian de Grazia, "Mahatma Gandhi," Political Quarterly, Vol. XIX (1948), 336.
- 49. Justus M. van der Kroef, "Patterns of Western Influence in Indonesia," Amer.Soc.Rev., 17 (1952), 421.

E. South American Politicians (½ hour)

- 50. "The Army Challenge in South America," Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. 25, No. 14 (Dec.1, 1949).
- 51. H. B. Parkes, "Political Leadership in Mexico," AAAPSS, Vol.208 (1940).
- 52. K. C. Arnade, "Technique of Coup d'etat in Latin America," UN World, 4 (Feb.1950), 21.

VI. Leadership Practices: Acquiring and Holding Power

Mar. 1

A. Revolutionary Leadership Tactics (2 hours)

- 53. Ignazio Silone, School for Dictators (all)

Mar. 2

B. Political Leadership under Popular Elections (2 hours)

- 54. Harold Gauer, How to Win in Politics (1946), 7-187

Mar. 3

C. Effects of Organization on Leadership ( 2 hours)

- 55. D. Truman, The Governmental Process (1951), Chap.7
- 56. R. Michels, Political Parties (1915) 400-8

March 4 - Singer's talk

Feb. 24

Feb 25

57. R. Michels, First Lectures in Political Sociology, Chap. 6

VII. The Goals and Accomplishments of Leaders

A. Conflicts of means and ends (1 hour)

Mar. 8

- ✓ 58. Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," Chap. IV in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills, eds., From Max Weber (1946)
- 59. T. V. Smith, "The Moral Function of the American State Legislator," State Government, Vol. XI (1938), 75.
- 60. N. Leites, The Operational Code of the Politburo, Chap. 3, "Means and Ends."

Mar 9-10

B. Democratic Leadership (2 hours)

- 61. F. S. Oliver, On Politics and Politicians (1952), 3-19; 25-88.
- 62. H. D. Lasswell, "Democratic Character," in Political Writings (1951), 465-525
- 63. Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics (1921), 185-214.

Mar. 11

C. Is Leadership Dispensable, (1 hour)

- 64. S. K. Bailey and H.D. Samuel, Congress at Work (1952) Chap. VIII, "What One Man Can Do."
- 65. Philip Selznick, "Dilemmas of Leadership and Doctrine in Democratic Planning," in Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership, 560-91.
- 66. "Indonesian Assignment," in Harold Stein, ed., Public Administration and Policy Development (1952), 55-61.

Mar. 15 Examination (3 hrs)

6?5 = 3 hrs.